

AN PHOBLACHT Republican News

IRELAND'S BIGGEST SELLING
POLITICAL WEEKLY



Sraith Nua Imi 8 Uimhir 20 Deardain 15 Bealtaine Thursday 15th May 1986 (Britain 30p) Price 25p

Raymond McCreesh commemoration

Speaker: John Davey
Sunday 18th May
Assemble 2.30pm

CAMLUGH
County Armagh



A STUDY IN DISTORTION

A US 'STUDY GROUP' which plans to tour Ireland between May 22nd and 30th "to develop an understanding of the complex situation in Northern Ireland" will meet representatives of virtually every group North and South of the border except Irish republicans.

According to a letter which is in the possession of AP/RN, the proposed study group of 15 to 18 people, "who are professionals in the fields of business, labor, academia, and politics and who are also active in the Democratic Party", is being organised by the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) an adjunct to the National Endowment for Democracy (NED), which was set up by the Reagan government in November 1983 to further US foreign policy objectives around the globe.

As reported in AP/RN on August 22nd 1985, the NDI has developed close links with the SDLP for what it describes as "mutually-reinforcing assistance". Less than a year after those links were formalised, NDI money is pouring into the coffers of the SDLP. Only last week (Thursday, May 8th), newspapers revealed that an NDI-organised \$250-a-plate dinner on April 21st had raised \$50,000 for the establishment of an SDLP foundation "to train and educate young people in politics".

And the money doesn't stop there.

Each of the 15 to 18 members of the study group is being asked by the NDI "to make a tax-deductible contribution of \$2,000 to support... our democratic development programme in Northern Ireland". This will mean a further \$30,000 to \$36,000 for the SDLP, who have recently been advertising well-paid jobs in the columns of *Fortnight* magazine.

NON-PARTISAN?

Despite its obvious support for the SDLP, the NDI describes itself as a "non-partisan organisation", adding that its purpose "is to assist individuals and institutions abroad in becoming more effective participants in the democratic process". Loosely translated, this means that like its parent, the NED, the NDI uses the considerable financial resources at its disposal to interfere in the politics of other countries by distorting the actual balance of political forces to suit US interests.

As part of this process of "mutually-reinforcing assistance", the executive director of NDI, J. Brian Atwood, concludes his invitation to potential participants in the study group by saying:

"We can learn much from this situation that will serve to improve our democratic development in other parts of the world."

Thursday - May 22

Depart Washington, D.C.

Friday, May 23 - Saturday, May 24 - DUBLIN

Briefings: Department of Foreign Affairs
Political Parties
Finance: Fianna Fail, Fine Gael, Labour, Progressive Democrats
Trade: Unions, Business, Academia

Receptions: U.S. Embassy, Phoenix Park
Ivelagh House, Department of Foreign Affairs
Lord Mayor of Dublin
Hotel: Ballsbridge

Sunday, May 25 - WEXFORD AND NEWCASTLE

Briefings: Royal Ulster Constabulary, Border Security
Reception: Lord Mayor of Wexford and City Council

Monday, May 26 - Tuesday, May 27 - WELFEST

Tour of Belfast
Briefings: Political Parties
British Northern Ireland Office
Press
Labor, Business, Academia
Reception: U.S. Consul General
Hotel: Forum

Wednesday, May 28 - DERRY

Hosted by John Hume, M.P., Leader, SDLP
Hotel: Red Castle Inn, Derry

Thursday, May 29 - ANNAUGH

Hosted by Seamus Mallon, M.P., Deputy Leader, SDLP

Friday, May 30 - DUBLIN

Briefings: Department of Foreign Affairs
Shopping
Depart Dublin for U.S.

NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

● (Above) The itinerary for an Irish tour by members of a right-wing US institute whose financial support for the SDLP was forecast in the August 22nd 1985 issue of AP/RN

Sinn Fein Internal Conference

Weekend 24th/25th May DUBLIN
Members wishing to attend should contact the Sinn Fein General Secretary, 44 Parnell Square, Dublin 1, for details

OPINION

PEADAR O'DONNELL, a veteran champion of the poor and oppressed people of Ireland, died on Tuesday of this week. His life's work as a trade unionist, a republican guerrilla fighter, a committed socialist, and a fine writer, have established him as one of the foremost Irish personalities of the 20th century.

Born in the Rosses area of Tir Chonaill in 1893, Peadar O'Donnell learned his politics amongst the dispossessed and impoverished people of his own locality, thousands of whom were forced to emigrate to Scotland, where they established roots in the industrial centres along the Clyde or became seasonal migrant workers as 'tatie-hokers', forced to endure intolerable living and working conditions by their big-farmer employers.

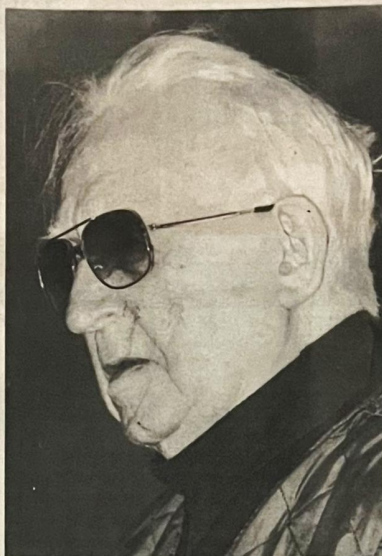
He lived and worked alongside his people and fought for their rights as he fought for the rights of Irish workers when he returned to this country as a full-time trade union organiser in 1918.

Recognising that "the cause of labour is the cause of Ireland", he joined the IRA during the Tan War and his ability as a revolutionary soldier ensured his promotion to the rank of Commandant-General of the republican forces in his native Tir Chonaill.

Conscious of the fact that the Treaty of 1921 represented a betrayal of Irish republicanism, he was part of the Four Courts garrison and, after being captured along with his comrades by the Free State, Peadar O'Donnell was sentenced to death. Throughout the Civil War, he languished in prison, first in Mountjoy, then in Finner Camp near Ballyshannon, where he was held as a hostage against republican activity in his home county, and finally in the Curragh, from where he eventually escaped in 1924.

While still a prisoner, he was elected as a TD for his native area but did not take his seat following his escape. Instead, he threw himself back into the liberation struggle, as a leading member of the IRA, as editor of *An Phoblacht*, and as an agitator amongst Irish small farmers on the land annuities issue.

His conviction that the national liberation struggle must be firmly rooted in the 'people of



Peadar O'Donnell

no property' was accepted by the IRA, which adopted the radical Saor Eire programme with its call for the establishment of a workers' and small farmers' republic.

The reaction to Saor Eire — Hierarchical denunciation in the form of a pastoral letter and proscription by the Free State government — persuaded a majority in the IRA that a more cautious approach should be adopted in promoting such radical policies. In arriving at this decision they were taking cognisance of the social realities within which the Army was forced to develop and they felt that they could not ignore the hysterical anti-socialism of those days. For Peadar O'Donnell and many other promi-

nent IRA members, this caution was misread as evidence that the IRA leadership was prepared to disband the Army and abandon its social policies if Fianna Fail pursued the national objective. The perceived failure of the IRA leadership to organise the people of no property on a platform of radical policies against the Blueshirtism and general conservatism of the Free State's neo-colonial establishment was, for O'Donnell and his colleagues, evidence of a lost opportunity.

Motivated by the very best of intentions, they began the organisation of a Republican Congress amongst left-wing political groupings and within the IRA. At the IRA Convention of 1934, however, a majority rejected the Congress idea and, when Peadar O'Donnell and the others persisted, they were suspended and subsequently expelled.

The Republican Congress did not survive for long but Peadar O'Donnell continued to agitate on behalf of the oppressed, not only the oppressed people of Ireland but also the Spanish peasants and workers who resisted fascism. But with his departure from the ranks of organised republicanism, the most celebrated period in the life of Peadar O'Donnell came to an end.

Not that his work stopped there. On the contrary, he confirmed his literary capabilities as editor of an adventurous periodical magazine called *The Bell*. He was the author of several books, including *The Knife* and *Proud Island*, and two works of major educational value for Irish republicans, *There Will Be Another Day* and *The Gates Flew Open*.

While Peadar O'Donnell continued his political activities on the left-wing of Irish politics until his health failed in recent times, the same establishment which had denounced and reviled him in the past now patronisingly dismissed him as an 'institution'.

For republicans who would not see eye-to-eye with Peadar O'Donnell in everything he said and did, the valuable lessons of this man's life will continue to educate us. Peadar O'Donnell was a brilliant man whose single-minded dedication to the cause of justice deserves full recognition. By the same measure, it was probably his single-mindedness that led Peadar O'Donnell away from the only disciplined force which can see the Irish revolution through to success — the Republican Movement.

Barracks attacked

IN A CO-ORDINATED series of operations on Monday evening, May 12th, IRA Volunteers in Belfast attacked three RUC/British army barracks in the west of the city.

In a statement, Belfast Brigade gave brief details of the attacks against Springfield Road, Woodbourne and Henry Taggart Barracks: "A number of Volunteers moved into position near the three bases at 5.15pm. Four hand grenades were thrown, one exploding within each of the barracks."

"Our Volunteers withdrew safely in spite of intensive follow-up searches mounted by the RUC and British army."

DERRY AMBUSH

On Wednesday evening, May 7th, IRA Volunteers ambushed a UDR soldier in Derry.

DERRY INFORMER

The Derry Brigade of the IRA has appealed to anyone working as an informer for the RUC or British army to come forward and has also assured them that they will not be harmed.

The appeal appeared in a statement issued on Monday, May 12th, in which Derry Brigade revealed that it had discovered

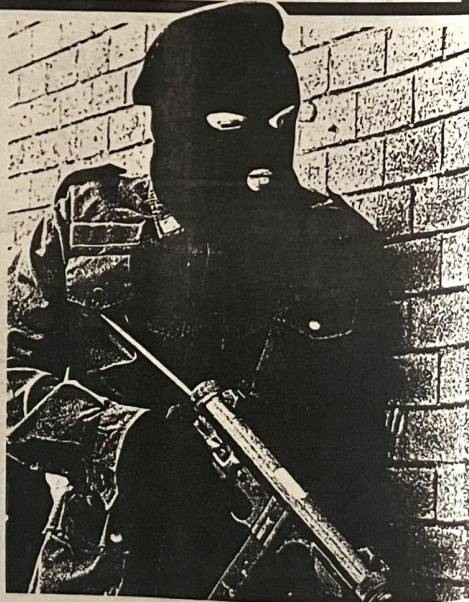


that a 17-year-old youth was working for the RUC. The IRA said that it had discovered the informer while investigating burglaries and break-ins in the Waterside:

"Recruited after being involved in a series of petty crimes, this young man was freed on condition that he watched named republicans in the Waterside and reported back to his contacts in the RUC."

"This young man is educationally sub-normal and, despite the problems his activities might have created, we have decided, given these circumstances, that no action will be taken against him."

"We would ask the families and friends of particularly vulnerable and defenceless young



people to be careful of any dealings their children may have with RUC personnel. If there is the slightest suspicion that the

RUC is pressurising teenagers it should be reported to members of the Republican Movement at once."



● Stop the Show-Trials picket outside Crumlin Road Courthouse

King's cant on extradition

BY JANE PLUNKETT

LESS THAN 48 hours after it emerged that British direct-ruler Tom King had ordered the early release of loyalist assassin William 'Budge' Allen, King himself was in the United States attempting to secure the extradition to British jails of men and women accused of fighting for Irish freedom.

King's reception was mixed because, while the Reagan administration strongly supports moves to remove the "political offence" defence against extradition (under which the USA, like many other countries, has traditionally refused to extradite people accused of politically-motivated actions), a number of senators refused to be photographed with — and in some cases to meet — the British Secretary of State.

King's visit to Washington and New York was an attempt to break the 11-month deadlock over the proposed supplementary extradition treaty with the US. The British are now openly worried about the fate of this treaty which has been stuck in the US Senate ever since it was signed by British premier Thatcher and US President Reagan last June. Recently, Thatcher has tried to 'call in' the US debt over the use of British-based F-111 bombers for the US attack on Libya. At the recent Tokyo summit, she once again pressed the amenable Reagan, spelling out that any US 'softness' on the IRA would lead British people to question the desirability of US bases in Britain.

It remains to be seen whether Thatcher and the Reagan administration will win the day. At present, the extradition treaty still faces wide-ranging opposition, from the civil liberties lobby, from those concerned that it might deny refuge to members of regimes 'friendly' to the US which find themselves in exile, and from a large section of Irish-American opinion.

DEADLOCK

A by-product of the deadlock is that unless and until the supplementary treaty is confirmed by a two-thirds majority of the Senate, there is likely to be no decision by the US Senate Foreign Relations Committee



● TOM KING



● International terrorists

on the proposed 250 million dollar five-year aid package for the North. This link (which was mandated earlier this month by the committee chairperson, Republican Senator Richard Lugar) between the two measures has not pleased the SDLP, who would prefer that the

fistful of dollars it hopes to parade as a 'benefit' of the London-Dublin deal should not be conspicuously linked to increased repression.

According to Peter McPherson, administrator of the Agency for International Development, the primary function of US aid is US security. "Broad national goals" is McPherson's term. Several of the aims of US aid mentioned by McPherson are explicitly political, rather than development-oriented. US aid, he says, "bolsters friends facing aggression" and alleviates "unrest" which "threatens the security not only of our friends but ultimately of ourselves".

Meanwhile, a statement by John Hume in which he alleged that there were "no strings" to the aid package has been strongly contested by Sinn Féin president Gerry Adams MP. In a statement on Tuesday, Adams accused Hume of being "deliberately evasive" on whether his party would accept extradition of Irish republicans from the US "in order to bolster the Hillsborough agreement". Adams added that Hume's recent refusal to sign a petition opposing the extradition of republicans Gerry Kelly and Brendan McFarlane from the Netherlands "is further evidence of the true SDLP position".

CONFERENCE

There was no cause for nationalist rejoicing after the fifth meeting of the London-Dublin Inter-Governmental Conference, at which a bevy of British and Free State ministers gathered last Friday, May 9th. Ironically, the Conference, which is supposed to put a 'Dublin dimension' into the running of the six counties, was held in London because of loyalist protests.

Prior to the meeting, SDLP leaders Hume and Mallon were warning of nationalist "impatience" and pressing for "results" on paid-perjurers, the RUC and the UDR.

Despite SDLP hopes and a statement by DUP leader Ian Paisley on May 6th that changes in the UDR and the Flags & Emblems Act would be discussed, Friday's Conference produced as little for nationalists as the last four. Most of the five-hour meeting was spent discussing the North's no-jury Diplock courts, but the various ministers and bureaucrats reportedly failed to agree on even a cosmetic proposal from the Free State government to replace the current single unionist judge in the no-jury courts with three.

As at previous meetings, the principal topic discussed was increased collaboration against republicans, including further extraditions.

On Monday, the annual British 'Defence Estimates' were published. These indicate that the British Ministry of Defence has no current plans to reform, much less disband, the sectarian UDR.

Meanwhile, OUP leader James Molyneux and DUP supremo Ian Paisley unexpectedly called off their 'talks about talks' with British officials which were due to resume on Tuesday, May 13th, after King repeated that the British government would not suspend the London-Dublin accord.

Councils hear of farming crisis

THE SERIOUS lack of feeding stuffs for farmers and the deaths of hundreds of animals was raised by Sinn Féin councillors in Fermanagh and Omagh.

Omagh Council last week agreed to support a campaign to help farmers. Sinn Féin Councillor Cormac McAleer pointed out that, "Every week cattle are dying, not so much because they are not getting food, but because the nutritional value of what they are getting is not enough to sustain them."

Seamas Kerr, Sinn Féin chairperson of the council, noted that the council first raised this issue six months ago.

The council agreed to write to the Department of Agriculture and ask it to introduce emergency aid.

SPECIAL MEETING

A special meeting of Fermanagh District Council was held on Wednesday, May 7th. It was called by Paul Corrigan, Sinn Féin chairperson of the council, who said that the farmers' difficulties had been increased because banks were now refusing any more overdrafts.

The council agreed that action was needed on a number of points, including a request to the five main banks to give "special consideration to the farmers in the county".

It was also agreed to ask the Department of Agriculture to examine the current situation in regard to the payment of outstanding grants.

STRIP-SEARCH SEMINAR

A discussion on the decision of the Fermanagh Council clerk to cancel a strip-search seminar on May 3rd led to a heated exchange between Tommy Maguire of Sinn Féin and Jim Lunney of the SDLP at the Fermanagh Council meeting on Monday, May 12th.

In the course of the debate, Lunney criticised the Fermanagh Strip-Search Committee. Tommy Maguire responded by accusing Lunney and his party of failing to face up to the reality of the situation in the six counties.



● CORMAC McALEER

BY DONAL LYONS

NORTH AND SOUTH, the savage attacks on the health services continue. In the six counties, the Southern Health & Social Services Board wants to close the two hospitals and two maternity units in Counties Armagh and Down. Moira and Drumglass hospitals, and the units at Banbridge and Tower Hill, Armagh, are to be shut down as part of a £2.6 million budget cut-back. Slamming the closure, NUPE area organiser, Lily Kerr said, "This action shows nothing but contempt for the workforce and the community."

In the twenty-six counties, the North-Western Health Board has had its budget slashed by £3.2 million. As a result, all planned work in the medical, gynaecology, ENT, oral and dental surgery departments in Letterkenny General Hospital will be suspended during this summer. The South-Eastern Health Board has had its spending allowance cut by £3.5 million which will mean a drastic curtailment of all services, the exact details of which have yet to be announced.

Continuing efforts by the twenty-six county government to privatise hospital services has led to the second strike within a year at the Eye & Ear Hospital in Dublin.

In May 1985, the hospital administration attempted to make two painters redundant and introduce a private contractor, a move which sparked off a five-week dispute and ended in victory for the workers.

The administration is still trying it on, and on Monday, May 12th, they announced that one boiler operator was to be made redundant, the other transferred, and a private contractor brought in to perform their duties. This announcement provoked a walk-out by 30 domestics and porters. The dispute is unofficial but union sanction is expected soon.

In a major jobs blow to Sligo town, the Louis London clothing factory has closed with the loss of 100 jobs. Condemning management's attitude, ITGWU branch secretary Tommy Callaghan said, "The union had feared the worst for some time but had not been kept in touch with the situation by management."

The workforce has already indicated its intention to take over the plant as a workers' co-operative and a five-person committee has been selected to investi-

SAVAGE CUTBACKS

have a massive effect on sales of beef and dairy produce to or from intervention.

Another two unions are set to merge.

After last week's announcement that ASTMS and TASS are to join forces comes the news that the National Association of Transport Employees and the Federated Workers' Union of Ireland are hoping to amalgamate. The membership of both unions are currently being balloted on their attitude to the proposed merger.

The FWUI has 51,000 members and is the second largest Irish trade union. NATE is affiliated to the British National Union of Railworkers but have been suffering from a declining membership over the years.

A British Conservative MP, Terry Dicks (Hayes & Harlington), has called for plastic bullets to be used against printworkers picketing Rupert Murdoch's News International plant in Wapping, London.

Ulsterbus workers throughout the six counties are threatening to stage a series of 24-hour stoppages starting on Friday, May 16th, to force management to improve a 4.8% offer.

They are also protesting about management holding workers responsible for money lost as a result of depot robberies.

A Connolly commemoration to mark the 70th anniversary of his execution was organised by the Dublin District Council of the ITGWU on Sunday, May 11th.

Over 100 trade unionists marched behind three banners and two bands from Church Street to the plot at Arbour Hill where the 1916 leaders are buried. The gathering was addressed by the president of the Dublin Council of Trade Unions, Ben Kearney, who blamed the growth of mass unemployment as a contributory factor to our "loss of national identity".

An unusual row has erupted at the offices of the National Engineering & Electrical Trade Union in Dublin, Cork and Limerick.

Members of the Irish Distributive & Allied Trade Union employed by NEETU in these offices have placed pickets on the premises in pursuit of a Labour Court recommendation in respect of pay scales awarded in 1984. The national executive committee of NEETU has consistently refused to implement the award which led to IDATU placing official pickets on Friday, May 9th.

The only person to pass the picket line has been the assistant general secretary of NEETU, Tommy White. Strange behaviour indeed for a trade union official.

The heroic stance of the Dunnes Stores anti-apartheid strikers won a standing ovation at the Union of Shop, Distributive & Allied Workers conference in Eastbourne on Sunday, April 27th. More practically, the delegates voted to have their union make a "substantial donation" to the Dunnes strike fund.

A motion to boycott South African produce in their workplaces was overwhelmingly passed by delegates. After the vote the USDW executive pledged "full support" to any member victimised for implementing the boycott.



Industrial action at the Eye & Ear Hospital in Dublin

gate this possibility.

is holding a special meeting on Sunday, May 18th, to ballot on strike action.

Two weeks' strike notice was served on Dublin Corporation by the Irish Municipal Employees' Trade Union on Monday, May 12th. The IMETU represents 2,500 general workers in the Corporation and the strike will affect water and sewage works, bin collection, street cleaning and public lighting. The dispute stems from the workers' rejection of a Labour Court recommendation of a 25th pay round increase of 7% in three phases.

A further 1,000 general workers in the Corporation, members of the Federated Workers' Union of Ireland, have already voted to take strike action in pursuit of an enhanced pay offer.

The other union representing general workers in the Corporation, the ITGWU,

Fifteen teachers from eight schools in Derry city have been made redundant in the past few weeks. They join the 140 already unemployed teachers in the city and teachers' unions have warned that more job losses will follow. The six-county Department of Education is blaming the redundancies on the falling pupil registration because of a declining population.

INTO spokesperson Jim Quinn accepts the validity of this argument, but says, "The extra teachers should be used to develop the curriculum for the benefit of the pupils."

Agricultural officers, members of the Union of Professional & Technical Civil Servants placed pickets on meat and dairy storage centres around the twenty-six counties on Monday, May 12th. UPTCS general secretary Greg Maxwell says that pickets will stay until the twenty-six-county government honours the payment of nine outstanding arbitration awards to his members.

The dispute is already beginning to



(Right) NEETU assistant general secretary Tommy White tears up an IDATU placard in a remarkable show of solidarity with the pickets at the Dublin offices of NEETU



Brits unearthed in Fermanagh

BY MAEVE ARMSTRONG

THE CHANCE discovery of two British army undercover units in Fermanagh within the past week is indicative of the intense crown force surveillance in the area.

Derrylin farmer John McManus had a frightening encounter with several undercover Brits on Friday, May 2nd, while he was searching his land for a stray cow. The Brits' hide-out, situated in thick undergrowth and encircled by trees, overlooked the main Derrylin/Lisnaskea road and had a clear view of surrounding nationalist houses.

The Brits had erected camouflage netting around the spot and as this land is only used for grazing, the Brits could have been in position for months.

After holding McManus to establish his identity, he was told to "Fuck off!" back to his tractor before the Brits pulled out of the area.

A week later, on Friday, May

9th, 18-year-old Thomas Drumm, from Kinawley, had an equally unnerving experience when he was confronted by two undercover British soldiers hiding in undergrowth overlooking his family home on the Moher Road.

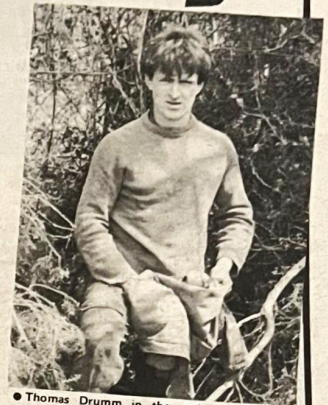
The two Brits were accompanied by several others who had taken up position in other parts of the field. Drumm told AP/RN:

"I'd been going up the field to stop the gaps in the hedge so the cattle couldn't stray. One of the Brits, carrying a gun, jumped out on me. He had an ordinary army uniform on but the other one was all in green and wearing a blue hat."

Drumm was detained for 20 minutes while the Brits once again abandoned their hide-out.



● Fermanagh Sinn Féin Councillor Paul Corrigan (right) surveys the spot where British soldiers were discovered by Derrylin farmer John McManus



● Thomas Drumm in the undergrowth where two undercover Brits had hidden

RUC TARGET BLIND MAN

A BLIND and physically disabled Derryman has been receiving threatening and abusive telephone calls following an incident in the city centre three weeks ago when he was knocked down on two occasions by RUC vehicles.

Terence Carr (44) of Brookdale Crescent in the Shantallow area of Derry, was going through Shipquay Gate at around 4.30pm on Friday, April 25th, when he was knocked down by an armoured RUC Land Rover. Moments later, as he attempted to get up, he was hit again, this time by a red, unmarked RUC car backing out of Bank Place. Although the injured man required immediate attention for a fractured ankle and cuts and bruising to his wrist, the RUC's attitude was hostile and unsympathetic. Terence Carr told AP/RN:

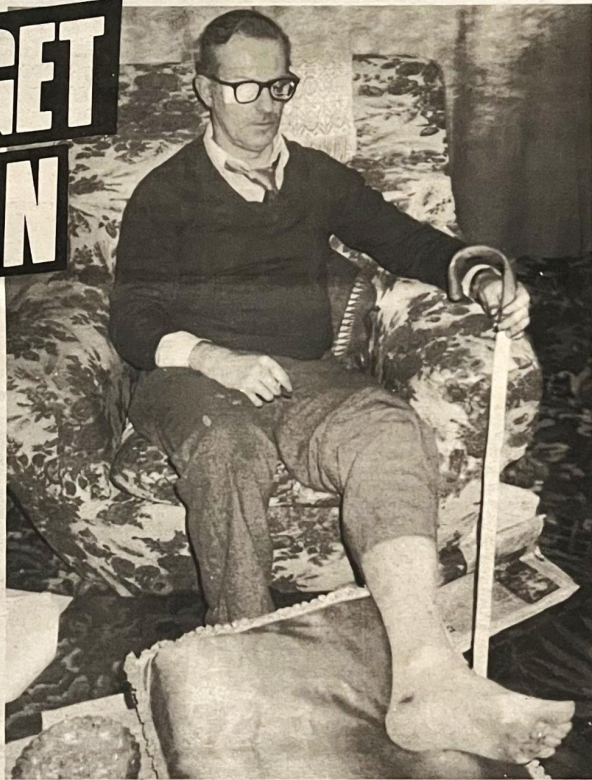
"The RUC could easily tell from the white stick I was carrying that I was blind, but when I asked them to call an ambulance

one of them replied, 'Who do you think we are? The fucking social services?'"

VISITED

Three days later, an RUC man called Craig visited the Carr home and cautioned him about taking any action as a result of the incident. He insinuated that because he was blind it would not be possible for him to legally prove that it was the RUC who had twice knocked him down. Undeterred, Carr made an official complaint about his ill-treatment and placed an advertisement in the following Tuesday's edition of the Derry Journal appealing for witnesses to come forward.

Carr is convinced that the two subsequent threatening calls he received



were from the same RUC man who called to his home.

As a result of his injuries and the telephone calls, Terence Carr has been re-

ceiving medical treatment for his nerves which has confined him to his home.

Consistent harassment

A SINC FEIN activist in Cookstown, County Tyrone, was the victim of an assault by the RUC on Sunday night, May 11th.

Joe Bell was returning home along the Orritor Road, pushing his bicycle, when he was stopped by a four-man RUC patrol at the entrance of the Broadfields Warehouse Wholesalers.

The RUC asked Bell his name, address and where he was going, but when he refused to give any further information one RUC man began shouting abuse at him. The RUC man then began punching Bell about the head and continued for several minutes while the other members of the patrol looked on. After pulling away their hysterical colleague, the patrol held Bell for another 30 minutes before releasing him.

Condemning the attack, local Sinn Féin Councillor Christopher Neeson pointed out that this was the third time in eight months that Joe Bell had received beatings from the RUC.

Interview translated

GERRY ADAMS' interview with AP/RN on the Hillsborough agreement has been translated into French, Spanish and German by the Sinn Féin Foreign Affairs Bureau.

Printed on double-sided A3 leaflets, copies of the interview can be obtained from the Foreign Affairs Bureau at 44 Parnell Square, Dublin 1 (phone 726932), price £10 (plus postage) for 250 or individually at minimum rates.

KILKEEL ATTACK

CATHOLIC families and business people in the County Down fishing town of Kilkeel have been living in fear of sectarian attacks for months now.

The latest incident, in which thousands of pounds of damage was caused, occurred around 9.30pm on Monday night, May 12th. Almost 200 local loyalists gathered outside the RUC barracks in Newry Street to protest at the arrest earlier that day of one of their number.

After several minutes, the mob moved into the town centre,

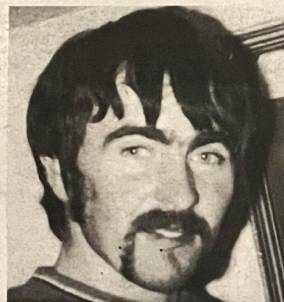
were they attacked Catholic owned property, smashing windows and damaging cars.

BAD BEATINGS

One local resident told AP/RN: "Catholics can't walk into the town at night now without risk of attack. This is especially true at weekends. Many young lads have already received bad beatings."

Local Sinn Féin Councillor Paddy Young condemns both the attacks on Catholic property and the SDLP's calls for a greater RUC presence:

"The RUC is a sectarian force and its presence is an integral part of the problem. It is not interested in defending or protecting Catholics and naive statements by SDLP spokespersons asking for more of that force to be moved into Kilkeel is a sure recipe for greater conflict."



● PADDY YOUNG

Divorce referendum

AT ITS MEETING on Saturday, May 10th, the Ard Chomhairle of Sinn Féin confirmed that the party will be supporting the campaign for a 'yes' vote in the twenty-six-county referendum on divorce.

Sinn Féin president Gerry Adams pointed out that the proposed text of the referendum falls short of Sinn Féin's policy in favour of divorce as a civil right. He said:

"Despite its shortcomings, this referendum offers some relief to the tens of thousands of people in the twenty-six-counties who are caught in the nightmare of marital breakdown. As such, it deserves the support of Irish republicans."

The Ard Chomhairle agreed that Sinn Féin members will support the campaign of the Divorce Action Group.

BENEFIT

There will be a benefit gig for the Divorce Action Group's campaign in Dublin's Liberty Hall next Tuesday, May 20th, at 8pm. Those appearing are Mary Coughlan and her band, Hothouse Flowers and the Gripe-water Blues Bands.

Tickets cost £5 and are available from the DAG at 96 Lower Baggot Street, Dublin 4 (phone 601046).

Border incursion

LOUTH. Sinn Féin has strongly condemned the immunity afforded by the Free State authorities to armed British troops who have entered the county on two occasions this month.

On Thursday, May 8th, local gardai were seen with four heavily-armed British soldiers at Courtbane. The troops were mostly 'advised' to go back across the border.

Tralee votes sympathy

AT THE MONTHLY meeting of Tralee Urban District Council on Thursday, May 1st, a vote of sympathy was extended to the family of IRA Volunteer Seamus McElwaine. The vote was proposed by Sinn Féin Councillor Billy Leen.

The May council meeting also adopted a resolution proposing to change the name of Denny Street to Pearse Street, in honour of the 1916 leader. Proposing the motion, Billy Leen said:

"It would be a fitting tribute for this council to honour a man who made the supreme sacrifice for his country on this the 70th anniversary of his death."

The name-change will take place within the next year if approved by a plebiscite of the street's residents.



Section 31 challenged

FORTY supporters of the Repeal Section 31 Committee picketed the Inchicore, Dublin, constituency clinic of the Coalition Communications Minister, Jim Mitchell, last Thursday, to call for an end to state censorship of RTE.

Mitchell agreed to consider the protestors' views after they had presented him with written submissions against Section 31.

The committee has promised to return within the next few weeks to hear Mitchell's reply.

CORPORATION 'LIKE PRIVATE SLUM LANDLORD'

Shirking responsibility

BY BRIDGET MULLIGAN

A 63-YEAR-OLD MAN has been forced to live in the burnt-out shell of his Dublin home because of a local authority's refusal to rehouse him in suitable accommodation.

Michael Morgan has lived in Allingham Buildings, in the Liberties area, for the past three years. Last Thursday, May 8th, his flat caught fire and he has been forced to live among its charred remains - without electricity, water or even windows.

Eighteen months ago, Dublin Corporation began detenanting the Building and most of the flats are now empty and boarded up. If the Buildings were privately owned, a closure order would have been issued and it would then have been illegal to charge rent on the property. However, the flats are owned by the Corporation which, as far as most of the tenants are concerned, has behaved just like a private slum landlord in refusing to carry out repairs.

The Corporation is still charging Michael Morgan rent for what little is left of his flat.

FIRE STATION

After the fire, Michael Morgan, who had been offered no alternative accommodation, went down to the Corporation Housing Department to ask for an immediate transfer within the area. He was offered a room in the Old Fire Station in Thomas Street.

Last January, Sinn Féin Councillor Christy Burke put a motion before Dublin City Council calling for the detenanting of the Old Fire Station, where there is no running water in the 'flats', no baths, and quite unsuitable conditions for the old people living there. The City Manager agreed to make every effort to rehouse the old



people living in the Fire Station.

Michael Morgan has two steel hips and turned down the Corporation offer of the Fire Station because he would be unable to climb the 72 stairs in the building.

Since his refusal, the Corporation has made no further offer and have actually suggested

that local Sinn Féin community workers should find him a suitable empty flat in the area.

Dublin Corporation claims that there is a housing shortage because there is insufficient land available for building. In the Liberties area alone, there are an estimated 33 acres of derelict or vacant sites.

Vacant flats danger

SET in an area which has seen extensive new housing development, Lourdes House, in Dublin's North Inner City, is one of the several run-down flats complexes which highlight the accommodation and maintenance crisis that, despite new housing, is rife in the city.

A large number of the flats in the complex are vacant and, because of maintenance cutbacks, Dublin Corporation has only covered the windows and doors with corrugated metal sheets allowing easy access to the flats which are frequently vandalised. Several weeks ago, the flat next door to Martin Moynihan was set on fire. The flat was completely destroyed and Moynihan's flat was badly damaged by smoke and water from the fire hoses.

Martin Moynihan told AP/RN that the water from the flat had soaked his bedding and floors and that he had seen rats in the burnt-out flat. It was five weeks before the Corporation cleared the flat.



● Martin Moynihan, at the entrance to his flat in the Lourdes House complex, Dublin

Sinn Féin Councillor Christy Burke has tabled a motion for the Inner City Housing Committee of Dublin Corporation on Lourdes House. This calls for immediate maintenance work to be carried

out on the vacant flats so that they can be put back in the city's housing stock, or, alternatively, for them to be bricked up until they are repaired.

Christy Burke told AP/RN that

the state of Lourdes House and similar complexes in the city would continue to be a running sore until proper funds were provided for housing maintenance for Corporation tenants.

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By-election campaigns in full swing

WITH VOTING in two local council by-elections to take place on Wednesday, May 21st, teams of Sinn Féin election workers in Fermanagh and South Derry have been working for over a week on the many differing tasks of an election campaign.

Brian McCaffrey (30), from Roslea in County Fermanagh, is Sinn Féin's candidate in the Erne East electoral area. His two opponents are from the Official Unionists and the SDLP.

An electrician by trade, McCaffrey has been actively involved in local politics since his late teens and is well-known and widely respected. Speaking to election workers, he dismissed SDLP claims that the London-Dublin accord would 'create real unity':

"Is there real unity in creating an unchallengeable position for an artificially-created majority in the North? The Hillsborough agreement offers nationalists little in the way of internal reform and promises nothing in regard to Irish unity."

MAGHERAFELT

The Sinn Féin candidate for the vacant seat on Magherafelt Council is 22-year-old Brenda McMullan. With the by-election only days away, she and her election workers have been busy canvassing the electorate, putting up posters and organising the postal delivery of Sinn Féin's manifestos.



● Sinn Féin's Brian McCaffrey (right) electioneering in Erne East

McMullan believes that the SDLP decision to contest this seat, despite originally agreeing to a Sinn Féin co-option, will be resented by many, many voters:

"In one year in local politics, Sinn Féin

councillors have succeeded in representing the nationalist electorate more effectively than the SDLP. Sinn Féin offers effective local representation and a hard-working constituency organisation."

Budgie Allen to be released

BY JANE FLUNKETT

BELFAST loyalist William 'Budgie' Allen is to get an early release from jail in July, the promised reward for his paid perjury.

Following weekend media leaks, British direct-ruler Tom King revealed that the 'royal prerogative of mercy' has been used to halve Allen's sentence and he will be released in July. Allen, who in April 1984 was given a 14-year prison sentence for UVF-related offences, has spent less than 3½ years in jail. On release, Allen will presumably be set up with a new identity and new home outside the six counties as part of the deal promised by the RUC.

Following Allen's arrest in January 1983, he implicated a total of 47 people on 226 charges



● Paid-perjurer 'Budgie' Allen

ges including four sectarian killings and UVF membership.

The news of Allen's early re-

lease confirms the republican analysis of the cynical deals being offered to individuals by the RUC and British authorities in the hope of securing convictions and has once again highlighted their sordid methods.

52 CHARGES

Allen, a one-time 'commander' of the UVF's junior wing, pleaded guilty at his trial to a total of 52 charges, including the attempted car-bombing of a Catholic-owned Belfast bar in December 1978 and conspiracy to kill.

Those named by Allen were also charged in relation to these incidents but 40 of the defendants were eventually released after trial judge Higgins dismissed Allen's evidence as "unworthy of belief". The other seven had signed statements under interrogation, including three who

were sentenced to life imprisonment.

SHREWD AND SELFISH

Delivering his verdict at the end of the trial last July, Higgins described Allen as a "shrewd, selfish person" and added that there was a "very real danger" that Allen's evidence could have been influenced by the desire to "curry favour with those in a position to reduce his sentence".

The collapse of the Allen show-trial left a situation that no loyalist is currently serving a prison sentence on the uncorroborated word of a paid-perjurer. Of course, Diplock Judge Higgins' criticisms of Allen's character and motives apply no less to alleged 'republican' paid-perjurers such as Christopher Black, Kevin McGrady and Robert Quigley, on whose unsupported evidence nationalists are still being held.



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● 'Eiri amach na Casca', the latest book produced by Republican Publications, is now available

Uncaring Executive

BY EAMON TRACY

RESIDENTS from the three remaining blocks of flats in the Moyard Estate in West Belfast, accompanied by local Sinn Féin Councillor Sean Keenan, met senior representatives of the North's state housing body, the Housing Executive, on Tuesday, May 13th. After two hours of talks they emerged expressing anger and "great disappointment" at the Executive's negative attitude to their serious health and environmental problems.

At Tuesday's meeting the residents' delegation, accompanied by Margaret Keenan and Dessie Johnson of the Moyard Housing Action Committee, insisted that the Executive implements an earlier commitment to turn two of the three blocks into temporary hostel accommodation. They also demanded priority status for the residents to facilitate speedy trans-

fers from their present "intolerable living conditions".

The Housing Executive's acting regional director for Belfast, Sean Gallagher, using the now-familiar 'cutbacks' excuse, claimed that no money was available to refurbish the flats or build alternative accommodation. He also ruled out any priority status for the tenants.

Organised tenant action against the conditions in Moyard has succeeded in forcing partial demolition of the estate. However, the families living in the remaining flats continue to endure harsh conditions.

A report published late last year by a health profile group (set up by the Eastern Health & Social Services Board) confirmed that conditions in Moyard are demonstrably worse than in other parts of the North. It confirmed, for example, that the proportion of low-weight babies in Moyard was "almost twice that for the North and West Belfast district and over twice the proportion for the Eastern Board as a whole".

Following the meeting, Sean



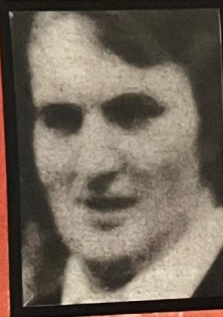
● Sean Keenan (right) meeting residents of the Moyard Estate before their meeting with the Housing Executive

Keenan condemned the uncaring attitude of the Executive and dismissed Gallagher's 'lack of money' excuse:

"Local GPs have expressed concern about the conditions and long-term dangers to children liv-

ing in Moyard Flats. The Housing Executive had promised relief for these families this year. Their living conditions are desperate and they will not meekly wait two years before the opportunity arises again for a transfer."

A special phase of



BESIDES the impact which it had on people throughout Ireland and indeed the world, the 1981 hunger-strike had a profound effect on the imprisoned comrades of the hunger-strikers.

Laurence McKeown, from Randalstown in County Antrim, experienced that trauma, not simply as a comrade but as an actual participant in the hunger-strike for 70 days. In this article, recently smuggled out of the H-Blocks of Long Kesh, he gives an insight into the thoughts, feelings and strength of purpose of those historic days.

IT IS IMPOSSIBLE in a few lines to portray all that the hunger-strike involved: all the emotions, the feelings, the happenings, the joys and the sorrows.

There's not one event that can be chosen from the rest to say, "This represents the hunger-strike", or, "It happened like this." But then the hunger-strike itself cannot be seen as an event separate from the history which preceded it, nor distinct from events which followed it.

It was more of a stage (an important stage) in the evolution of this phase of republican struggle and contained within it were the seeds of development which were to gather strength within the Republican Movement following the hunger-strike and which, even now, have yet to reach their full potential.

Individuals, in the course of their lives, go through various stages of development; some more quickly than others, some attaining a high degree of maturity at an early age, others never seeming to quite reach maturity at all. I don't believe that the particular level of development that each of us reaches is determined by our inborn characteristics but is the result of the situations with which we are confronted in the course of our lives. How we confront and deal with these situations greatly influences the path our development will take.

Reading this you may well say, okay, but what has this to do with the hunger-strike? The point is that the hunger-strike was the result of what went before it, a period of rapid and violent — in the revolutionary as well as the physical sense — development. As such, I see it as a stage which introduced a rapid rate of change and development within our movement which

will ultimately bring about the formation of a truly revolutionary organisation.

I would hope that no one would interpret that as a slight upon them as individuals or the Movement as a whole as it exists today or as it existed prior to the hunger-strike. But if we accept that 'process of development' and agree that we learn from the 'lessons of history and our own experience', then we must also accept that we are all, as individuals and as a movement, learning and maturing all the time and that such a process is a never-ending one. We must also keep in mind that we, as the Republican Movement, only exist at all because of those who have gone before us and who have carried the banner of resistance in even the most darkest hours.

THE YEARS of protest, struggle and resistance within the H-Blocks prior to the hunger-strike both made inevitable, as the ultimate conclusion to such a form of struggle, and also created the determination, the awareness, commitment, strength, maturity and resolve which was to confront that inevitability with such tragic consequences.

But I don't say 'tragic' in the sense of 'if only they had known better' — they

knew only too well what they were up against. They knew because they had been involved daily, 24 hours of every day, for years, in a struggle against an enemy whom they knew to be merciless, and devious with it. They knew because they analysed the factors involved that the odds were stacked against them. Nevertheless, they also knew, from what they had learned by their daily involvement in the struggle up to then, that there was only one choice they could make — wanted to make.

They weren't supermen, nor did they possess outstanding abilities over and above others, but what they did possess was a selflessness which relegated their own existence to the last in their list of priorities.

As Bobby [Sands] said at the beginning of his fast:

"I am dying, not just to attempt to end the barbarity of H-Block and to gain the rightful recognition of a political prisoner but primarily because what is lost in here is lost for the republic and those wretched oppressed whom I am deeply proud to know as the risen people."

THE blanket protest brought about an 'equality amongst all' even if it was an equality of brutal existence.

Each man had three blankets, a mattress and a chamber pot. He also had his thoughts and his comrades.

Everyone was an individual in his own right, with all his own peculiar characteristics, abilities and talents, and no one was given any special social status. Age, reputation, length of sentence, the charge on which one had been convicted, all were meaningless.

What mattered was how, individually, and as a unit, we were to get through another day. The common bond of struggle over and above everything else was to provoke thought in anyone willing to open his mind to it and, for those who did, resulted in a critical look at oneself and a reassessment of previously-held beliefs. Such a process was to identify very clearly superficial and materialistic aspects of life, and to focus on beliefs which really mattered (i.e. the freedom, happiness, dignity and well-being of a people).

All the various forms of oppression and discrimination (the subtle and the not so subtle) practised upon people, came to light in the course of discussions between comrades, and with it a deep feeling of unity with those people, unknown to us, both within our own society and elsewhere, who experienced oppression in all its various forms.

Differences in race, culture, language, etc. became meaningless and the world became divided into oppressor and oppressed, rich and poor, unjust and just.

We became deeply proud of the 'wretched oppressed'.

THE PRISON struggle, therefore, in the minds of most involved in it, became not merely a struggle about 'prison' but a struggle against oppression, capitalism, imperialism and militarism, in all their manifestations. To allow the enemy, the oppressor, to claim a victory in the aftermath of the first hunger-strike would have meant a defeat not only for the Republican Movement in its struggle, but a defeat for the oppressed everywhere — just as the victory of the black people of South Africa will be a victory for the people everywhere who are struggling to be politically, economically and culturally free.

Bobby, more than others, could articulate the feeling and his writings constantly expressed the theme of battle between those who desire to free and those who desire to imprison.

What I have said may

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appear strange or odd to
some of you who were directly
involved with the prison strug-
gle and/or hunger-strike, either
through your own imprison-
ment or role within the Move-
ment, or directly as someone
who was deeply interested in
the situation. I don't pretend
to have interpreted events in
such a manner at the time of
their actual unfolding, but
analysis of them and the ev-
ents directly preceding the
hunger-strike led me to formu-
late my understanding of that
period in the manner in which
I have just described.

Various explanations have
been advanced as to what it
is that makes people follow
through such a course of
action with such dire and in-
evitable consequences. "The
IRA ordered them to do it,"
"They had suicidal tendencies"
or believed in a "blood sacri-
fice", are some of the most
regular claims. Even a cur-
sory examination of those in-
volved and the conditions prior
to and during the hunger-
strike will discredit such
theories instantly.

The IRA leadership was to-
tally opposed, for tactical
reasons, to another hunger-
strike. Those participating
were full of life and wished to
remain alive; and Bobby had
tried by every means to pre-
vent it — going to great leng-
ths to 'prove' to the prison
authorities how flexible the
prisoners were within the terms
of the demands.

No, they initially adopted
such a course of action because
the situation demanded it — all
else had failed — and they con-
tinued on it because nothing
changed to render that course
of action no longer necessary.

AFTER the death
of four of our
comrades — Bob-
by, Frank, Raymond and Pat-
sy — the Irish Commission
for Justice and Peace became
involved in talks with the
Northern Ireland Office and
next met with the prisoners
on hunger-strike. The latter
talks lasted many hours over
a period of two days — talks
with men who were 20, 30, 40
days or more without food and
who had already witnessed
four of their comrades dying.

On the second day, 'arrange-
ments to end the hunger-strike
agreed to by NIO ministers'
were explained to the prisoners
— arrangements which the NIO
later totally denied.

These arrangements were
described by the delegates of
the ICJP as being, while not
totally, still the greater por-
tion of our demands. One
member of the delegation, an
SDLP member, described them
as "even more than what you
actually asked for". An analy-
sis of the 'arrangements', how-
ever, very quickly showed that
what was being spoken of was
a surrender — it was totally
rejected by the men on hunger-
strike.

MAYBE the people
who make up such
delegations are just
politically naive; maybe some
have a more devious reason
for their actions; or maybe
they simply do what the
Church Hierarchy tells us we
all must do (i.e. compromise).

Whatever their motives, they
weren't prepared for the analy-
tical minds and strength of
convictions with which they
were confronted. They found
that they weren't talking to
people who were 'caught up in
a dilemma' or who 'wanted an
easy way out' but people who
knew exactly what they were
doing and what they wished to
achieve — and who were
committed to bringing about
their objective.

The hunger-strikers were in
a position to have those quali-
ties as, day in, day out, for
years they had been to the
forefront of an ongoing strug-
gle, had heightened their aware-
ness in the course of that strug-
gle, and identified the forces
which were ranged against
them.

They could distinguish be-
tween those who were on
their side and those who were
not, and amongst the latter
they would also include those
who forever say, 'We must have
peace, reconciliation, forgive-
ness', and who attempt to
cover over and forget the in-
justice, brutality and oppres-
sion of a system which, until
it is destroyed in its entirety,
will forever enslave, for its own
perverse ends, the minds and
bodies of men, women and
children.

A SMALL pamphlet
I once read (writ-
ten, ironically, by
a priest, Fr Albert Nolan) said
that a 'myth' exists that Chris-
tians must always seek 'a
peaceful solution to their prob-
lems and conflicts must forgive
their enemies' and talk out
their differences.

But it is only a myth.

No one can compromise
between good and evil, be-
tween justice and injustice and
between oppressed and oppres-
sor.

I suppose it is not so iron-
ic after all. Fr Nolan works
among the black slaves of
South Africa. Today, politici-
ans, the Catholic Hierarchy
and others who generally bene-
fit from the present way in
which society is ordered, tell
us we should 'support the
Hillsborough agreement' as
'through it we shall find peace'.
But this 'peace' is not what we
are searching for.

We are aiming for an order
of society in which people
are no longer enslaved, exploi-
ted and abused, and in which
justice, equality and humanity
are more than just words.

WITH these thou-
ghts firmly in our
minds, we can
look back and understand
the hunger-strike.

It wasn't just one event,
separate from all else, but a
phase, a special phase in the
development of our struggle.

We continue that same
struggle today, not out of a
sense of duty to our fallen
comrades of the hunger-strike
and other battles, but because
we believe in the justice of
our struggle. However, we
do seek inspiration, strength
and courage from the example
shown, not in the act of their
dying but in the act of their
living and working daily for the
pursuit of victory, applying
themselves studiously to the
tasks at hand, educating them-
selves in the art of revolution,
analysing deeply situations
which confronted them and
helping each other to over-
come their own personal fears,
worries and weaknesses.

The hunger-strike was an
important phase in the pro-
cess of our revolution — it is
the duty of all of us to further
that process in the days ahead.

Leitrim honours Sean Mac Diarmada

THE 70th anniversary of the death of Sean Mac Diarmada, architect of the Easter Rising and a signatory of the Proclamation, was marked by over 300 people at the annual commemoration in Kiltyclogher, County Leitrim, last weekend.

Led by a republican colour party and the Kiltubrid Pipe Band, the parade on Sunday afternoon, May 11th, marched from Sean Mac Diarmada's birthplace at Straduffly to the village of Kiltyclogher where the ceremonies were held at the patriot's monument. Along the route, slogans such as "We salute the Provos" and "We remember Seamus McEneaney" had been painted, a sign, just like the large crowd, of the staunch republicanism of the area.

The commemoration was chaired by Michael Colreavy, chairperson of Leitrim Sinn Féin, who introduced Katie B. Keane, who laid a wreath at the monument on behalf of the Mac Diarmada family. Wreaths were also laid on behalf of the Republican Movement, the National Graves Association and the Sean Mac Diarmada Sinn Féin cumann of Garrison, County Fermanagh. Following the reading of the Proclamation and the Easter statement from the republican

leadership, the main speaker of the day was Sean MacManus, national chairperson of Sinn Féin.

REMAINED TRUE

MacManus paid tribute to the people of Leitrim who had always remained true to the ideals of Mac Diarmada and his comrades. He said it was appropriate that they were gathered on the eve of the anniversary of his execution, along with James Connolly, on May 12th 1916:

"Let us not be fooled by revisionism. The struggle today is motivated by the same objectives as that of the 1916 signatories of the Proclamation. Not 200 yards down the road, Irish people are oppressed by the foreign British presence in their land and their homes. Those oppressors are opposed by one of the most dedicated generations of Irish people — the men and women of Oglagh na hEireann."

Referring to the SDLP, he urged people to remember that but for the

● (Above) Colour party leads the way from Straduffly to Kiltyclogher; (right) Sean MacManus

Republican Movement they would be in alliance with the unionists as part of an 'internal settlement' in the six counties. He said that republicans "must be aware that the Hillsborough agreement's sole objective is to defeat and isolate the Republican Movement".



Sean McCaughey - fíor Ghael

FORTY YEARS after the death on hunger and thirst strike of IRA Chief of Staff Sean McCaughey, several hundred people gathered round his graveside in Milltown Cemetery in Belfast on Sunday, May 11th, to pay their respects to a "brave and fearless patriot".

A colour party from the National Graves Association, followed by 250 people, walked from the main gates of the cemetery to the spot where, 40 years before, on Monday, May 13th 1946, Sean McCaughey was buried.

Alfie Hannaway chaired the proceedings and wreaths were laid by Liam Wiggins, president of the Belfast committee of the NGA and Janice Quinn of Sinn Féin. Liam Rice, "a close friend and comrade" of Sean McCaughey, gave the oration.

Sean McCaughey was born in Aughnacloy, County Tyrone, in 1916. His family moved to Ardoyne in North Belfast when he was five years old and at the age of 17 he joined 'C' Company of the IRA's Belfast Battalion.

Liam Rice told the assembled crowd, many of whom knew Sean

McCaughey, "he became a true Irish national in that he lived the Gaelic culture and played the Gaelic games. He became a fíor-Ghael and mastered and spoke the Irish language fluently."

His qualities of leadership, ability and commitment were quickly recognised and he was given even greater responsibilities within the IRA.

ARRESTED

On September 2nd 1941, he was arrested in Dublin. He refused to recognise the military court and was sentenced to death. After massive public protests, this sentence was changed to penal servitude for life.

The remaining years of his short life were spent on the blanket protest in Portlaoise Prison, two years of which were in solitary confinement. On April 19th 1946, he began a hunger-strike for an unconditional release and, after 16 days, he went on thirsk strike.

At 1am on Saturday, May 11th, he died.



● LIAM RICE

Richard R. Madden commemoration

THE CENTENARY of the death of Dr Richard R. Madden, historian of the United Irishmen, was commemorated at Donnybrook Churchyard, Dublin, last Sunday, May 11th, when a plaque was unveiled to his memory.

Born in Dublin in 1798, Madden travelled widely, campaigning for the abolition of slavery. He is chiefly remembered for his seven volumes of history, *The United Irishmen, Their Lives and Times*, which record in detail the history of the 1798 and 1803 rebellions. Madden died in Booterstown, County Dublin, on February 5th 1886 and was buried in Donnybrook churchyard.

Sunday's tribute to Madden was organised by the National Graves Association who erected the plaque to his memory in the small cemetery. The plaque was unveiled by Terry de Valera.

SECRET SERVICE RECORDS

Eamonn Mac Thomais, president of the National Graves, recalled Madden's

perseverance in uncovering the British Secret Service records from Dublin Castle which identified the numerous informers, including many priests, who betrayed the United Irishmen during the years 1794-98 and detailed the large sums of money paid to them.

In conclusion, Mac Thomais recalled that Madden was also the benefactor of Anne Devlin, whom he met when she was living in poverty in Dublin in 1843. He arranged financial support for her for the rest of her life. Anne Devlin died in 1851 during one of Madden's journeys abroad and she was buried in a pauper's grave. When Madden returned he arranged for her re-interment in a plot in Glasnevin Cemetery.



Tony Aherne remembered

THE DEATH on active service of Volunteer Tony Aherne, at Roslea, County Fermanagh, in 1973, was commemorated in his native Cork on Sunday, May 11th.

A republican colour party and the Cork Volunteer Pipe Band led contingents from Fianna Éireann, Cumann na mBan, Cumann na gCailíní and 100 marchers in the parade to Tony Aherne's graveside in Carrigaline Cemetery. After the sounding of the *Last Post*, a wreath was laid on behalf of the Republican Movement by Christy Aherne.

In his oration, Gearóid Mac Carth-

aigh announced the opening of a new Sinn Féin centre by Martin McGuinness in the city on Saturday next, May 17th. The centre is being called the Tony Aherne/Dermot Crowley Hall in honour of the two Cork Volunteers who have given their lives in the present phase of the freedom struggle.

Sunday's commemoration ended with the playing of *Amhrán na bhFiann* by the Cork Volunteer Pipe Band.

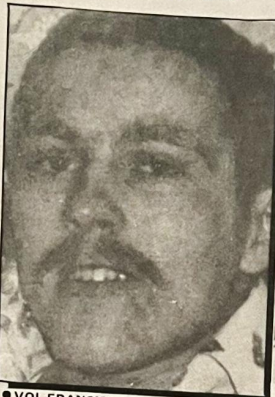
Hundreds at Tamladuff commemoration Vol Francis Hughes honoured

FIVE YEARS AGO, tens of thousands of people filled the roads, laneways and even the fields of Bellaghy and Tamladuff to bury Volunteer Francis Hughes, who died in Long Kesh on May 12th 1981.

At Sunday's fifth anniversary commemoration, the memories of that sad day of the funeral were many. The hundreds of people making their way to Tamladuff for the start of the march to St Mary's Graveyard had to run the gauntlet of the British forces of occupation.

Checkpoints on every road sent cars on three-to-four-mile diversions and people were delayed, abused and, in a number of cases, forcibly photographed by the RUC Special Branch.

According to local republicans, this year's march, which numbered around 2,000 was the largest of any year's commemoration since Francis Hughes' funeral. Of the dozen bands which took part, over half have been formed since the hunger-strike and indeed a number bore the name of hunger-strike martyrs.



● VOL FRANCIS HUGHES

in the churchyard. Holden vigorously entreated the crowds to join the various branches of the Republican Movement, and "get the damn thing finished and over with now."

TIPPERARY VETERAN

Tipperary veteran Paddy Holden, who took part in his first ambush of British forces in 1919 at the age of 16, spoke briefly



● A section of the crowd in St Mary's Graveyard at the graves of Vol Francis Hughes and his cousin Vol Thomas McElwee who both died during the 1981 hunger-strike in Long Kesh

The next speaker at the commemoration, which took place as usual beside the graves of Francis Hughes and his cousin, fellow hunger-strike martyr Thomas McElwee, was Fr Joe McVeigh, of

Irinestown in County Fermanagh, who denounced the continuation of the immoral practice of strip searching.

John Davey, a Sinn Féin member of Magherafelt Council, then

introduced prominent Kerry Sinn Féin member, Richard Behal, who paid particular tribute to the courage of Francis Hughes, and the self-sacrifice and commitment of the H-Block hunger-strikers.

Sands/Connolly rally in London

THE CONWAY HALL in London was the venue for a rally last weekend to commemorate the fifth anniversary of the death of Bobby Sands and the 70th anniversary of the death of James Connolly.

The rally, on Saturday, May 10th, was organised by the Wolfe Tone Society and attended by over 300 people.

Spaced over five hours, the rally consisted of video showings, music, book-stalls and speeches from Sinn Féin's Jim McAllister, Bob Doyle (a republican veteran of the Spanish Civil War), a spokesperson

for the Irish Prisoners' Appeal and Westminster MP Jeremy Corbyn.

FURTHER AWAY

Jeremy Corbyn made a useful and well-received contribution. He pointed to the interesting phenomenon that the further away from Britain a struggle is, the more interested in that struggle British socialists become. But he also noted that, "the further one goes from Britain to the shanty towns of South Africa or Central America, or where people are fighting for their lives, the more they know about Bobby Sands and James Connolly and why they were

killed. There is a lesson there for the British labour movement."

Jim McAllister reminded the audience that Bobby Sands and James Connolly "were both republicans, both socialists; both died in British prisons and both died because they believed that Irish people had a right and duty to fight for their freedom."

"Sixty-five years after the execution of James Connolly, Bobby Sands met his H-Block death. Nothing has changed really, the struggle is not yet finished, the struggle goes on."



● JIM McALLISTER



● JEREMY CORBYN

Arrests at Old Bailey

WITHIN MINUTES of beginning their picket, 25 people protesting outside the Old Bailey Courthouse in London, where the trial of five Irish people is continuing, were arrested by British police on Monday, May 12th.

The protest against strip-searching was peaceful and no-one resisted arrest. The demonstrators were not obstructing the pavement but this did not satisfy the police, who have banned any demonstrations anywhere 'in the vicinity of the Old Bailey'.

All of the protestors were later released without charge.

AMNESTY CONDEMNATION

The twenty-six-county section of Amnesty International passed

a motion condemning strip-searches at its annual conference in Dublin last weekend.

The resolution was adopted with a large majority — 42 for and only four against. This was despite the intervention of a representative from the Amnesty executive in London who advised delegates to vote against the motion.

OCCUPATION

In another protest against strip-searching, a British Tourist Board caravan was occupied in Still-



● BRIAN TYNDALL

organ, Dublin, on Saturday, May 3rd.

The caravan was parked in Stillorgan Shopping Centre car park as part of a promotional tour for holidays in Britain. Brian Tyndall, a member of the local Sinn Féin cumann, seized the opportunity to highlight strip-searching and occupied the caravan.

He distributed leaflets which exposed the use of strip-searching as a method of torture against women prisoners in Maghaberry in the six counties and Brixton Prison in London, and also explained how the Prevention of Terrorism Act in Britain is used against Irish people.



EXTRADITION PICKET

BUNCRANA, County Donegal, Sinn Féin members picketed the local courthouse on Thursday, May 1st, in protest against the Free State authorities' extradition of republicans into the hands of the British government.

London vigil

THE FIFTH anniversary of the death of Bobby Sands was commemorated in London on Sunday, May 4th, with a black-flag vigil in Kilburn Square.

The vigil to honour all ten of the 1981 hunger-strike martyrs was attended by more than 70 people. In a speech at the end of the vigil, Kevin Colfer said that, despite the collaboration of the Dublin government and the continued repression of the freedom struggle, the struggle of Bobby Sands and his comrades will continue until victory.

The vigil was supported by several Irish solidarity and left-wing organisations.



Nuacht Feirste

THERE ARE only two weekly Irish-language newspapers in the country - *Nuacht Feirste* and *Anois*.

Nuacht Feirste, Sinn Fein's weekly paper, carries news from home and abroad (as well as a crossword).

Make sure of your copy by taking out a subscription (€6 for six months) by writing to: An tEagarthoir, *Nuacht Feirste*, 147 Bothar Shailie Andarsan, Beal Feirste 11.



Saoirse

THE sixth edition of the Sinn Fein all-Irish magazine, *Saoirse*, is now available.

As well as articles on current affairs, the magazine includes a section on literature and a contribution from the H-Blocks.

Copies of *Saoirse*, price 80p (70p sterling), are available from Republican Publications, 51/53 Falls Road, Belfast. Tel. 232820. A subscription for four editions costs €4 and is available from the same address.



Notes for revolutionaries

NOTES for revolutionaries, the popular pocket-book of revolutionary quotations from throughout the world, will be re-issued later this year and Republican Publications would like anyone who has new quotes for inclusion in this, the third edition, to send them to Brian MacDonnell, 44 Parnell Square, Dublin 1, by Thursday, June 12th.



● Kevin Fitzpatrick (Centre, wearing tie) emerges from Dublin's Four Courts, flanked by supporters



● Drug-pusher Liam O'Reilly slinks away

ANTI-DRUGS ACTIVIST WINS COURT CASE

CPAD VICTORY

BY MAIRTIN Mac DIARMADA

CONCERNED PARENTS Against Drugs (CPAD) activist and Dun Laoghaire Sinn Fein community worker Kevin Fitzpatrick was found not guilty in a Dublin court this week of intimidating a self-confessed heroin-pusher.

During the trial on Wednesday, May 14th, Liam O'Reilly admitted that he had been pushing heroin for seven years. O'Reilly was notorious as a pusher in the Dun Laoghaire/Sallynoggin area and in February 1985 was approached at his house on two occasions by local Concerned Parents activists, including Kevin Fitzpatrick, and asked to leave the area. O'Reilly later swore an affidavit to the gardai which alleged that he

had been threatened and intimidated by Fitzpatrick.

This affidavit was the only basis for the charges against Kevin Fitzpatrick and O'Reilly was the only witness for the prosecution. Under cross-examination, O'Reilly admitted that he may have been 'stoned' or drunk when he swore the affidavit. Fitzpatrick denied threatening O'Reilly and said that his only motivation and that of other CPAD members was concern for the lives of their children who were threatened by drug-pushers. Kevin Fitzpatrick is chairperson of the central committee of the CPAD.

VERDICT

After the trial on Wednesday, the jury took just an hour to reach its verdict which found Fitzpatrick not guilty on all charges. He was

greeted with cheers and applause by delighted supporters when he emerged from the court in Chancery Place.

A couple of minutes earlier, Liam O'Reilly had walked out of the court. He was alone.

Last year, he was given a four-year sentence for drugs-related offences and is presently on remand. Several people outside the court pointed this out angrily, saying how "drug-pushers can walk the streets".

Kevin Fitzpatrick said afterwards that the Concerned Parents Against Drugs would continue to act to protect their children and their communities against the menace of drug-pushers. He said that Wednesday's court case was just another battle won in the long war of communities against drugs.

Conradh rejects Hillsborough agreement

BY CIAN Mac AOIDH

THE BIGGEST Irish-language organisation in the country, Conradh na Gaeilge, passed a motion at its annual ard-fheis in Limerick at the weekend which condemned the Hillsborough agreement because "it is not a sincere attempt to obtain peace or justice for the people of Ireland but an attempt to break nationalist resistance in the six counties".

The motion which was proposed by the Belfast-based Sean Mac Diarmada branch of Conradh also stated that the London-

Dublin deal will not benefit the Irish language in the North.

A second crucial motion

demanding that the Dublin government's Foreign Minister, Peter Barry, withdraw his public praise for the Northern Ireland Office's stance on Irish was passed unanimously by delegates. On January 10th, Peter Barry told reporters that "what the Northern Ireland Office has done for the Irish language was worthy of commendation".

EXECUTIVE

The Sinn Fein spokesperson on culture, Mairtin O Muilleoir, who was one of 14 delegates

elected on to the Conradh's ruling executive, and Coiste Gno, welcomed the Conradh's "progressive and resolute stance" against the Hillsborough agreement. "The London-Dublin deal is rightly seen by an Conradh as being a set-back to the revival of the Irish language."

The acceptance by the ard-fheis of a resolution that next year's annual convention be held in Derry means that the prestigious event will be held in the North for the first time since 1932.



● PETER BARRY

IBA pressed for Irish programmes

A DECLARATION by the Independent Broadcasting Authority that they accept the need for Irish-language programmes on UTV and Downton Radio has been described by Sinn Fein president Gerry Adams as "a useful improvement on their previous position but still not satisfactory".

The West Belfast MP was speaking after he had led a delegation of Irish-language representatives from his constituency at a meeting with the IBA's chief officers in the six counties, Tony Fleck and Alan Bremner, on Thursday, May 8th. He said:

"We asked for Irish-language

programmes to be given priority by the IBA and for a special effort to be made to broadcast children's programmes in Irish to meet with the demand created by the large number of young people now receiving an Irish-language education.

"We were told that there was



● GERRY ADAMS

no statutory obligation on UTV or Downton to provide Irish-language programmes but that both companies viewed our de-

mands sympathetically and would broadcast Irish programmes 'at some stage'. We will now be making further representations to Downton and UTV with specific suggestions for particular types of programmes."

WALES & SCOTLAND

Neither UTV nor Downton have ever broadcast Irish-language programmes, yet IBA-backed companies in Wales and Scotland broadcast the indigenous languages of those countries.

Furthermore, Sianel Pedwar Cymru (the Welsh fourth channel) is funded by a special subscription raised by the IBA from its contractors. This amounted to £28 million in 1984-85 and means that, while UTV and Downton will not finance Irish programmes they are in fact paying towards the cost of Welsh programmes.

film

Anti-clockwise

BY EDDIE STACK

A JOKE: What have snooker and the Death Cloud from Chernobyl got in common? You can't hide from either of them. To that you can add that the longer you are exposed to them, the worse off you'll get.

Snooker. Morning, noon and night, it's snooker. And for those of you listening in stereo, the ball is moving from left to right. 'Oh, you don't have to watch it,' I hear you say. You can walk the dog, take up parachuting, climb Lough Derg, throw a brick at the RUC, anything at all, just stay indoors (because of the Chernobyl Death Cloud, of course).

Then you can watch the snooker. So what can you do indoors that doesn't involve watching snooker? Go to the toilet? No, no good. There's always someone in there before you. Aha, we have it! Head for your friendly neighbourhood cinema and buy a ticket for a visual feast of unsurpassed delight!

Yes, indeed. That will be £3.50, but what the heck, you won't have to watch anyone potting the black. You may have to sit on top of a half-slumped ice-pot that got left on your seat, you may be sat down right behind the

tallest man in Ireland, and you may have to listen to the on and on about their phones being disconnected even though they paid the bill six years ago, but at least you won't have to look at Steve 'Interesting' Davis.

LEGENDARY

So what did we see this week while wearing a lead suit on the bus to avoid the Death Cloud?

We saw a film called *Clockwise*, which starred the greatest comedian bar none in the world, Mr John Cleese, the man who created the legendary Basil Fawlty, Torquay's most famous hotelier.

Cleese has got very boring over the last few years, primarily because his psychiatrist has managed to cure his severe depression and leave him, unfortunately for us, too happy to think about trying to make us laugh. In fact, so boring and politically castrated has Cleese's psychiatrist left him that the ex-Monty Python mart is now making party political broadcasts for the Social Democratic Party, the

party which believes that proportional representation will save Britain. Nevertheless, Cleese has now got out of bed to pay the rent and has appeared in an occasionally funny farce about a schoolkeeper obsessed about keeping the time.

Cleese plays Brian Stimson, the headmaster of a mundane English comprehensive school. Aha, but Mr Stimson is not so mundane for he has been chosen to be the chairperson of the Headmasters' Association,



John Cleese is frustrated by faulty phones in *Clockwise*

tion, we are told, an organisation dominated by the fee-paying public (i.e. private) schools. Therefore, when we first see Stimson he is rehearsing his speech to the association in his head and phrases like "This historic occasion" and "Never before in the history of the association" swirl around his brain. (Sounds like a *Fianna Fail* ad-thesis to me - Ed.)

The problem is that Stimson is obsessed with time. He walks into rooms on the dot, he tells his pupils to meet him at 9.20 am. Everything in his world is ordered, disciplined and easy to handle because it is on time. Stimson is obsessed by order and his ruthless time-keeping is symbolic of same. Alas for our headmaster hero, doesn't he take the wrong train and only leaves off it in time to find that he has left his speech on board? Now he can't find his wife to drive him to the association's annual meeting. He hijacks one of his students' cars and they take off for Norwich, but not before ramming a police car. He can't ring Norwich because the phones don't work, so he ends up tearing them apart in frustration. An ex-girlfriend of his is picked up on a route but they only end up stuck in a muddy field because Stimson 'knows' a short cut. By the end, Stimson is breaking every rule of law and order... so that he can be on time.

DRAWN OUT

Clockwise is one of those films that would have made a very funny half-hour on the TV but is a bit drawn out here. Needless to say, when it is funny it's very funny, but when it's in a jokeless patch it's very boring indeed.

Cleese, of course, is hilarious, never more so when he's kicking the car in frustration and falling into the mud. He had nothing to do with the script of the film, however, and if he'd stop pottering around with the SDP maybe he'd sit down and write one. But look on the bright side. Steve Davis isn't in *Clockwise*.

leabhar

Cute hoors

BY KEVIN CURRIE

HAUGHEY was reported a couple of weeks ago as responding to a question as to whether he'd read Dick Walsh's book, *The Party: Inside Fianna Fail*, by saying that he didn't bother with fiction. In fairness to Walsh, political editor of *The Irish Times* and no friend of ours, there's no way his book is fiction.

"With *Fine Gael*", he concluded, "edging its way towards *Fianna Fail*'s old position - that of a catch-all party with a reforming edge - *Fianna Fail* retreated to the right and, as of old, looked to the past. Not to the sinewy, vaguely anti-clerical organisation which was seen as a threat to the established order in the late '20s, but to the place that *Fine Gael* had so long and so unctuously occupied with its air of clericalism and obedience. The people who cheer loudest at ad-fheiseanna - 'Up the republic and 'Brits out!' - would be shocked at the suggestion that there has been such a change, but everything they do - as distinct from the things they shout for - confirms it: *partitionism* with a clerical touch."

Further, this partitionist party with the clerical touch, though paying lip-service to what Walsh calls the national pieties (unity, neutrality, the language) is wholly absorbed in 'stroke', in messenger-boy politics, and the 'cult of the cute hoor'. Its earlier concern for social matters has been "reduced to keeping an electoral eye on the needs of welfare recipients"; though at present serving into the greenery of opposition, it has always been able to distinguish between the 'rhetoric of opposition and the reality of government'.

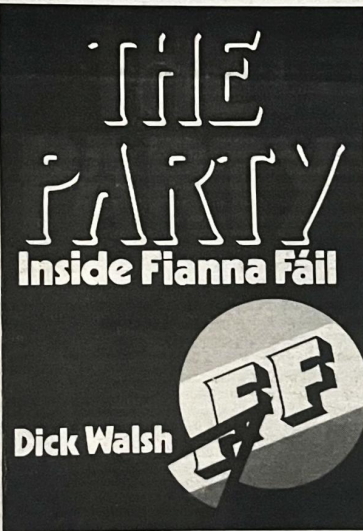
Truly, things have come to a pretty pass. Bearing in mind that there's a distinction between explaining an act and approving it, it's

understandable how, in 1925, after the beating received in the Civil War - with the Boundary Commission having solidified partition and with O'Higgins, Cosgrave, and Blythe firmly in power - men, some of them with first-class personal records, could have asked themselves how best they might further the national cause given the then existing conditions. It's even understandable that they opted to form *Fianna Fail*.

CLEANEST SPLIT

The 1926 'split' was, as it happens, the cleanest and least bitter of republican splits. For a start those who left re-formed themselves under a different name. As late as '29, de Valera - in a speech in which he denied all but *de facto* recognition of the government - would say "those who continued on in that organisation which we have left [the IRA] can claim exactly the same continuity that we claimed up to '25". An *Phoblacht*, at the time, carried headlines like "One Movement - Two Groups" and "The Deep Down Spirit of Unity", and indeed so strong was this feeling among many rank and file republicans that the leadership gave the nod to helping *Fianna Fail* into power in '32.

The 'split' was on the issue of abstentionism. De Valera, in that same '29 speech, made it clear that he'd gone in "as a matter of practical policy" while Lemass's comment that the 'method' was the "best in the present circumstances" is the argument by which the establishment of a republican government



couldn't be achieved by those methods "we would not confine ourselves to them", is well-known.

Fianna Fail was a 'slightly constitutional party'.

SEVEN AIMS

Consider this: of the seven aims with which *Fianna Fail* was formed - Irish unity, the language, implementation of the Democratic Programme, "making the resources of the country subservient to the people", decentralisation of industry, economic self-sufficiency, and keeping people on the land - none has been achieved. Moreover, five of them have been either quietly dropped or reversed, while two (language revival and unity) exist only as 'pieties' for raising cheers at meetings. Yet, incredibly, all seven still feature in the *Fianna Fail* constitution.

Lacking both clear-sightedness and principle, they were unable to take the radical steps necessary to the creation of an independent economy. Instead they reversed policy in '38, and more thoroughly in '57, throwing this part of the country open to a new and more insidious conquest in which repatriated profits would come to replace the outflow in rents paid to absentee landlords during the last century. (Our conclusion by the way, not Walsh's.)

The anti-imperialism with which they had begun, meanwhile, underwent a transmutation from which it emerged in the form of dux politics. Imperialism, in a sense, had become whatever the church said it was. Thus "Cosgrave refused to legalise divorce; de Valera made it unconstitutional. Cosgrave regulated films and books. De Valera regulated

dancehalls. Cosgrave forbade propaganda for the use of contraceptives; De Valera banned their sale or import. "De Valera's shifts of emphasis indicate," Walsh writes, "a degree of flexibility with which he was seldom credited during his lifetime... the party had been shaped, not by its vision of a historic Irish nation, but by its reduction of that vision to the twenty-six counties, Catholic orthodoxy, and a couple of slogans... It was not a rich inheritance." Amen to that.

SHIBBOLETHS

There is another inheritance that is 'rich'; but Walsh doesn't bother to counterpose it. His book is no be all and end all account. It is short, lacks footnotes, and there's little in it that wouldn't be known to those who take an interest. Moreover, as Kevin Boland has pointed out in a review published elsewhere Walsh also has his 'shibboleths' - a sackful of them which, Boland adds, happen to be in the ascendant at the moment. Chief among these is that he writes with all the assumed superiority of a Southern liberal (a position I, my pets, held briefly as a ten-year-old).

Walsh writes from a perspective that admires Lemass, Lynch, O'Malley, and windbags like FitzGerald as well as the Workers' Party. He is thus part of the big noise about pluralism, part of the present effort to reduce Tone's revolutionary republicanism to a matter of a few, relatively minor, social and cultural reforms (divorce *et al*) that republicans would take for granted, what they miss is that they are practising precisely the same dux politics they accuse *Fianna Fail* of indulging in.

Meanwhile, the presence of imperialism in our country passes them by.

● *The Party: Inside Fianna Fail* by Dick Walsh is published by Gill and MacMillan, price IR£5.95.

Imeachtaí

REPUBLICAN DINNER

Guest speaker: Martin McGuinness
8pm Friday 16th May
Metropole Hotel
CORK
Taille: £10
Bar extension till 1am

SOCIAL NIGHT

Friday 16th May
No. 5 Club
5 Blessington Street
DUBLIN
Taille £1
Organised by
Sinn Féin
Trade Union Department

CORK SINN FEIN OFFICE

Official opening by
Martin McGuinness
12 noon Saturday 17th May
CORK CITY

ANTI-STRIP SEARCHING

PUBLIC MEETING
9pm Monday 19th May
Imperial Hotel
CAVAN
Organised by Sinn Féin

DIVORCE ACTION GROUP

BEFFIT G
Featuring Hothouse Flowers,
May Coughlan & her band
and the Gripwater Blues Band
8pm Tuesday 20th May
Liberty Hall
DUBLIN
Tickets £5 from DAG,
96 Lr Baggot Street, Dublin 4

BALLAD SESSION

Music by Joe McShane & friends
8pm Friday 23rd May
Travellers' Rest
Hounstoun
Colton
COUNTY LOUTH
Taille £2

ANTI-STRIP SEARCH PICKET

11.30am-1.30pm
Saturday 24th May
BRITTON PRISON
Brixton Hill/Jebb Ave junction
IBRG transport from
Hall of Memory car park
Cambridge Street,
Birmingham, 8.30am



AN CUMANN CABHRACH TESTIMONIAL DINNER

Due to the huge demand for tickets for the annual An Cumann Cabhrach Testimonial Dinner last year, republicans who wish to attend this year's event are asked to book their tickets early to avoid disappointment. Tickets, price £8, are available from 44 Parnell Square, Dublin 1.
An Cumann Cabhrach Testimonial Dinner
7.30pm Saturday 21st June
Park Lodge Hotel
North Circular Road
Dublin

New cumann

A NEW Sinn Féin cumann has been formed in Cresslough, County Donegal. Named after IRA Volunteer Seamus McElwaine, who was killed on active service in County Fermanagh only last month, the cumann's officer board is as follows:-

Chair: Edward Boyle; vice-chair: John McGafferty; secretary: Conor Kelly; joint-treasurers: Neil McCarthy and Michael Harkin.

DROGHEDA

The Bobby Sands Sinn Féin cumann, Drogheda, County Louth, elected the following officer board at its recent AGM:-

Chair: Hugh McShane; secretary: Gerald Reynolds; treasurer: Eamon Starrs.



REMEMBERING THE PAST The last executions

BY PETER O'ROURKE

DURING the second week of May 1916, the court-martial set up in Dublin's Richmond Barracks worked at top speed. The average time taken to hear a case and deliver a sentence was seldom more than about five minutes. Day after day, the results of 'trials' were being announced.

On Thursday, May 4th, four more leaders of the Rising — Con Colbert and Sean Heuston (both senior officers in Fianna Éireann), Eamonn Ceannt and Michael Mallin — were court-martialled and sentenced to death.

The courts-martial were held in secret and there was no question of the men charged being permitted to have lawyers or anyone else to speak on their behalf.

Had they been permitted legal representation, the British authorities could hardly have refused permission to the press to be present. That would mean publicity and, of all things, publicity was what the authorities feared most, not only because of its immediate repercussions but because of its possible long-term political effects

in Ireland.

On Sunday, May 7th, the death sentences of Con Colbert, Sean Heuston, Eamonn Ceannt and Michael Mallin were confirmed and the following morning, at 3.45am, all four were executed by firing-squad in the yard of Kilmainham Jail.

On May 9th, Thomas Kent, who was arrested following the heroic defence of his home at Bawnard House, Castletown, near Fermoy, was executed in Cork Jail — the only leader who had taken part in the fighting outside Dublin to be executed.

Also on May 9th, Sean Mac Diarmada was tried by court-martial in Richmond Barracks, sentenced to death and transferred to Kilmainham Jail.

Later that day James Connolly was propped up in bed before a court-martial and sentenced to death by firing-squad. He had been seriously wounded in the fighting and was held in the military hospital in Dublin Castle.

In a leading article in the *Irish Independent* on May 10th, William Martin Murphy, who had led the employers in the Great Lock-Out of workers in 1913, urged the British government to execute Connolly.

The following day, during the British House of Commons debate on the 'Irish Crisis', John Dillon, deputy-leader of the Irish Parliamentary Party, sensing the mounting anger in Ireland at the secret trials and hasty executions, but more concerned for the survival of his own party, denounced General Maxwell and the executions. He demanded that the British prime minister, Asquith, put an end to 'the reign of terror in Ireland'.

Despite Dillon's plea for clemency and similar appeals from the United States Senate, Sean Mac Diarmada was executed by firing-squad at 3.45am on May 12th.

At dawn the same morning, James Connolly was taken by ambulance from Dublin Castle to Kilmainham Jail, carried on a stretcher into the prison yard, strapped into a chair in a corner of the yard and executed by firing-squad.

These last two executions shook public opinion as none of the others had. Asquith, who arrived in Ireland several hours after the executions, put an end to further killings, but the courts-martial continued until May 30th.

BURIED WITHOUT COFFINS

Following the execution of each of the 15 leaders, their bodies were taken to the British Military Cemetery adjoining Arbour Hill Prison and buried, without coffins, in a mass quicklime grave.

The last seven of the 15 1916 leaders to face a British firing-squad were executed between May 8th and May 12th 1916, 70 years ago this week.



● Cardinal Fresno and General Pinochet

Chile

SINCE MAY 1st, the Pinochet regime in Chile has rounded up thousands of people and, evoking memories of the 1973 coup, has herded them into various football stadia and sportsgrounds.

The archbishop of Chile's capital city, Santiago, Cardinal Juan Francisco Fresno, has called on the Pinochet regime to halt the mass arrests, and has said that the raids are 'an offence against personal dignity and violate the rights of the poor'.

The latest acts of terror by the brutal Pinochet regime began on the eve of May Day, April 30th, when thousands of troops, police, and secret police raided working-class districts of Santiago. The troops and police, with blackened faces, first cut all electricity and telephone lines into the districts and then proceeded to arrest as many males as they could find between the ages of 14 and 60. At least 2,000 detainees were taken to a sports stadium near La Legua, where the victims underwent intense interrogation.

RING OF STEEL

On May Day, troops in combat gear saturated the centre of Santiago and threw a ring of steel around La Moneda government palace. As thousands of workers marched from the outskirts towards the city centre,

lorry-loads of troops menaced the demonstrators by continually pointing loaded rifles and revolvers at them. Then, as the demonstrators reached the city's main thoroughfare, the troops unleashed a hail of tear-gas grenades and riot-control pellets, injuring many of the protesters. At least 500 were arrested by the troops and police, including a number of leading trade unionists.

Troops and police continued raiding districts on a daily basis. One district, Blanco Encalada, was raided seven times between May 1st and May 10th, until all the males between 16 and 60 had been arrested and 'processed'. Up to 10,000 detainees are being housed in the various stadia, not counting those arrested, 'processed' and released.

The increased terror and repression from Pinochet is his answer to a 50-point freedom manifesto handed to his military regime by Chile's trade unions and community organisations last month. The unions and organisations have now given Pinochet until May 31st to reply to their manifesto, when a nation-wide campaign to end Pinochet's reign will begin in earnest.

Paraguay

PARAGUAY, one of the poorest countries in South America, has seen a series of violent street battles, demonstrations and strikes against the military regime of General Alfredo Stroessner.

Stroessner (74) has been in charge of Paraguay since 1954, the longest-ruling dictator in South America, and it is the prospect of having the tyrant in the presidency for another seven years that has spurred the Paraguayans to action.

The people of Paraguay have lived under a continuous 'state of siege' since 1959 in a 'democracy' where people are obliged by law to vote — for the only legal party, the Colorado Party, and where there is only one candidate for the five-yearly presidential elections — Stroessner, who just happens to be commander-in-chief of the armed forces.

Stroessner's method of dealing with dissent is crude but effective. For example, when the 1959 state of siege was first announced, the Catholic Church organised fierce resistance to it. Stroessner simply ordered his troops and police to beat up nuns and priests, raid church services (using tear-gas and water-hoses against the congregations), and shut down all church welfare organisations on which Paraguay's poor were totally dependent.

The latest resistance has brought a similar response. On May 4th, plainclothes soldiers and police, with Colorado Party agents, smashed up the country's main independent radio station, Nanduti. This was followed by an invasion of the main hospital in the capital, Asunción, where thugs beat up doctors and nurses. The doctors had been prominent in a recent strike for better pay.

MISERY

The history of Paraguay has been one of misery and tragedy. Between 1864 and 1870, the country fought a war against Argentina, Uruguay and Brazil. Out of

250,000 men, only 28,000 survived at the end of the war. Between 1932 and 1935, another war was fought with Bolivia, leading to further large-scale loss of life. Paraguay never recovered from what became known as the 'great futilities'. The country was ruled by a series of civilian dictators up to 1948, when the then supreme, Higinio Morinigo (the US choice) was overthrown by a military coup. Between 1948 and 1950, there were four presidents. Between 1950 and 1954, Federico Chaves became president. He was forced to 'resign' by Stroessner, who declared a presidential election with himself being the only candidate.

Paraguay has a population of 2½ million, the vast majority of them wretchedly poor. Malnutrition and disease is rampant and the per capita income is the lowest in the hemisphere. Its basic income, apart from agriculture and livestock, comes from smuggling and acting as a cleaning house for 'hot' money — Paraguay has no currency restrictions.

US INTEREST

The US has an active interest in Paraguay, especially as the country is the only land-locked nation in South America, being surrounded by Argentina, Bolivia and Brazil. Reagan would like to see Stroessner go — Stroessner is more pro-Argentina than pro-USA — and replace him with a US stooge.

In the coming months there will be various attempts by US agents in the country to hijack or influence the growing resistance to Stroessner's despotic rule. Whatever the outcome, it can only mean pain and suffering for a people that has already had its full share of these commodities.



● May Day march in Trondheim

Scandinavian solidarity

DURING the first week of May, Gerry O'Hara, chairperson of Derry city Sinn Féin, visited the Norwegian city of Trondheim at the invitation of the Norwegian Solidarity Committee for Ireland (Irlandskomiteen).

On International Workers' Day, May 1st, Irlandskomiteen took part in two May Day demonstrations. The Irish section in the marches was the largest since the foundation of the solidarity group in 1978.

After the main march, in which 3,000 people took part, Gerry O'Hara addressed a public

meeting at the marketplace in Trondheim city centre attended by 1,000 people.

Also on May Day, O'Hara had meetings with representatives of several political groups. On May 2nd, an 'Irish night' was organised by the solidarity group with O'Hara as the main speaker. The film, *Plastic Bullets — The Deadly Truth*, was shown and local musicians played Irish music.

SWEDEN

In Sweden, the Irish solidarity group, Irland Solidaritet, was also prominent in May Day



● Gerry O'Hara and Hanna Krammo, leader of Norway's Socialist Left Party

demonstrations.

In Stockholm, over 4,000 leaflets on Ireland were distributed by the group.

More than 100 people marched in the Irish section on the May Day march in the southern Swedish city of Malmö.

The size of the Swedish solidarity demonstrations was reflected in the wide media coverage they received.

Around the world

FED UP with same old scenery? Need to get away from it all? Then join Meath County Council and see the world.

Four of the councillors will be swanning off to Sweden, another four will be legging it to Luxembourg, but the fat cat who got the cream is Sean Conway, the council chairperson, who will be flying to Adelaide, Australia.

The Meath Community Games County Board has censured the councillors for their zeal to go on junkets but not to reopen the swimming pools for locals in Navan, Trim and Kells.

Instead of spending £10,000 on trips abroad, Meath County Council, how about spending it on kids at home?

★ ★ ★
A CIVILIAN construction worker, Gareth James, from Neath, South Wales, who is working on the Falklands Islands Airport, has received a three-month suspended prison sentence and a £100 fine for supplying cannabis resin to an islander who informed the police.

The name of the tout? Ronald Biggs.

★ ★ ★
THE SDLP must be rolling in money nowadays.

Not only did they receive \$50,000 from the National Democratic Institute last week, but they also had two Free State parties doing collections for them at the weekend.

At the same time as their old pals in Fianna Fail were doing the rounds, Young Fine Gael were squeezing punts out of the punters in Dublin's Rathfarnham/Churchtown area.

★ ★ ★
THE BRITISH royal couple, Chas and Di, spoke to a group of Zen monks when they visited the ancient Japanese city of Kyoto last week.

The monks are said to meditate by sitting for hours looking at a blank wall.

They must have been practising for when they met Prince Charles.

★ ★ ★
A GLANGELVIN, County Leitrim, man who hit two gardai with a barrage of cow pats, clay and stones and told them "Fuck off, you!" when they visited his farm to question his brother, told Downra District Council last week that he "wasn't on good terms with the guards in Downra".

★ ★ ★
THE Sunday Press/Research Surveys of Ireland opinion poll which RTE ran as the lead item on all its news bulletins on Saturday evening was interesting not for what it

the flying column

Portlaoise cycle

THE INTREPID cyclists of Dublin Sinn Féin battled against a fierce south-westerly gale last Saturday, May 10th, as 30 of them completed the annual cycle to Portlaoise.

The motley assortment of 'upstairs models', racers and a tandem ridden by two Ballyfermot Sinn Féiners, set off from Blessington Street at 11.30am on Saturday.

On the long trek to Portlaoise, the tracksuited Dublin finance officer, Angela Quinn, distributed liquid refreshments to the cyclists — from the back of the escort van! So generous was she with the drink (for a change) that one poor, unsuspecting cyclist who was not with the Sinn Féin group at all had a can of lemonade thrust into his hand as the van sped past!

The last of the cyclists (Dublin Sinn Féin chairperson Jack Grove leading from the rear) reached Portlaoise at 6.30pm.

The cycle was in aid of Dublin Sinn Féin's election fund and all sponsors are asked to fulfil their pledges as soon as possible.



told us but what it didn't tell us.

RTE told us what percentages of support every party had got, including 2% for the Workers' Party and 2% for independents, but there was absolutely

no mention whatsoever of the 3% who said they'd vote for Sinn Féin.

Whatever happened to 'balanced reporting'?

★ ★ ★
IF YOU'VE had one of those weeks where no-

thing's gone right, just remember that there's someone somewhere worse off than you.

Take, for instance, the woman in the Taiwanese capital of Taipei who decided to end it all.

She swallowed a stack of sleeping pills, cut her throat and leapt out of a 13th floor window. She landed on a man, killing him and spraining her ankle, and was charged with murder!

DÚIRT SIAD

We know in our heart of hearts that if you never use force then a tyrant will win.

— Margaret Thatcher.

★ ★ ★
I rather feel that, deep in the soul of mankind, there is a reflection as on the surface of a mirror, of a mirror-calm lake, of the beauty and harmony of the universe.

— The incredibly deep Prince Charles.

★ ★ ★
While the Provos engage in a war with the British army, Sinn Féin struggles to promote its republican socialist cause against an establishment media which is directly opposed to all it stands for.

— Britain's New Musical Express.

★ ★ ★
Robinson is talking, off-camera, to a crew from TVam. He's telling them that next week Ian Paisley and Jim Molyneux will announce more steps in the campaign of opposition to the Anglo-Irish agreement.

"Any idea what they're likely to be?"

"Civil war," he jokes. But I don't hear too many people laughing.

— New Musical Express profile of DUP deputy-leader Peter Robinson.

★ ★ ★
The UDR is a disciplined force, well led, and effectively trained for the range of tasks for which it is needed.

Its members are defending their lives, their families, their livelihoods, and their community against aggression, and their courage and commitment are outstanding.

— The British government's Defence White Paper giving a "factual" account of the UDR's role, according to the Belfast Telegraph.



Mural competition



● Wall mural in the Liberties, Dublin

SINCE the announcement in the April 24th edition that AP/RN was offering a prize of £250 to the area which can produce the best mural on any aspect of Irish republicanism, we have received a number of queries seeking to clarify if the competition was aimed solely at readers in the six counties.

Not only is this not the case but AP/RN sees no reason why supporters of the Irish struggle in any part of the world cannot take part. The only criteria for entry is that the content of the mural relates to some aspect of Irish republicanism.

Colour photographs of all entries should be sent to AP/RN at 44 Parnell Square, Dublin 1, as soon as they are completed. The closing date for entries is Thursday, July 31st, and the winning entrants, as well as receiving a cheque for £250, will have their design featured in full colour on the front page of a future edition of AP/RN.

Entrants from the Shankill or Sandy Row will be given an extra bonus prize of signed colour photographs of Gerry Adams and Danny Morrison.