



THE VOICE OF
REPUBLICAN ULSTER

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**"I CANNOT FORGET THAT I WAS CROWNED
QUEEN OF ENGLAND AND NORTHERN IRELAND"**



SHE WON'T!

APPROPRIATION AND RECUPERATION

Dear Comrade, In many of our recent articles we have talked about the necessity to change society and to build genuine revolutionary alternatives. In order for us to achieve success we must reconstruct our lives and rebuild the society in which we live.

We hope in this article to scratch more deeply at the surface and show some of the more subtle methods used by society to side-track, con and destroy anything which poses a threat to its existence.

The problems with which we are faced can never be solved by the institutions which exist; for their very existence depends upon the cultivation and strengthening of class differences and in order to safeguard itself society makes use of two main tactics which we shall call appropriation and recuperation which we can best see at work through organisations and political parties which would have us believe that they are working on our behalf and for our betterment.

The tactic of appropriation simply means that the establishment when faced with radical groups and ideas takes them over and waters them down thus rendering them harmless. The ideas and groups are then returned in the shape of harmless ideologies such as, the SDLP and the British Labour Party to name but two. Trade Unions and other radical workers groups have also been given the treatment.

In Ireland social revolution was averted when, after 1916, the revolutionary movement was taken over by a group whose class interests were not those of the workers and who were determined to safeguard business-interests of their class, both native and foreign. Marie Comerford in her book 'The First Dail' tells us as much. The recent 26 Co. elections show us that nothing has changed in that the three major parties, the direct descendants of those who averted the revolution, still safeguard the interests of foreign and native business classes. The Labour Party, in which Connolly and Larkin placed so much faith, is now dominated by people like Conor Cruise O'Brien.

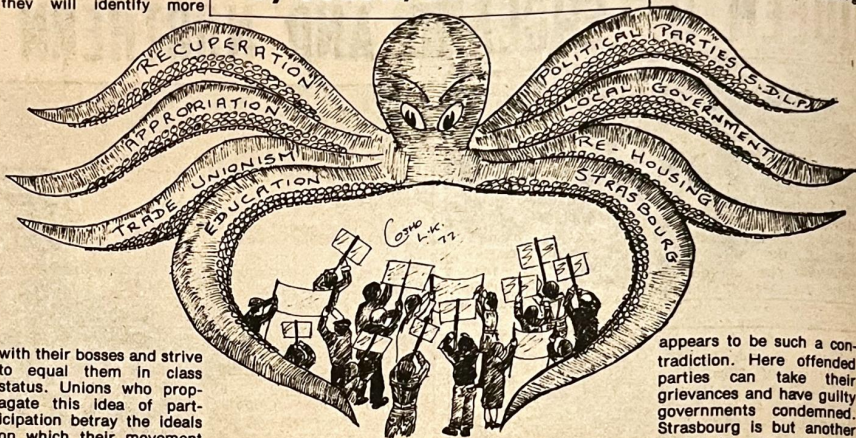
Here in the north things are no different. We have a trade union movement which is but another pillar of the establishment. Their recent campaigns for greater worker participation and a better life for all bear witness to this fact. What was once a genuine movement for workers (and we speak here for the trade

union throughout Ireland) has been well and truly recuperated by the established order. Worker participation which they clamour for can only bring about greater alienation between workers. Involvement of workers in management, no matter how small, is but an attempt to buy them off. It is hoped that through time they will identify more

of belonging has been destroyed. People are alienated from each other in little boxes on these new estates and they are so taken up with trying to make ends meet that they have little time to question the society in which they live. Estates are

maintain the class system and class power. By supporting such social improvements the Trade Unions are, perhaps unknown to themselves, creating and supporting class division. The answer to this urbanism is to reconstruct the entire territory accord-

By SOLON, LONG KESH



with their bosses and strive to equal them in class status. Unions who propagate this idea of participation betray the ideals on which their movement was founded.

The Better Life for All campaign which is also supported by the Government is geared to create the same illusions of the ordinary people being able to improve their lot. On the surface material gains are there to be seen but they are incidental to the overall policy.

After the last war the building of massive new housing estates such as Andersonstown and Ballymurphy all had one thing in common. They were devoid of social amenities. Through time people began to realise the damage that the establishment was doing to their environment and demanded through Tenant Assocs. and the like that these haphazardly disordered urban sprawls never be built again. Society has responded to their complaints for a number of reasons and has begun to replace these massive camps with more manageable structures. In recent years we have seen the building of new towns like Craigavon and new smaller estates like Twinbrook. Community centers and shopping centers have been provided. By providing these new estates with social amenities society has recuperated potentially

dangerous situations by giving the impression that it is yielding to the demands of the people.

Here in the North the motivation behind the creation of these new built-up areas has been the troubles. By splitting up entire communities, and scattering them, a sense

also built in such a way that they can be easily sealed off and any discontent which may erupt can be curtailed. The Brit has learned the lesson from places like Andersonstown with numerous entrances and exists. New urban areas have few escape routes while their interior is divided into cul-de-sacs again making containment and control easy.

As we have said the policy behind these 'improvements' is to alienate people from each other, recuperate lost ground and

ing to the true needs of the people.

To return to party politics. Both Rees and Mason have used the tactics of recuperation and appropriation. When Rees or rather his predecessor, Willie Whitelaw, legalised Sinn Féin, he hoped and called for it to enter into party politics. Mason has also called for the I.R.A. to put away its guns and try and change things through the well-tried democratic process. Both know, as does the Republican Movement, that involvement in the institutions

NO CHARGES AGAINST RUC — O'CONNOR CASE

It was predictable; anyone who expected anything different must be living outside Ireland. The R.U.C. are still immune, still free to brutalize those in their custody. What the British Attorney has done (in the case of the Fermanagh school teacher Mr. O'Connor) by recommending that no charges be made against the R.U.C., has been to let the floodgates of wrath open wide. His was just another Political decision following a long line of such decisions against the minority in the six-counties.

Shirt sleeves in Castlereagh and Springfield Rd. will be rolled up even higher, the sadistic smiles will be even wider, for they know that as long as no one dies, the level of torture they inflict is tolerable.

As we have said, the Attorney General's re-

commendation is based not on fact but to ensure that all those statements beaten from people will stand in court and not used as they should be, fuel for the fire.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL has therefore by his biased decision, attempted to make out as scurrilous liars, Dr. Joe Hendren, Mr. O'Connor, Fr. Faul, Fr. Murray, the people who have been in Castlereagh, their doctors and their families.

The 'No Charges Decision' has been known for some weeks in police circles; this can be confirmed by the upsurge again in interrogation methods in Police barracks throughout the six counties. Unknown to most people in the City of Derry, young men from the country area's like Dungiven, Maghera etc. are being tortured at Strand Rd.

of so-called 'social democracy' would lead only to the destruction of Republicanism which is the largest revolutionary vehicle existing in Ireland. One has only to look at the rapid decline of the N.L.F. which placed all its hopes in the farcical framework of a corrupt society. They are now reduced to the calling for a Bill of Rights which would in reality allow the authorities to do as they wish.

Comrades, the structure of our society is a complex one and at times appears to have contradictions within itself. At a first glance Strasbourg

appears to be such a contradiction. Here offended parties can take their grievances and have guilty governments condemned. Strasbourg is but another means to recuperate lost ground. Discontent is channelled into its legal system, remaining there for years and allowing public outrage to die down. Eventual ruling by the court creates the false impression that whatever was wrong in the first place has been rectified and shall not happen again. This was the illusion created when Britain was found guilty of torture and it gave her a free hand to continue torturing.

The corruptness and complexities of modern society can be likened to an octopus in that when you attack one tentacle it merely shifts ground and grows another one. If we can't improve it then we must put something new and better in its place. To achieve this the tactics of revolution must be extended to schools, factories and universities and must become part of our every day life.

Beir Bua,
Slán,
SOLON, LONG KESH,
PRISON CAMP.

barracks. This was brought to our attention by a doctor whose practice is in the city, and was called in to examine a boy in custody when the Police panicked at his condition. The doctor in question, although he wishes to remain anonymous, feels that the public should be aware of the mistreatment in their midst.

-PRO
Comhairle Ceantair,
Derry City.

BELFAST'S RING ROAD AN ATTACK ON BELFAST'S WORKING CLASS

STOP THE MOTORWAY.

It's not too late, even half built motorways have been stopped. The Belfast one has not even started. This was the plea from the "Belfast urban study group" (BUS) in 1973. Today in '77 it still holds true. The only difference now is that the working class people of Belfast, the only one's who will reap no benefit from the M1-M2 linkup, are more aware of the terrible situation. They realize that a road's oriented solution to Belfast's transport problems will cause irreparable damage to their already deplorable environment.

ALL VERY DEMOCRATIC.

In 1973 it was not only the motorway to which the BUS were opposed but to the whole concept of spending public money improving all existing roads so that they could carry even more traffic. The B.U.S. believed then, as do community groups now, that a comprehensive public transport system must be implemented. In a booklet issued by the department of the environment (NI) "Transportation for Belfast" it is clearly stated that "The Government has a firm policy against spending public money on general subsidies of bus services intended to keep fares down. This rules out cheap or free fares for buses in Belfast as a general policy. Printed on the cover of this

publication are the words. "What are your views", all very democratic, it

PART 3

by CONALL CEARNAC

seems. But, when one studies this booklet it becomes very clear that taking part in the so-called "Public Inquiry" is like playing cards with a cheat who has the cards stacked in his favour. None of the three strategies offered is acceptable. In all three too much emphasis is placed on roads and the private motorist.

TOM DONNELLY (DE- FECTED SDLP MEMBER)

There is now almost universal agreement that road solutions do not work; but motorway enthusiasts always argue that no realistic alternative exists. Nottingham has provided a way forward with a scheme that costs only half as much per year as their previous road solution was going to. In 1973 Tom Donnelly, (Defected SDLP member, Gerry Fitt and co, were opposed to the concept of a ring road. But after a delegation from Belfast City Council, including Donnelly, had visited Nottingham the situation was reversed with Donnelly thinking that a motorway wouldn't be such a bad idea after all. (Shades of Poulson). Oh! By the way it was about this time that he also changed his mind about the R.U.C. He issued statements say-



ing that in his opinion the RUC were doing a good job etc, etc. (He then defected).

PEOPLES CHOICE. ALTERNATIVES.

The important thing now is that the people of Belfast choose an alternative. In 1973 the Belfast urban study group suggested that any alternative system, such as that in Nottingham, involves greater reliance on public transport. More buses, special bus lanes, cheaper fares, park and ride systems. The people now say there should be greater use of the taxis such as those running on the Falls and Shankill. There should be control on the number of cars entering the city centre. They should be discouraged by high parking charges. B.U.S. in their booklet state that at present it is impossible for a park and ride system to operate as long as commuters continue to use housing areas such as Sandy Row, Markets, Shankill etc as free carparks.

B.U.S. also suggested that instead of taking the M1-M2 linkup through

Belfast a much better route for this connection would be one on the other side of the Antrim Hills running from Moira on the A26 Via Nutts Corner then on to join the M2 at Mallusk. This road which is only five miles longer than the present route, would connect the major growth centres of Craigavon and Ballymena to the Airport and

road building efforts such as that planned for Belfast.

This is only one group's solution. It is up to the people of Belfast to decide what they require for their city. Then and only then can the question of "Transportation for Belfast" be resolved.

£500,000 has been earmarked for industry in

also to Larne and Belfast harbours.

NOT UNREALISTIC.

It would not be unrealistic to scrap the road solution to improve the future of life in Belfast. Lots of British cities have done just this. i.e. London, Nottingham, Liverpool, etc. These cities have continued to prosper despite the fact that they did not direct most of their resources into massive

Falls and Ballymurphy. How pathetic when you think that the biggest soup kitchen in Western Europe [Harland and Wolff] is being subsidised with a sum in excess of £150,000 per week and that the British Government are willing to invest £90 million on motorways. Who's interest do you think they have at heart.

[Series Concluded].

JOHN HUME'S E.E.C?

In the Derry Journal of Tuesday 5th June 1975 (one day before the EEC referendum) John Hume made an appeal to the 6 County population to vote 'Yes' to entry, for as he put it, 'It was in the best interests of everyone in Ireland whether he be worker, farmer or unemployed.'

Since that time Mr. Hume has been quite busy. Himself and several other political careerists in the SDLP had from their tours on the continent recognised the opportunities available for an individual prepared to put himself first and his electorate last.

And so for the past two years Hume set about getting himself and his party cohorts recognised as 'Euro-men.' SDLP delegates were packed off to Brussels to study the set-up. Seminars and conferences were held with EEC chiefs and SDLP present. Hume the linguist appeared on French television on more than one occasion.

The first results from these efforts came on Monday 18th July when Hume took up the job of advisor to Richard Burke who is in charge of EEC consumer affairs.

With a foot already inside the door and with the elections to the EEC par-

liament next June in which a candidate from the 6 County nationalist population is certain to win one of the three seats, Hume's future is assured.

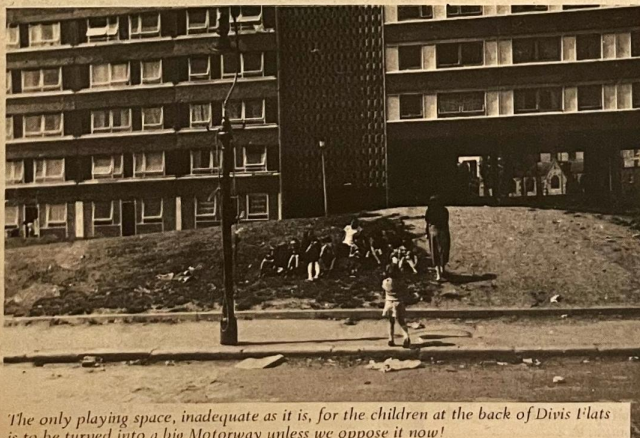
To make use of Hume's own word from the press statement of June '75 it is now obvious in whose 'best interests' the 'Yes' vote was.

In contrast to John Hume's great future most young Derry people can look forward to nothing but the Dole queue when they leave school. Nor for that matter can anyone who holds down a job feel secure.

E.E.C. membership has already closed many Irish factories (textiles, footwear etc) and our shops are flooded with foreign goods. It is almost impossible to find Irish-made shoes, socks or shirts in shops. The EEC regional fund (which Hume constantly refers to) is now a sick joke. Food prices continue to rise; unemployment increases.

But of course the John Hume's of this world don't have to worry; they have their positions of power, prestige and wealth and they are secure in all of these.

Sean South Cumann.
Feeney and Park.
Co. Derry.



The only playing space, inadequate as it is, for the children at the back of Divis Flats is to be turned into a big Motorway unless we oppose it now!

JUBILEE MESSAGE



Nightly meetings are being held in every Republican district of the city and the response from the people has been encouraging. Local speakers take the platform to describe, in graphic detail, what life in H-Block is like. Crowds, ranging from 150 to 2000 have supported the Rallies and proved beyond doubt that feeling is running high in the war zone on the issue of political status.

FIRES OF FREEDOM.

This years' traditional 'Internment Day' demonstrations look like being the most eventful so far. The British Government have set out to provoke the entire Nationalist population by bringing the English Queen over for a coast trailing exercise timed to

coincide with the 1971 political pogroms when almost 400 men were trilled from their beds on the orders of the late, unlamented Brian Faulkner.

In West Belfast the bonfire material, which has been painstakingly collected by the militant youth of the area, will go up in flames in the early hours of August 9th. The fires, which promise to light up the skies over Belfast, have been described in previous years by one veteran Republican as the 'Flames of Freedom'.

Mrs. Sally Gibson who died earlier this year following a British Army raid on her home is seen here during one of last years protest marches over Political Status.

The Clonard area of Belfast will sadly miss her this year.

THE WEST'S AWAKE

NEWS FROM WEST BELFAST

MASON'S LIGHTNING VISIT

ASU Spoil the Party.
Liberty, or what remains of it in West Belfast, went to the wall with a vengeance during Roy Mason's recent lightning visit to the Fort Monagh complex in Andersonstown. First indications that something 'eventful' was about to happen came shortly after 10 a.m. when a mini 'Motorman' type operation swung into effect along the main Andersonstown Road. Some 500 Brits lined the route and took positions in most of the streets leading into the estate proper. Men and women were stopped, searched and screened during this period.

At about 11.15 a.m. a heavily guarded Brit convoy left Musgrave military wing and entered the Andersonstown Rd. at Kennedy Way. A one ton Humber personnel carrier led the procession followed by three Land Rovers. A short distance behind came the specially reinforced vehicle used by the Brit GOC, a Land Rover with tinted bullet proof windows at each side of the steel frame. Behind, at twenty yard intervals, came 'Pigs', Saracens, and at the rear, a lone whipper...rarely seen in Belfast now.

Inside the VIP Land Rover was Roy Mason, making what was intended to be a 'morale boosting' visit

to his mercenary army in Fort Monagh. During the entire operation, which lasted less than ninety minutes, Andersonstown was practically under curfew.

Unfortunately, for the Mason entourage, an Active Service Unit of the Belfast Brigade spoiled the party. As the VIP's left the Monagh Road fortress eleven high velocity shots were fired from a nearby vantage point. The vehicle carrying the Imperial Viceroy took off at high speed and didn't stop until safely inside the walls of Musgrave Billet.

Many observers view the Mason exercise as a dry run for the visit of the English Queen next week.

If so then the 'security' chiefs in charge of the provocative visit must be very worried men.

A Vanguard flag, favoured by the more extreme Unionist bigots, was taken down from the flagpole inside Fort Monagh prior to the Mason 'visit.' The flag had fluttered for more than a week despite protests from local residents.

FREE THE PRISONERS FREE THE PEOPLE.

Belfast Comhairle Ceannair, Sinn Fein, have embarked on a Presidential style campaign in defence of political status and to highlight the atrocious conditions being endured by the Republican prisoners-of-war in the H-Blocks, Long Kesh.

DELEGATION REPORT

As reported by the Times, Guardian and B.B.C. last September over 50 delegates representing over 30,000 trade unionists and Labour Party members visited Dublin, Belfast and Crossmaglen. Their aim was to find a policy for the British labour movement which would best assist the Irish people's right to national self-determination.

The Delegation met, among others, representatives of the Coalition Government, the SDLP the Irish trade union movement, the Republican movement, the Peace People and many community groups and residents from those areas where British army activity is most concentrated. Delegates also experienced at first hand examples of Army activity in Belfast.

THE DELEGATES CONCLUSIONS ARE CONTAINED IN A 15,000 WORD REPORT AVAILABLE AT THIS FRIDAY'S PRESS CONFERENCE, WHICH WILL BE

FORMALLY PRESENTED AT 10, DOWNING STREET IMMEDIATELY AFTERWARDS.

The document has been made publicly available now for two reasons. The first is the recent election in the south of Ireland of a government committed to seeking the withdrawal of British troops from Ireland. This result corroborates evidence presented to the Delegation in Ireland of general dissatisfaction with British interference in Irish affairs.

The second is the Queen's ill-conceived visit to Belfast in August. For too long now the Irish people have been forced to receive 'visitors' from Britain who personify British control over Irish affairs. We have timed the release of this Report to coincide with the visit in order to demonstrate to the Irish people and world opinion that a sizeable section of the British population is opposed to the British presence in Ireland.

The Delegation plans to extend its influence in the labour movement by means of a delegate conference to be held in November, which will discuss the findings of the Report, as well as the questions of how and when British troops can be withdrawn from Ireland.

For further information about the Press Conference, the Report or the Delegation, please telephone Mr. P. Prendiville 3281545 any day after 4.00 p.m.

REPORT OF LABOUR MOVEMENT DELEGATION TO IRELAND - detailed Report of the Delegation, containing evidence collected in Dublin, Belfast and Crossmaglen by British Labour Movement Delegation and concluding with the Delegation's findings, principally that British troops must be withdrawn immediately. 22 pages, illustrated. 30p + 10p p+p (reductions for 10 or more copies). Cheques to 'National Labour Movement Delegation', LMDI, 1 North End Rd, London W 14.



THE DEAFENING SILENCE

by SCOPOLI

Reading through the Annan's Committee report on Television whose recommendations were submitted to the Secretary of State in the first week of July, one is confronted with another white-washing exercise the aim of which is to widgerise the population at large, and ease the troubled consciences of those engaged in television, including its administrators, journalists and broadcasters. It was with some amusement that one read of the BBC's Northern Ireland Advisory Committee's predictable endorsement of the report in general, but their welcome of such became 'hilarious' when they talked of the 'Independence of broadcasters from government'.

Such a claim cannot be supported by real hard facts, as many people engaged in television have publicly gave vent to deep seated feelings of anger and frustration, mainly based on the fact that news is presented in a narrow subjective fashion, with little or no objective background analysis of the events, thereby putting the viewer totally in the picture, so to speak. The well known television personality, Jonathan Dimbleby, whose family name has been synonymous with television for many years, has with many shared these frustrations. Speaking last year of the BBC and IBA, he said that both these bodies, were in effect, censoring their coverage of the north of Ireland. He succeeded in catalysing a rumbling sense of unease for many, shown by a record mail bag of 800 letters which he received days after he told viewers:

"There has not been a serious detailed account of the history of the north of Ireland because it is a delicate political issue, the reason is because the political institutions, BBC, IBA, and the British Government, don't wish us to know about the situation in Ireland".

BANS & FILTERS.

There is much to support Dimbleby's thesis, but I would argue that while being generally correct it is somewhat too simplistic. It conjures up visions of faceless government agents sitting at desks armed with blue markers busily engaged in amendments and deletions to prepared scripts, or merely issuing 'D' Notices as part of their nine to five daily occupation. Indeed this type of filter does exist, but it is merely some of many in a process that is infinitely more complex and subtle.

Indeed there are some blatant examples of censorship on TV that a so-called free society should find highly objectionable. A few obvious examples are the banning of Kenneth Griffith's play about the life and times of Michael Collins by ATV; the banning of the World in Action film, "South of the Border" which included speeches from leading personalities in the Republican Movement; and the film, 'A Sense of Loss', which was produced by two French journalists for British television but never reached the viewer although thousands of pounds had been spent on its manufacture. Indeed it is also true that there exists a stringent vetting system on speakers from the revolutionary forces, although they are not 'officially' banned. It is much easier therefore that 'news' from the Northern Ireland Office, the Peace at any Price People, the S.D.L.P. collaborationists, Big Ian, and the rest reaches our screens. In the final analysis however, the question is not about whether or not the revolutionary forces can have the chance to put across their point of view, but the overall presentation of Irish affairs is the point of real debate.

As a result of this growing concern, the recently formed Campaign for Free Speech on Ireland is attracting a fairly large measure of support from many professional journalists and broadcasters. Their position is summed up as follows: "The government's policy is to keep the British public in the dark. But this is not justified either on democratic grounds or on the basis of the government's (disastrous) record in Ireland. The TV Companies and most newspapers are assisting the government by broadcasting misinformation and non-information. This situation must not be allowed to continue. Too many lives are at stake. The TV companies and newspapers must provide the in-depth coverage that is needed. They must put the situation in its historical perspective, fully explain the motivation of all parties to the conflict, and ensure that all views on how lasting peace can be achieved are given a full and equal hearing".



Brits 'shoot' propaganda film in Belfast's city centre for later release to the media

It is now some five years since such an in-depth programme was screened, entitled "A QUESTION OF ULSTER", which was even then far from satisfactory as it gave little explanation as to the root cause of the conflict. In spite of this situation, the man most likely to be next in charge of the Northern Ireland Office (N.I.O.) Airey Neave, Tory front bench spokesman on the north, keeps up a constant barrage of abuse, publicly and privately, directed at those more liberal commentators who realise that some things stink to the high heavens when the question of reporting Ireland arises. This right-wing assailant whose long term policy, (similar to Conor Cruise O'Brien) is to gag the mass media and make it a complete government tool as advocated by Kitson, told his Abingdon constituents in March: "We are losing the propaganda war, a review of present attitudes to media freedom is needed therefore to take account of a desperate emergency. Some of the media deny that we are really at war with terrorism. Some of their actions actually stimulate the hardcore terrorist mentality. The BBC in particular pronounce on the security situation in N. Ireland with studded grandiloquence and ignore the real dangers".

We can now know what to expect from Airey when he leaves the Shadow-boxing Cabinet and goes into his hot seat in the ring at Stormont Castle. His right wing jabs will herald the reign of 'big brother', punching his liberal opponents within the media a few strong upper-cuts, or a series of punches directed at the eyes with the intention of making them even blinder than before. Our sparring partner may even decide to take us all on; in the hope that his trophies will include the silencing of all radicals, and even the banning of radical and revolutionary publications. All "for the public good" of course. We may as well go into training now, otherwise we may be found unfit for the coming contest.

HEARTS & MINDS.

Before the reader glances at the morning paper, the listener adjusts to the right station, or the tele is switched on at tea time, a number of filters have been at work, deciding how they will inform us of the news of the day, or yesterday. At grass roots level, (more often from the lounge of the Europa Hotel) we have the journalist who is the initial filter. Treading lightly, like a refugee through a mine-field, he is conscious of what his paper wants to hear and print, what his editor or sub-editor's policy is at the radio or T.V. station, what is 'acceptable' news, what the possible effect will be on the advertisers, and all the other political and economic factors that are part and parcel of his profession. His own political loyalties are also a filter in itself, as well as those already mentioned. In the final analysis, news, like everything else in capitalist society, is a commodity. Its supply depends very much on the demand, and its demand is very much conditioned by the individual view of the wealthy

Continued on page 9

Colrairie Claim

We have been asked to issue the following supplied statement to our office:

"The Irish Republican Army claim responsibility for planting the bomb which was uncovered in Colrairie University yesterday (29.7.77). The University authorities should consider that if the proposed visit of the Queen goes ahead as planned, then the future of the University will be marred. Ends."

ARMAGH DEMOS

August demonstrations in the North Armagh area. Saturday 6th August—Public meetings in the following areas Ref: Political Status and Internment Anniversary.

Kilwilkie/Drumnamoe 2.30
Shankill 3.30 p.m.
Teghnevan 4.30 p.m.
New City 5.30 p.m.

Wednesday 10th August—March against the visit of a foreign queen with the carrying of National Flags. Assemble, Levin Rd. Kilwilkie at 7.30 p.m.—Public meeting in North St.

Thurs. 11th August—March as above with the carrying of National Flags. Assemble—Spar in Teghnevan at 7.30 p.m. proceeding to pick up Shankill contingent at the green in Shankill at 8.00 p.m.—March to Francis St. for Public Meeting via Shankill St. Edward St.

'MAGNIFICENT SEVEN' VOLUNTEER MURDERED



Well over one thousand people attended the funeral of Vol. Tommy Tolan last Saturday from his home in Ballymurphy to Milltown Cemetery, Belfast. Republican Clubs' Gunmen shot Tommy during their feud last Wednesday. The Sticks agreed to mediation only after their gunmen murdered 3 people, and shot and wounded 15 others, which included 2 children. Jimmy Drumm of Sinn Féin delivered the oration at the graveside. After an opening in Gaelge he continued:

DRAFT ORATION.
Tommy Tolan first became a member of the Republican Movement when he volunteered his services to "B" Company 2nd Battalion, Oglagh Na h-Eireann, at an early stage in the armed struggle.

As fate decreed it was his life-long friend and our sorely missed comrade Jim Bryson who was instrumental in assisting 'Todler' to join the IRA. Since then the names Jim Bryson and Tommy Tolan have been linked; each a committed revolutionary; together a combination feared by the British Army.

The Republican people of Ballymurphy need no reminder of the part 'Todler' played in the resistance in that area. Each one of you could tell a different story.

From "B" Company 'Todler' moved to the Second Battalion Staff and was actively engaged there until his arrest.

The Maidstone Prison Ship proved no deterrent and all

of you here and indeed people throughout Ireland and throughout the world have heard the story of the Magnificent Seven.

Then Tommy was back on active-service again; this time in the South Down area. From there he returned again to his home-base, Ballymurphy, the area he loved so well. Arrested many months later his stay in prison was punctuated by many escape efforts. In fact, sentenced for an escape bid while interned, he was among the last handful of internees to be released, months after internment was allegedly ended.

Back again on the outside 'Todler' went on active-service once more; this time without Jim Bryson who had been killed in circumstances similar to those in which Tommy himself was killed.

Throughout his involvement in the Republican Movement Maureen, who became his wife just four weeks ago, stood by him. For six years while he was on the run or in prison, ship, or in prison camp she devoted herself to him and was both a source of inspiration and comfort.

Those of us who were honoured to know 'Todler' as a friend and a comrade know that he had a fine appreciation of where our efforts and energies should be devoted to get the Brits out of Ireland, and as if the struggle isn't complicated enough we have been distracted many times from our main objective.

Feuding we know, both from

past experience and our present estimation, certainly isn't in the People's interests nor ours.

So, where did this recent pogrom begin and why did it end? What were the nature of the forces that struck down Volunteer Tommy Tolan? So if you will bear with me for a while let us examine the circumstances as this surely is the place to do so.

Despite the murderous attempt on one of our supporters in Bawnmore Estate last Sunday night, mediation was entered into and the situation defused once in contact with the Republican Clubs. Assurances were given by the Rep. Clubs that an explanation would follow.

Now, to reiterate the statement issued by the Belfast Brigade They said: "The shooting of Mr. Trevor McNulty on Wednesday afternoon took them completely by surprise. "An immediate investigation was ordered and the machinery for mediation was enacted. Father Toner the Bishop's secretary, can confirm that overtures were made by the Republican Movement early in the evening".

Investigations were obstructed by the Republican Clubs refusal to mediation on two separate occasions. Republican Clubs' gunmen, not ever noted for their prowess, even up until March 1972, embarked on a 24-hour period of slaughter-killing Mr. James Fooks, critically wounding his father, killing Mr. Daniel Cowan, and killing our comrade, Tommy

Toland. Before they had stopped shooting they had added to the list of casualties 15 people, which included a ten-year-old boy and a fifteen-year-old girl. During the same period peace overtures were made by the Republican Movement, both in the interests of peace in the ghettos and because internecine feuding is a major distraction from the war against British Imperialist forces.

So why did this feud flare? The 'Sticks' in English newspapers, which gave them wide and favourable coverage, stated that the feud flared because they were (they would like to believe) having successes in the ghettos, which we resented.

NO! The reason for the Republican Clubs' madness lies elsewhere. There is a major split in their leadership at Dublin-of which the resignation of Mairin De Buca and Tony Heffernan last Monday is only the tip of the iceberg.

There is a major internal breakdown in communications which was typified by Thomas MacGiolla's appeal - on Thursday, from the safety of a Dublin suburb, that social organisations and leading personalities put pressure on us to cease our "murderous activities". He couldn't understand that it was the "Workers Party" who held the monopoly on the murderous attacks.

It was the contradictions within their organisation, and the People's rejection of their pogrom which brought them to

I.R.A SALUTE

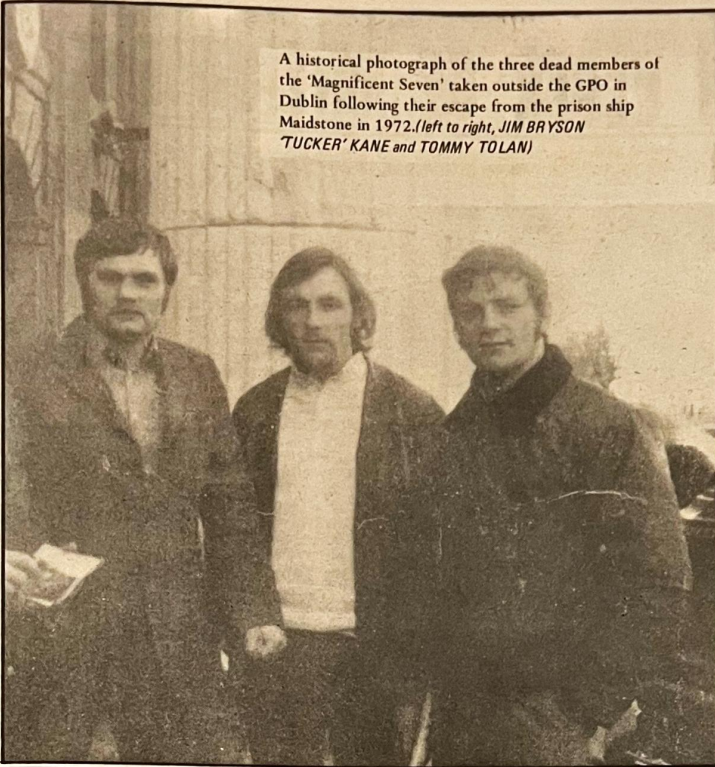
TO VOLUNTEER

TOMMY TOLAN

MURDERED 27/7/77

mediation last Thursday afternoon. And by then, as you know, we had lost a hero and a comrade.

Besides lacking a revolutionary leadership the Republican Clubs lack a proper estimation of the priorities in a national liberation struggle. Their reformism has led them into disrepute since 1970; and their whole history since 1972 has been five feuds inside the ghettos which has scared the People, and pleased the f...ts.



A historical photograph of the three dead members of the 'Magnificent Seven' taken outside the GPO in Dublin following their escape from the prison ship Maidstone in 1972. (left to right, JIM BRYSON TUCKER KANE and TOMMY TOLAN)

The tragedy of last Easter Sunday occurred after they failed to see the significance of the timing of the Beechmount bombing, for which they blamed us, but which was the responsibility of British loyalist agents.

They blamed the Republican Movement for the deaths of fifteen people in the McGurk's bar explosion six years ago. I see now that a loyalist has admitted to the explosion, and was charged with that bombing just yesterday.

The Republican Clubs lack judgement and it has been their policies, their courting of British Imperialism, which has brought upon us 5 feuds and has brought the Belfast people to the verge of demoralisation.

I am sorry for labouring so much over this history, while we stand on this holy ground, in the presence of the mortal remains of our dead comrade. But this needed to be said. "The Republican Movement does not wish conflict with the Republican Clubs. Those engaged in such aggression do not serve the cause of Republicanism or of the people we claim to fight for. There must be no more feuding."

'Todler's' death shall prove not to have been in vain. We take from him the example of his courage, the courage that will in the end force the Brits out of Ireland.

To his wife Maureen who has been with 'Todler' throughout these last years in thick and thin, on behalf of the Republican Movement I offer sincere condolences and sympathies.

E.H.S.S.B. LYING

The statement on Monday from the Eastern Health and Social Services Board on the advance plans for the Royal Victoria Hospital warrants careful scrutiny. Whilst we do not believe that the R.V.H. is to be run down to a cottage hospital, we do not believe the expansion programme envisaged by the E.H.S.S.B. is feasible under present circumstances. The situation which exists at the present time in the health service in the occupied 6 county area is far from satisfactory, this is only too well known to this Board. Varying clinics are being run down and closed. Many hospitals throughout the area are being given the chop. General Practitioner services are at the lowest ebb ever. It is no secret that there is considerable unrest within the medical profession at the present time. New equipment and modern buildings is about all the Eastern Board can provide, but let us hear whether the consultant medical personnel, the registrars, senior housemen will be available to run these new wards and centres. For the past few years we have been monitoring the deteriorating situation in the health service and have amassed certain figures in support of our stand on this issue. The Eastern Health and Social Services Board are expert at

great difficulty in getting varying medical posts filled. Many consultant positions remain vacant. Clinics are understaffed, existing medical personnel are under tremendous strain due to pressure of work. Appointments especially for psychiatric and E.N.T. clinics are in some instances 6 months in advance. Immunisation

clinics at Ballymurphy and Ballyowen in Andersonstown will close to new patients on the 1st August 'because it has not been possible to recruit medical staff to replace doctors who have retired' or 'but owing to shortage of medical staff the earliest appointment that can be

offered is...'. All this throws a further burden on the shoulders of already overworked general practitioners who are struggling to maintain a comm

unity service, hampered by red tape. In the period September 1975 to date a total of 25 GPs have resigned their positions

leaving somewhere in the region of 57,000 people without family doctor services. This represents 1 in 25 of the total population without this vital service. The picture of general medical services in

the 6 county area and for which people pay the British Exchequer vast revenue is far from healthy. Several family doctor magazines have also drawn attention to this deteriorating situation and some have embarked on a campaign to try and recruit medical staff for this 'integral part of the U.K.' but without much success.

The Eastern Health and Social Services Board may build fine buildings and spend lavish sums of money on equipment and machinery, but the human factor which is vital cannot be so easily manufactured, nor is it likely to be so easy in the foreseeable future.

P.R.O.
CLONARD MARTYRS
SINN FEIN CUMANN.

DOCUMENTS CONFIRM

CUMANN'S CLAIM

Eastern Health and Social Services Board
North and West Belfast Region

Royal Victoria Hospital
Belfast BT12 6AB
Telephone Belfast 4022

General Administrative Medical Officer
R. A. McFARLANE, F.R.C.S.
and Mr. J. P. O'NEILL
4th July, 1977

RE: ALL GENERAL PRACTITIONERS - NORTH AND WEST BELFAST REGION

Dear Doctor,

I wish to inform you that on the 1st August, 1977, the Immunisation Clinics, which are run at Andersonstown and Ballyowen, will no longer accept new patients. This is because a number of Immunisation staff will be leaving the service and the Board has decided to close these clinics down for the time being. It is hoped that all reasonable steps to obtain replacement doctors.

It is the responsibility for the general care and immunisation of small children in this area and will be the responsibility of the Board. It is hoped that all reasonable steps to obtain replacement doctors.

Yours faithfully,
R. A. McFarlane
General Administrative Medical Officer.

RE: THE BOARD'S POLICY ON THE R.V.H.

Royal Victoria Hospital

I have received your letter of the 27th July 1977, regarding the Board's policy on the R.V.H. and I am sorry to hear that you are disappointed. The Board's policy is to run the R.V.H. as a general hospital and to provide a comprehensive range of services for the community. It is the Board's responsibility to ensure that the R.V.H. is run efficiently and effectively and to provide the best possible care for the community. I am sure that you will understand the Board's position and that we will continue to work together to improve the health service in the North and West Belfast Region.

TORTURE IN PLACE OF INTERNMENT

by PETER DOWLING

Our correspondent Peter Dowling concludes his series of articles which have examined the recent increase in the use of torture.

It is well-documented and publicly acknowledged that the Brits and their RUC allies have been using torture throughout this war. Recent revelations indicate that at the moment there is widespread and systematic torture being practised at RUC interrogation centres.

This torture has the definite function of extracting signed "confessions" as a direct replacement for internment. It follows as a logical outcome of the "criminalisation" part of the Brit's "Ulsterisation" policy. The "primacy of the police" means a step-up in police torture to gain convictions.

But torture does not only have the function of consigning victims to Long Kesh, Magilligan or Armagh. It has a variety of other functions even if they do currently take second place.

INTELLIGENCE.

For a start there is intelligence gathering. Information useful to the "security" forces can sometimes be quickly gained through torture.

And although information gained in such circumstances is notoriously unreliable General Kitson tells us that a great amount of "low-level or background" information is preferable to a few "high-grade" sources. He considers that, "It is not important that it should be immensely reliable because all that is needed is something on which to build".

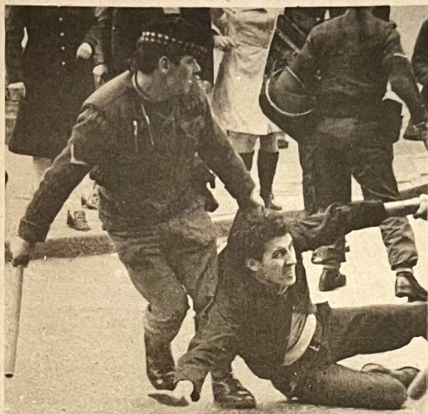
GUINEA PIGS.

"Interrogation" also provides the opportunity to conduct "live" experiments on human beings. During the Second World War the Nazis used human "guinea pigs" for "medical" experiments too sickening to recall. Their victims were Jews, communists and homosexuals.

During this war the Brits carried out human "experiments" after the initial internment "swoop" six years ago. Brit military scientists and medical experts used Irish Catholics as human "guinea pigs" in experiments of Sensory Deprivation. The victims received permanent mental damage. To what extent such organised experiments are now continuing is not yet clear.

THE ASCENDANCY.

But what is clear is that



the type of torture used is often one to justify the torturer to himself. As the famous French philosopher Jean-Paul Sartre has put it, "the purpose of torture is not only the extortion of confessions, of betrayal. The victim must disgrace himself, by his screams and his submission, like a human animal."

For the torturer's sake the victim must be degraded in order that he or she can be regarded as "sub-human". Hence so much abuse and physical degradation, often concentrating on the victim's genitals. The torturer tries to convince himself that his victim is not really a fellow human being.

Thus torture re-inforces the master-race mentality of the defenders of the Protestant Ascendancy. It seeks to justify the British Empire ethic of the supremacy of the "White Anglo-Saxon Protestant" male.

REVENGE.

A further function of torture is to provide instant punishment and revenge. Torture is more frequently used after a Brit or RUC man has been shot. It provides a safety-valve for the pent-up fury of the military and police personnel.

Beatings and in-depth "interrogation" act as a controlled and authorised means of the "security" forces handing out punishment and taking their revenge upon the nationalist community. Torture in back-rooms is not so exposed to public view as policemen rioting in the streets of Derry or Belfast.

REWARDS.

Torture is also intended to have a general effect upon the community from which the victims are drawn. The "rewards" of torture are not just the signed "confessions",

the intelligence gathering, the human experiments and satisfying the instincts of supremacy and revenge of the "peace-loving security forces".

CLIMATE OF FEAR.

The general political effect is to attempt to impose discipline upon the nationalist people. To create a climate of helplessness and fear which could lead to a weakening of support for republican forces. To provide a warning.

The Brits and their loyal police are saying to all those who engage in political or military resistance: "This is the treatment which you, your relatives, friends, and supporters will receive if you do not behave yourselves."

Hence torture falls into the same category of counter-insurgency weapons as the covert activities of the "super-Brits" of the SAS, and the "all-powerful" computers backing up the Brit intelligence machine.

The imagined threat felt by the potential victim is encouraged to far outstrip the actual threat posed on the ground. The creation of fear within the community is one of the main objectives of these counter-insurgency weapons.

To help combat these fears is one of the intended functions of this article.

RATIONAL.

To understand the rational use of torture from the point of view of the imperialist and the loyalist, that is the Brit and the RUC, will hopefully help produce a rational response to it.

That is to say, while understanding the functions of torture will not reduce the pain of those on the receiving end, at least some internal core of sanity can be held on to. The world has not gone mad. Paisley has not

seized power.

One is not being tortured as an individual by particularly depraved defenders of "British Law and Orange Order". One is tortured as a hostage from a risen people, while Roy Mason, Mairead Corrigan and Gerry Fitt continue to pray for "peace".

AUTHORISED.

Torture is systematic. Torture is widespread. And torture is currently authorised at the "highest" level as a substitute for internment.

Brit-puppet RUC Chief Constable Newman has given the go-ahead. Even the SDLP claim that Newman has provided an "open licence" to police to ignore "Judge's rules" on procedure in relation to "persons in custody".

Newman's prize statement went as follows: "In recent months I have found it necessary to issue instructions to the force warning them that they must take precautions to prevent self-inflicted injuries by prisoners. There have been instances of prisoners wounding themselves with eating utensils, a nail, a tin of lemonade, or by butting their head against a wall

or smashing a window."

In plain language he meant that despite the corner of the curtain being lifted on police torture it was OK to carry on as before.

PERMANENT GUARANTEE.

So what is the "rational" way to stop torture? Given such "peace-keepers" as Mason and the Brits, together with Newman and the RUC, then a Westminster Bill of Human Rights would not even be worth the paper it was written on.

The only sure way to stop torture is to destroy those needs from which torture springs. It is carried out in order to maintain the Orange statelet and to uphold British rule.

This must mean that "SMASH THE RUC" and "BRITS OUT" remains the way forward. In a society free from discrimination and exploitation torture would have no place. So the only permanent guarantee against torture will be obtained through winning a thirty-two county Socialist Republic.

(Concluded).

RAC PROTESTS

CENTRAL RELATIVES ACTION COMMITTEE PRESS STATEMENT PROTESTS.

The Central Relatives Action Committee organised a series of protests in different parts of Belfast on Saturday night July 30th. A march was organised from Turf Lodge to Andersonstown R.U.C. Barracks. The Fort Monagh army base was picketed and the Andersonstown R.U.C. was picketed. The St. James R.A.C. picketed Fort Pegasus on the Whitehead Road. The Ballymurphy, and the Dermott Hill, and the New Barnsley R.A.C.'s picketed the Taggart Army base on the Springfield Road. The Short Strand R.A.C. picketed the Mountpottinger Road R.U.C. Barracks. The Central Relatives Action Committee condemns the action of the British army, who stoned the St. James R.A.C. picket; this action shows that the British army is becoming alarmed at the success of the R.A.C. in maintaining the struggle to defend Political Status.

The wave of pickets was a continuation of the campaign to defend the Political Prisoners, and it was to focus attention on the torture system that has been established in the

6 Cos. This starts with the Castlereagh Detention Centre, where every kind of Physical and Mental torture is used to force detainees to sign false statements; the political prisoners are then sent to Crumlin Road Jail. In Crumlin Road Jail the prisoners are further brutalised by the Prison warders, and finally after having been given a farce of a trial by the Diplock Court they are sent to 'H' Block Long Kesh in a final attempt to break the morale of the P.O.W.'s.

The Relatives Action Committee has always rejected the British propaganda about the P.O.W.'s split it is our opinion that there is a War of National Liberation being waged in Ireland. The prisoners in 'H' Block have shown that their morale cannot be broken by British thugs. However, if the prisoners are to be freed from the hell-holes of 'H' Block, then the people must mobilise in the streets to support the P.O.W.'s. We call for maximum support for the joint R.A.C. SINN FEIN march on the Falls Road on August 7th.

P.R.O.

CENTRAL RELATIVES ACTION COMMITTEE.

THE DEAFENING SILENCE

proprietors at the top of the ladder. At every level "truth" is not the objective to be aimed at, but rather what is "sellable" either to the editor, the government, or the public.

Some, within the higher realms of political theory, argue daily such clap-trap, that the function of the "western Press" in society, is to report fully as a duty, on everything that's important to the public. Values and practices, as well as attitudes, are somewhat different on Fleet Street. Here are a few examples, illustrated by quotes from prominent journalists who tread its grey-paved mine-field daily;

"DAILY MAIL'S Special writer, Joe Steeples; "AS a reporter you're in the middle of the manufacturing of events. The battle is a propaganda battle. But there are also files of stories from reporters who've spent a fortnight in the luxury of the Europa Hotel".

THE GUARDIAN'S Derek Brown; "Its very easy to coast and blind the office with silence. When you've been here a long time, you get a feel for things and then get blasé." (After 5 years here, Brown has been replaced by Anne McHardy) GUARDIAN EDITOR, Mr. Preston; "We get a lot of letters saying we don't want to know about this boring and intractable series of problems". THE OBSERVER, used to have one of their top journalists here, Andrew Stephen, who has been recalled to London, relying now on Mary Holland to do a second rate job, covering both the north and the south, which is almost impossible to do adequately when one considers here commitment to programmes like "Week-End World".

Independent Television, (ITV) has no longer a full-timer here and are dependent on UTV. BBC has also cut back depending on local reports being sent to London. Like politics and security, the media is being Ulsterised.

Dave Clarke, TIME OUT;

"The process has to do with the sorts of people recruited into positions of real power in the media business, particularly the BBC where the norm of course is white, male, middle class and Oxbridge. The Government doesn't have to tell these people what to do. They already know!

The blockage is not in Belfast. It's in London. For many senior BBC men, Ulster has become the ultimate crime in TV-boring. But the war goes on and people still die. It would neither stop nor go away if nobody really reports it. It will simply get worse."

SUPPORT BLACK FLAG MARCH WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 10th

We have been asked to release the following supplied statement from Belfast Sinn Fein:

Belfast Sinn Fein call on all the people and all anti-monarchists to support the Black Flag March from Andersonstown to the City Hall on Wednesday, August 10th. The March assembles at Busy Bee, in Andersonstown at 1.30 p.m. and departs at 2 p.m. with contingencies joining in at St. James Road, Beechmount and Clonard Street. As the Ulster Executive pointed out in their statement of 12th July, the city and town centres throughout the north were opened up to Orangemen: we now intend to enjoy that same freedom in our Black Flag March to the City Hall where we will assemble for two minutes silence in honour of Ireland's dead.

Footnote: Other protest marches and demonstrations will take place in Derry City and those in Lurgan and Dungannon and other Republican areas will be announced locally.

Political activists who have been recently arrested have told us upon release that special Branch interrogators have been questioning them about, and have been very anxious to obtain, the schedule of the protests and what form they will take.

NEWS FROM THE NEW LODGE

On Sunday 31st July a seven year old boy was shot and wounded by the Brits. Admittedly the shooting was accidental but the circumstances leading up to it proved it should never have happened at all.

Four days previously people in the Dawson St. area reported the abandoned car to the Brits who examined it and assured the people that it was quite safe.

Then on Sunday night the Brits arrived complete with Goliath. When neighbours told them that they had said it was completely safe they were then told that the R.U.C. had informed the Brits that the car contained a bomb; this, in spite of the fact that the vehicle had already been cleared.

Goliath was set to work and in the process three shots were fired, one of which went wild after Goliath malfunctioned while being prepared in Lepper St. The astounding thing was, that not one of the Brits attempted to help the boy, indeed they stood and gawked at each other in stupefaction and indecision.

Luckily a member of the watching crowd had the presence of mind to run and pick up the boy, take him to his vehicle and get him to hospital immediately. It was almost half an hour later that the Brit ambulance arrived. This was due to the dithering of the Brits whose hesitancy could have caused greater injury to the boy.

The British army was annoyed that the by-stander had the sense to get the child to hospital right away, showing them up for what they are, mindless morons who cannot even save a child's life without orders from their gutless superiors.

The following morning saw the usual contradictory statements from Army H.Q. "Two shots were fired at the vehicle and one ricocheted hitting the child". A sheer impossibility as the car was in Dawson St. and the child 150 yards down Lepper St. which runs at right angles to Dawson St.

Another incident concerned with the same event was the painting of the windscreen on the vehicle which took the

child to hospital. No-one it seems will be allowed to show B.A. inefficiency even at the cost of a young child's health.

The Regt. concerned, 1st Royal Green Jackets, have made their presence felt throughout North Belfast wrecking houses, smashing windows and bottles, setting fire to bonfire wood beating men and women and children and in one recent raid a pregnant woman was punched by a heroic Brit.

They have threatened several people in our area that they would be "eliminated" one way or another before they left.

Here on the New Lodge we are well used to these type of threats (and sometimes their fulfillment) but we notice with great alarm the ability of these thugs to leave N. Queen St. Bks and Girldwood Bks, to go on patrol while drunk and sometimes wearing only half their uniforms along with civilian clothing carrying knives and crowbars.

We must warn people to be wary at all times.

U.S. LAWYERS REPORT

The trial of criminal cases in Northern Irish courts has been described as a "farce" by the Attorney's Committee of the National Council of Irish Americans in Buffalo. The committee, in a special report, also described the remand system as "another form of internment" carried out with the apparent approval of the judiciary.

The report, released by Michael McLoughlin, states in part: "Our examination of the Criminal Justice System in Northern Ireland shows an alarming rate of convictions based solely on the testimony of a member of the Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC). The proof in all these cases fits the same pattern, and consists solely of the policeman's testimony that the accused orally stated to him that he was, in fact, a member of the IRA and committed the acts of violence contained in the charges. There is no other proof offered. No witnesses are produced, nor is documentary evidence offered. We find it incredible that 90 per cent of all convictions

involving violent crimes rests solely on the testimony of an RUC Officer. It is indeed strange to find such a high percentage of accused persons admitting the commission of crimes to their interrogators. Such confessions are rare in the United States, England, Scotland, Wales and other jurisdictions.

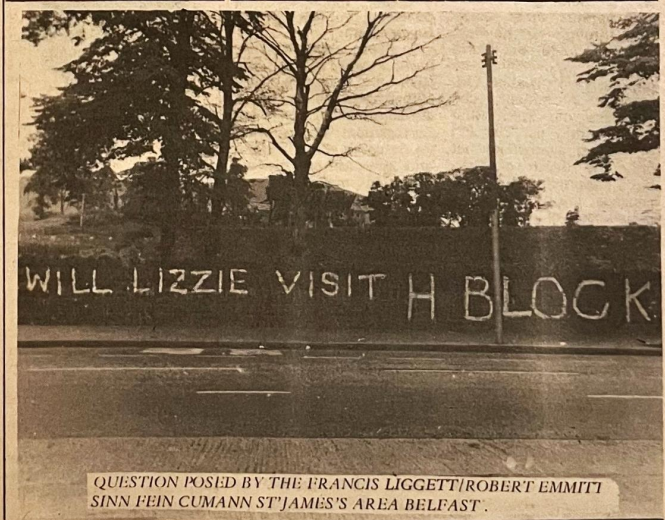
"These facts lead us to the obvious conclusion that such trials are tainted with fraud and collusion on the part of the police. The system allows the RUC to be the accuser, prosecutor, judge and jury, all at the same time. It is an unhealthy and unwholesome system that calls for immediate reform. The Grassbourg Human Rights Commission of the Council of Europe has already referred to many other objectionable practices of the RUC.

"The courts' practice of 'remanding' or adjourning criminal cases in the early stages at the request of the police or the prosecutor, is a clear abuse of due process. We find that adjournment after adjournment is granted, as a

matter of course, with the result that many accused persons are jailed from 12 to 16 months without a hearing or trial. This is a clear abuse of the judicial process and is not tolerated by the courts in England, Scotland or Wales. In reality, such practices constitute another form of internment without charge or trial. However, the system is now cloaked with the dignity of a court proceeding due to the judiciary's cooperation."

The attorney's report of the National Council of Irish Americans is based on an examination of court records dating back to 1971. The committee has been conducting a continuous examination of the Northern Irish judicial system and further reports will be forthcoming, according to the Council. The Council also reported that their attorney's report is based, in part, on observations made by American attorneys who attended court sessions in Belfast.

National Council of Irish Americans Elliott Square Building Buffalo 3, New York.



QUESTION POSED BY THE FRANCIS LIGGETT/ROBERT EMMITT SINN FEIN CUMANN ST JAMES'S AREA BELFAST.

THE HUNGRY ARMY



by THE BRIGADIER

Evenin' all.

Well, it had to happen. Last week I mentioned the poor hungry soldier in Lurgan who had taken to biting members of the public. This week I have had some shocking news from my correspondents up in Derry.

It seems that in the Shantallow district members of the Tank Regiment, aided and abetted by those hard working lads of the RUC have been so deprived of food and sustenance that while raiding a house they actually ate the dog's dinner which had been left out on a dish in the kitchen. Astonished children who interrupted them apparently hadn't the heart to tell them that the food had been treated with worm remover. Wake up Mason! If the

lads don't get more money soon they'll be turning to cannibalism!

Two members of my UDR Regiment were in a spot of bother the other day too. After drowning their sorrows at the local UDR shebeen-sorry-mess in Portadown they got into their car and collided with a Saracen. A few more drinks to console themselves and then, it being the 12th of July what more natural than to go and shoot a few Catholics. And so Ken Young (32) of Dawson's Green Portadown and his comrade in arms Mervyn Falcoun (28) of the Mount, Tandragee drove down to Obins Street and proceeded to shoot it up. Alas,

strong drink marred their aim and they missed all the tails they were shooting at.

What's more, the car was spotted and they were caught by an officious policeman who should have known better. Naturally I arranged for the UDR's lawyer to get them bail, gave the court very strong recommendations in their favour—I pointed out for example that Kenny Young was to have been in the guard of honour for E2R's regal visit next week—and I also said that we in the UDR would be proud to have them back. Imagine my horror when that bungling old fool Lord Justice Mc Gonical announced that

he was horrified at this and that neither of them should be allowed back into the regiment or allowed bail. What are the courts coming to when UDR men can't celebrate the twelfth in traditional fashion!

Another case that is interesting me at present is that of old UDR man George Samuel Farrell, formerly of Coolshill Park, Enniskillen and at present doing 15 years in Mountjoy for causing explosions in Donegal. He is appealing his sentence and has come up with the great excuse that he is very stupid—a psychiatrist said that he was in the "lower ten per cent of people above the normality line" although a corporal in the UDR. Hence, he says, he didn't understand the case against himself. I have been asked if this is credible. Of course it is! Many of the men under my command are thick as champ. Many are drunks, thieves, murderers, looters and rapists as my "Bad apple" notebooks have shown. None of these things will prevent you from getting through my "vetting procedure". Indeed, the only qualification I'm interested in is loyalty—and a fairly high bigotry rating. That's why I'm particularly pleased with the lads who operate the check point on the Newry-Omeath Road. In order to let the

natives know exactly where they stand they have taken to flying the Ulster flag from their pigs and jeeps whenever they set up a road block. This is splendidly provocative and really gets up the locals' noses. They are also advising people who complain that they have been unnecessarily held up for two or three hours that it "serves them right for not holidaying in Co. Down and going to the South." This I'm sure will do wonders for tourism—it may even encourage people to join the regiment and train with Armalites, Thompsons etc at Ballykinlair. Yes, it's a fun life in the UDR, and, remember, we guarantee a full military funeral!

Pip! Pip!
The BRIGADIER.

SCÉAL.

Could Queen Elizabeth be visiting Lisnagarvey Secondary School, Hillsborough? Well Sammy Semple O.B.E. Headmaster and former Unionist Councillor seems to think so! Sammy has just had the school redecorated and there's lots of new equipment going in through the back door! In his excitement he's been telling everyone that a V.I.P. Lady will be visiting the School in August! Another leak to the 'Republican News'!!!!

BLACK FLAGS FOR DERRY

Sinn Féin in Derry, on behalf of the Republican movement, invite the people of Derry on August 9th and 10th to cast off the cloak of illegitimate sovereignty as British subjects and don instead the mantle of our national heritage.

On Resistance Day the 9th of August, Sinn Féin will be holding a Fleadh and various other activities through-out the day, designed to let the world at large know that no oppressive legislation, including internment, can suppress the spirit that burns within us. The 9th of August symbolises not only the depth of Britain's depravity but the courage, the pride and the resistance of those interned. So on the 9th of August we salute that spirit of courage and resistance.

On August the 10th Sinn Féin through it's affiliation with the Irish Front will take part in a mass demonstration to show the English Queen she holds us in subjection through force of arms. We in Derry have paid heavily the price of our subjection; internment, imprisonment, economic depression and death. To

signify just what her reign has meant to the people of Derry, instead of the gay bunting of celebration, we will supply black flags and ask the people to drape them from their houses, thereby showing not only death in terms of human life, but the death of Derry on the West bank of the Foyle through the economic policies of the British Government.

In all probability the Authorities will try to curb Irish Front activities on the 10th of August by arrest or some other form of harassment. For let there be no doubt the N.I. office and Roy Mason are anxious to make international propaganda from her visit by presenting the picture of the Queen being welcomed by loyal British subjects.

We in Sinn Féin for our part, ask the people of DERRY, no matter what the consequences to the organisers, that they turn out and peacefully, in a dignified manner, show that you are Irish, as you did on ST. PATRICK'S DAY.

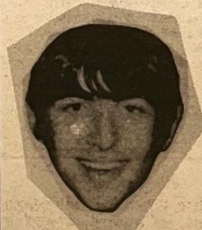
(Derry Comhairle Ceann-tair Sinn Féin).

IN MEMORIAM

DOWNY—5th Anniversary
In Proud and loving memory of

Vol. Joe Downey
killed on active service
21.7.72

Always remembered by the officers and Volunteers 4th Batt. Belfast Brigade Ogligh Na h-Eireann.



Skillen-3rd Anniversary.

In proud and loving memory of Lieut Martin Skillen 'D' Company 2nd Batt. (Killed on active service 3.8.74)

Always remembered by the Officers and Volunteers 'D' Company 2nd Batt. Belfast Brigade.

Skillen-3rd Anniversary.

In proud and loving memory of Lieut Martin Skillen 'D' Company 2nd Batt. (Killed on active service 3.8.74)

Always remembered by the Officers and Volunteers 2nd Batt. Belfast Brigade Ogligh Na h-Eireann.

3rd Anniversary. 3rd Aug.

1977.
LIEUT MARTIN SKILLEN
'D' Company,
2nd Batt.
Belfast Brigade.

SKILLEN 3rd Anniversary.

In proud and loving memory of our dear son and brother (Lieut) Martin Patrick Skillen 'D' Company (2nd Batt) Ogligh

na h-Eireann Belfast Brigade (Provisional) Irish Republican Army, killed on Active Service on 3rd August 1974. R.I.P. Masses offered. St. Martin intercede for him.

Mary Queen of Ireland Pray for him and for all his comrades who paid the supreme sacrifice fighting for Irish Freedom.

Proudly remembered and never forgotten by your loving Mother, Father, Sisters, Brothers and large family circle in Belfast, Liverpool, Scotland and U.S.A.

The dust of some is Irish Earth

Among their own they rest And the same land that gave them birth Has caught them to her breast

We will pray that from their clay

That a greater race may start

Of true men like you Martin To act as brave a part.

Lennon 1st Anniversary

Loving memories of our dear nephew Vol. Danny Lennon died on active service 10th August 1976 R.I.P. Mary Queen of Ireland pray for him. Dear Ireland take him to they breast this soldier son who died for thee. Within they bosom let him rest among the Martyrs sanctified. Kate & Jack, Bell and cousin John.

Lennon 1st Anniversary.

In Loving memory of my brave grandson Vol. Danny Lennon 1st Batt B. Company who was murdered by the Queens Men. Farewell to the brave son of Ireland.

Gran O Tool.

Lennon 1st Anniversary.

Treasured memories of our darling son Vol. Danny Lennon B Company 1st Batt Belfast Brigade R.I.P. Mary of the Gael pray for him, killed 10 August 1976. We watched you grow to be a man full of love and happiness, a Volunteer soldier you had to be to fight for the love of your country, sadly missed by his Father, Mother, brothers and sister also Sean H Block, Long Kesh.

Vol. Tommy Tolan

'B' Coy. 2nd Batt. Belfast Brigade. Murdered by

cowards 27.7.77 Deeply regretted by his comrades Kate McGuinness Armagh Jail Liam Stone

Long Kesh.

The resignation of Mairin De Burca from the Sticks, together with a reshuffle at the top which consolidates effectively the leadership of hardline Moscow-oriented communist Sean Garland, pinpoints internal contradictions present for a long time and the disintegration of any vestige of Republicanism in that organisation.

At the outset of the seventies the Sticks comprised various factions in an uneasy Alliance: 1. The Moscow oriented leadership - Tom Gill, Sean Garland, Cathal Goulding etc. The vicious but erratic Desi O'Hagan - deposed as editor of the United Irishman but retained as Education Officer/Director of Elections in the recent reshuffle - waited in the wings.

2. Individualists leaning towards a kind of populist liberalism and pacifism like De Burca; witness her statement in the Sunday Independent of July 31st 1977. "I now know that violence is completely counter-productive... foolish and unwise."

3. The rank and file, the best of whom were genuinely socialist Republicans who believed in a physical force struggle to expel the imperialists' physical as well as economic presence. This element did mount an offensive against the Brits particularly before and after internment. Some of these activists were also doped by the leadership's poisonous brainwashing into anti-provisional activity. It was these activists who provided the basis for the I.R.S.P. split.

Bearing these three basic groupings in mind it is interesting to trace the degeneration of an organisation which had at one time some anti-imperialist potential, into what it is today.

THE ANTECEDENTS OF DECLINE

James Connolly referred to, "Revolutionists who shrink from giving blow for blow until the great day has arrived and they have every shoe-string in its place, and every man has got his gun, and the enemy has kindly consented to postpone action in order not to needlessly hurry the revolutionists nor disarrange their plans - such revolutionists only exist in two places - the comic opera stage and the stage of Irish National Politics." Connolly's statement presages the Sticks adequately.

Let us look at some specific points - Elections. The Sticks always advocated participation in elections justifying this by Lenin's statement, "Marxism positively does not reject any form of struggle." At the time of Sunningdale the British needed to establish a consensus in favour of taking part in elections. The Sticks fell into the trap and objectively helped to stabilise an unstable period in favour

INTERNAL CONTRADICTIONS HASTEN DISINTEGRATION OF THE STICKS

an analysis

ialist solutions.

A Republican Clubs convention in Belfast actually took a decision not to contest this specific election. However Raymond O'Hagan, chairman of the Comhairle Ceantair, acting in collusion with Tom Gill, undermined a majority decision and called another meeting which reversed the decision after a week of psychological intimidation and bullying.

The Sticks organised massive impersonation of votes, as had been the case in the previous local Government elections. Even so their candidate Jack Brady received a meagre 3000 (Approx) votes.

Regarding Civil Rights the Sticks went beyond the point of demanding democratic rights as one tactic among many. Instead they became bogged down in reformism. Demands for a bill of rights etc. Yet the example of America is that Civil Rights legislation has only marginally ameliorated the lot of working class blacks. It is fair to point out that Civil Rights as a concept was most unlikely to help in the unification of Protestant and Catholic working class interests. Pre - 1969 Protestants saw themselves as enjoying 'civil rights', e.g. their favoured position in respect of employment; location of industries in Loyalist areas etc.

The C.R.A. was and is dominated by the Communist party of Ireland. The magazine 'Civil Rights' (February 1974) carried an article entitled 'How Not To Run A Demonstration'. It said "The NICRA organised the parade in Derry City in 1972 to win people over to important civil rights demands so as not to encourage young men to terrorist violence."

The communist party of Ireland has had a major influence on revisionist tendencies within the Sticks. Like the C.P. the Sticks claim they are Irish Socialists first and



Mairin de Burca

ous solutions to the problems of ousting imperialism from our country. If this were true it would apply to ideology, organisational problems

By
SILE
WHITE

etc. When the truth emerges all that is offered is slavish copying of the 'Moscow Line', doctrinaire solutions to complex problems.

'Revolutionary Strategy'

In 1972 the Sticks debated two documents internally. One by Tom Gill (or Tomás McGliolla) advocated strategy on the basis of a "reformed Stormont"; the other advocated a strong line on the 'National question' and was voted for by the rank and file at a series of internal meetings. However, the leadership never deviated from the

McGliolla - Reformist approach.

In the internal debate referred to, the McGliolla formula' outlined in his document, was referred to as the "Revolutionary Party" strategy.

Briefly this meant the Sticky Ard Comhairle would be equivalent to the central committee in the classical communist party structure: it would control the 'Army'. Tony Heffernan (acted last week as General Secretary of Sticky S.F.), forecast "The steering committee on structure /organisation would recommend a revolutionary party and that the military wing of the movement should become a military department."

This is a classical example of the Sticky leadership marionette dancing to the tune of the communist party of Ireland puppet-player.

The communist party Journal 'Marxism Today' (June 1973) said, referring to the Sticks, "It's military wing adds an ideological imbalance to it's own concept of a revolutionary working class party."

Military action of an anti-imperialist nature was only tolerated by the Sticks on an afterthought basis - after 1969: After British Army intervention, after the introduction of British concentration camps.

The Ceasefire.

The Sticks ceasefire was an abject surrender, unilaterally announced - (The volunteers were not consulted). In fact the leadership had strangled grass-roots militancy by withholding equipment. In the last few months before the 'ceasefire' the Stick 2nd Batt. had one carbine available. Compare the abundance of modern

equipment now made available to fight the Republican movement, the I.N.L.A. etc.

When the Sticks lost volunteers in action to the Brits, limited amateurish and ineffective retaliatory action was taken. It is this unwillingness of the Sticks to produce adequate measures against the Brits (Even within the confines of 'Defence and retaliation') combined with zealous eagerness to beat, intimidate and shoot fellow Irishmen that has made them an object of contempt in the working class ghettos of the north.

As it became clear, with the establishment of the ceasefire, the Sticks would never seriously attack the Brits again, new recruits tended to be non-militants who saw the chance to make a good thing of the corrupt atmosphere of mushrooming drinking clubs. There were also those who had personal grievances against individual Provos or who wanted to swagger the Ghetto streets as known 'Republicans'. Yet with little chance of going to jail.

To return to the Stick leadership. The incredible depths of ideological debasement they could sink to were illustrated in the I.R.S.P. feud. They gave names and felon-setting information on ex-colleagues to the U.V.F. The so-called 'Marxists' made their approaches to the Protestant community directly to the most explicitly fascist element in that society. The very people who had butchered people purely because they were Catholics. If this is seen as unbelievable readers should refer to 'The Irish People' of 14th March 1975 (Editor Des O'Hagan).

Moreover before the I.R.S.P. split a section of the Sticks command staff (with one prominent female member carrying out the bulk of the negotiations) held negotiations with British Officers with a view to borrowing war material for use against the Republican movement. However two Command Officers (operations & intelligence) raised such strenuous objections that the scheme was dropped.

What is the future for the Sticks?

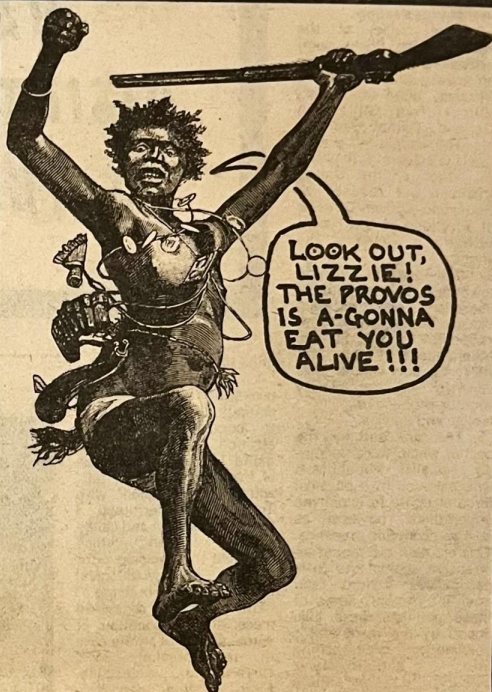
Their 'politicos' and communist party-type bureaucrats will create a copy of the communist party of Ireland. Uneasily co-existing with this will be naked thuggery in Belfast and Newry which, while it embarrasses the smooth Republican Clubs spokesmen, they are prepared to tolerate, this basic contradiction has yet to be resolved. The past year in Dublin has seen many defections of Sticky activists to their true home in the Communist party.

ROYAL VISIT

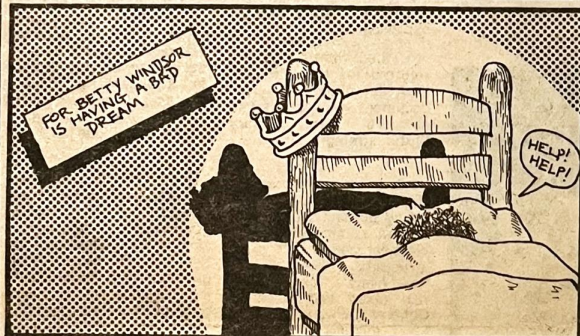
THE ROYAL BEDROOM



NOBODY WILL GET ANY
SLEEP IN THE PALACE TONIGHT



FOR BETTY WINDSOR
IS HAVING A BAD
DREAM



WHOSE BRIGHT IDEA
WAS IT TO SEND ME
TO IRELAND?

BUT, YOUR MAJESTY,
YOUR LOYAL SUBJECTS
WILL BE SO PLEASED
TO SEE YOU!!



LOYAL SUBJECTS!?!
AND WHICH LOYAL
SUBJECT HANDED
MY TIME-TABLE
TO THE REBELS?



CONFIDENTIAL

... OF PRESS/BROADCASTING
... VICTORY OF THE NAZIS
... THE CASE OF EDINBURGH TO NORTHERN

10.15
10.25

Facility
Position No 1

10.45
RECEIVED
11.00

1.50

...

The Queen
Hillborough
recent birth

Coverage of
first 10-15 m
2 still photo
report -

Press will
with

... Queen leaves Britannia by her
... Party depart by helicopter
... will be provided by helicopter
... company arriving at the
... ship HMS Fife.

Departure point and timing not yet
thorough for the morning permit those
party arrives

Willsborough Castle landing pad.

to inspect a UDE Guard of Honour
to Hillsborough Castle

ditions, one ground level and one
story, will be available.
conduct an
action

Investiture inside
for those recognized in the
and Silver Jubilee Honours List.

and will be strictly limited to the
where, 2 film cameramen and 2
of recipients will be awarded
is will leave the

AND WE'LL MAKE YOUR VISIT GO WITH A BANG!!!



THAT'S RIGHT, LIZZIE!
WHEREVER YOU GO, WE
WILL BE THERE TO
WELCOME YOU!

