

An Phoblacht

REPUBLICAN NEWS



Sraith nua lml. 1 Uimhir 29

DE SATHAIRN LUNASA 18 1979 SATURDAY AUGUST 18th 1979

(England, Scotland and Wales 15p) Price 12p

A FEW MILES across the city from the seat of the colonial power at Stormont Castle, Volunteers of the Irish Republican Army and Cumann na mBan came on to the street to symbolically show their guns at the massive 'Brits Must Go' demonstration in West Belfast last Sunday. In response the Republican people on the Falls Road and in Casement Park erupted into a chorus of cheering support for the armed struggle.

For once the British government's usual ploy of blaming their difficulties on the Free State government's border policy in the hope of gaining greater Free State repression of Republicanism was of no use to them. There was no convenient excuse for the successful Republican display of popular resistance in Britain's colonial capital.

From the start the Brits had attempted to sabotage or reduce the impact of the march. In the early hours of Thursday morning they tried to burn down Belfast's Sinn Féin headquarters. During this attack Janice Austin was shot in the leg with a plastic bullet when she was putting out the flames.

Over the next two days armoured cars and heavy military and RUC patrols were used extensively throughout the west of the city not just to combat the fierce rioting of angry nationalist youths but to intimidate people from participating in the protest.

On Saturday night Sinn Féin's Ulster Organiser and National

Education officer were scooped in East Belfast, and hours before the march the party's headquarters were again raided. The speaking equipment was seized and one of the speakers for the rally, recently released blanketman John Deery, was arrested.

Widespread media coverage of these latter physical attempts to

sabotage the march secured the release of John, and the return of the speaking equipment.

Yet, despite all this harassment the Republican people turned out in their thousands to march against the continued occupation.

The Belfast march on its own demonstrated that Republicanism is the single most powerful progressive force of the nationalist people. But the merging of armed volunteers with their people in front of an international press guaranteed maximum coverage. It embarrassed the

British government (who had been telling the world they were only 'dealing with 'criminals') and created for loyalism a crisis of confidence in the British government.

In fact for the I.R.A. to have caused the same political effect by military action they would probably have had to mount a widespread bombing strike across the six counties, and risk scores of volunteers.

The British government could do nothing about being embarrassed

not only internationally but also domestically. They had taken steps, bar curfewing Belfast, to minimise the turnout. Buses carrying Republican supporters were stopped on the outskirts of the city and held back until the march was over.

Given the glare of TV and press cameras and the instability of their trigger-happy soldiers they had decided to adopt a low-key role on Sunday afternoon itself.

Loyalists attacked this strategy as 'ceding West Belfast to the Provisionals', and as dealing 'a blow to morale in Northern Ireland'.

Loyalist politician Robert Bradford claimed after a meeting with deputy direct-ruler Alison that the British are considering banning Sinn Féin. (Vice-President of Sinn Féin, Gerry Adams, later pointed out that such a proscription would be a fitting tribute to the tenth anniversary of the use of naked British military repression).

Then early last Wednesday morning in Belfast hundreds of British soldiers and RUC men poured into Republican areas to search and raid homes. Sixteen people were hauled off to Castlereagh interrogation centre to placate the loyalists.

Nevertheless, in the face of armed British imperialism and its loyalist allies, the message was seen and heard last Sunday that 'Brits must go'. Welding a revolver above his head the marching people cheered enthusiastically when a Volunteer, in pointing out how to achieve it, declared: "AND THIS IS OUR MEANS."

Yes!

12p PRICE

This week the price of the paper is 12p again to cover the increased production costs and distribution costs of a sixteen-page issue. Next week the paper will be returning to twelve pages for 10p.

**Republican
Freedom Fighters
on the streets
of Belfast**

Beechmount scene last Sunday as the massive 'Brits must go' demonstration made its way up the Falls Road



Union Victimises Mc Donald's Striker

By Paul Rooney

ONE OF the strikers at McDonald's hamburger 'joint' in Dublin's O'Connell Street has been expelled from his union, the Irish Transport and General Workers Union (I.T.G.W.U.).

Jimmy Macken, who was suspended from No 4 Branch, last week, for 'conduct unbecoming that of a member and inimical to the interests of other members', has now received a letter from John. Burke, branch secretary, informing him that his membership of the union is cancelled. The union bureaucrats at Liberty

Hall have taken this action, because they are working hand-in-glove with the state to ensure that free collective bargaining is smashed and militants like Jimmy Macken present a danger to their plans.

Jimmy Macken has been expelled because he has insisted on organising mass pickets and exposing union reluctance to bring their full weight to bear to win the strike through blacking supplies and picketing delivery entrances.

SATURDAY

Meanwhile last Saturday, picketers outside McDonald's in O'Connell Street were continuously harassed by the gardai. Their names and addresses were taken and they were warned that they were breaking the law.

Saturday's mass picket was successfully supported by scores of trade unionists and students, including workers from the post office, and C.I.E. plus members of A.T.G.W.U. and the Workers Union of Ireland.

Also on Saturday, at the 'Britain must go' demonstration, Sean O'Bradaigh of Ard Comhairle Sinn Fein, called for support for the Mac's strikers.

Ironically - in view of the official union position - at the officially organised European Trade Union Summer school being held in Dublin, a resolution in support of the McDonald's strikers was presented to and accepted by trade unionists from all over Europe.



Jimmy Macken, expelled for exposing ITGWU negligence at Mac's

HAPPY BIRTHDAY JACK!

FIANNA FAIL leader Jack Lynch flew out of Dublin on Wednesday for a three week holiday in Europe, with a big smile on his face — and not just because it was his birthday.

Jack has just awarded himself, his cronies, and his backroom boys — the so-called 'top people' in government and the public services — a nice juicy eighteen percent pay rise.

This pay rise, which is a direct kick in the teeth to trade unionists in the twenty-six counties is made up of an 8 1/2% interim pay award to senior civil servants plus the 9% allowed by the recent 'National Understanding Mark II'.



JACK LYNCH

— Smiling all the way to the bank

In cash terms, Jack gets a raise of £3,474 bringing his salary up to £22,489 about £430 per week. Yet he will get less than Chief Justice Tom O'Higgins who gets a raise of £3,557 bringing his wage up to £23,037.

Other state bureaucrats in line for this massive handout of public money, are the bosses of state and semi-state industries such as C.I.E., Aer Lingus, E.S.B. the Central Bank and of course the Post and Telegraphs; also the Commissioner ranks of the garda, parliamentarians and the judiciary. For most of these there will be a quick bonanza — a big cheque for back pay.

Yet greedy top civil servants say 'this pay award is not enough'.

Over recent months trade unionists in the twenty-six counties have had to fight tooth-and-nail, and some have had to take on the garda just to earn a living wage.

It seems that there is one pay rule for the rich and one for the poor. The question is, for how long will Jack Lynch be smiling?

POLEGLASS SLOWLY POLE-AXED

THE LOYALIST BIGOTS of Lisburn council have notched up another victory in their campaign against the building of the much-needed Poleglass housing estate on the fringe of nationalist West Belfast.

One of the North's Direct-rulers Philip Goodhart announced last Thursday August 9th that although the Poleglass housing project is to proceed it will do so in carefully monitored phases. This announcement followed a visit to him at Stormont by a rabble-rousing gang of four councillors and two council officials. (Lisburn council has pledged that it will do all in its power to resist the building project.)

Goodhart warned that a strict watch would be kept during the first phase of building and if there was any evidence of vandalism, squatting or rent arrears then there could be a halt to further building work.

These latest pre-conditions imposed on the building of homes



ELSIE KELSEY

Leader of the collection of bigots who comprise Lisburn council

to relieve the gross over-crowding imposed upon the nationalist

working-class people of Belfast is a typical example of British capitulation to loyalist bigotry. The loyalists have already secured a cut-back by half in the number of houses to be built from the original four thousand to the present two thousand.

It is of course British and Unionist government neglect, and the threat posed by loyalist assassination gangs in other parts — especially the north of the city — which has led to the present incredible over-crowding in West Belfast which is among the worst in Europe.

Despite this, wide sections of the supposedly non-sectarian press and TV echo loyalist sentiment by referring to the Poleglass relief plan as 'controversial' and doubt is continually thrown on whether the project will ever be completed. In fact Poleglass is slowly being pole-axed.

After the misnamed Goodhart met the Lisburn councillors, one of the gang, a Bill Watson, stated that he and his fellow conspirators still do not consider that Poleglass is 'inevitable'.

When listening to such people an uninformed observer might well have to mentally jerk himself to realise that it is much-needed homes that are being talked about and not the introduction of the plague virus.

Of course the loyalist mentality of hate and bigotry is such that they view new houses for the nationalist people with horror — as a cancerous growth which might eat into their cosy sectarian set-up of jobs and houses for the privileged 'protestant people'.

Contain the taigues: in their ghettos and force emigration upon them through unemployment, lack of housing, military repression and sectarian attacks is the theme underlying the anti-Poleglass campaign of the bigots of Lisburn council.

Macabre Brits

PREPARATION for a wake in a grief-stricken home in Belfast's Andersonstown was callously interrupted by uniformed thugs of the British army on Wednesday afternoon.

Andersonstown man Michael Flynn, father of recently released blanket man Brendan Flynn, died in the Royal Victoria Hospital on Tuesday. His remains were brought home at 2 o'clock on Wednesday afternoon. Ten minutes later the British army raided the house, the identification of all members of the family present was checked, and Brendan was threatened with arrest.

Not surprisingly a large crowd of angry neighbours gathered outside the Flynn home and the British army reluctantly left under the threat of a riot. Their intrusion is typical of their barbaric behaviour.

The Republican Movement has expressed sympathy to the Flynn family for their bereavement.

AMERICAN IMMIGRATION DEPARTMENT BOOST H-BLOCK CAMPAIGN

THE AMERICAN Immigration Department has unwittingly provided a massive boost to the H-block publicity campaign in America.

On Tuesday they arrested Kieran Nugent, the first blanket man, in the foyer of the Sheridan Centre Hotel, Manhattan, New York and charged him with entering America illegally.

A scuffle broke out when immigration officials approached Nugent minutes before he was due to give a press conference about the horrific H-block conditions. The officials were swamped by news-

men, TV camera crews and Republican sympathisers as they forced Nugent into an awaiting car.

A short time later Nugent was released on bail of five thousand dollars. His court case to hear the charge is scheduled for August 28th.

Since Nugent's release from the H-Blocks in May efforts made by him to gain entry to America



KIERAN NUGENT

legally were continually frustrated by the American consulate in

Belfast. They refused to acknowledge two requests for visas made by him in June and July.

He decided to enter America illegally because of the dire situation in the H-Blocks where the fight for political status enters its fourth year on September 14th.

Prior to the frustrated press conference Nugent had already spent ten days in America where he had attended several functions.

Importantly American journalist Peter Hamill has done a major feature article based on Nugent's experience. This was published in the New York Daily News on Monday August 13th and has also been given to hundreds of other provincial newspapers.

The arrest of Nugent has created a furore and Republicans organ-

ising Nugent's visit are now being swamped with requests for interviews from T.V., radio and newspapers.

The arrest of Nugent and the accompanying publicity will cause further acute embarrassment to the British government (and American government) who are doing their best to censor Republicans campaigning on behalf of the H-Block prisoners and for British withdrawal.

COUP!

THE MOST significant IRA operation of the week was a massive propaganda coup at the 'Brits must go' demonstration in Belfast on Sunday when armed volunteers appeared on the Falls Road and in Casement Park. The reverberations from the shocked Brits and loyalists were still being felt days later.

During the week the success of military operations was limited to an injured Brit in Derry, a blasted building in Belfast and the wounding of two Brit imported civilian collaborators.

However a high toll in minor injuries to personnel and significant damage to paint-spattered and battered Brit/RUC armoured vehicles was exacted by militant nationalist youths expressing their justifiable anger against the occupation forces on the eighth anniversary of internment.

WEDNESDAY 8TH AUGUST - THURSDAY 9TH AUGUST

Belfast

Whilst the nationalist people of Belfast commemorated the anniversary of internment by traditional bin-lid bashing and bonfire burning, IRA active service units attacked the under-pressure British forces of occupation on eight occasions with a succession of sniper and blast bomb attacks.

The operations consisted of four sniping attacks on Brit foot patrols in the Lower Falls area over a two hour period starting with one at half past-nine Wednesday evening in Leeson Street. The four blast bomb attacks were against the Henry Taggart fort adjacent to Ballymurphy and the RUC barracks on the Springfield Road.

Derry

During the night, a member of a Brit army snatch squad attempting to capture militant youths engaged in street fighting, was badly injured when an IRA volunteer lobbed a blast bomb at the squad. The blast bomb landed close to a commandeered bus sending splinters of metal into the Brits.

SATURDAY 10TH AUGUST

Belfast

During the afternoon a successful bomb attack was launched against commercial premises in Belfast. An IRA active service unit breached Brit/RUC security and planted several bombs in a city centre warehouse. The IRA's ingenuity is renowned, but last Saturday's bombing operation is unique.

Faced with steel shutters on all ground-floor windows of BNS Warehouse in Kent Street two IRA volunteers brought along their own thirty-foot ladder, which one of them scaled up. He planted the bombs before both made good their escape. The ensuing explosion caused widespread damage to the building.

WEDNESDAY 15TH AUGUST

Belfast

Two members of a civilian team of caterers attached to the British army were shot and wounded as they left Fort Monagh. Nineteen shots were fired at their unmarked vehicle hitting one of the Brit collaborators in the back and slightly injuring the other.

The IRA's Belfast Brigade later pointed out that the two men are an essential ingredient of the Brit's war machine and had placed themselves in the front line with the Brits against the nationalist people.

The two men are members of a body of civilian caterers (tea-makers) permanently attached to the British army and are known as 'char wallahs'. They are a servile group with slave-like status who form a quaint reminder of the British army's palmer days in India when they had more servants than they knew what to do with.

In what must be one of the 'Sticks' craziest and most illogical statements they condemned the shooting as a racist attack because the IRA's targets were Pakistanis.

Newry for one hour, at the Lisburn roundabout by the Brits and UDR for one-and-a-half-hours and then one hundred yards further up the road by two plain-clothes RUC men. The driver, the vehicle and the papers were then held in Lisburn barracks for four hours before being released.

Such hazards are a weekly routine for AP/RN drivers who dutifully drive around the six-counties distributing the paper every week without fail.



Armed IRA volunteer publicly appeared on the Falls Road.

Fierce street confrontations

MORE THAN one hundred members of the nationalist community were arrested in street confrontations with the Brits/RUC in the week preceding last Wednesday. This was the week which marked the eighth anniversary of internment and the tenth anniversary of British troops on the streets of the North.

The number arrested indicates the intensity of the street fighting which has taken place all over the six counties. The most intense and bitter fighting took place in Belfast where militant youths

repeatedly battered the Brits/RUC with stones and other assorted missiles.

Unfortunately a few regrettable incidents of unpopular activity such as the commandeering and

burning of private cars by non-Republican elements also took place.

The confrontation in Belfast started early on the afternoon of Wednesday 8th August on the Falls Road when several commercial vehicles and buses were commandeered and used to block the road. This action was quickly repeated in Turf Lodge and the New Lodge Road area. The pattern was thus set for the next few days and normal Brit foot patrols disappeared from the streets of the ghettos as the Brits raced around dressed in riot gear within their battered vehicles.

One of the most successful attacks on the Brits took place after the 'Brits must go' rally on Sunday when Andersonstown barracks came under a sustained barrage of assorted missiles.



Lurgan

On Tuesday night of this week Lurgan was also the scene of intense anti-Brit rioting involving scores of people. Cars commandeered from a show room were used as effective barricades.

More than twenty combatants were captured by the Brits during fierce street fighting which continued into the early hours of Wednesday morning.



BRITS UNDER PRESSURE

Taking shelter (ABOVE) and escaping (RIGHT) from stone throwing youths after the 'Brits must go' demonstrations in Derry and Belfast respectively.

Drumm attacked

Belfast Republican and Sinn Fein Ard Comhairle member Jimmy Drumm was hit on the shoulder by a plastic bullet fired at him from point blank range, while he was sitting in a car during a riot in the Ardoyne area of North Belfast. His hand was also injured.

After being hit, Jimmy Drumm was dragged from the car by a Brit, and trailed along the ground to an awaiting sarsen. He was thrown into the back of the sarsen which then drove off to Flax Street Barracks. He was later released and was treated for his injuries at the Royal Victoria Hospital.

The incident happened in the early hours of Monday morning when Jimmy Drumm was returning with some friends from Ardoyne, after spending a social evening there.

The car they were travelling in became inadvertently caught up in a confrontation between local people and the Brits. The Brits fired several plastic bullets at the car before physically assaulting the occupants.

Crossmaglen ringed

A RING of steel, and the imposition of restrictions on peoples movements, bordering on a military curfew, were the order of the day for those living in the village of Crossmaglen and the surrounding area from the early hours of Tuesday morning until Wednesday afternoon.

Hundreds of British soldiers from the Queens Own Highlanders saturated

the village and road checks were placed on all roads leading into it.

Scores of people had their photograph involuntarily taken while others, particularly from Castledown south of the border were turned back and not allowed to enter the village.

Local people who usually sign on the dole on Tuesday were not allowed to do so until Wednesday.

Houses and farms were searched by Brits with blackened faces. They were much cockier than usual. Usually the Brits can not get through the village square quick enough but on this occasion they were all over the place.

The people however were not to be intimidated by this latest Brit flag-waving exercise and generally refused to co-operate with them.

DRIVERS HARASSED

A week ago on Friday, a vehicle carrying copies of An Phoblacht/Republican News northwards from Dublin to Belfast was stopped by the RUC in

DEFIANT PICKETERS



The defiant H-block picketers (above) are members of Belfast Sinn Fein outside their Falls Road headquarters Thursday morning, the anniversary of internment. A few hours earlier (as reported as a late news flash in last week's AP/RN), Brits - to be precise KOSBies - had attempted to burn down the building by setting alight an H-block display at the front of the building. On the far left of the picture can be seen Belfast Chairman Tom Hartley standing in front of the door badly burnt in the arson attempt. The Sinn Feiners were not to be deterred and the above picket was mounted despite Brit intimidation including firing plastic bullets at them.



ABOVE: The 'butcher's apron' publicly burnt at the GPO last Saturday.

DUBLIN DEMONSTRATION

As part of the 'Britain must go' campaign, well over one thousand people marched through the streets of Dublin last Saturday.

The marchers assembled at St. Stephens Green. They included contingents not only from Dublin but from Dundalk, Derry, Wexford, Cork, Monaghan, and North Kerry. There was also support from England, Wales, France and Italy.

The parade was led by a colour party of Dublin Na Fianna Eireann, with the Dundalk Fianna, and the Rathvilly Pipe Band in support.

They were followed by a large banner, proclaiming 'British must go'.

At the G.P.O., the huge crowd were addressed by Richard Behal of Sinn Fein Foreign Affairs, Sean O'Bradiagh Sinn Fein P.R.O., and trade unionist Andy Connolly of the I.T.G.W.U. Sinn Fein Vice-President Joe Cahill presided as chairman.

Also present on the platform were veteran Republicans Frank Driver, Larry Grogan, Mai Daly and Danny Gleeson.



ABOVE: The march moves off from St. Stephen's Green.

BELOW AND LEFT: Crowds at the rally outside the GPO.

Britain having been forced out of so many previous colonies the placard (LEFT) suggests it is only a matter of time before Britain leaves Ireland.



SOME OF the British daily newspapers have this week been recalling the Tenth anniversary of British troops being called out of their garrison bases in the North.

The *Daily Mirror* led the way with a front-page repeat of its call of one year ago to 'bring home the troops'. On its centrespread it points out that after a decade of British troops being on the streets of Ireland there is 'not an end in sight'; that violence continues because 'the major political parties in Britain are in barren unanimity about not knowing what to do'; and that 'A year ago the *Mirror* put forward a plan for Ulster. It said the British government should announce it was withdrawing completely, troops and all, from Northern Ireland by a date five years hence'.

The *Mirror* goes on 'It was a proposal overwhelmingly supported by *Mirror* readers. But since then nothing has changed, except for the worse'. (That is, from a Republican point of view, for the better!)

The *Daily Mirror*, closely tied politically to a significant section of the Labour Party hierarchy, remains the only Fleet Street paper calling for withdrawal. Even then its 'solution' is an independent six-county state admitting a loyalist veto of Irish national rights: 'Ulster would be left free to govern itself and decide its own destiny.'

All the other papers support Britain's continued colonial role although some doubts are beginning to creep in.

The *Guardian* in its editorial said: 'Ten years after the British Army was called in to separate them it is not the Catholic and Protestant, nationalist and loyalist, who are fighting one another in Northern Ireland. It is the security forces and the I.R.A. Some who recognise that

After a decade; FLEET STREET DOUBTS

10th Mirror August 14th 1979

AIR

The victims:
301 soldiers

Mirror Comment

ULSTER:
Bring home the troops

IT IS TEN YEARS ago today that the Emergency began in Northern Ireland. TEN YEARS since British troops were rushed to the Province.

turn of the decade's events argue that to remove the army would therefore end the war.'

But the paper goes on to call for 'bipartite talks between London,

Belfast and Dublin, excluding of course, the Republican Movement. A typical Hugh Carey suggestion, but 'Governor Carey's auspices should not be needed.'

The *Daily Telegraph* had nothing of political value to offer. (This is not unusual.) They just said: 'In a part of the United Kingdom where no war officially exists and where there can be no battle honours, 301 regular soldiers have been killed by bombers and gunmen....'

'...The economy just survived and the physical and moral character of entire towns altered forever... In a strictly military sense the British army is now the most experienced counter-insurgency force in Western Europe, and equipment and anti-terrorist strategy have been highly developed.'

Edward Scallan of the *Daily Mail* had for Republicans brighter prospects of Brit gloom!!!

'A British army spokesman told me candidly last week: 'We can't beat them. We can only contain them.' He made clear total army disillusionment after a decade of despair and disaster.'

'BRITS MUST GO' DEMONSTRATION

DERRY BARRICADES IN THE DAWN

BARRICADES GREETED the dawn in Derry last Thursday August 9th. Their purpose, to symbolically re-establish the Free Derry of earlier in the decade.

Later in the day, after a brief 'Brits must go' march from Creggan to the site of the main barricade, a rally was held and a tri-colour hoisted under the nose of the Brit observation post sited on top of the Rossville Flats.

The first speaker was Sinn Féin

councillor Edward Fullerton of the Donagall County Council and Buncrana Urban District Council. He spoke of how as a youth he remembered running the gauntlet of Orange mobs in Great James Street and William Street - then the people felt powerless to do anything about such shows of sectarian supremacy. Today the flames of nationalist re-

sistance burn high. Three local speakers followed: Kathleen Gallagher, a tireless prisoners' welfare worker; former blanket man John Deery; and veteran Republican Sean Keenan.

A token 'free area' was established and Irish music was played continually until one o'clock in the morning; recorded music during the day and live music during the evening, by *Alleach Folk* and *The Binmen*. The H-Block play from Ardoyne was also performed; and news reports of the massacre of Bloody Sunday were played over the public address system as a tragic reminder of the event.

Late that night militant youths stoned the British army in William Street and erected barricades in the Bogside and Brandywell.

A major barricade at the junction of Rossville Street and William Street was re-inforced with a commandeered Ulsterbus vehicle. An I.R.A. volunteer threw a grenade at an advancing Brit patrol injuring at least one of them.

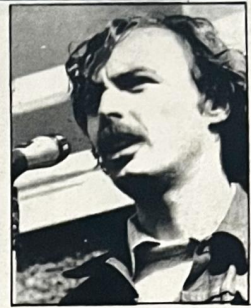
Sporadic rioting continued until the first light of dawn.

On Friday, entertainment was again provided in the 'free area'. During the evening, even the rioters took time off to watch an open-air showing of the film *'The Patriot Game'*. A local man recited Thomas MacDonagh's speech to his court martial in 1916.

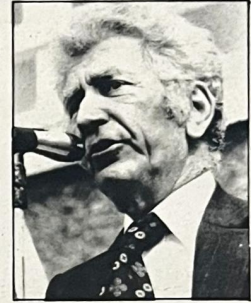
Later a different type of street theatre took place at the barricades. Brit bulldozers moved in but were met with fierce resistance from street fighters armed with stones.

On Saturday the 'free area' was taken down, with a moving final ceremony. For a couple of days people had come into it with pride, listening to the music and looking at a photographic display of the battle of the Bogside and of a history of the subsequent ten years (including a special display depicting women's involvement in the struggle).

Later in the day, after the Apprentice Boys had marched smugly through the city centre with massive Brit protection for their arrogant sectarian display of Orange supremacy, street fighting against the Brits re-erupted, this time at the top of the Bogside.



JOHN DEERY



SEAN KEENAN



KATHLEEN GALLAGHER

A section of the 'Brits must go' demonstration



DUNGANNON DEMONSTRATION

HUNDREDS supported a 'Brits must go' demonstration held in Dungannon on the anniversary of Internment, Thursday August 9th. The demonstration was organised by the Carty, Crowley, Loughran Sinn Féin cumann as part of the week of protests in the area leading up to Sunday's national demonstration in Belfast.

The march left the Ballygawley Road housing estate and proceeded to Anne Street where a rally was addressed by local Republican Jim McGivern; B. McKeown of the South Tyrone Comhairle Ceannair of Sinn Féin; and former blanket man from Belfast, Martin McKenna. As the crowd dispersed youths

stoned Brits and RUC men skulking nearby, forcing them to flee for shelter.

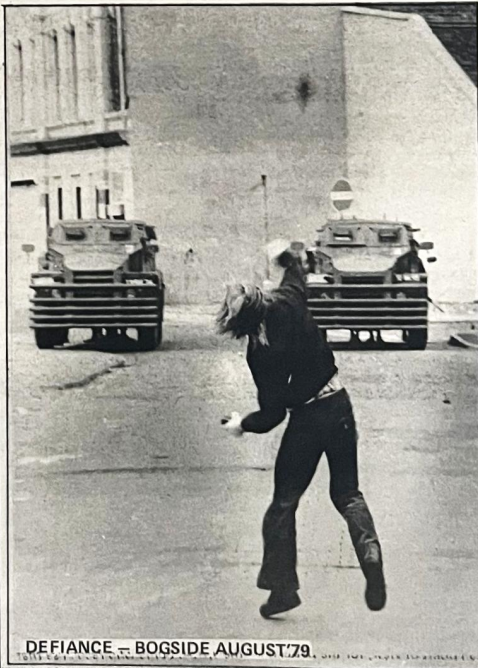
In the early hours of the same day the traditional forms of the commemoration of internment were held: bonfires were lit and bin lids bashed.


 H-BLOCK CYCLIST
IN DUNDALK

A successful function was held in Dundalk on Tuesday evening to congratulate seventy-one-year-old James Pyers from Camlough, South Armagh, on successfully completing his cycle marathon in aid of H-Block.

At the function, organised by Dundalk Sinn Féin, there were various speakers, including Joe Cahill Vice-President of Sinn Féin, George Lynch, chairman of the Leinster Executive of Sinn Féin, and James Pyers himself. He described how he had cycled from Camlough to Cork, a distance of 250 miles, and how up to that night he had collected over one thousand pounds for the men in H-Block.

Joe Cahill stated that he expected this figure to reach two thousand pounds. Joe went on to praise the courage and determination of James in taking on such a formidable task. He said that he was a good example for the young people.



DEFIANCE - BOGSIDE AUGUST 79



TO THE NATIONALIST working-class people of the occupied six-counties, August 9th 1971 is a date which evokes bitter memories of mass arrest, torture, bloodshed and death.

Upwards of three-hundred-and-fifty men young, old, disabled, and in one case blind were arrested and put through an orgy of brutality by the British army and RUC. The early morning knock became a part of everyday life on that morning, as thousands of British soldiers smashed their way into homes throughout the six-counties trailing their victims from their beds.

Within days the streets of the nationalist towns and ghettos were filled with horror stories about the ill-treatment of those detained.

These frightening stories were of men being beaten over obstacle courses strewn with broken bottles, being savaged by guard dogs, and being thrown from helicopters.

The brutality itself, was part level, between the unionist region the British conservative government.

In-depth interrogation, using was used against twelve of the the two weeks following August in October of that year. These named by writer John McGuffin,

The sensory deprivation technique on end were hooding; constant produced 'white noise', (a high stand spreadeagled against a wall the wall; little food or drink; forced to wear baggy overalls and their disorientation and de-humanisation.

KEVIN HANNAWAY was arrested on August 9th 1971 when he was twenty years old, and was living in Merrion Street, in the Lower Falls area of Belfast. The four o'clock knock came in the form of a Brit raiding party, led by the then notorious (now deceased) Major Corden-Lloyd, of the Green Howards regiment.

Kevin Hannaway was barely given time to dress as he was trailed by the neck out into the street, with a Browning automatic revolver stuck in behind his ear by Lloyd. Meanwhile one of the Brit raiding party had already fired a shot at Kevin's wife, narrowly missing her, because she resisted one of the Brits who was man-handling her husband.

From his home, Kevin Hannaway was forcibly run, with his arms bent up his back, a distance of two hundred yards, to Mulhouse Street barracks on the Grosvenor Road. There he was trussed up like a chicken, with his hands and feet tied together and was thrown into an empty dining hall.

Within an hour, at least sixty men joined him, some with blood pouring from gaping head wounds where they had been batoned. Some of the men were still in their underclothes, while others wore only trousers; and some were bare foot.

For the few hours that he was there, Kevin witnessed scores of brutal attacks on the men, by Brit guards using batons.

MULHOUSE STREET

He was removed from Mulhouse Street barracks to Girdwood barracks, on Belfast's Antrim Road, with ten other men. All of them were tied up. They were bodily lifted by their guards and thrown like sacks of potatoes, into the back of a lorry. (One of the men in his late sixties, Paddy Monaghan, was very ill. He was held for forty-eight hours. Shortly after his release he died. His family have little doubt that the treatment

he received led directly to his death.)

At Girdwood barracks, Kevin was thrown into a large gymnasium, which held upwards of two hundred men. Some like himself lay tied up on the ground, and some were covered in blood.

A short time later Kevin was trailed by the collar along a corridor, towards an interrogation room. As he passed Brits and RUC men they lashed out, kicking and punching him. He was thrust into a chair in front of two plainclothes RUC men who asked him for information about the I.R.A. He said he knew nothing.

Several military policemen entered the room and handed a file over to the RUC men. Kevin was then trailed along the corridor to another room. Here he was booted, batoned, punched and literally used as a football by the Brits.

situated. He was booting to the helicopter and pushed inside it with another six victims.

The helicopter took off. Minutes later the compressed air door suddenly opened and Kevin was booting out backwards. He thought he was falling hundreds of feet, but the helicopter was hovering only a few feet up. As he hit the ground, the other men in the helicopter landed on top of him.

Fierce alsatian dogs on long leashes, were then set upon him and he was badly bitten. Altogether he was taken up in the helicopter and was thrown out

again on another four occasions. At the end of this terrorising procedure Kevin was in a terrible physical condition, with blood streaming from numerous injuries. The Brits then tried to force him to run through a gauntlet of scores of baton-wielding Brits.

He refused to run, he walked, at the end of which he collapsed exhausted from the beatings. While walking through the gauntlet he could hear and see wives of British soldiers, living in the married quarters in Girdwood, squealing obscenities and shouting words of encouragement to their husbands. Warders from nearby Crumlin Road gaol also joined in the

chorus of support to 'Fenian bastards'.

This pattern of brutality continued the day until Kevin was removed bare. Crumlin Road gaol obstacle course, with broken bottles, baton hurdles, and baton

He arrived in 'D' before ten o'clock. His injuries included eyes, a cut mouth, teeth had cut deep lower lip, a badly numerous dog bites, bruising to his back, feet were badly cut. Kevin Hannaway



Internees being transported cuffed together.

**SPECIAL
SUPPLEMENT**

NATIONAL 'BRITAIN MUST GO' DEMONSTRATION - BELFAST



**"We have the guns to press forward
our demands and press forward
with them we shall!"**

AT THE massive 'Britain must go' rally in Belfast's Casement Park on Sunday an armed I.R.A. Volunteer read out a statement from the I.R.A. The statement pointed out that the I.R.A. 'have the guns to press forward our demands' that 'Britain must go' and 'press forward with them we shall'.

The statement read as follows:

SINCERE GREETINGS to our friends and comrades,
to our long suffering people.

Today we have marched in our thousands in defiance of the uniformed armed thugs who attempt to hold our country in subjection.

In their lying propaganda they say that the I.R.A. has no support and that the British people are not interested in demanding troop withdrawal.

Yet, in practice the British government suppress open Republican organisations and censor the truth. They are attempting to intimidate people from marching here today by photographing them and threatening them with prosecution. In London, where today thousands of English people are demanding troop withdrawal, their march has been banned from Trafalgar Square.

The hypocrites fear their presence in Ireland being shown up as colonial occupation where they torture and murder in the name of democracy.....

We have support we have the sinews of war and dedication and we

have the guns to press forward our demands, and press forward with them we shall.

Much to the embarrassment of Major-General Glover we donated the captured 'document 37' to the public's eyes. That document showed exactly what the British army think of us.

They know they are the cause of the violence. They know that violence will continue as long as they remain here, yet they continue to send young soldiers to their deaths as the armchair generals sit back and play war-games.

But the backlash will come sooner or later. It may come from the English people sick of the costly war or it may come from the soldier sick of continually losing. Over the next few years we promise them they will be sick and there is only one medicine that will cure them - they can get out of our country while they have the chance.

We pledge to you the people, our supporters who have borne most of the suffering, we swear over the graves of our dead comrades and we promise our captured comrades held in the jails, that we will fight to the death, that we will see this through to the very end.

The presence today of armed volunteers is a show of our determination and the determination of the oppressed Irish people to resist British imperialism in our country until we are victorious. **9**



Despite pouring rain a tremendous crowd was in high spirits

MAIRE ÓG DRUMM

Women's Part in Perspective

WE PRINT HERE THE BULK OF THE SPEECH DELIVERED BY MAIRE OG DRUMM

WHAT I say I hope will place women's part in the fight for freedom in its right perspective. Women have always been to the forefront in rejecting the British presence in Ireland but historians have tended to obscure this fact.

Women have always been depicted as a weeping wailing bunch who see their men off to war with a prayer, beseeching them not to go. This is certainly not so today when mothers take their rightful place alongside daughters, sons and fathers, right in the thick of battle. And I don't think our ancestors were any different in this respect.

Illustrations showing Irish Republicans down through the centuries going into battle never show one single woman! We know this to be untrue for women fought in '98. Didn't Betsy Gray die on the battlefield?

Thankfully women's part in the war of liberation has been recorded in recent years.



MAIRE OG DRUMM

In the 1916 Rising we had the brave women in the G.P.O., the Countess as a leader. In the twenties women's prisons were full and so it has remained right down to the present day. Women always were there - and I say it with all defiance - more uncompromising in their principled stance than men.



RICHARD BEHAL

Richard Behal (Sinn Féin Foreign Affairs Bureau) brought news of many messages of international support. Martin Galvin (Nor-Aid) pledged continued support.

It is only in the last decade, possibly helped by the TV cameras that we have been shown to be right there on the streets, not urging our men on, but leading them. All of you who have seen the film 'The Patriot Game' have seen where the women stand, not running away from the Brits and RUC but putting them to flight.

We have paid the price for our participation and are rightly proud of our women's names that are carved with pride on the roll of honour in Milltown cemetery; of the hundreds of women who have passed through British gaols, of our women today in prison in England, in the South, and in Armagh, particularly those who have stood shoulder to shoulder with the men in H-Block in rejecting criminalisation.

I will conclude by assuring the leadership of the Republican Movement that in the days to come when the war to eject the British reaches a successful conclusion, women will not be found wanting. Indeed if you show any signs of weakening we will take over!



MARTIN GALVIN



The massive march made its way in disciplined fashion up the Falls Road

ECSTATIC RECEPTION FOR I.R.A.

A CHARACTERISTIC GESTURE of defiance by I.R.A. volunteers was greeted with an ecstatic reception by thousands packed into Belfast's rain-swept Casement Park last Sunday afternoon.

Armed volunteers stood amongst the jubilant crowd and one of them read out a statement which pledged that the liberation struggle will continue without respite: As one of his comrades flourished a pistol in the air the I.R.A. volunteer proclaimed: "And this is our means". The crowd vigorously applauded and broke into spontaneous chants of ".....I.R.A."

Shortly afterwards, to further deafening applause, one of the volunteers appeared at the temporary platform erected in front of the stand and boldly brandished a sub-machine gun.

The rally itself was chaired by Belfast Republican JIMMY DRUMM. Speakers were MARTIN GALVIN from America on behalf of Irish Northern Aid - he pledged continued support until victory is won; veteran I.R.A. man DAN GLEESON; recently - released Armagh prisoner MAIRE OG DRUMM - the daughter of the murdered Sinn Féin Vice-President; former blanket-man JOHN DEERY from Derry

who was the first 'no-wash-no-sleep' man to be released; and finally the main speaker, Fein. General Secretary DAITHÍ O'NEILL, who gave a surprise, and welcome appearance.

Following the rally fierce rioting broke out in the surrounding streets, with stone-throwing, petrol bombs and also petrol bombs at the Brits from their fortified outpost.

Earlier the massive 'Brits must go' banner, carried by the Republican Movement to mark the appearance on the streets, had made its way through pouring rain from Derry and Andersonstown Roads. Despite the rain the I.R.A. colour guard received enthusiastic applause as it passed.

The marchers, interspersed with banners, had come from all over Ireland, mostly from Belfast. Street-wisdom dictated 'BRITAIN MUST GO', 'VICTORY TO THE REPUBLIC' and 'VICTORY TO THE I.R.A.'

turas go beal feirste

IS DEACAIR rud ar bith a scríobh. Tá smaointe ag rithi timpeall i m'intinn. Feicim fós na sluaite, na bannaí cheoil agus thar gach rud na hÓglaigh.

Bhí mé istigh sa P.D.F. i mBaile Andarsain. Bhí gach duine ag caint is ag comhrá. Chuala mé guth as Ciarraí ag iarraidh am mbeadh slua mhór ann. D'fhéagair guth as Béal Feirste ar rá go mbeadh cinnte. Bhí gach duine ag caint mar gheall ar an mórshuíl.

Timpeall a dó a chlog fuair mé síob síos go dtí ceannceathrú Shinn Féin ar Bóthar na bhFál. Bhí slua ann cheana féin. Bhí an máirseáil le tosú ag a trí a chlog. Shuíl mé timpeall ar feadh tamaill. Bhí mé ag caint le duine anseo is ansiúd. Bhí buachaillí ag gabháil timpeall ag díol an nuachtán seo. Bhí nuachtán á dhíol ag na grúpaí eile freisin.

Bhí na sluaite fíreacha timpeall. Bhí an slua ag méidiú an t-am ar fad. Bhí sluaite difriúla á eagrú isteach sna cúlsraideanna. Bhí na bannaí

cheoil ag seinm. Bhí an ghrian ag taitneamh.

I ndeireadh báire thosaigh an mórshuíl. Bhí an ghrian fós ag taitneamh ach bhí scamail dubha sa spéir. Ach tháinig gliondar ar mo chroí nuair a chonaic mé buíon armtha d'Óglaigh na hÉireann agus Cumann na mBan ar na sráideanna ag léiriú a nirt. Thaitn seo go mór leis an slua.

Go gairid ina dhiaidh sin thosaigh an báisteach. Cé go raibh an báisteach trom níor mhaolaigh ar sprid an tslua. Bhí na mílte cruinnithe ar na casáin. Tugadh bualadh bos dos na daoine ón Deisceart.

Ag dul thar áras de chuid arm na Breataine dúinn Bhí na saighdiúirí ag tógáil griangrafanna dinn. Ach d'fhéagair an slua iad. 'Sanaigh Amach' ar siad, d'aon ghuth.

Bhí áthas brainn nuair a shroicheamar Páirc Mhic Easmain, agus isteach linn san ardán. Bhí an Tús Gharda agus lucht iompar na mbrat ag seasamh ós comhair an ardán amach.

Thosaigh na cainteoirí i ach sar i bhfad lig an slua gáir áthais. I lár an tslua bhí buíon armtha de chuid Óglaigh na hÉireann agus Cumann na mBan. Thosaigh siad ag béicigh..... I.R.A.I.R.A. Chuala mé na daoine timpeall arm ag caint agus áthas orthu. Bhí arm na ndaoine istigh i measc a muintir léin.

Tar éis ráiteas a léamh ón arm d'imigh siad agus thosaigh na cainteoirí athuair. I ndeireadh báire bhí sé thart. Bhí mé ag ól cupán tae sa P.D.F. agus chuala mé go raibh linn iad mór thíos ar Bóthar na bhFál.

D'fhan mé mar a bhí mé. Bhí mé spionta amach. Bhí mé ag caint le mna-chéile agus maithreacha na bpriocúnaigh cogaidh. Bhí scéal difriúil ag gach duine, ach thar gach rud bhí dóchas acu. Sin an rud le mó go bhfuil cuimhne aníos agam air, ná misneach, spiorad agus dóchas an phobail. Ní féidir liad a sháru.

TIC TION R.A.

The first 'no-wash-no-slop-out' protestor to be originally the main speaker of the afternoon, Sinn Féin Secretary DAITHI O'CONAILL who made a welcome appearance.

The rally fierce rioting broke out near Anderson Barracks and militant youths hurled stones and petrol bombs at the Brits who nervously emerged from their fortified outpost.

A massive 'Brits must go' demonstration, organised by the Republican Movement to mark ten years of the British occupation of the streets, had made its way in disciplined ranks through pouring rain from Dunville Park up the Falls Road. Despite the weather thousands of people and the I.R.A. colour party leading the parade, met with enthusiastic applause as it passed by.

Marchers, interspersed with numerous bands and drummers, came from all over Ireland, although obviously from Belfast. Street-wide banners declared: 'JUST GO, VICTORY TO THE BLANKET MEN' and 'VICTORY TO THE I.R.A.'.

Is brann nuair a bhí na Páirc Mhic Easmain, linn sin ardan. Bhí na agus lucht iompair seantamh ós comhair ch.

na cainteoirí ach sa nua áthaíais, l hífú b'ion armtha de na hÉireann agus na hÉireann siad. I.R.A. ...I.R.A. na daoine timpeall agus áthas orthu. na daoine istigh i tirléin.

teas a léimh ón arm agus thoshaigh na uair. I ndeireadh thart. Bhí mé ag ól P.D.F. agus chuala éiríú mór thíos ar all.

ntar a bhí mé. Bhí armach. Bhí mé ag chéile agus maith-ríonagh cogaidh. níl ag gach duine, rud bhí dochas acu. d. Is mó go bhfuil ois agam air, ná rid agus dochas an idirid a shárd.



IRA colour party at Casement Park.

DAITHI O'CONAILL

The seeds of Victory

WE PRINT HERE AN EDITED VERSION OF THE SPEECH DELIVERED BY DAITHI O'CONAILL

THERE IS no more appropriate place to gather than here in Casement Park to mark the tenth anniversary of British troops coming on the streets of the occupied part of our country. This centre is called after Roger Casement whose life and death exemplified the purpose and spirit which brings us here today from all parts of Ireland.

As, you know, Casement died on an English scaffold, having been branded a traitor by the English government and even in death the attempts to destroy his character and reputation were never to cease.

But in the hearts of the Irish people the name Roger Casement holds an honoured place. And the cause he served so nobly to the very end is as vibrant and strong today as it was in the

heart and mind of Casement as he mounted an English scaffold sixty-three years ago this month. Your presence from the four corners of Ireland is a clear demonstration of the relevance of Casement's ideals to our life and times.

It has not been easy for many of you to make this journey today, but you have made it and in doing so, you have demonstrated



DAITHI O'CONAILL

to the world, and in particular to the British government that we as a people are firmly united in the basic demand of the historic Irish nation that the British leave our country once and for all time....

We are the proud inheritors of that unconquered and unconquerable tradition of resistance to British rule. Reflecting on the events of the last decade, we are well aware of the sacrifices demanded of this generation. All of you, directly or indirectly, have paid a price for your adherence to the concept of a free and united Ireland.

Many of you have lost your loved ones, thousands of you have passed through British jails and torture centres and all of us have known what it means to be a subject people in an occupied country. In common with previous generations, you too have known the vilification and misrepresentation which fighters for freedom the world over suffer until they are victorious.

And victorious we shall be, the seeds of victory were set in this city and in the city of Derry ten years ago when a risen people demonstrated clearly to themselves and to the world that fascist Stormont rule would no longer be tolerated....

The seeds of victory were equally set in the days of Free Derry and Free Belfast. The onslaught of internment, Hollywood, Bloody Sunday and the vicious sectarian murder campaigns of loyalist forces did not arrest or halt the growing desire for freedom.

And that desire was developed into deadly fighting action by units of the Irish Republican Army from Crossmaglen to the Sperrin mountains.

The enemy came to learn also that war is a two way traffic. When the I.R.A. struck in England and further afield the English people came to realise that their government was central to the whole conflict in Ireland.

The obstacles on the road to a democratic socialist republic are a

some. But we welcome the challenge of blasting those obstacles out of the way. First and foremost is the British presence; after ten years of struggle it is well and truly rattled....

A second major obstacle is the curse of sectarianism. Recently, a political monster in the guise of religion has fanned the flames of bigotry again. We appeal to the Protestant people of Ulster to reject the evil and bigotry of Ian Paisley to emerge from the centuries of sectarian rule and to march forward with us to a new Ireland where civil and religious liberties are not a catch-cry but a living reality.

Freedom and security will not be found in an Orange Free State no more than it is to be found in the Irish Free State south of the border. Free State, orange or green are no solutions to the problems of Ireland; they are simply British ploys to maintain imperialism with an economy of English lives and money.

And the third obstacle facing us on the road to the Republic is the neo-colonial state of the twenty-six counties. Every British device of oppression, unemployment and cultural backwardness has been employed by the Dublin government to hold the people of the south in bondage and increase the agony of the beleaguered people of the North.

As we appealed to the Protestant people of the North to throw off the shackles of sectarian slavery, so too do we appeal to the people of the South to rid themselves of the chains of mediocrity and come forward into the revolutionary spirit of Republican Ireland.

We are one nation, one people; we are diverse in many ways and our diversity can add to our strength and talent provided we understand that greed and privilege will have no place in the Ireland of the future.

In conclusion, we are in the final phase of the struggle to end British rule. After ten years of unrelenting resistance, our victory is assured. With the spirit of Tone, the nobility of Casement and the skill and daring of the fighting units of Ogligh na hÉireann victory is beyond dispute.

It may come within our grasp tomorrow or next year but come it will and the Ireland for which countless thousands fought and died will be dream come reality.

Victory to the blanket men!
Victory to the soldiers of the I.R.A.!

Victory to the people of Ireland!

Street-wide banners were near the head of the march. Here the parade is passing by the Royal Victoria Hospital.



IRA VOLUNTEER BESIEGED BY PRESS MEN ALMOST FIGHTING AMONGST THEMSELVES IN THEIR EAGERNESS TO GET PHOTOGRAPHS.

WHAT THE PAPERS SAID



LOYALIST ANGER

FOLLOWING REPORTS of Sunday's march Loyalist anger exploded. Paisley accused the Northern Ireland Office of capitulating to the I.R.A. by 'permitting the security forces to withdraw from West Belfast' while the 'disgraceful show of strength' was taking place. 'I give notice' he said, 'that Ulster protestants are not going to permit this'.

James Molyneux, Leader of the Official Unionists at Westminster specially flew to London to complain that 'morale has been seriously effected by the inability or unwillingness of the government to take action yesterday, combined with recent killings.'

Molyneux's colleague the so-called 'Reverend' Robert Bradford met temporary Direct-Ruler, Michael Alison, who is in charge at Stormont Castle while Hump Atkins is on holiday in Tunisia.

Alison endorsed the recent tactics of the RUC and army. He insisted that they had acted in a 'disciplined manner during the past four days to contain protests deliberately designed to be provocative.'

Alison argued that they had been faced with a propaganda



■ MOLYNEUX WORRIED ABOUT MORALE

campaign directed mainly to audiences outside of Britain. Bradford after the meeting appeared on local BBC television.

He rejected Alison's argument about choosing the right time to go

in force against the I.R.A. He said: 'The apprehension of those four men or their shooting would certainly have dissuaded the I.R.A. from future activities.'

The 'Reverend' recommended that the Stadium should have been stormed: 'Every single person who went into that Casement Park yesterday, went in knowing that they were going to a Provo demonstration. Forget about Provisional Sinn Féin - it was Provo. It was a terrorist campaign. They were going to identify themselves with it and applaud it. If there had been any trouble in trying to arrest the four or five gunmen or the woman no one there could have been categorised as an innocent bystander. They knew where they were; they knew why they were there.'

The Loyalist UDA who, having failed to attract significant support for their plans for an Independent North, and whose racketeering as well as political fortunes within the Protestant community have been on the decline, threatened violence. Using a Jack Lynch quote they said they would 'no longer stand idly by.'

'AND IF the media honestly reports the numbers of people who turned out this afternoon, then maybe we shall be finished with Brit propaganda which says that the I.R.A. are isolated from the people...' so publicly declared an I.R.A. Volunteer at last Sunday's massive march in West Belfast which demanded that the 'Brits Must Go'.

Well, for most Republicans the media's ability to count has often been questioned, especially when one considers the discrepancy between *Downtown Radio's* one thousand and the *Irish Times* report that eight thousand people took part in the protest. However the media did grudgingly acknowledge a big turnout.

The appearance of armed Volunteers from the I.R.A. and Cumann na mBan had, in terms of propaganda benefits British government embarrassment and Loyalist anger, as big an effect as the deployment and risking of scores of Volunteers on a widespread bombing strike.

The show of solidarity from the people, plus an element of territorial control, captured the front pages of most British newspapers, and film of the Volunteers was screened in Britain, Europe and America on Sunday evening. Militarily the appearance could also have intimidated plain-clothes Brits from mixing with the crowd as bogus press-men as they have done in the past.

The Daily Telegraph

Under a heading 'I.R.A. SPEAKERS CHEERED IN PARK RALLY' the *Daily Telegraph* said: 'Armed, masked I.R.A. Volunteers acknowledged the cheers of a large crowd in a Belfast sports stadium yesterday during a demonstration which indicated the continuing significant support for the Provisional I.R.A.'s terrorist campaign in Northern Ireland.'

The *Telegraph* however, said that 'According to British Army sources the large turnout cannot be taken as a firm sign that the I.R.A. has arrested declining support among the nationalist population. They argue that there is a vast difference between appearing in public to show some solidarity with the cause, and taking an active part.'

Sounds like sour grapes!

THE DAILY EXPRESS

The *Daily Express* wrote: 'The rally was one of the strongest public displays of support for the Republican campaign in recent years.'

DAILY MIRROR

The *Daily Mirror* described the march as 'the biggest show of Republican support since the Army began their security duties in 1969.' It also said that 'the Army involvement in the strife met with a defiant show of gun-power. For the I.R.A. took the opportunity to roam their stronghold openly toting machine-guns and automatic pistols.'

Daily Mail

The *Daily Mail* who on Friday had described Derry's small 'Brits Must Go' march as a snub to the I.R.A. was in a bit of pickle to explain the huge Belfast turnout. Big headlines concentrated on 'THE GUN GIRL'.

The *Mail* commenting on the I.R.A. appearing at Casement Stadium said: 'One of the gunmen re-appeared at the foot of the draped platform wielding a sub-machine gun. He stood there for several minutes as the crowd feverishly screamed cries of support before being hustled away.'

THE GUARDIAN

The *Guardian* reported the march as significant and wrote of the I.R.A. speaker, accompanied by armed comrades, as 'the most dramatic display of strength by the Republican Movement here in recent years... He ended his speech with a litany of pledges; then, flourishing a pistol above his head, he said: 'And this is our means.' The crowd applauded and broke into chants of 'I...I...I.R.A.'.

The *Guardian* commented on the messages of solidarity from other Liberation Groups and noted that: 'the mention of E.I.A. the political front of the military wing of E.T.A. the Basque separatist group, brought a thunderous cheer from the crowd.'

THE IRISH PRESS

The Irish papers' treatment of the I.R.A.'s appearance also acknowledged the challenge to British rule. 'A GESTURE OF DEFIANCE' said the *Irish News*.

The *Irish Press* reported that the crowd 'cheered rapturously as an I.R.A. gunman dressed in green headgear and uniform, and brandishing a machine-gun, briefly made his way through the crowd on to the stage.'

'Despite the weather conditions', said the *Press*, 'much greater crowds than many previous years attended the rally.'

THE IRISH TIMES

The *Irish Times* wrote: 'In a considerable display of support, about 8,000 Provisional Sinn Féin sympathisers yesterday walked through heavy rain to a west Belfast G.A.A. ground where they cheered the appearance of masked and armed men and applauded speeches calling for a British withdrawal from the north.'

Reporting the I.R.A. foot patrol in the Beechmount area the *Times* said: 'The unmasked girl, in a black Cumann na mBan uniform, brandished a large revolver and the men carried pistols and machine guns.' In the stadium, 'three men wearing balaclavas and a blonde Cumann na mBan girl - again unmasked - flanked another masked man, who read a Provisional I.R.A. statement. Throughout the address the girl held a machine-gun aloft.'

HELL BACK

Peter Hayes

of a continued plan, at a high level at Stormont and members of the security forces. The sensory deprivation techniques, used against three-hundred-and-fifty men in 1971, and on a further two men were later appropriately named 'The guinea pigs'. The techniques used against them for days included the use of a sound machine which produced a high-pitched hissing; being forced to walk with fingertips only, touching the floor; deprivation of sleep; and being kept in small, dark, and noisy cells (thus adding to the sensory deprivation).

The whole experience for each of the victims was a terrifying one leaving in its wake deep scars, recovery from which, for some, has not been fully accomplished eight years later. For one man Sean McKenna from Newry, escape came in the form of an early death in 1975 at the age of forty-five.

One of the 'guinea pigs' was Belfast Republican Kevin Hannaway. Last weekend in an interview with AP/RN reporter Peter Hayes he recounted what he described as his visit to hell and back eight years ago this week. This is a more detailed and personal account of Kevin Hannaway's experiences than he has given publicly before - in fact so harrowing were his experiences that Kevin, like his fellow victims, normally never talks about them even privately.

to murder the... of abuse and... the rest of... Hannaway... footed to... via an... with... British... wing shortly... that night... two black... where his... into his... cut nose... and multiple... body. Also his... it... ay not surpris-

ingly thought he had gone through the worst of his experience but he could not have been more wrong.

What awaited him, after his removal from Crumlin Road gaol several hours later was a torture procedure developed by the mind-benders of the British military machine.

After going back over the obstacle course and being subjected to more boots and batons he was taken to a room in Girdwood barracks. Here he joined two other Belfast men Joe Clarke and Francis McGuigan. The trio were each handcuffed with plastic handcuffs. They were then made to face the wall and blue hoods made of thick hessian cloth were placed over their heads.

From Girdwood the men were then taken by helicopter to the torture centre, which to this date remains unknown, although it is believed it was Palace Barracks at Holywood, on the outskirts of Belfast.

This marked the beginning of the so-called in-depth interrogation using sensory deprivation for which they had been selected.

SENSORY DEPRIVATION

For Kevin Hannaway, day time was no longer distinguishable from night. He lost all track of time during the hooded treatment. He simply knows that he left Crumlin Road gaol late on the night of August 9th and returned twelve days later.

For ten of those days he had a hood constantly over his head except during interrogations.

While standing spreadeagled

against the wall if his body relaxed he was punched or batoned. If he fell he was forced back up and put against the wall. On countless occasions he was knocked unconscious, he recovered in another room, and was returned to the 'noise room'.

Kevin Hannaway remembers the constant noise as 'unmerciful' and 'like a radio being tuned off the station multiplied in volume a hundred fold'.

Standing endlessly against the wall his entire body became numb. He began to have hallucinations. He saw his wife, and spoke to her, saw his father and spoke to him, and thought that both of them were in the room with him. He also felt convinced that he was to be murdered.

At one point he was removed back to Girdwood barracks via a helicopter, had the hood removed from his head for about one

minute, and had an internment order read to him and then thrust into his top pocket.

During the hooded treatment, infrequent meals amounted to a paltry one round of dry bread and a bowl of water.

To enable Kevin to drink the water, (he refused the bread), the hood was pulled up above his mouth. As soon as he finished drinking the hood was replaced and he was again pushed up against the wall.

Every so often he was taken to a small room where RUC men threw question after question at him from behind blazing lights. At no time did Kevin see the faces either of his interrogators or of any of the guards who beat him. The blazing lights blinded him and added to his disorientation.

Kevin Hannaway kept himself from going insane, during the

whole process by constantly thinking of his wife and children, and of his parents. He relied heavily on his upbringing as a Republican and doggedly refused to allow the Brits to bend or break his will. This he said helped him immensely.

When he was taken back to Crumlin Road gaol his face was so badly puffed from the beatings that many of his friends did not initially recognise him. It took eighteen months before all his wounds healed.

To this very day he bears some physical scars left by his torturers, and the alsation dogs. Any mental scars are not visible.

Footnote:

Following the in-depth interrogation Kevin Hannaway was held for the duration of internment, almost four years, being one of the last released.

Last year, 1978, Kevin Hannaway was the victim of two unsuccessful Brit/Loyalist assassination bids at his Benares Street home in Belfast's Lower Falls.

The first attack occurred in February 1978 when he was hit twice by gun shots and his eighteen-month-old son was also hit. Both have since recovered.

The second attack was foiled when Kevin spotted a booby-trap bomb placed under his car parked outside his house.



Eight of the 'hooded men' at a press conference in Dublin in January 1978. Kevin Hannaway is second from the left. The press conference was called by Sinn Féin when the European Court of Human Rights only found Britain guilty of 'inhuman and degrading treatment' rather than of 'torture' for her treatment of the men in August 1971.

TRANSPORTATION to distant colonies was one of the many weapons used by the British administration to quell uprisings against their rule in Ireland during the 19th century.

Following the unsuccessful risings of the United Irishmen in 1798 the Young Irelanders in 1848 and the Fenians in 1865-66, hundreds of able fighters, and organisers, were shipped off to Australia to serve out long sentences of hard labour; others were not convicted but were forced into exile under threat of prosecution.

For the British administration this tactic of decapitating the Republican forces, leaving the discontented Irish people almost leaderless, proved successful in temporarily quelling unrest in their Irish colony.

However, and probably more acceptable to the British, they succeeded in transporting the Irish Republican spirit of resistance against injustice and poverty to their Australian colony.

UNITED IRISHMEN

The first major influx of Irish political prisoners to Australia was between 1800 and 1805 when various ships arrived in Sydney from Cork bringing convicted rebels and unconvicted exiles (who were forced to go to Australia in exchange for not being prosecuted).

The exiles included General Joseph Holt and General Michael Dwyer, both of Wicklow, who had held out in the mountains long after the British victory in 1798 at Vinegar Hill in Co. Wicklow.

Holt and Dwyer soon disassociated themselves from the Irish prisoners and, along with fellow political exiles like the Church of Ireland minister Henry Fulton and Catholic priests James Dixon, James Harold and Peter O'Neill, sought to ingratiate themselves with the authorities.

CASTLE HILL REBELLION

The Irish prisoners however remained faithful to the principles they had fought for in 1798, and for this reason they were singled out for especially harsh treatment by their English gaolers.

In 1804 at Castle Hill, near Sydney, they staged a rebellion



PETER LALOR

Australia— Transportation of rebellion

BY ANNE-MARIE WHITAKER

LAST WEEK AP/RN printed an interview with Belfast Republican Phil McCullough who has recently returned from a successful speaking tour of Australia on behalf of the Sinn Féin Foreign Affairs Bureau. The tour was cut short by the pro-British Australian government who were fearful of the publicity McCullough was gaining for the Irish Republican cause, especially amongst those of Irish ancestry of whom there are many thousands. Today, in fact, about one in four Australians we estimate to be of Irish descent.

White settlement began in Australia in 1788; about one quarter of convicted prisoners transported before 1860 were Irish or were nearly half of the free immigrants in the period 1840 to 1860.

The Irish played a central role in rebellions in Britain's Australian colony. This year is the 175th anniversary of a famous rebellion by prisoners at Castle Hill in 1804 and is the 125th anniversary of another famous rebellion—this time by immigrant miners at the Eureka stockade in 1854. The latter was led by a brother of James Fintin Lalor.

We print here a brief sketch of those rebellions in Australia in which the Irish were to the forefront.

which failed because their comrades from the Hawkesbury settlement did not rise in support. The exiled General Holt refused to lead the rebellion which was instead led by Philip Cunningham. The rallying cry was "Death or Liberty".

Father Dixon came with the troops to urge the rebels to lay down their arms. They refused and the soldiers opened fire. Twelve of the rebels were killed in the battle, which took place at a spot later known as Vinegar Hill (now renamed Rouse Hill).

Many of the rebels escaped in the confusion, and only twenty-six were captured. Philip Cunningham was publicly hanged without trial along with eight of his comrades. The others were flogged, receiving an average of one-hundred-and-eighty lashes each.

EUREKA STOCKADE

There were other rebellions by Irish prisoners in Australia, but the most famous rebellion in colonial Australia involved free immigrants and took place at the Eureka goldfield near Ballarat in Victoria. The rebellion was sparked by the punitive charge of thirty shillings per month for a miner's licence, and by police harassment of all the miners whether they had paid their licence fee or not.

The rebels' Commander-in-Chief was Peter Lalor, younger brother of James Fintin Lalor, and most of the men involved were either Irish or European. The miners adopted 'Vinegar Hill' as their password and established a stockade which was attacked by troops at three o'clock on the morning of December 3rd 1854.

Thirty-four miners were killed or wounded—twenty Irishmen, three Germans, three English, two Scots, two Canadians, and one Australian (of Irish parentage). The nationality of the other three is unknown.

During the battle Lalor's left arm was shot off at the shoulder, and he escaped arrest only because friends smuggled him to the home of the local priest, Father Patrick Smyth, who gave him sanctuary.

About one-hundred-and-twenty men were arrested, but eventually only thirteen of them were charged. These included at least six Irishmen, and a black American named John Joseph. Also charged was an Italian, Raffaello Carboni, who compared the British colonial



authorities to the Austrian overlords of Italy from whom he had fled. All thirteen defendants were acquitted by sympathetic juries.

Carboni later returned to Italy to fight in the war of independence with Giuseppe Garibaldi. Lalor was elected to parliament within twelve months, and remained in the Victorian state parliament for thirty-two years. Within a year of the Eureka Stockade he went the same way as his predecessor, General Holt, by denying any Republican sympathies.

YOUNG IRELAND

Following the Young Ireland rebellion of 1848 seven of its leaders were transported to Tasmania: William Smith O'Brien, Thomas Francis O'Meara, Terence Bellew Macmanus, Patrick O'Donohue, John Martin, Kevin Izod O'Doherty, and John Mitchel (transferred from Bermuda to Tasmania in 1850).

Macmanus escaped to America in 1851. O'Meara and O'Donohue in 1852, and Mitchel in 1853. The others received conditional pardons in 1854 and full pardons in 1856.

Many other Young Ireland leaders emigrated to Australia in the early 1850s and became prominent in local politics, including Charles Gavan Duffy, Moses Wilson Gray, Michael O'Grady and Edward Butler.

But the most prominent was the former prisoner Kevin O'Doherty, who returned to Dublin in 1856 but came back to Australia in 1860. He was a member of the Queensland parliament between 1867 and 1873 and between 1877 and 1885. In 1883 he presided over the first Australasian convention of the Land League. He later represented North Meath in the British parliament from 1885 to 1888, finally returning to Brisbane.

FENIANS

After the Fenian rising in Ireland in 1865-66, sixty-three political prisoners were transported in 1868 to Western Australia on the Hougoumont, the last convict ship sent to Australia. Among them was John Boyle O'Reilly, sentenced to twenty years hard labour, who achieved a daring escape to America on a whaling ship two years later.

But O'Reilly did not forget his comrades, and in 1876 he arranged for the escape of the last six prisoners still in custody, in the ship Catalpa. Ten thousand miles away the Land League President, Michael Davitt, was imprisoned in Dartmoor as a reprisal, ironically in the cell which O'Reilly himself had occupied nine years earlier.

O'Reilly later gained fame as a novelist and poet in America, but he remained a strong Nationalist: "The Irish have never lost a man in their long fight, for no man is lost

who is as strong in death as in life", he wrote.

PRINCE ALFRED

In 1868 Prince Alfred, the second son of England's Queen Victoria, came to Australia to attend various ceremonies and entertainments arranged in his honour.

One of these events was a picnic at Clontarf Beach on the north side of Sydney Harbour, held on March 12th 1868. But Prince Alfred got more than he bargained for—he was shot at close range by a Fenian named Henry James O'Farrell.

Unfortunately O'Farrell was a poor shot, so the Royal Visitor survived to tell the tale. It later transpired that O'Farrell was acting on his own initiative, or so he claimed on the night before he was hanged.

BUSHRANGERS

As the Irish in colonial Australia were always a persecuted minority, it is not surprising that many of the bushrangers in the nineteenth century were of Irish birth or parentage. They included Bold Jack Donohue (who inspired the song *The Wild Colonial Boy*), Martin Cash, Ben Hall and Daniel Moran (better known as Mad Dan Morgan).

The most famous of all was Ned Kelly, son of a prisoner from Tipperary named Jim 'Red' Kelly. Although Ned's motivation was not Irish republicanism, he was well aware of the underprivilege, discrimination and harassment he suffered as a working-class Irish Catholic.

In his Jerilderie Letter of 1879 Ned described the Victorian police officers who had driven him to crime as 'big, ugly-necked, wombat-headed, big-bellied, magpie-legged, narrow-hipped, splay-footed sons of Irish bailiffs or English landlords'.

TWENTIETH CENTURY

As immigration patterns changed, the Irish-born became less of a force in Australian social and political change. Nevertheless, the Australian Labour Party was heavily supported by the Irish community until recent years. Two of its greatest leaders, John Curtin and Ben Chifley, were of Irish origin.

During the last decade there has been a revival of activity in the Irish communities of Australia, shown by the holding this year of the first St Patrick's Day parade in Sydney for over forty-five years. Irish Republicanism is also regaining importance in Australia, with flourishing Sinn Féin cumann in Melbourne, Adelaide and Perth, and support groups in most other large cities.



MICHAEL DWYER

WHAT ARE WE COMING TO?

Evenin' all.

And may I start by saying how disappointed I am with the current state of morale in the British Army. I have just received a letter from Graham Beech (18), who hails from Bolton-on-Dearne in South Yorkshire.

Graham, he informs me, is a member of 2nd Batt. Light Infantry which was recently stationed at Ballykinler. With three chums, two of whom were NCOs, Graham went into Downpatrick for a night on the town. Unfortunately none of them had passes and, on their way back to the camp in a slightly intoxicated condition, they pranged the car.

Up before the C/O next day, (my old friend Lt-Col Timmy Bevan, as it happens), the two Lance-jacks were reduced to the ranks and young Beech and his mucker sentenced to seven days in the guardhouse. While in the guardhouse the whippersnapper Beech claims that he was "forced to mark time for three quarters of an hour while holding a pair of two pound padlocks over his head", had burning matches put between his fingers and had lighted cigarettes stubbed out on his bare back by a NCO.

NORMAL BEHAVIOUR

I phoned up my pal Capt. Richard Cousins, the PRO at Ballykinler (Tel. 0396-3111, ext. 242) and he confirmed that young Beech had had to spend five days in Musgrave Military

Hospital and was then sent on leave, and that an NCO was 'being questioned'. I'm afraid I got quite angry when I heard this.

What is the army coming to? When I was a young squaddie it would have been completely unheard of to complain about such normal and reasonable behaviour on the part of an NCO.

I, myself, often used to be roasted on the fire in the Mess, be made to run over broken glass and have a cup of warm sulphuric acid for breakfast and thought nothing of it.

Commonplace! An everyday occurrence.

Why do you think we joined up in the first place! But try telling that to the mollycoddled youth of today, and what do you get? A crowd of spineless pansies who go round handing out red and yellow flowers to each other, moaning and whining and squealing to the newspapers.

This is symptomatic of the dreadful malaise in modern society. Why only last week one of my own men, UDR Corporal Lewis Hathaway (36) of Guilford was up in court on a charge of being drunk in charge of a loaded pistol (or being loaded in charge of a drink). It seems that this

good man arrived home after a hard day's work beating up teagues and, to calm his nerves, had a few snifters.

Fair enough, you say, and who could disagree?

Well, the RUC apparently. In the course of a common family row and only after, I'm sure, Lewis had been previously provoked, he pulled out his gun and threatened to shoot the wife.

SCUFFLE

In burst the constabulary and attempted to remonstrate with Lewis who, not unreasonably, tells then that he will shoot anyone who tries to take the pistol off him.

An undignified scuffle ensues, from which, I'm afraid, no one emerged with much credit, and, next day, Lewis appears in court and is fined £100. On hearing this I attempted to protest to the magistrate, but to no avail. We in the regiment will have to have a whip round for him, stout lad that he is.

STATISTIC

The Northern Ireland Office were on to me the other day about whether or not I'd like to comment on the statistic that terrorism here costs the British tax payer just under £500,000 a



BY THE BRIGADIER

day, or about £5.52 per second. I was not quite sure about what they expected me to say—I mean, did he want me to comment upon how many of the 7,000 bombings, 1,936 deaths, 20,476 wounding and 8,617 armed robberies had been carried out by my lads in the UDR and their comrades in the RUC and security forces?

Bit of a facer, this one. I mean, one likes to boast like anyone else, but those lads who have been done for the odd murder or so represent only the tip of the iceberg and one doesn't want to blow the gaff, does one?

Anyway, I put him on to my Press Officer, Cliff Dixon. Cliff's a dear boy, though somewhat lacking in the old grey matter, and he does have a wonderful voice that is guaranteed to bore one to sleep ever so quickly. I don't expect to hear again from the NIO.

SYMPATHY

And finally, a word of sympathy for Lt. Col. Hugh Sanders,

C/O of the Queen's Own Highlanders, out at Fort Monagh, and Lt-Col. Colin Denning, C/O of the 1st Kings up at Springfield Road. Both these gallant officers are personal friends of mine and it grieved my heart full sore to see the men under them being routed by a crowd of stone throwing yobbos, some of them as old as ten years of age.

I called up to the Fort to commiserate with old Hugh, but no one would answer the door. They seemed to be having some kind of ceremony involving hoisting a white tablecloth up the flagpole, and I could hear Hugh's high pitched and somewhat nervous giggle coming from inside.

I wonder should I ask the MO to have a word or two with him? Bye now,

your old chum,

The Brigadier



Fir pluide as Beal Feirste ata saor anois. O chle — Eugene Burns, Seamas O Dubhshlaine, Ciaran Nugent, Eamonn de Brun agus Breandan O Floinn.

Bua dona fir pluid!

TAMALL o shin chonaic muid ár gcóad comrádaí á scaoileadh saor as an mbloc seo. Cosúil lenár gcomrádaíthe eile a fuair cead a gcinneal déanaí tá sé cruthaithe aige do Rialtas Shasana, go ndéanfaidh na fir pluide a gcuid ama iomlán sula nglacfaidh siad leis an gcóras.

Tá scaoileadh saor na bhfeir seo ag cur i guimhne do na Sasanaigh nach mbeid sé ar a gcumas choiche an lucht Poblachtach a chur faoi chois. Tá spiorad an Phoblachtánachais á thaispeáil dóibh le scaoileadh saor achan fear.

Briseann an spiorad seo iarracht Shasana coirpigh a thabhairt orainne na príosúnaigh poblachtacha. Tá ár dtroid anseo i gcoinne na n-odaráis ag leanúint ar aghaidh agus an dtóg le héinne a rá nach bhfuil muid ag baint.

Tá an cogadh ar siúl gan staonadh fosta agus tá Oglagh na hÉireann

chomh láidir mura bhfuil siad níos láidre ná mar a bhí siad riamh. Ó thús an fheachtais seo, tá triail bainte as gach rud ag fórsaí na Breataine chun Oglagh na hÉireann a bhuailleadh.

Anois i ndiaidh deich mbliain is dóigh go bhfuil sé ar eolas go maith acu go mbeidh orthu an tír seo a fhágáil moch nó déanach. Tá a fhios acu leis gurab é bua na bhfeir pluide an chéad leid go bhfuil an lá sin á thabhairt níos cóngaraí dúinn.

— Turaisceoir H-Block 3

duirt siad

"They can see no prospect whatsoever of an effective military answer to the IRA and fear the balance may shift further in favour of the terrorists."

'Guardian' columnist Peter Jenkins on Brit government thinking.

"As the empire dwindled active military service for the British forces grew less. At last, in the year 1968, for the first time this century, no British serviceman was killed in action. This was the first year of which this could be said. It has also so far been the last."

Former British army chief General Sir John Hackett.

"There is even a new Ulster boot, lighter and giving more ankle support, which has been designed to allow the soldier to run quicker."

'Belfast Telegraph' on refinement of British army techniques 'Ten Years On'.

"We had great days building a children's playground and it was thrown at us next day in a riot."

British soldier on how a Brit 'hearts and minds' project in Belfast was literally thrown back in their face.

"Help the RUC—Beat yourself up."

Falls Road wall slogan.

"He and 350 others went on the blanket, as it is called, since there is no special status for political prisoners."

Slip of the tongue on 10p.m. BBC radio news, London, (14th August) when they got their 'political prisoners' right for a change, when referring to the arrest of Kieran Nugent in America. 'The 'political prisoners' were deleted from subsequent news bulletins.

"Wilson, chief of the imperial general staff, wanted to double the police force and throw on it the burden of trying to restore order. The use of police would make the outside world believe they were suppressing crime...."

"On Another Man's Wound" by Ernie O'Malley writing about 'criminalisation' in 1920.

ALDERGROVE ALARM

MID-EVENING radio news reports last Friday indicated that the I.R.A. had planted a proxy bomb at the main entrance to Aldergrove airport near Belfast.

The entrance was closed, flights were disrupted and a full-scale bomb alert was put into action by the airport authority, the British military and the RUC. Roads into the airport, which are normally sealed off, were re-opened in an attempt to minimise disruption.

The car with the suspect bomb in it had been abandoned only yards from the permanent Brit checkpoint just outside the airport, and it appeared that a daring I.R.A. disruption operation had swung into action with subsequent suitable Brit reaction.

But this proved not to be the case. It was the panic of a nervous visitor to Ireland re-informed by panic from those unwanted visitors, the Brits, which had created the whole situation.

The visitor had just hired a car and driven it out of the airport. When he heard a ticking noise he immediately suspected a bomb in the vehicle and abandoned it, without inspection, conveniently near to the Brit post. Some time later a team of British army bomb disposal experts, who had rushed to the scene, discovered in the car a ticking alarm clock left behind by the previous hirer.

BUILDING AN ANTI-WAR MOVEMENT IN BRITAIN

BY HELEN STEVENS

WHY ARE there signs now that people in Britain from a variety of political backgrounds are coming together to organise for a withdrawal from Ireland?

Basically this is because the I.R.A. is still waging war, ten years after the British army was sent in to stabilise the situation.

The I.R.A. is able to continue to wage war because it has the support of the bulk of the nationalist working-class people who realise that this time the Brits must really go, lock, stock and barrel, otherwise the same situation will recur time and again in the future.

For the British population however, there is no such life-or-death motivation to keep the Six Counties tied to Britain within the so-called United Kingdom. It is becoming obvious to many that the disadvantages of staying in Ireland outweigh the benefits.

The British ruling class — or at least the majority of it — sees advantages in continuing the occupation. The right sees a free united Ireland as a threat to N.A.T.O., as a potential new 'Cuba'. It fears to lose a bastion of right-wing thinking. It fears the effects of a withdrawal on the morale of the British army and on the attitudes of the British working class.

But these factors mean little to the bulk of the British population.

What is more important to them is the continuing political instability, the continuing threat of violence, the many deaths, the escalating cost of maintaining the 'province' (some £1,000 million per year), the international loss of face from the repeated use of torture and from the incarceration of prisoners in the H Blocks.

EXPEDIENCY

Imperialist powers do not act out of a sense of moral obligation but out of expediency, and the people living in imperialist countries tend to respond similarly. During the fifty years preceding 1968 'progressives' and the Labour Movement in Britain remained silent, despite the massive civil rights abuses of the Stormont regime.

The growing withdrawal sentiment in Britain now stems from the fact that the war has not gone away.

The exception to this rule is the Irish community in Britain, which is motivated by a sense of identity with its country of origin and understands the implications of Irish history. So it is no accident that the major piece of repressive legislation operative in Britain today, the Prevention of Terrorism Act, is geared towards cowering the Irish community. Many Irish people now feel a bit freer to make their voices heard because the growth of 'respectable' withdrawal sentiment in Britain insulates them slightly from attacks by the state and makes less likely outright ostracism by the British people.

'Bombs and Bullets are the physical weapons of the rural guerrilla and equally of the urban terrorist, but the real lever for both is politics. Divisions may be destroyed, as in Vietnam, but this is not the ultimate objective: cities may be terrorised, as in Cyprus, but again this is not the goal. The purpose of the war of national liberation, pitting the feeble resources of a small and primitive nation against the strength of a great industrial power is not to conquer or to terrorise, but to create an intolerable situation for the occupying power or its puppet government.'

'In the end, the oppressive power relinquishes its grasp not because its armies have been defeated in battle (although, as we have seen, this may occur) but because the satellite, the rebellious colony, through terrorism and guerrilla warfare, becomes (1) too great a political embarrassment to be sustained domestically or on the world stage, (2) unprofitable, too expensive, or no longer prestigious.'

Robert Taber 'The war of the flea'

The importance of the continuing military and popular resistance in Ireland lies precisely in the effects it has on the morale of the populations of both parts of Ireland and of Britain, and in its impact internationally.

Imperialist power to continue the war.

The effects of the war on the population of the imperialist heartland is especially important because it undermines from within the mandate of the enemy government to continue the war.

MORALE

Guerrilla armies fighting imperialist powers do not in general win conventional military victories over the enemy; the superior resources of the imperialist power make this impossible. Instead, the guerrilla army relies on the superior motivation of its supporting population to wage a sustained campaign that sets in motion contradictions in the various countries involved which make it impossible for the

The task of the guerrilla forces, is, then, to gear their campaign to increasing the morale of their supporting population while wearing down the morale of the enemy population. The task of political activists in the imperialist heartland is to consolidate the opinion thus mobilised and to co-ordinate it into

a political campaign voicing opposition to the imperialist war.

To mobilise opinion in the imperialist country successfully, political activists must base themselves on the existing sentiments of the population.

In Britain today, this means emphasising all the factors that are creating dissent: the length of the war, the unlikelihood of peace without withdrawal, the deaths of soldiers in a useless cause, the squandering of public funds that could be put to positive use and so on.

Once involved in the withdrawal movement, most people soon realise that withdrawal is not merely an expedient solution, but is also the only just one. However appeals based on the rights of the Irish people are not generally enough to draw people who are not revolutionary socialists into activity in the first instance.

(The motivation of the Irish community is exceptional: here there is a genuine sense of the right of the Irish people to govern Ireland free from foreign interference. But because of their minority position in Britain and their vulnerability to the Prevention of Terrorism Act Irish people only become active in the context of a much broader movement, save for a brave few.)

UNLIKELY

The 'troops out now' current is unlikely of itself to become a major movement in Britain based on the rights of the Irish people, its appeal is to the far left.

Essentially what divides these forces from the broader withdrawal movement is not the somewhat fetishised 'Now' demand but their desire to see a genuinely socialist Ireland in the future and their sense of solidarity with the anti-imperialist forces. In fact

they are the polar opposite of the far right, and would favour the idea of Ireland becoming a new 'Cuba'.

But given the overall weakness of the left in Britain, and the fact that there will be no British revolution in advance of a withdrawal from Ireland, the 'troops out now' current is highly unlikely to gain sufficient support to become a major threat to the British government.

IMPORTANT

This current is nevertheless very important for two reasons:

Firstly it provides a core of dedicated activists who will continue to be active irrespective of ups and downs in the war. These activists have a significant role in stimulating the broader movement, providing that they do not set up barriers to communication with people whose motivation is more diffuse.

Secondly, this current will be very important when withdrawal actually comes on the political agenda. Then it will press for the kind of withdrawal that will be of most assistance to the revolutionary forces in Ireland: a withdrawal that will undercut the possibility of imperialist forces sewing up a neo-colonial solution.

To prepare for the time when withdrawal is in motion, it is also necessary to inform and educate 'troops out now' supporters in the revolutionary role of the Republican Movement.

One of the side effects of the Prevention of Terrorism Act has been to prevent leading Republicans from coming to Britain to explain the nature of the movement. This has left the field clear for the representatives of small groups who have no base in the Irish population. In adopting the perspectives of these groups, much of the far left retains the anti-Republican prejudice of the establishment press while dressing it up in supposedly socialist rhetoric.

TASKS

Our first aim remains to free Ireland from the British occupation: the type of Ireland that emerges immediately after withdrawal ultimately depends on the balance of forces in Ireland at that time. Withdrawal is the key to setting in motion the forces that will one day, sooner or later create a socialist Ireland.

So the primary task of activists in Britain is to stimulate a broad movement of sufficient influence to make it impossible for the imperialist government to continue the occupation. This movement has to be based on the existing motivation of a wide spectrum of people in Britain: on the withdrawal sentiment that is the product of long years of political and military struggle in Ireland.

The second task is to continue to develop the 'troops out now' current within the broad movement — not in opposition to it.

The third task is to develop within the far left a comradely understanding of the revolutionary role and perspectives of the Republican Movement.



Last Sunday's London march for British withdrawal from Ireland was banned from Trafalgar Square. Pictured here is a picket a few days previously demanding that the Department of Environment lift the ban. However the British ruling class is well aware of the danger of allowing a troops out movement of wide influence to arise. Bans (and increasing slander) are what a withdrawal movement can expect.

LONDON MARCH FOR WITHDRAWAL

Report by Niall McNulty

OVER ten thousand people marched through London last Sunday demanding a British withdrawal from Ireland. They were accompanied along their three mile route by over one thousand policemen. The march stretched the full length of Oxford Street, and is the biggest and most broadly supported demonstration calling for withdrawal to take place in Britain during the last decade.

Behind a contingent of 'Ex-soldiers against the war in Ireland' were about one hundred banners from many organisations: the Young Liberals, Labour Party branches, Trades Councils (even Barnsley Trades Council from Mason's heartland), the Connolly Association, the Campaign for Democracy in Ulster, the Communist Party and other groups.

Behind them the large 'Troops Out Now' contingent was led by Sinn Féin with several people in blankets (symbolising the resistance of the H-Block men), and then came many United Troops

Out Movement branches and socialist organisations.

At the head of the march the rock group *Charge*, followed by a large number of young people, belted out numbers including one ironically entitled 'British Justice' which they wrote after their recent trip to Belfast. There was also a 'troops out now' float with a cage occupied by someone in a blanket expressing solidarity with the prisoners in H-Block.

Like all demonstrations demanding withdrawal from Ireland, the march was banned from Trafalgar Square. The Square was heavily cordoned by lined ranks of police with a back-up force of mounted police (and police

on motor-cycles and in cars). As the marchers passed they shouted their opposition to the ban.

There was some heckling from a handful of members of the neo-fascist National Front, some of whom sang 'The Sash' and 'Rule Britannia' and called out 'Up the UDA, Smash the IRA'.

As the march passed Downing Street, a delegation including several of the speakers handed a letter into No. 10 expressing the demonstrators' view that 'the British government must commit itself to a policy of withdrawal'.

THE RALLY

The rally was held in a sunken paved area near Waterloo Station,



A significant contingent indicating a growing trend.

known as the Bullring. Uniformed police ringed the upper walls of the Bullring and one newsman remarked that it was rather like 'Sing Sing' prison in New York.

The rally was chaired by Mick Martin who is chairperson of Hammersmith, Kensington and Chelsea Trades Council.

Harry McShane, the veteran Scottish socialist who has campaigned relentlessly for Irish freedom all his life, led off the speeches. At eighty-eight years old, he had specially travelled all the way from Glasgow. Harry spelt out the links between the struggle in the 1920s and the struggle today.

Steven Atack, a Liberal councillor, and former chairman of the Young Liberals, who stood in the last Westminster election, was clapped when he said that Irish people must be free to solve their problems without outside interference, and that a British commitment to withdraw as soon as possible was the precondition for a political solution.

Kathleen Stewart from Turf Lodge made the most moving speech of the day, as she spoke from her heart of the death of her thirteen-year-old son Brian at the hands of British troops, and of daily life in occupied Belfast.

She was loudly cheered when she pointed out that faced with the Brits, the RUC and the UDR, the people have no choice but to look to the IRA for their defence.

Bernadette McAlissey applauded the unity of all the groups on the demonstration around the withdrawal demand and made a strong speech condemning the British occupation.

She was followed by former British army captain Michael Biggs, a conscientious objector, who explained how from his own experiences in Newry he had come to see that the Brits were an army of

The demonstrators were predictably banned from holding a rally in Trafalgar Square — but they did pass by the square despite massive police intimidation.

Here with Nelson's disapproving eye looking down on them are Kathleen Stewart — the Turf Lodge mother of murdered 13-year-old Brian — and Alastair Renwick — a former British soldier and prominent 'troops out' activist.



occupation not a peace-keeping force.

Michael Holden strongly argued the case for British withdrawal and linked the issue to the struggle of the prisoners in H-Block for political status and the treatment of Irish prisoners in British jails.

The last speaker was Lloyd Hayes, an ex-soldier who told how he started to realise the truth about the Brit occupation when an Irish person said to him, "Go home black soldier, you're fighting in the wrong army in the wrong war."



A welcome sea of banners



SPEAKING AT SUNDAY'S RALLY.

ABOVE: Former British army captain, Michael Biggs.

RIGHT: Another ex-soldier Lloyd Hayes.



Gerard McAuley Commemoration

A COUPLE of hundred people from the Clonard/Colin area of the Lower Falls, Belfast, attended a moving ceremony, of a march and rally, organised by the Gerard McAuley Sinn Fein Cumann on Wednesday evening.

The ceremony marked the tenth anniversary of Fian McAuley's murder by loyalist gunmen during the sectarian assault on Bombay Street in August ten years ago.

The solemn marchers, whose ranks were swollen as they moved through the area paraded from the McAuley home to Bombay Street. At the start the Clonard Martyrs band struck up the popular ballad, Gerard McAuley, and the crowd sang along.

A brief meeting was held in Bombay Street at the site of a plaque to honour Gerard McAuley. The speakers were a member of the Fennell/McDonald Sinn Fein

cumann, Gerry Brannigan of the H-block information centre and Joe Austin, Belfast Sinn Fein P.R.O.

Gerry Brannigan recalled personal memories of Gerard McAuley and of his bravery despite his youth. He concluded by saying that the people of the area would always remember Gerard for defending the area against the forces of loyalism.



Bombay Street, burnt out August '69

Birthday Greetings

BROWNLEE, Breige, (Armagh Gael) Happy birthday Breige. We are behind you all the way. All our love, mummy and daddy.

BROWNLEE, Breige, (Armagh Gael) Birthday greetings Breige. No one could be prouder than we are of you today and this is just to tell you, we're behind you all the way. Thinking of you

★★★★★★★★★★★★

HULL PICKET

A two-hour picket took place outside Hull prison on the afternoon of Sunday, 29th July. The picket in solidarity with the six Republican POW's in Hull prison, was organised by the Pearse/McDaid Cumann, Birmingham, and supported by Sinn Fein members from Nottingham, and members of the United Troops Out Movement (Birmingham and Hull).

Displayed at the entrance to the prison were the cumann banners, the tricolour, the starry plough, and placards with various slogans calling for an 'end to torture in British jails', 'Smash H-Block' and 'political status for political prisoners'.

always. From your brothers and sisters, brother-in-law and sisters-in-law.

GASTON, Charles, (Crumlin Road Gael) Best wishes on your birthday may your next one be spent in freedom. From all your mates in Dunloy.

GASTON, Charles, (Crumlin Road Gael) Congratulations on your 22nd birthday from the Padraic Pearse Sinn Fein Cumann, Dunloy.

GASTON, Charles, (Crumlin Road Gael) Greetings on your 22nd birthday. It does not take a special day, to bring you to our mind, for a day without a thought of you, is very hard to find. From Dad, brothers and sister Marie.

GASTON, Charles, (Crumlin Road Gael) Best wishes Charlie on your birthday from the McErlan family, Dunloy.

NASH, Sean Best wishes on your 26th birthday. Hope your next one is spent in freedom. All the best to you and your comrades. From Pauline, Peter and Maura.

NASH, Sean Happy birthday Sean, think of you always. Auntie Mary, Francis and Graine. **NASH, Sean** Happy birthday Sean. Keep your chin up. From Delirde and Kevin.

NASH, Sean All our love Sean on your birthday. Hurry home, so we can have another big night. From Marie, Pat and Family.

NASH, Sean Happy birthday Sean. Those prison bars divide us, and keep us far apart; they have you in their keeping, we have you in our hearts. All the best, Mary and Joe.

Solidarity Greetings

Political status for political prisoners! Repatriate the prisoners! **WORMWOOD SCRUBS PICKET LONDON** 1.30 pm - 3.30 pm. Sunday 26th August

Transport from Birmingham: Leaves Hall of Memory car park 10.30am. Organised by Birmingham Sinn Fein

LYNCH, Sandy (H4 Block) Solidarity greetings to you Sandy from Tom, Billy, the lads in Barlinnie and Portlaoise on your continuing struggle for political status in the hell-hole of Long Kesh.

McCLEENAGHAN, Brendy and Sean (H Block) Solidarity greetings to both Brendy and Sean in your struggle for political status. From Ali, James, Gayle and Sandy. Venceremos!

McCLEENAGHAN, Maria (Armagh Gael) Solidarity greetings to Maria McClenaghan, Armagh Gael, from Ali, Briega and everyone in Corby.

IN MEMORIAM

McADOREY, Paddy (8th anniversary)

The officers and members of the Paddy McAdorey, Seamus McCusker, Sinn Fein Cumann; Luton, remember with pride our fallen comrade, Paddy McAdorey. His sacrifice has inspired our revolutionary struggle and will spur us on to the ultimate victory.

McANALLEN, Dan; QUINN, Patsy (6th anniversary)

In proud and loving memory of our comrade Volunteer Patsy Quinn and Volunteer Dan McAnallen, who were killed on active service. Always remembered with pride by the Tyrone Brigade, Ogligh na h-Eireann.

McANALLEN, Dan QUINN, Patsy (6th anniversary)

In proud and loving memory of Volunteers Dan McAnallen and Patsy Quinn, killed in action. Always remembered by the Officer Board and members of South Tyrone Comhairle Ceannair, Sinn Fein.

McANALLEN, Dan QUINN, Patsy (6th anniversary)

The Carty, Crowley, Loughran Sinn Fein Cumann, Dungannon remember with pride the sacrifice made by these two brave volunteers.

McCRUDDEN, Robert (7th anniversary)

In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Robert McCrudden, 2nd Battalion, Belfast Brigade, Ogligh na h-Eireann, who died while on active service. Mary Queen of Ireland pray for him. Always remembered with pride by his friend, Goose.

McCRUDDEN, Robert (7th anniversary)

In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Robert McCrudden, 2nd Battalion, Belfast Brigade, Ogligh na h-Eireann, who died while on active service. Always remembered with pride and honour by the Belfast Brigade, Ogligh na h-Eireann.

McWILLIAMS, Paul (2nd anniversary)

In proud and loving memory of our comrade Fian Paul (Jason) McWilliams, 2nd Battalion, Na Fianne h-Eireann, murdered by the British Army on 8th August 1977. Pearse and Con Colbert take him in your arms. Always remembered by Bob and Ginger, on remand in 'A' Wing, Crumlin Road Jail.

McWILLIAMS, Paul (2nd anniversary)

In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Paul (Jason) McWilliams, 2nd Battalion, Belfast Brigade, and her comrade, Volunteer Michael Clarke, 2nd Battalion, Belfast Brigade, Ogligh na h-Eireann, who were killed while on active service. Mary, Queen of Ireland, pray for them both. Always remembered by her Mother and Father; also the Family and good friend, Eugene Murphy.

PARKER, Ann; CLARKE, Michael (7th anniversary)

In proud and loving memory of my daughter, Volunteer Ann Parker, 2nd Battalion, Belfast Brigade, and her comrade, Volunteer Michael Clarke, 2nd Battalion, Belfast Brigade, Ogligh na h-Eireann, who were killed while on active service. Our Lady Queen of Heaven pray for them both. Never forgotten by their good friends, Mr. and Mrs. Mulvenne and Family; Mr. and Mrs. Stone and Family (and Liam in Long Kesh); Mr. and Mrs. Walsh and Family; and Martin (in H-Block) and Roseanne-Walsh and Child.

PARKER, Ann; CLARKE, Michael (7th anniversary)

In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Ann Parker and Volunteer Michael Clarke, 2nd Battalion, Belfast Brigade, who were both killed while on active service. Our Lady Queen of Heaven pray for them both. Never forgotten by their good friends, Mr. and Mrs. Mulvenne and Family; Mr. and Mrs. Stone and Family (and Liam in Long Kesh); Mr. and Mrs. Walsh and Family; and Martin (in H-Block) and Roseanne-Walsh and Child.

QUINN, Patsy (6th anniversary)

In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Patsy Quinn, killed in action. At night when all is silent and sleep forsakes our eyes, our thoughts turn to that lonely grave, where our son Patsy now lies, we mourn for him in silence, no one sees us weep, but many a silent tear is shed, while others are asleep. Always remembered by Mother, Father, sister Paula, and brothers Gerard and Michael (Dungannon).

QUINN, Patsy (6th anniversary)

In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Patsy Quinn, killed in action. Always remembered by his grandparents, aunts and uncles in Donaghmore, Pomeroy, Dungannon, Cookstown, Annaghallee and Dundalk.

QUINN, Patsy (6th anniversary)

In proud and loving memory of our dear brother, Patsy, killed in action against the Forces of Occupation. The time is here with deep regret, the day the hour we will never forget, heartaches in this world are many, but losing you is the greatest of many. Ireland unfree shall never be at peace. Always remembered by Frankie and Jacqueline.

QUINN, Patsy (6th anniversary)

In proud and loving memory of a dear friend and comrade, Volunteer Patsy Quinn, killed in action. Always remembered by Brian and Breige.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

KENNEDY, Kevin

The family, brother, sisters and relatives of the late Kevin Kennedy of Armagh, thank most sincerely all those who sympathised with them on their recent sad bereavement.

To the following people we offer a special thanks, the local clergy, the doctors and ambulancemen, the undertaker, the kind neighbours and friends, those who sent Mass cards, the lone piper who led the funeral cortege and Tony Fields who gave a stirring oration at the graveside.

We would also like to thank the following clubs and organisations for their expressions of sympathy, the National Graves Association, Sinn Fein in Counties Armagh and Monaghan, the Craobh Ruadh Cycling Club, the Pearse G.F.C. and Andersonstown Social Club.

Trusting this will be accepted by all in grateful appreciation. The Holy Sacrifice of the Mass will be offered for their intentions.

DUBLIN SOCIAL EVENING
No. 5 Blessington Street
Sunday 19th August
8 pm - Midnight
Taitle 50p

THE LATE KEVIN KENNEDY

(ARMAGH)
AN APPRECIATION
BY A FRIEND

IT WAS with feelings of deep sadness and grief that I heard of the sudden death of a dear friend and comrade on Sunday afternoon a fortnight ago.

Kevin Kennedy of Banbrook Hill, Armagh, was a man of many qualities. honest, sincere and caring.

He had a love for Ireland and all things Irish, he was a true republican and should serve as an example to all those who believe in the teachings of the founder of Republicanism—Wolfe Tone.

He will be very sadly missed by everyone especially on Easter Sunday when he regularly took part in the commemorations in Moy, Ballymacnab and as far back as I can remember in his beloved City of Armagh. There he would always be in the forefront to see that those who died for Ireland were honoured in a fitting manner.

We his colleagues in the National Graves Association have lost a valuable member and will find it very hard to fill his place.

To his family to whom he was very attached, sisters and relatives, we extend our most sincere condolences. May the green sod of Armagh rest gently on his grave and may his kindly soul rest in peace.