

An Phoblacht REPUBLICAN NEWS



Sraith Nua Im! 4 Uimhir 27 Deardoin Iúil 8

Thursday, July 8th, 1982

(Britain 25p) Price 20p

HUNGER-STRIKE COMMEMORATIONS

For Joe McDonnell & Martin Hurson

DUBLIN

3 pm Saturday 10th July
Rally at GPO
(Blanket protest & hunger-strike
photographic exhibition
12 noon to 5.30 pm
same day, Trinity College)

DRUMSHANBO

Co. Leitrim
7.30 pm Sunday 11th July
Assemble at National School

GALBALLY

Co. Tyrone
8 pm Tuesday 13th July
Assemble at Galbally Hall
March to cemetery

THIS WEEK our loyalist brethren in the North will be celebrating the victory in the seventeenth century (1690) of the non-English-speaking Protestant William of Orange from the Netherlands who, in alliance with the pope, overthrew his Catholic father-in-law, the English king James II, at the Battle of the Boyne! The Orange Order, which was founded 100 years later (1795) to defend Protestant sectarian interests under a unifying banner, will once again be organising this week's bonfires and marches.

In reality they will be celebrating the perpetuation of Protestant colonist supremacy over the native Catholic Irish, by 'kicking the pope' and beating their Lambeg drums into thunderous resonance when they pass by nationalist districts.

Pomeroy, a 90% nationalist town in County Tyrone, got an early taste of 'the Twelfth' last Monday when over 200 RUC men blocked off the town centre to allow an Orange throng to unveil an arch in Main Street. The loyalist takeover is an annual event and lasted until 1 am Tuesday morning.

Were the Twelfth of July just a traditional festival then that would be fine but for nationalist districts of the North it is a time of siege with areas like the Short Strand and Unity Flats in Belfast being screened-off and scores of towns being no place for Catholics to get caught up in. On the eleventh night the menacing 'tribal' sound of Lambeg drums in loyalist ghettos can be heard into the early hours in nationalist ghettos.

Their message is 'no surrender', but no surrender to what? They are the ones who are slaves to British imperialism; they are the ones who have been corrupted by colonialism; who boast of their defence of religious liberty but who are prepared to discriminate in housing, employment and voting against their Catholic neighbour; they are the ones who are tied to the coattails of the masters of the Orange Order — the old unionist aristocracy.

NATIONALIST

Republicans offer no threat to the Protestant religion — indeed we owe our secularism to a Protestant founder and our broad-mindedness and internationalism to a succession of leaders who rejected sectarianism.

The fact that the Republican Movement is based in the nationalist (and largely Catholic) community is due to historical circumstances and Britain's use of religious differences to fortify its grip on Ireland.

The Republican Movement is no defender of Catholic theological interests and offers the loyalist working class in the North the key to its own freedom from slavery to a system which while it has provided the advantage of marginal privileges for them over their fellow nationalist countrymen that advantage has been at a cost in mental subversion and identity

Tyranny of sectarianism



● The security gates in town centres are thrown open to the trusted upholders of British imperialism — the marching Orangemen — every Twelfth

crises. And that system has led the loyalist community, not occasionally but thousands of times, into supporting the ongoing tyranny of sectarian and repressive rule.

The loyalist community has a place in the new Ireland, not on the boat to Scotland or England or behind the laager of a repatriated North, but as full Irish citizens entitled to no more and no less than their neighbours. But that will be a richer condition for all, as the people who exploit partition are toppled and a socialist republic is erected by the Irish

people and an eventual settled peace is reached.

PATRONAGE

While the British government give financial, moral and physical patronage to loyalism, those tied to it cannot be expected to break from their past and embrace Irish re-unification. However, and more importantly, those victims of loyalism — the oppressed nationalist community — cannot be expected to wait for the dawning of the day when the loyalist community on its own suddenly sees the light

and breaks from British imperialism.

Such a day will never dawn. Only through breaking British rule in Ireland — through a long but steady revolutionary war of political attrition — can the situation in Ireland be radically altered. A major casualty along the way will be the psychological alienation of the loyalist community but there is no overcoming that. So long as republicans stay clear of sectarianism, don't fall into the trap of sectarian thinking or sectarian reactions; then, the right perspective will be maintained on the war of

national liberation and the light at the end of our tunnel will be reached.

War against the RUC and UDR is based on a uniform and their loyalty to the crown — not on religion.

And the war against their sponsors, the British, will be continued until the republican victory over the British heralds an Ireland where Catholic, Protestant and Dissenter can live in peace and where the common people own and control the national resources for the common good.

Ordered out

THE IRA's Belfast Brigade has ordered a well-known Belfast man to leave the war zone after discovering his involvement in providing information to the RUC. The IRA's statement said:

"A Belfast man in his early twenties has been instructed by us to leave the war zone. The man, from the Andersonstown area, was arrested by the RUC two months ago and held in Castlereagh. After three days of interrogation during which threats and force were used, he broke and agreed to work for them as an informer. He was given the code-name 'Teresa' because of a tattoo of the same name on his arm.

"After his release he met his Special Branch 'handlers' in Areema, near Twinbrook, and passed over low-level intelligence information. IRA intelligence uncovered his activities shortly after this and he was arrested and questioned. He admitted meeting the enemy and passing on information.

"Belfast Brigade, having examined his case in depth, informed the man that he must leave the war zone or face sterner action.

"The public should be aware that the RUC and Brits are still attempting to terrorise and intimidate men into acting as informers. Anyone who finds themselves in such a situation should not hesitate or be frightened about coming forward. Failure to do so, and to act in a commonsense fashion, will only have tragic consequences."

Valuable work

THE little-publicised arrest of three UDA men last November ended in little sentences last Tuesday when the three were convicted of possession of explosives.

Last November 22nd, on the eve of Paisley's mass rally in Newtownards (later the IRA execution of Robert Bradford), three Dundonald men were spotted throwing a parcel from a van as they approached an RUC checkpoint on the Belfast to Newtownards Road. The parcel was found to contain explosives and although their arrest was announced on one or two radio news bulletins the RUC assumed a blanket of silence and there was no publicity surrounding their subsequent appearance in court or bail applications, which led many nationalist people to suspect that the three had links with either the RUC or UDR.

However, in Belfast Crown Court the three — a UDA brigade commander (who had a reference from the mayor of Castlereagh) and two of his privates — were described as 'UDA welfare workers', whose charity, said Judge John McKee, "in my view is praiseworthy."

He said: "It very much grieves me that having done this valuable work that you find yourselves convicted of this type of offence."

Bubbling with the spirit of the Twelfth the Orange Judge gave them the minimum sentence possible — 2 years — which means that under the 50% remission scheme of which loyalist model prisoners avail themselves they have four months left to serve before returning to their charitable organisation, the UDA.

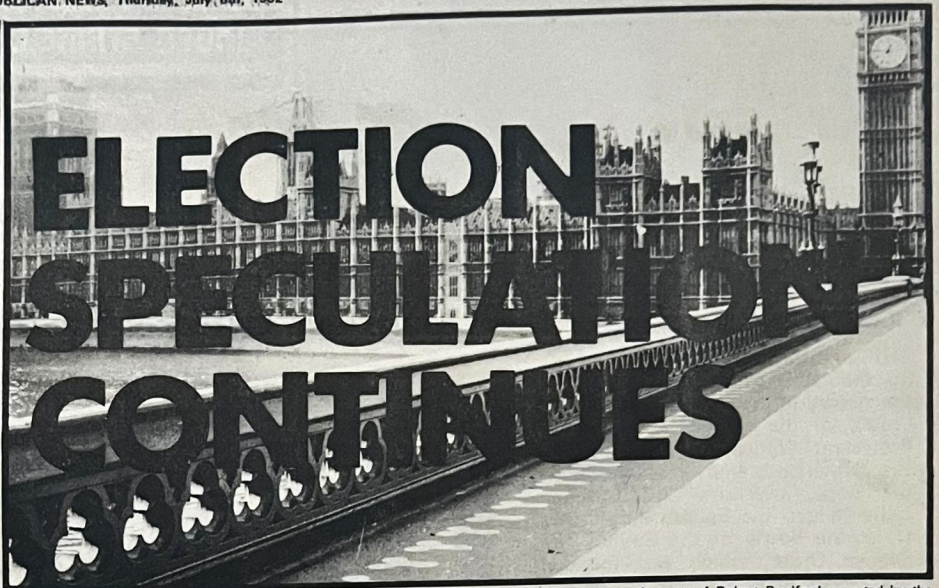
Grenade launcher

IT TOOK a so-called British army bomb disposal expert over three hours to defuse one of their own bombs in the border town of Belleek, County Fermanagh, last Friday night, July 2nd.

The incident occurred at 8 pm when a soldier in a foot patrol allegedly tripped and accidentally lobbed a hand grenade through the lounge window of the Carleton Hotel owned by Mr Peter Clark and Brian McGrath. Although no one was injured, the situation could quite easily have been reversed. Owen Carron, MP for the area, in calling for an investigation commented:

"The public cannot be expected to believe that a soldier tripped. Had the hotel been crowded serious casualties could have been caused by this reckless behaviour.

"This action is typical of the trigger-happy manner of the Parachute regiment who are currently harassing the nationalist community of Fermanagh."



BY PETER ARNLIS

SPECULATION continues that British premier Margaret Thatcher may well cash in on the wave of far-fever popularity following the British victory in the Falklands/Malvinas. Addressing Tory supporters last weekend she asked:

"Why does it take a war to bring out our qualities and re-assert our pride? Why do we have to be invaded before we throw aside our selfish aims and begin to work together?"

"We have ceased to be a nation in retreat, we have instead found a new confidence, born of the economic battles at home, and tested and found true 8,000 miles away."

Thatcher, whose economic policies are meeting with growing trade union resistance, was supported in her call for people to get their patriotic noses to the grindstone by British Chancellor Geoffrey Howe, who hinted at further action to curb trade unions.

The repercussions for the North of a British general election could well be the ditching or shelving of October elections for direct-rule Jim Prior's proposed new assembly which none of the parties in the North want anyway.

Loyalists reject the assembly because for it to inherit increased powers there must be 'broad agreement' based on a weighted majority and this smacks of power-sharing to them.

On principle Sinn Fein rejects the assembly — and any British-inspired, SDLP-participatory plans for stabilising the North — and has taken the decision to contest the elections on a selective basis and boycott the assembly in order to prevent the SDLP from having its old, uncontested way, and from encouraging

the Brits to tinker with 'internal solutions'.

Faced with this republican challenge the SDLP has not had the courage to state what it is doing — although an SDLP election boycott is almost certainly improbable. They also realise that given the high level of nationalist political consciousness in the aftermath of the hunger-strike and the unquantifiable threat from Sinn Fein they would be risking their political lives if they were to shore up proposals which were patently less than the Sunningdale agreement. This explains for one why they and Free State premier Charles Haughey have made fairly objectionable noises about Prior's devolution plans which, despite considerable hostility among the Tory backbenches and general apathy in the North, were still guillotined through the British House of Commons.

PAISLEY

One party which is geared up for the election is Paisley's Democratic Unionist Party (DUP) which recently suffered a humiliating defeat at the hands of the Official Unionist Party (OUP) and the Alliance Party in the South Belfast by-election which was called to fill



● DUP leader Ian Paisley, ready with 40 candidates for assembly elections

the seat of Robert Bradford executed by the IRA last November. Paisley plans to field up to 40 candidates and challenge the edge on loyalist hegemony which the OUP enjoys over his party.

Last year he seemed to be in the ascent with his 'Carson-trail rallies' (protesting against the Anglo-Irish talks) and his quick response to the crisis in which Bradford's death placed the loyalist community.

However, the British assertion of imperialism in the Falklands/Malvinas affair, the unprecedented degree of Free State collaboration, the jailings of the Crumlin Road escapees, the prosecution of Gerry Tuite, and Thatcher's consistently repeated assurances that the union would be maintained, have stabilised loyalist confidence and considerably mollified loyalist fears which apparently have been translated into a fall-off in electoral support for Paisley. Also, the deepening economic crisis which only this week has led to the threat of up to 1,000 job losses at Belfast's shipyard has tended to curtail the spate of anti-Britishness into sobering economic dependence on the colonial power.

Meanwhile, the British House of Commons on Wednesday, June 30th, renewed for 6 months the Emergency Provisions Act by 114 to 19 votes against. Jim Prior has announced that beginning in September or October a judge is to review the operation of the Act. At present Lord Jellicoe is conducting an inquiry into the operation of the Prevention of Terrorism Act, the draconian racist law used to harass Irish people in England and travellers between Britain and Ireland.

The review — a concession to the increasing opposition to the operation of the act and its occasional use against trade unionists — is expected to 'reluctantly' recommend its continuance, and will probably even have provision for strengthening certain sections.

Plastic bullets raised

THE relatives of 14-year-old Julie Livingstone who was murdered by a British army plastic bullet in May last year have won a small victory with an order from Belfast's High Court on Wednesday last week, June 30th, ordering a new inquest to be held into her death, this time sitting with a jury.

The judge said that there was "reason to suspect — and I emphasise the word suspect — that Julie died as a result of being struck by a plastic bullet. The facts also show that the gun was possibly used improperly, and, again, I stress the word 'possibly'."

Julie, from Carrigart Avenue, Lenadoon, in Belfast, was struck on the head by the plastic bullet as she walked home from an errand with a friend on May 12th, following the death of hunger-striker Francis Hughes.

In the Westminster parliament on Thursday last week Labour

Party MP Denis Canavan of West Stirlingshire called for the complete banning of plastic bullets and said that British soldiers were doctoring them by inserting blades, nails and electric torch batteries. He also said that several victims had been 'murdered' by the British army and RUC, terminology which brought howls of protest.

In reply Northern direct-ruler Jim Prior rejected his call saying that "rather than make such remarks he (Canavan) should encourage parents not to allow children onto the streets. That is the way to prevent them being injured."



Zionist holocaust continues

BY SEAN HALPENNY

DURING the past week the establishment media have been driven to great lengths to try and convince the world that whatever the Israelis do, whatever action they take, the Israelis do of their own accord.

A deliberate whitewash of US involvement in the Middle East has been undertaken. Many reports have floated the theme that the Israeli invasion of the Lebanon was not at the behest of the United States and that policy is determined in Jerusalem and not Washington.

One example of this theme was the resignation of US Secretary of State Alexander Haig whose demise was put down to "US strategy in the Middle East, collapsing in ruins." But the reality of the situation is that 'US strategy' has borne fruit during the Zionist invasion of the Lebanon. And Washington's stance, even under the cynical cover of 'regional peacemaker', shows its true intentions in the area.

Yassir Arafat, leader of the PLO, has stated time and time again that "this is the US's war as much as the Israelis' war," and Henry Kissinger, the supreme architect of US policy in the Middle East, stated recently that the Israeli invasion of the Lebanon "opens up extraordinary opportunities for a dynamic American diplomacy throughout the Middle East."

The US is determined to escalate its direct military role in the Middle East. The US has maintained a naval presence off Lebanon since

June 6th, the date of the Israeli invasion. Washington used the excuse of American citizens 'being in danger', and that the fleet was to be used to evacuate these citizens but in the past few days the true intentions of Washington have emerged. Repeated calls have been made by the US that the beleaguered Palestinians in West Beirut must lay down their arms, evacuate the city, and leave the Lebanon. This, the Palestinians have repeatedly rejected. And last Monday the Zionists launched a fierce attack against the Palestinians in West Beirut with the intention of softening up the resistance and making the Palestinians more 'amenable' to the idea of evacuation.

SINISTER

Under cover of this latest Israeli attack, the Reagan administration has offered the 'services' of the US Sixth Fleet, and the 'protection' of US marines who would supervise a PLO withdrawal from the city. This sinister move has naturally been rejected out of hand by the PLO who called Reagan's plan 'ridiculous', and also pointed out that the US has not only stepped up supplies of military hardware to the Israelis but have consistently backed the Zionist invasion to the hilt.

The Palestinians know full well



● A child sits clutching all his worldly possessions after an Israeli air-raid has devastated his Beirut home

that the US administration needs to smash the most radical force in the Middle East in order to stabilise the situation, tighten its grip on the other Arab nations, and thus dictate the economic and military policy of the region. The US is totally committed to drawing the rest of the 'moderate' Arab nations into the Camp David agreement which Israel and Egypt signed in 1978. The Zionist invasion of the Lebanon is a direct consequence of this agreement because, with Egypt out of the way (and closer to the US who have a direct military presence in Egypt), the Zionists with the co-operation of the US have been able to concentrate their military power against Lebanon, Syria and, most importantly, the PLO.

The stepped-up military intervention in the region is being viewed with increasing alarm. Once the US positions troops on Lebanese soil

there will be no going back. The Reagan administration is showing less qualms about physically entering the fray and this could force a direct confrontation with the USSR who have been consistently issuing strong warnings to both the US and Israel.

Meanwhile, the Palestinians have been putting up stiff resistance to the latest Zionist attacks. The PLO is determined that they will not be removed either from Beirut or from the Lebanon. And this, the longest war that Israel has been involved in, is causing reverberations at home where over 100,000 people in Tel Aviv recently demonstrated against the war. But the ultimate blame for the massive death and destruction unleashed against both the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples lies squarely on the doorstep of the Reagan administration in Washington.

Policy drafts

FOLLOWING decisions made by last year's ard fheis, the ard comhairle of Sinn Féin completed the drafting of two important policy documents.

The first entitled 'An alternative to federalism' tackles the difficult issue of governmental structures which would replace the 4-province federal system. The document which is being circulated to the membership of Sinn Féin as an ard comhairle proposal for this year's ard fheis advocates the scrapping of the provincial governmental level and proposes a strengthened regional policy. Proposals for maximum decentralisation which figured in the original Eire Nua policy are elaborated on and given more prominence.

In response to requests from the rural members the ard comhairle is issuing a draft agricultural policy document which deals with land policy in a new Ireland in some detail.

Child injured

A FOUR-YEAR-OLD boy from Dungloe Crescent in Belfast's Lenadoon estate was knocked down by a British army jeep shortly before 2 pm last Monday.

Gavin Gillen had been playing with a group of friends close to his home when he was struck by the jeep as he crossed the road. He was taken to the Children's Hospital on the Falls Road where he was detained, receiving several stitches in his head. However, his condition, on Tuesday was stated as being satisfactory.

Travellers defended

THE racist comments of loyalist councillor, Frank Millar, during a Belfast city council meeting, that travelling people were "rubbish who should be sent to the incinerator", have been condemned by Sinn Féin.

The outcome of the council meeting, despite Millar's ravings, was the provision of a site on the Upper Springfield Road. Although welcoming this, Sinn Féin nevertheless stressed the urgent need for the Department of the Environment to "establish a comprehensive policy with sites all over the North."

In recognising the special problems of travelling people Sinn Féin had been involved since the end of last year in meetings with several of their groups and undertook to try and resolve some of their difficulties. (In the short-term as recently as a few weeks ago a temporary site was secured on the Colinglen Road.) The statement continued:

"If the issue of travelling people is to be resolved in the long-term both to their satisfaction and that of the settled community local councils must be forced to provide the necessary facilities. Travellers are people who move from one part of the country to another. It is imperative therefore that all councils, not just one or two, urgently take up the task of finding sites, applying for planning permission and grants and building the requisite facilities."

Lurgan jailing

REPUBLICANS and republican supporters continue to be prosecuted by the RUC for participating in last year's street demonstrations protesting against the British government's intransigence during the hunger-strike. Last week another member, the fifth in recent months, of the Tom Williams/Thomas Harte Sinn Féin cumann in Lurgan, County Armagh, was arrested and jailed.

Jim Byrne from Lurgan was arrested by the RUC on Thursday, July 1st, and transferred to Crumlin Road jail in Belfast to serve 14 days for non-payment of a £76 fine imposed on him for taking part in a hunger-strike demonstration last year. This is the second time that Jim Byrne has been jailed for taking part in peaceful demonstrations.

The PRG of his cumann, Tomas O'Moileagáin, has condemned this latest arrest which he described as "a blatant act of intimidation against Sinn Féin members in the Lurgan area" and has pledged that they will continue to protest against the British presence in Ireland.

Britain's trial goes on

BY DAMIEN O'ROURKE

THE extension of direct British sovereignty into Dublin's Special Court continued its obscene progress as the trial of Cavan man Gerry Tuite for possession of explosives in London enters its second week.

Tuite, who escaped from Brixton prison in December 1980, is on trial under the Criminal Law (Jurisdiction) Act which was introduced to circumvent the international law ban on extradition for political offences. His trial is the first ever to be held in the Free State for offences alleged to have been committed in England.

The trial so far has been marked by the ineptitude of the prosecution case, on which even the presiding judges have commented on a number of occasions.

On Friday last week, July 2nd, Justice Hamilton interrupted the prosecuting counsel, Kevin O'Higgins, to state that the evidence was not being presented in a proper manner.

"Merely because the witnesses are outside the jurisdiction it did not entitle the prosecution to any concessions in relation to the admissibility of evidence," he said. "It is becoming impossible for the court to follow this case unless the evidence is presented in an orderly fashion."

The previous day, an Armalite rifle, a magazine of ammunition, a bandolier of bullets, timers, explosives, a copy of 'International Who's Who' and a number of maps were claimed



● Republicans picket the Special Court in Dublin whilst the Free State government, in trying Gerry Tuite for alleged offences in England, once again dance to their Westminster masters' tune

to have been found in a flat once occupied by Tuite. Evidence of the find was given by a Scotland Yard explosives officer, but when asked to produce the items as exhibits to the judge, the prosecution were unable to do so.

Earlier in the trial there were a number of adjournments when prosecution witnesses failed to turn up.

On Tuesday this week there was a minor drama enacted in the courtroom as tapes said to be IRA intelligence lists, but also containing music, were played over specially-erected speakers. The alleged 'hit list' itself graphically illustrated whose interests are being protected

by the history-making trial containing as it did details of top British politicians, British army barracks and troop movements in England, the haunts of British soldiers, strategic oil and nuclear depots and the like.

Among names listed were many who had left their own particular bloody mark on Ireland in recent years including Lord Carrington, William Whitelaw and Roy Jenkins.

Meanwhile, outside the court there have been regular pickets in protest against the ultra-collaboration between Dublin and London which 'the trial' represents. Further pickets will take place as it continues.

August prisoners' campaign

EARLIER this year Owen Carron MP visited many of the republicans held as hostages in English prisons.

Anxious that the plight of these men and women should be highlighted, and mindful of Carron's report, the ard comhairle is organising a programme of activity for the month of August with a view to raising public consciousness regarding the conditions endured by Irish political prisoners in Britain.

The theme of this year's interment anniversary weekend demonstrations will emphasise the following points: 1. The two blanket men, Patrick Hackett and Mick Murray; 2. Use of solitary confinement; 3. Conditions in control units; 4. Visits; 5. Right to repatriation on demand.

Related activity will involve posterage and leafleting campaigns in all areas backed up by information meetings in Dublin, Belfast and Derry.

Dublin appeal

COMHAIRLE Atha Cliath Sinn Féin are launching an appeal to republicans and sympathisers for funds to purchase a bus which will bring prisoners' relatives to and from Portlaoise jail.

Donations should be sent to Comhairle Atha Cliath Bus Appeal Fund, 5 Blessington Street, Dublin 7.

Daniel Lyttle

THE death took place in London on July 2nd of Daniel Lyttle, a long-standing republican who was a dedicated and unswerving worker for the Republican Movement from his early teens.

Daniel Lyttle was a Protestant and came from Bangor, County Down, but because of differing political views he left home and became a Volunteer in the '20s. During his many travels Daniel was actively involved in the trade union movement in Australia but finally he settled in London where he became well-known and respected by all in the Irish community. Up to his death he carried out an active role as president of the County Antrim Association and at his cremation on Friday his coffin was draped with a Tricolour and the national anthem was played. In accordance with Daniel's last wishes Noel Graham of the County Antrim Association scattered his ashes at Mr Art's Fort on the Cavelhill, the spot where United Irishmen Henry Joy McCracken, Wolfe Tone and others made their historical and solemn declaration of liberty, equality and fraternity.



Jackie Griffith commemoration

THE annual commemoration of the death of IRA Volunteer Jackie Griffith was held in Dublin on Sunday last, July 4th, when about 100 people marched from Ringend Church to the spot in Merrion Square where Griffith was gunned down by Free State Special Branch men in 1943.

The parade was led by a Fianna Éireann colour party and a wreath was laid by veteran republican Liam Davitt, who is a member of the local Jackie Griffith Sinn Féin cumann which organised the ceremonies. The oration was given by Jack Crowe of Dublin Sinn Féin.

Glasgow demos

TWO highly successful marches took place recently in the west of Scotland. They were in Govan and Coatbridge in the morning and afternoon, respectively, of Saturday, June 26th. The marches, which were organised by the Republican Band Alliance (Scotland), were led by the Billy Reid Accordion Band from Belfast and in Coatbridge each of the ten participating bands formed a separate contingent, commemorating each of last year's dead hunger-strikers.

The marches were supported by Sinn Féin and Clydeside Troops Out Movement whose members assisted with the organisation and marshalling of the events.

BY PAUL ROONEY

JUST over 200 young unemployed people marched through Dublin's city centre last Saturday, July 3rd, in the climax to the 'People's march for decent jobs' which had set out from Waterford the previous Tuesday.

Among the banners carried were Waterford and Dublin unemployment action groups, Clondalkin Paper Mills and De Lorean car workers from Belfast.

Thirty-five unemployed people began the march in Waterford on Tuesday morning, making a number of stops on the four-day route. From the beginning they were harassed by Free State gardai. In Waterford and Kilkenny Special Branch men forcibly confiscated collection boxes from the marchers and at Carlow they picketed the garda station in protest, the inmates of which continually insulted them with calls of 'fucking dossers' and the like.

With official unemployment figures in the twenty-six counties now at a figure of over 150,000, there was understandable frustration voiced among the marchers and, in particular, strong demands for united trade union action on the issue.

Noel Ryan, a former shop-steward at the Siemens factory in Waterford, has been unemployed since the factory closed without

Marching for jobs



Unemployed marchers, including contingents from De Lorean and Clondalkin Paper Mills, in Dublin, last Saturday

warning in August last year. "I still feel very bitter about the closure," he said, "and the fact that I've been unable to find any type of job since. But where are the trade union banners on this march?"

Jimmy Jacob, another of Waterford's 4,000 unemployed was a trade union activist whilst in work and was involved in a number of strike actions. He complained of a blacklist in operation against a number of jobless workers and

continued:

"Look we are doing the unions' work here. You fight for your rights all your life, then when you get thrown on the scrap-heap, the union won't support you - it's disgusting."

STARDUST TRIBUNAL

BY BRIAN MARTIN

THE long-awaited report of the tribunal of enquiry into last year's Stardust fire disaster, which killed 48 young people and seriously injured 128 more, has provided a damning indictment of the inadequacy and uncaring neglect of fire-fighting and prevention services in the Free State.

On exactly how the fire started the report offers little, stating: "There is no evidence of an accidental origin; and equally no evidence that the fire was started deliberately." But in spite of this the tribunal concludes that the fire was probably started deliberately.

If this conclusion enables Stardust owner Eamon Buttery to recover even part of his £3 million malicious damage claim against Dublin Corporation, it will be a

travesty of justice as the report does provide plenty of evidence to show where the underlying responsibility for the disaster lies.

Buttery in particular is revealed to have had complete disregard for planning permission requirements, fire-safety regulations and licensing laws in what is another 'profits before people' story.

Standing condemned too are Dublin Corporation's Fire Section which is shown never at any time



Stardust, the biggest disaster in the history of the Free State

to have inspected the premises. The neglect of the Dublin Fire Brigade is also detailed with failures in management, general organisation, training and equipment, leaving the firemen with only their personal heroism to try and compensate for their lack of modern techniques.

Ultimately, responsibility is attached by the report to the Free State's Department of the Environment for its failure to implement even existing legislation and its failure to fulfill its obligations in

regard to the fire services.

The Stardust Tribunal report goes on to make several recommendations which are urgently required to prevent a similar or even greater tragedy occurring.

Meanwhile, for the bereaved families wrecked by the Stardust fire, little is offered to assuage their uncompensatable losses. And the young people of north Dublin around the Finglas scene of the tragedy remain just as neglected and abandoned by an uncaring, guilty state.

Unfair deal for CIE's pensioners

BY BRIAN MARTIN

ONE of the more central issues of discontent in CIE will be aired in the near future with the National Busworkers' Union circulating its members this week to seek a mandate to hold a one-day strike throughout the twenty-six counties on the failure to provide a realistic pension scheme for retired workers.

The pensions issue has a long history in CIE, going back to the late '40s when the general manager, A.P. Reynolds, was sacked by the Fine Gael/Clann na Poblachta government and



with him went a pension scheme he had agreed which for the first time provided workers with a pension based on half their pay.

In 1956, a strike was called on the issue, but had hardly begun when it was called off by ITGWU leaders who left the busworkers' branch officials outside of a meeting with William Norton, then the Labour Party's Minister for Industry and Commerce, and emerged to announce they had won all their demands.

In fact nothing had been won. Inevitably another strike took place in 1963 lasting five

weeks over the introduction of one-man single-decker buses. As part of the settlement a commission was set up to make recommendations on pensions and reported later in favour of two-thirds of wages to be paid as pensions.

The scheme was accepted by a large majority of the workforce, who also allowed CIE the 12 months period of grace it claimed was necessary to introduce the scheme.

Ten years later the 'interim' inadequate pension scheme was still in existence and in 1974 the Labour Court ruled that CIE workers must be paid two-thirds of their wage on retirement as pensions. In response to this, CIE submitted a set of proposals to the unions, withdrawn 18 months later to allow a new offer 'based on 1976 wage rates'.

Another stalling manoeuvre had been devised.

Negotiations re-opened in 1979 and last year it appeared that the issue might be finally resolved when CIE and the unions were on the verge of agreeing a scheme bringing in the two-thirds pension. At that stage Fine Gael's Patrick Cooney, then Coalition Minister for Transport, instructed CIE not to agree to any scheme and to plead inability to pay in the Labour Court. The Instruction has remained under the Fianna Fáil administration.

At the present time then, a CIE worker who retires with less than 35 years service can be left with no company pension, whilst a worker retiring after 40 years service gets a mere £16.50 per week.

An end to this injustice is long overdue.

No reason for confidence

BY KEVIN BURKE

SO the Workers' Party, once the scourge of Fianna Fail, is now fully confident in that administration's ability to pull us all out of the mess it got us into. And last Thursday, July 1st, the three Workers' Party deputies, Joe Sherlock, Paddy Gallagher and Proinsias de Rossa, trooped loyally through the Fianna Fail lobby in Leinster House to prove it.

The successful surmounting of the vote of confidence by Fianna Fail saw them evading a general election after their defeat on Wednesday evening on a motion from the Labour Party to keep open the doomed Fieldcrest factory in Kilkenny.

Although independent socialist deputy Tony Gregory might justify his support for Fianna Fail insofar as his self-restrictive £150 million package for his inner Dublin constituency is only in its initial stages, the three Sticks who claim to have wide-ranging unrestricted policies and solutions could offer no excuse for their action in maintaining Fianna Fail.

The determination for survival which is uppermost in the minds of the Workers' Party and extends into the Labour Party seems to have copper-fastened Fianna Fail in power until the end of the parliament's term this weekend and up to the Galway East by-election, which on all past statistics it must win or face disaster.



● The three Workers' Party TDs, Joe Sherlock, Proinsias de Rossa and Paddy Gallagher, whose determination for survival has kept Fianna Fail in power — for the moment anyway

The Fine Gael gallop for the polls since its newly-found confidence after Dublin West, has seen it throwing to the winds its economic restraint policies on which it

built its 'honesty in politics' facade at the last election. Without any particular qualms or signs of embarrassment it has blithely voted for several increases in public spending

and cuts in taxation, which at the beginning of the year we were sincerely assured were a recipe for disaster.

But the Labour Party does not share such an enthusiastic view of an early general election, divided as it is by its left/right split and reeling from the few hundred derisory votes it managed in Dublin West.

LUDICROUS

In consequence we have witnessed the ludicrous manoeuvrings in Leinster House between Labour, the Workers' Party and Tony Gregory with each voting for, against and abstaining on a variety of seemingly homogeneous motions, the only principle being the retention in power of the Haughey government.

The unique absence of Labour Party leader Michael O'Leary from Leinster House this week — purportedly to concentrate on the by-election in Galway — relieves governmental worries in the face of remaining close calls for the last few days of this term.

Meanwhile, figures for foreign borrowing, which we are told is the key to economic bankruptcy, have been revealed to be already £13 million in excess of the total budgeted figure for 1982. In the first 6 months of the year the figures show a budget deficit of £692 million, already in excess of the target for the whole year. And unemployment figures for June are at the highest-ever level of 150,859 and definitely going to rise higher before the end of the year.

These are the very factors on which Free State governments have repeatedly said they must be judged.

Few, outside of career politicians in Leinster House, can be feeling very confident at present.

Ireland - US haven

BY BOB FOX

IT SHOULD be obvious now that the special relationship of Anglo-American imperialism — most recently on display in the Malvinas affair — has an 'Irish dimension'. On one level, it is just a matter of *quid pro quo*. The Brits, especially the mad war-monger Thatcher, are the only ally who will toe the line for any of Reagan's Cold War adventures, even at the risk of starting World War III. In return, the Brits get official US government harassment of Irish republicans and their supporters in the US, and a vicious anti-republican propaganda campaign co-ordinated at the highest levels.

Last year's revelations in the London *New Statesman* and the Sunday *Tribune* of Anglo-American pressure, exercised through the NATO military bloc, for an end to Free State 'neutrality' confirmed one aspect of the special relationship. According to NATO's strategic planners, the Soviet Union intends to attack Europe by flying bombers out over the Atlantic and back in across Ireland. So Ireland has to become a permanent aircraft carrier, Cruise missile base and lookout post to protect 'the West'.

The basic argument has not changed one bit in 200 years, since Pitt bribed and browbeat the Act of Union through in 1800. The same line was repeated by Lloyd George in 1920, to excuse partition, and by the British cabinet in 1948, to maintain partition forever. Down through the years, only the name of the bogeyman has changed; from Napoleon in 1800 to the Soviets in 1948.

We might well ask ourselves, in all this talk about 'Western civilisation', since when did 'the West' do us any favours?

But there is more to it. There are, in fact, some very good hard cash reasons why the US continues to back up the tattered remains of the British empire.

Free State politicians seem to think that we are illiterate, because they certainly are not ashamed of boasting about their operations. The underlying reasons for US interest in Ireland were spelled out recently in an interesting source — the monthly bulletin of the Free State Department of Foreign Affairs. In an article in the February 1982 issue, Declan Murphy, head of promotions and advertising for the Industrial Development Authority (IDA), made some revealing statements.

He pointed out that every fifth person in Irish manufacturing industry is working for a US firm. These firms include some of the biggest imperialist concerns, such as Burlington, the world's largest textile producer, and General Electric. In the 20 years from 1960-80, almost half of the total overseas investment — 2,119 thousand punts — came from the US.



The startling fact about Murphy's article is his explanation. He is absolutely shameless in describing the sell-out behind these facts. Thus, he says that "the combination of Ireland's location in a market with 270 million consumers (the EEC) its stable business and political climate, the quality and

productivity of Irish workers, the lowest rate of corporate tax in Europe as well as the many capital grants and services offered by the IDA, has proved a powerful attraction to US firms."

In other words, the Free State — through the IDA — has sold the Irish working class to US capital,

and they boast about it, and even claim that this is a service to the Irish people!

The statement just quoted is not a fluke or a mistake. Instead, Murphy repeats the basic idea three more times in the course of his article. Thus, he says that "a stable environment in which a spirit of industrial enterprise can prevail and be rewarded has been fostered by successive Irish governments."

Then he quotes US Department of Commerce figures to show that "Ireland provides the environment and the productivity which give the industrialists the highest return in the world on industrial investment."

The specific figures are astonishing: between 1977 and 1980, US firms in Ireland recorded an annual average rate of return of 33.7%. This figure is twice the rate in the rest of the EEC and more than double the world average.

So taken is Murphy with his 'achievements' that he comes back to this point again at the end of the article. US multinationals, he says, are well rewarded for their generous exploitation of Irish workers "they are investing in the most profitable industrial location in the world."

In fact, the only other places in the world where US imperialism can make these sorts of profits are the fascist dictatorships of South Korea, Chile and South Africa. It must be a comfort to Haughey and FitzGerald to know that they are in such fine, freedom-loving company.



● Whilst the British were able to inflict heavy casualties upon and defeat the Argentinians in a conventional war within 13 weeks, they cannot beat the IRA in a guerrilla war lasting 13 years

BY PETER DOWLING

THE OBVIOUS LESSON of the British/Argentinian conflict is the totally hypocritical nature of British condemnation of IRA physical force, given British readiness to unleash war over the Falklands/Malvinas.

British politicians, media and bishops, with few dissenting voices, proclaim that their South Atlantic venture was a 'just war': for they sought to defend the principles of democracy and self-determination against military occupation by a foreign power. Among the more than a thousand lives lost in a few weeks, the British even killed a few Falkland Islanders — in order to save them! — with hardly a murmur of domestic opposition. Violence, including the regrettable killing of civilians, as well as the necessary killing of combatants, is totally justifiable in defence of rightful claims to sovereignty — so the British say.

The biased political basis of what purports to be British moral outrage at IRA methods thus becomes crystal clear. Moreover, the justness of the IRA's cause is not seriously challenged by Britain's allies — the Free Staters, the Catholic hierarchy, and the SDLP. It is the armed means which is opposed. So where does the Irish establishment stand now on this question, given that — according to their British mentors — the end justifies the means?

But there are even more important lessons for republicans, for there is obviously nothing new nor startling about this hypocritical stance of the British and their cohorts. And, anyway, republicans require no lessons in the need for armed struggle.

What needs examining is how devastatingly effective British reaction to the Argentinian re-possession of the Malvinas affects Irish republican strategy, tactics and prospects of success in the struggle to achieve national unity and independence. Problems posed need facing fairly and squarely.

MILITARY

The effective show of military might by the British in the South Atlantic should finally lay to rest any simplistic notions of the IRA physically driving the British out of the six counties irrespective of the political balance of forces. Given the obviously permanent (if slightly shifting) IRA/Brit imbalance of personnel, firepower and technology, the idea of getting rid of the British by purely military means is totally unrealistic.

No guerrilla war of national liberation anywhere has ever

been, nor ever will be, won on the basis of military success alone. It is a question of favourably changing the balance of political forces, not just in Ireland, North and South, but also in Britain.

The IRA can never hope to militarily beat the British army. What it must eventually do is break the will of the British — their army, people and government — to remain in Ireland. A necessary part of this process will, of course, be military successes, but that is far from being sufficient.

POLITICAL

There are, of course, vital military differences between the South Atlantic war and the Northern Irish war, which have meant that although the Brits can beat the Argentinians in a conventional war

over the Falklands/Malvinas within 13 weeks, they cannot beat the IRA in a guerrilla war lasting 13 years.

But what is more important is the different political context of each struggle. After all, why, for example, doesn't the British army drive a tank up the Falls Road and blast the Belfast Republican Press Centre to smithereens? (I'm sure they'd like to.) Why doesn't the RAF 'take out' the Falls Road, as loyalist politicians have recommended (and as the Israelis have done with the Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon)? Why haven't there been more Bloody Sundays to batter Irish nationalists into the ground?

The answer is, of course, nothing to do either with the IRA physically preventing them, nor with British liberalism or their armed

forces' reluctance to massacre (the most recent case being the unprovoked sinking of the General Belgrano).

The answer is purely one of different political constraints in any particular context dictating what level of state violence is considered productive or counter-productive.

SOLIDARITY

The monstrous Task Force was launched in an orgy of British chauvinism and popular backing for Margaret Thatcher and her fellow Tory war-mongers after the British government had been made to look foolish. Jingoistic solidarity was maintained throughout the campaign with the assistance of a rabid media and tame parliamentary opposition (with even Tony Benn's opposition diplomatically muted through-

out). There was ion, once l menced, of being able to vent British the islands. nuclear war necessary.) question w Argentinian inflict suffic split British and thus premature came nowh Because to-win, in throughout so strong, d (minimum and lives (2 ually brush Tories, as in In the S Exocet ign chalking up loss, or a h

LESSON MALVINAS



● The political impact of the IRA land-mine attack at Warrenpoint, Co. Down, on August 27th, 1979, which resulted in the deaths of 18 British Paras, far exceeded that following the loss of 18 SAS men in the South Atlantic

ONS OF VINAS

front, may rapidly change that). And the neo-colonial policies of the Foreign Office's bright boys (who, in the interests of political stability and capitalist prosperity, favour handing over colonies to the locals) have taken a mauling in favour of old-fashioned gun-boat diplomacy and Union Jack waving.

TACTICS

Every IRA tactic needs assessing and re-assessing in the light of the primary importance of the political impact rather than the military effect. All actions should seek to unite and maximise nationalist support, and should be comprehensible to those supporters in the South who do not daily experience repression.

To re-emphasise the national liberation nature of the conflict — to a national, British and international audience of potential sympathisers — attacks on explicitly British targets should be primary, and on loyalist targets (such as UDR and RUC) secondary.

(The main weakness of this ideal strategy is the fact that in most rural areas the RUC and UDR make up the bulk of the state's repressive forces and are thus the most available targets. No IRA Volunteer sitting behind a command wire could be expected to let an RUC jeep pass over a landmine in preference for a British army

jeep which may or may not come along that day!)

Further, all military tactics must seek to undercut the British and loyalist will-to-win and to fragment the enemy, politically as well as physically!

The commercial bombing campaign should be seen in the right light. Not so much a matter of raising (through compensation) the financial cost to the British exchequer to an intolerable high, but more of value in undermining political stability and confidence in British ability to rule, and therefore sapping British determination through demonstrating IRA capability.

Similarly, when an armoured car full of Brits is blown up, the value to the IRA is not that they have one vehicle less, and one group of soldiers less, to fight against (for they may be replaced many times over from units in West Germany or England). The importance is the political impact, especially — in the last analysis — on the British public. They must be forced to ask: how much longer must we stay in Ireland, is the loss of 'our boys' worth it?

When a loyalist member of the state forces — UDR or RUC — is shot dead, it is the effect on loyalist morale which is important. Last November's execution of the raving Reverend Robert Bradford, and the subsequent 'week-of-action' against the UDR, showed that the pol-

itical effect of throwing the British and different brands of loyalism into mutual conflict can be the benefit of a well-executed operation.

VIETNAM

On broader horizons, the classical case to examine is the American defeat in Vietnam. Given an adequate level of military competence by the national liberation forces, the real war became the battle for the hearts and minds of the people, not just in Vietnam, but — decisively — in America.

Television pictures flashed around the world of a naked child burnt by napalm were more effective in bringing the Vietnamese struggle to a successful conclusion than any military weapon the guerrillas had to hand. At the end of the day the United States forces were no longer able to stay in Vietnam when the American public no longer backed them. (A pre-condition for this was, of course, the ongoing military success of the Vietnamese National Liberation Front.)

Similarly, however contradictory and unpalatable it may seem, the struggle to remove the British from here will only be brought to a successful conclusion at the behest of British public opinion stirred by the successful military and political actions of Irish republicans.

Further thought and discussion on this vital topic is needed.

out). There was never any question, once battle had commenced, of the Argentinians being able to physically prevent British re-occupation of the islands. (The British had nuclear weapons available if necessary.) The only real question was whether the Argentinian air force could inflict sufficient casualties to split British public opinion and thus bring about a premature ceasefire. This they came nowhere near doing.

Because the British will-to-win, in parliament and throughout the country, was so strong, the cost in finance (minimum £1,500 million) and lives (250 plus) was virtually brushed aside, by the Tories, as irrelevant.

In the South Atlantic, an Exocet ignites a destroyer, chalking up a £50 million loss, or a helicopter is down-

ed, killing 18 SAS men, and there is hardly a whimper. The political impact is negligible.

Yet in the North of Ireland, only £1 million worth of property burnt, or one SAS man executed, and the impact is much greater. Even more clearly, the political effect of 18 Paras being killed at Warrenpoint far exceeded that of 18 SAS men in the South Atlantic.

It is not just the different logistical nature of the two conflicts, but that the political balance of forces, and the level of unquestioning support in Britain, are different in each case. It is not the objective extent of the financial or military loss which matters for the British, but the subjective measure of maintaining sufficient credibility at home to pursue

their objective to the bitter end.

CONCLUSIONS

For republicans then, certain conclusions.

The IRA's current strategy of a long war of attrition (having no truck with truces or loyalists), plus nationwide political mobilisation, is a correct one to exert maximum pressure on Britain. But the South Atlantic conflict re-emphasises and reinforces the difficulty of the task, having amply illustrated British military prowess and chauvinistic hankering after the glories of the old empire days.

For the time being, at least, the whole spectrum of British politics has moved to the right (although the current incipient tendency towards a general strike against the Tories, on the industrial

Mála poist...Mála poist.

ALL letters should be addressed to: The Editor, An Phoblacht/Republican News, 51/53 Falls Road, Belfast, or 44 Parnell Square, Dublin 1. Preferably they should be type-written in double spacing with wide margins and on one side of paper only.



South Africa

A Chara,

While my present position somewhat restricts the availability of our paper *AP/RN* I would nonetheless request that you include an article(s) in the near future on the regime in South Africa and its actions based on racism and naked greed, which not only suppresses but tortures and murders our black brothers and sisters there.

The rights of the black natives of South Africa (and South-West Africa, Namibia) are not simply subservient to the whims of Botha, the prime minister, but also to the manipulation of the trans and multinationals whose personal aggrandisement is the only principle under which they function. These leeches of society deserve much space as they in their own right are society's greatest evil but an everyday cross-section would suffice here just to show how people exist under the iron fist of capitalism/racism in South Africa.

1982 has been designated by the United Nations as the year to press for sanctions against South Africa. Perhaps the position of the Free State administration could be outlined in any such article, and any interests it maintains in or with South Africa. The harm done by sporting groups touring in either official or personal capacities (as Ireland, North and South, has an ongoing flow of talent entertaining there) could be looked at.

Could we explore and/or ask suggestions into possible methods open for imposing sanctions against this evil regime which might cause severe (hopefully fatal) psychological if not economic blows to those in temporary power in Pretoria; for example calling for the cancelling of all commercial airline flights to and

THE WILL TO WIN

Dear Comrades,

It is some two weeks since the jury at Leeds Crown Court returned a 'not guilty' verdict on the 'Bradford 12' of which I was one. I write this letter as a gesture of solidarity both to the nationalist people of Ireland and the freedom fighters who are waging a heroic and just war against the British imperialist forces.

It was heart-warming to receive telegrams from comrades in Ireland as indeed it is heart-warming to hear that the IRA have carried out yet another successful operation. It is the latter that has always filled me with a sense of imminent victory.

Whilst I write this letter of solidarity, many miles away in Lebanon the Palestinians are once again being brutally butchered by Zionism. All the freedom-loving people are horrified at this terrible, terrible slaughter of the gallant Palestinians and their Lebanese allies. All the wealth and power of Saudi Arabia



IRA successes give heart to revolutionaries outside Ireland

has once again left them to suffer untold misery at the guns of America in the hands of the Israelis. All of us committed to the struggle against imperialism must come out and show our solidarity in whichever way we can. I have no doubt that not only the Republican Movement but the nationalist people of Ireland will continue to stand by the Palestinians as they have done so in the past.

Capitalism in crisis is a violent, aggressive creature indeed. Britain in her true hypocritical manner was prepared

to send a mighty armada to the Malvinas Islands and bring havoc and destruction there all in the name of 1,600 loyal Brits and a load of sheep. In the name of justice on the British mainland she is imposing a massive repressive regime, today against black people which tomorrow will be unleashed against the British working class. In the name of peace she brings war to the Malvinas Islands. In the name of British unity she maintains the division of Ireland. In reality it is all in the name of the maintenance of

imperialist domination of the peoples of this globe.

On many an occasion, whilst in prison on remand, I gained strength from the martyrs of the Irish struggle. They may be buried a long way away in Ireland, but their spirit of resistance shone through into my life in prison.

I learnt one very important lesson from the stance of Bobby Sands and the many other comrades that came and went before and after him. That is, prison walls can break your bones but never your will to struggle for what you believe is just. To all those who have sacrificed their lives and are continuing to sacrifice themselves for the unification of Ireland I send revolutionary greetings and fraternal salutations.

For us, by our charges, the state made a mountain out of a mole hill. In their blind determination to send us to prison for a mighty long time, they ended up by making a monument to our beliefs. We will continue to defend ourselves by whatever means we feel are necessary.

Victory to the nationalist people of Ireland!
Victory to the IRA!
Tarik M. Ali,
Oldbury, West Midlands,
England.

from that country or barring private corporations (most certainly twenty-six county bodies) from investing in South Africa?

Before we go on let us firstly explore the myth that sanctions would bring hardship to those we are trying to help, that is, our black brothers and sisters, the dispossessed natives who are supporters of or engaged in the liberation struggle as waged by Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation), the armed wing of the African National Congress (ANC).

The lot of the African people can be no worse - they need and justly deserve our moral if not physical support solidly behind them. Our solidarity shown at every opportunity will offer support to a struggling people like ourselves, a people who echo the name of Volunteer Bobby Sands with the same pride as that of their own hero Steve Biko of whom Soweto can be honoured.

The ANC, 70-years-old this year (formed in January 1912), outlived now this past 22 years, is growing both in support and

membership day by day. The Land Act of 1913 allocated the whites in South Africa (who then constituted 1.5 million) 90% of the total land area while 5.5 million black nationals got less than 10%. That was in 1913. Today 23 million blacks out of a population of 27 million possess 13% of the land.

Tell us more about this struggle. Solidarity to our struggling brothers and sisters in South Africa and Namibia. To fail them is to fail ourselves.

Gerry McDonnell,
H-Block,
Long Kesh.

The language

A Chara,

I would like to offer a few comments on Brendan Dowd's

letter in *AP/RN*, June 24th.

It would be a mistake to think that the only function of the Irish language and culture in *AP/RN*, or indeed the Movement as a whole, is to attract, cater for and/or pacify Irish speakers. Of course, they should be catered for, but is there not something even more fundamental in question here?

We have several types of oppression in this country - the British army being the most tangible and visible of them. There is also economic oppression, and cultural and ideological oppression. The biggest oppressor of our people is the domination of the Anglo-American culture and philosophy (or lack of it). The medium of this constant brainwashing is the English language, and until we break the dominance of the English language over our people, they shall never be able to truly free themselves of their slavemasters.

Do we just want a thirty-two county version of our twenty-six county statelet? Because that I'm afraid, is all we'll have without

our language and culture. Or do we want, as Bobby Sands so aptly put it, "a sovereign people, free in mind and body separate and distinct, physically, culturally and economically."

Clodna Mhic Giolla Chuda,
Tamlacht,
Baile Atha Cliath.

A Chara,

"A people without a language of its own is only half a nation. A nation should guard its language more than its territories - 'tis a sure barrier and more important frontier than fortress or river." (Thomas Davis).

The Irish nation retained and asserted its right to a separate existence from England for 2,000 years before republicanism existed. It did so because it had a unique identity embodied in its language and culture. So long as we retain that England cannot conquer us, I state this not to demean republicanism but to illustrate that our nationality, based on our language, is and has been as effective and as powerful

as force as republicanism in our struggle with England. The ideal to which Pearse called the Republican Movement was the fusion of both forces - the creation of a thoroughly democratic nationalist movement. Has the Movement risen to the challenge yet? Brendan Dowd is right - speaking the language doesn't make one a good patriot - being a patriot doesn't make one a good Irish person either, and both are important.

I am not a member of the Republican Movement, but on my observations I feel that most republicans are unable or unwilling to use the language effectively. Is it surprising that Gaelic speakers don't support the Movement?

The process of encouraging republicans to use and appreciate the language should be a vital element of the war. Such a policy would hasten and make more certain the ultimate victory.

The policy would give the lie to Free State lip-service; it would create a powerful unity and sense of identity; it would remove many Irish men and women from the cultural imperialism of the Free State/English media, demoralise the English forces, and prove to the world that we are a unique non-English nation. It is better to gain recruits and respect in doing now what will have to be done later anyway.

Initially, mainly English must be used to reach the masses but most people in Ireland have the potential, if not the rudiments, to progress quickly in learning Gaelic. What is needed is a lead; encouragement, education and the provision of facilities and teachers. Republicans have earned much disrespect by suggesting that the war be won first, and then deal with the language. The war might continue for 20, 50 or 100 years. What language will be left then? As regards *AP/RN* its role will change as the attitudes of republicans and supporters towards the language change.

An unremitting propaganda campaign, mainly through English, highlighting the importance of our language as a weapon against the enemy would be a helpful move. But it would be only a first step. The vast majority of Irish people by polls, in collections, etc., have consistently demonstrated a deep respect for the language, and a desire to learn it. The Republican Movement can alienate these people from English influence. Will it?

As a final thought, it would be very interesting to know what the Gaelic-speaking POWs feel about the issue.

Cine Gael,
Bhaile Feinste.



IVAN BESHOFF

A RUSSIAN IN DUBLIN

BY KATHLEEN DWYER

LAST Friday, July 2nd, probably the country's only Russian Irish man, Ivan Beshoff, celebrated his 99th birthday in Dublin. He is one of the few people to have been involved in two revolutions - the Russian and Irish ones.

Beshoff is one of the few survivors of the mutiny on the battleship Potemkin in 1905 when Russian conscript sailors, who suffered most appalling conditions, shot their officers, took over the ship and raised the red flag for the first time.

The sailors took the ship to the Rumanian coast of the Black Sea where they were put in a camp and visited by Tsarist officials promising them a safe return to Russia. Some of the young sailors accepted the offer, but were shot down before they reached their ship.

Beshoff, distrustful Tsarist promises, escaped along with two ship-mates, stowed away on a ship bound for the Belgian port of Antwerp and made his way to London.

In the British capital Beshoff met a number of the future leaders of the Russian revolution, including Lenin, of whom he says: "You'd give him a penny he looked so poor - like a tramp." He also met Jim Larkin and Beshoff arrived in Ireland on the very morning of the 1913 lock-out as a friend and guest of Larkin's family.

Beshoff sketches over his involvement in the Irish struggle, during which he adopted a *nom de guerre*.

"There were two Russian sailors in the GPO in 1916," he says with the broadest of smiles, "You might even find one of them in Dublin today, around somewhere."

When Beshoff's role in acquiring arms from British soldiers to supply to the IRA was uncovered during the Tan War, he went on the run in Tipperary's Galtee mountains where he met his future wife.

In the 1920s Beshoff went back to Russia for a period but returned to Ireland because his wife was homesick.

Before the 1932 general election the Cumann na nGaedheal government instituted a red scare and Beshoff, who was working for the Russian Arupe Oil Company got word that the Free State gardai were looking for him as he drove around Ireland in a Bentley.

He was eventually arrested as a Russian spy whilst taking dinner in a Nenagh hotel. In the local barracks he was charged by a sergeant who was an old acquaintance from his Tipperary IRA days, and he recalls, whom he had beaten many times at poker. In the event, Beshoff spent a month in Limerick prison's hospital.

When Beshoff saw Hitler's Germany threatening his homeland during the Second World War he asked the Russians should he go back. They told him to stay and care for his family. "There are enough young men to fight for Russia."

Ivan Beshoff has remained in Ireland since, an interesting character in a largely unrecorded part of the patchwork of Ireland's freedom struggle.

**Burke's
at the back**
BY KEVIN BURKE

An Irish joke

WHAT a generous organisation the EEC is. Sure, where would we all be without it?

Around the Free State coast is a 200-mile area known grandly as its Exclusive Economic Zone. It is in fact approximately 25% of all EEC waters.

However, Brussels has decided that twenty-six county fishermen can only fish exclusively in a 6-mile limit off the coast. In addition, one section off Donegal, between the 6 and 12-mile limits, will be exclusively Irish; the rest is to be shared with other EEC fleets.

The Dutch and West German herring fleets are to be allowed into an area off the Wexford and Waterford coast where Irish fishermen have not been allowed to fish herring at all in the last three years - for conservation purposes!

Moreover, in case the fish do not know of the EEC arrangements and swim in the wrong places, Irish fishermen are to be restricted to a quota of only 21% of fish caught in this 12-mile limit area.

The net result is that the Free State, with its 25% of EEC waters has been assigned 4% of the EEC's total quota. In contrast, Britain with about 30% of EEC waters has been given 36% of the total quota of fish allowed to be caught.

And we complain when they tell Irish jokes on television.

★★★

It is probably blasphemy or treason or something to admit it, but I have been known to display just the slightest tinge of scepticism about the stories of just how complete is the IRA's control of Crossmaglen.

Of course, even the Brits admit they can only get supplies to their heavily-fortified barracks there by air, and feel nervous enough about that. And I've even been on the Monaghan to Dundalk bus on one occasion when it was stopped by a Provo checkpoint at nearby Cullyville.

But you know how people exaggerate and embellish these stories.

Nevertheless, I was silenced this week on learning that Crossmaglen priest Rev Thomas O Sabhaois, who last week refused to pass on an IRA warning of an unexploded bomb, has been moved from the parish. And not just a few miles, but to the missions in Nigeria! Now that is impressive.

★★★

Reports of RUC men cracking up are now so frequent that even I sometimes forget to record them for you.

The latest is 38-year-old Mervyn Morrow of Castlereagh Road, Belfast, who presented himself at Purdy's mental hospital on June 6th last in "a very distraught condition".

While hospital staff went for help, Morrow ran amok in the hospital grounds and attacked an elderly patient, Mrs Isobel Slowe. He punched her about the head and face, and she died from her injuries 13 days later.

Last week, Morrow, now described as an "ex-RUC man", was freed by the Belfast High Court on £1,000 bail.

★★★

Yet another 'bad apple' in the RUC barrel, this time 35-year-old John Larmour who is stationed at Musgrave Street in Belfast.

He appeared at Belfast's magistrate's court last Friday charged with attempting to frame a man on an assault charge.

Larmour, who was otherwise following standard RUC procedures, unfortunately chose two non-members of the force as corroborative witnesses that the man had committed an assault on him in the Central Bar in Belfast's Victoria Street two years ago.

The non-professional false witnesses broke, however, and told the truth, landing Larmour in the dock.

★★★

What about this for an unusual decoy? In Newry, last Saturday, reports of a naked man having been seen on the roof of Woolworths store brought an RUC man climbing up there to investigate.

He was immediately attacked by a group of youths with stones and bottles who tried to steal his revolver. The RUC man eventually



● There are plenty of catches in the EEC's regulations governing Irish fishermen.

drove them off by firing his gun at them, but nevertheless sustained a number of minor injuries.

A streak of bad luck, I suppose!

★★★

And signs of dissension in the ranks of the crown forces emerged at a special court in Dungannon last week when a UDR soldier was one of four men charged with assaulting two RUC men in Cookstown causing them grievous bodily harm.

Richard Jordan, with an address at Magherafelt UDR barracks, was remanded in custody with three others to Belfast magistrates court.

★★★

Establishment politicians are very fond of lecturing all and sundry on respect for the rule of law. But how does it work out in practice?

In April last, Edward Howell was acquitted in Dublin's Special Court of IRA membership. On Thursday last week, application was made in the Dublin District Court for the return of \$80,000 he had been carrying at the time of his arrest.

It was attested in the court that the money was part of Sinn Féin's election funds, and the Free State's attorney-general could not produce one scrap of normally admissible evidence to show otherwise.

However, this was no problem and the court refused to return the money saying it was 'probably' intended for an illegal organisation.

So Howell, who was assumed 'guilty' until he could prove himself 'innocent' in the Special Court, was decided to be 'guilty' anyway in the District Court.

Very clever these 'rules of law', you just change them when you're losing.

★★★

What pathetic figures are Dublin's politicians!



● British soldiers are not the only ones who take pleasure in daubing republican murals and monuments. This memorial to the 10 dead H-Block hunger-strikers in Tralee, County Kerry, has recently been similarly desecrated.

ians, and Britain's leaders are not afraid to let them know it.

In the Westminster parliament last week Northern direct-ruler Jim Prior patronisingly revealed that although he was "disappointed at the deterioration in Anglo-Irish relations," over the Falklands/Malvinas crisis, it had not made any difference to Britain's real position in Ireland.

On cross-border economic collaboration and such matters as gas supplies, everything was fine, he said. In particular, he described himself as confident that "the joint security effort" against republicanism is being continued at the same level.

Of Haughey's views on the Falklands/Malvinas, Prior quipped to much laughter: "I always hope that any sinner may repent of their error."

Why wouldn't he sneer at the empty words of his willing servants?

★★★

Independent Unionist councillor Frank Millar, a former deputy lord mayor of Belfast, who is closely linked to the UVF, gave the city's council the benefit of his views on the travelling people last week.

"They are rubbish who should be sent to the incinerator," he said.

And publicly setting up these unfortunate much-oppressed people for the murderous manias of his organisation, Millar went on to suggest that travellers were carrying "certain equipment essential to the IRA."

Another of those misunderstood loyalists with whom we must join hands in friendship before daring to think of freeing our country?

★★★

Your average Irish capitalist is a man of many contrasts. One minute he is a pro-Brit, decrying the damage done to the tourist industry by daring to disagree with Britain's foreign policy. The next minute he is playing the nationalist card demanding we all put our country before all others and buy Irish.

One day he is decrying state interference in his murky financial manoeuvrings. The next day he is demanding state grants for his failing industries.

One week only the capitalist entrepreneur can create the economic wealth necessary for full employment. The next week the workers must pay through the nose for the dismal failures of these same bosses.

One year we are told that only the EEC's open markets can bring about the magic economic development which makes the cake bigger so that our little share gets bigger too. The next year import tariffs and barriers must be restored to stop nasty foreigners offering us cheap clothes and shoes.

And most of us are taken in by all that rubbish.

★★★

But where would you put Wexford Corporation in this pattern of confusion?

Just last month they decided to change Wexford's street names back to what they were in the days of direct British control.

So Thomas Ashe Street has been changed back to Anne Street; McDermott Street reverts to Hill Street; Plunkett Street to George's Street; and MacSwiney Street to High Street.

Well, you may say, at least they have the courage to come out in their true colours.

But this week the same corporation has backed a motion from its Sinn Féin alderman, Phil Kelly, to be put to the Municipal Authorities Conference later this year, calling for the repeal of the Criminal Law (Jurisdiction) Act.

The next thing is they will be naming a Tuite Street.

My head is away trying to work it out.

★★★

A spokesman for the RUC has revealed that two of its finest travelled to Yorkshire to assist in the search for police-killed Barry Prudom. Unfortunately he was already dead when they got there.

"As a matter of courtesy we offered our assistance," said the RUC, "but as it turned out it was not needed."

WHAT'S ON

PICKET IN SUPPORT OF

GERRY TUITE
10.30 am & 2 pm
Monday 12th July
Special Court
Green Street
(Bolton Street end)
DUBLIN

FOLK NIGHT

Featuring Ann and Francis Brophy
9 pm Friday 9th July
Oak, Grt.

CASTLEWELLAN

Co. Down
Admission: £1.50
Tickets available from "Lennon's"
Main Street, Castlewellsan
Organised by Sinn Féin

GREEN CROSS SOCIAL

Featuring "Duce"
Friday 9th July
Tullyally Tavern
CRAIGAVON
Admission: £1

BEECHMOUNT & IVEAGH YOUTH

ONE-DAY FESTIVAL
Featuring a variety of events
10 am till late
Sunday 11th July
Pass 'N' Grove
BEECHMOUNT
Belfast

Admission free

VOL. JULIE DOUGAN

MEMORIAL UNVEILING
After 12 noon Mass
Sunday 11th July
DRUMCREE
Co. Armagh
Organised by the National
Graves Association

COMHAIRLE CUIGE

MUNHMAN MEETING
2 pm Sunday 11th July
Glen Eagle Hotel
KILLARNEY
Co. Kerry
Delegates are asked to note
the change of date

SPONSORED FUN RUN & WALK

(All monies raised to fund community projects in the Belfast area)
Run starts at 2 pm
Walk starts at 1.30 pm
Monday 12th July
Leisure Centre
BEECHMOUNT
Belfast
Organised by Sinn Féin

VOL. MARTIN HURSON

COMMEMORATION
8 pm Tuesday 13th July
Galbally Hall
GALBALLY
Co. Tyrone

SINN FEIN

FUND-RAISING SOCIAL
Featuring "The Dublin City Ramblers"
Friday 16th July
The Blue Lagoon
SLIGO TOWN
Admission: £3

VICTORY TO THE IRISH PEOPLE!

MARCH & RALLY
1.30 pm Saturday 17th July
Tooting Broadway Tube
LONDON
Organised by the South London
Irish Solidarity Committee

VOL. MARTIN HURSON

COMMEMORATION & SOCIAL
8 pm Sunday 18th July
MOSMIR
Co. Westmeath
(Social afterwards
in the Mosmir Arms)

ROGER CASEMENT

COMMEMORATION
2.30 pm Sunday 1st August
MURLOUGH BAY
Co. Antrim
Organised by Sinn Féin

Draw results

An Cumann Cabhrach, Dublin
June draw
£100: No 35; £50: 321; £25: 374;
£10: 211, 245; £5: 223, 231, 257
289, 358, 378.

Cork Sinn Féin private members draw
1st: (card 159, line 6), c/o Con Carmody;
2nd: (card 102, line 3), c/o Dan O'Leary;
3rd: (card 139, line 10), c/o Barry Higgins.

South Tyrone Building Fund draw
Week 5
1st (£100): Arthur Teague, Moy; 2nd
£50: B Glavin, Coalisland.

Week 6
1st (£100): O'Hughes, Coalisland; 2nd
£50: M. P. Quinn, Dungannon.

TV

In pursuance of balls

BY SIOBHAN O'MALLEY

FOR people who see little point in the pursuance of different sized balls round fields, over nets or across tables, these last few weeks have had one consolation in the handful of excellent films shown on television during the same period.

Otherwise, it has been the dreaded World Cup or dreary Wimbledon, and, just before those two, a surfeit of snooker.

One amazing thing I have only learned this year, however, is the annual outbreak of indecent assault cases reported at the tennis tournament, this year said to be over 100.

As usual these attacks on women are not seen as very serious by either media or police and are sportingly put down to a combination of the expense of thigh on the centre court and the crowds of nubile young schoolgirls watching it. In all, a healthy release valve for elderly English gentlemen.

England's defeat in the World Cup has knocked some of the gloss off the South Atlantic victory and the royal birth,

but the Falklands' spirit was much in evidence last Sunday as the news bulletins avidly covered the tracking down and wiping out of SAS-trained Barry Prudom, the man who had been putting the wind up British policemen in recent days.

Much of the Falklands' spirit too as the ITN news team got on the trail of the ASLEF train-drivers' strike leaders, ringing their faces on frozen film-shots as name, age and political leanings were tapped out below in the best criminal tradition. Wanted, dead or alive.

More in keeping with journalistic traditions of investigative reporting was Granada's 'World In Action' programme on Monday, which might well also serve as a warning for Ireland if it is not already too late.

REVIEW PAGE



Wimbledon apparently moves some people, but not me!

Entitled 'Small Town Tragedy' it examined the treatment of a town in the American west, Bloomington, by the London-registered multinational Cape Products.

In 1952, Bloomington was delighted to welcome a factory

In the town, set up by a Cape Products subsidiary, to manufacture rubber and asbestos products. Since then over 250 residents of the town, either employees of the factory or their immediate relatives, have died from lung cancer and

asbestosis. Many are still suffering and dying.

An American court awarded damages to those affected of 55 million dollars against Cape Products, who knew of the danger of asbestos but did nothing about protecting their workers. In 1972 Cape Products closed down the Bloomington factory when America introduced industrial safety laws.

When the court case arose, Cape withdrew all its assets from America and refused to appear in court at all. Their victims are left with nothing and with Cape now concentrating its activities in areas such as Liberia, overseas court action to recover damages seems impossible.

Extra-territorial legislation is, of course, confined to persecuting political activists, not the giants of capitalism.

FILMS

But back to those excellent films which have made the non-sporting television watcher's life just bearable.

On Sunday last, BBC2 showed the somewhat controversial 'Death in Venice', touching on a subject still shied away from in Ireland, yet which has echoes in Ireland's literary history. A beautifully photographed and sensitive film, it looks at the love of a dying composer for a young

boy, played out against a background of a cholera epidemic in Venice at the turn of the century.

The disintegration of the city symbolises that of the composer as he struggles to overcome what he feels is his own corruption and, in contrast, the boy, whom he never actually speaks to, is, for all his overt purity, cynically aware of what is happening. Compelling viewing.

The savage regime in America's prisons was the theme of RTE2's Monday film 'Attica'. Based on actual events 10 years ago the film dramatically reconstructed a prison revolt sparked off by the authorities' refusal to investigate the corruption and ill-treatment in Attica prison in New York state.

The prisoners barricaded themselves in with several guards as hostages. The revolt ended when state troopers and warders killed 29 prisoners and 10 hostages also died. Claims by the authorities that the hostages were killed by the prisoners were later disproved.

It emerged that in the savage break-up of the protest the state's gunmen had used dum-dum bullets, the ammunition which the British were screaming that the Argentinians were using against their troops last month.

'THE Interrogation of Ambrose Fogarty', which was first performed at Belfast's Lyric theatre earlier this year and which recently ended a second run there, is a well-written and humorous play by leading Stickie activist and playwright Martin Lynch, based on the principal character's three-day experience of interrogation in a west Belfast RUC barracks.

In a preamble to the play, 'poor person' Claran McKewon writes:

"The first step in breaking the vicious circle of the downward spiral is understanding. And understanding begins, not with all the complex political and legal issues, but with the realisation that all of those involved on every side are human beings, however differently situated or conditioned."

Playing with words

PLAYS

BY SEAMUS BOYLE

It is from behind this sort of bland assertion of the all-importance of 'humanity' as against, say, 'right and wrong', or 'justice', that Lynch has written a clever play which nonetheless defines 'humanity' far less than it defines Lynch's own (and the Workers' Party) political point of view.

That view is that the RUC are a generally decent, and misunderstood force, consisting of people with the same faults, fears and hopes as the rest of us, whose biggest handicap is the 'bad apples' concentrated among the Special Branch interrogators (brutalised by their own training, and themselves part of the

overall political tragedy, 'victims' not 'protagonists').

Thus, one of Lynch's heroes is desk sergeant Knox who laments the constraints placed on his humanity by this unattributable 'political tragedy' in a 'key' passage:

Knox: "I'd love to walk out there one day on my own. Dander up the road a bit and some wee woman come up to me and say, 'Good morning, Sergeant Knox', or some such trivial greeting. That would mean as to me."

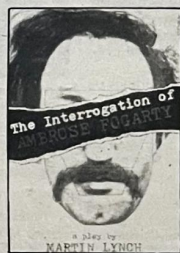
RUC woman Lundy: "As it is, you're more likely to get your head blown off."

Knox, in Lynch's scenario, is

an affable and well-intentioned man, courteous to those brought in under arrest, and horrified by RUC brutality (though he consciously turns a blind eye to it).

Fogarty himself, a 'top IRA man from the lower Falls' is a much less sympathetically drawn character. Standing on his 'rights' but with only a 'theoretical' understanding of what he is about, Fogarty is portrayed as a figure dominated by fear for himself, intimidated by his arrest, and with little or no 'humanity' — no better than his interrogators.

Lynch's real 'hero' is the guitar-playing, happy-go-lucky drunk, Willy Lagan, arrested



over the same period of time as Fogarty. Lagan bears no hostility to the RUC, indeed no apparent political concern, and emerges from the violence of the play with the greatest 'humanity'. That Lagan is, like Lynch himself, a Stickie 'given away' when Lagan explains that

just prior to his arrest he had seen playing his guitar in 'the Dwyer's' (a Sticky club in Leeson Street).

There can be no doubt that Lynch is a gifted playwright and that 'The Interrogation' is a highly successful play. Its dialogue, structure and characterisation are excellent and Lagan's superbly drawn humorous role does serve to make the play's more overt political statements as well as to counter the impact made by the interrogators' violence, so that we leave the play convinced of the RUC's 'humanity' rather than its other tendency to violence.

But above all Lynch is a political playwright, and his politics are thoroughly reactionary. Ultimately you cannot avoid this conclusion. But, would that we had a republican playwright as good as Martin Lynch!

Malvinas pamphlet BOOKS

BY JOHN DOYLE

WORKING from the premise that, "Repression in Argentina, as in every other country in the backward capitalist world, results from the domination of imperialism," Mike Freeman of Britain's Revolutionary Communist Party has produced a useful pamphlet entitled 'Malvinas are Argentina'.

Though substantially a critique of the British left's attitude to this still very much unresolved issue, the pamphlet contains much of interest to Irish readers.

Argentina's tragic history as the victim of foreign capitalism, notably the British variety, is concisely recorded with a particular emphasis on the sad experience of the most developed working class in Latin America.

Many real parallels with Ireland arise from the text, especially similarities between Flannery O'Connor and the Flannerys of the Fall and Peronism and the minority 'rights' of the serf-

like Falklanders and the loyalists.

Despite British protestations of liberal democratic morality superior to that of the Argentinian junta a quote from G.A. Hobson's 'Imperialism' would certainly sum up the view of the Argentinian and Irish people:

"The Pax Britannica, always an impudent falsehood, has become a grotesque monster of hypocrisy."

Enough said. 'Malvinas are Argentina' is available at 40p (plus postage) from Junius Publications, BCM JPLTD, London WC1N 3XX.

Doing your wack

BY DANNY MORRISON

THIS little booklet, 'An Interlude with Seagulls', was written by Belfast man Bobby Devlin (brother of the despised former SDLP man, Paddy Devlin), is a collection of humorous and sad anecdotes from his days as a Long Kesh internee from 1972 until 1974 and for many ex-prisoners it will undoubtedly bring back a flood of memories.

Seagulls, notorious scavengers, will always find sustenance and over the Long Kesh camp, as over the prison-ship Al Rawdah in the '40s, they used to seemingly mock with their freedom the incarcerated prisoners, and await the golden opportunity to swoop on scraps of food or raid the bins. They also, as Bobby Devlin records, were used against 'enemy' huts, the corrugated-iron roofs of which would

be covered with bread just before the nightly 10 o'clock lock-up. Come dawn scores of squeaking birds would do battle on the roof for the bread like an early-morning alarm call for the un-amused internees below!

Bobby Devlin very humorously traces his promotion from a postal worker to a 'brigadier-general' in the 'IRA' in Castle-reagh RUC barracks, and the road to jail.



The special prison argot he explains to the unfamiliar: 'Do your wack' (shoulder your burden bravely and do your time), 'Having a Big D' (depression has set in), 'Banger' (etymology — Bangor Reserves football team, reserves being Cockney for nerves), and, of course, the notorious 'Seal' (news), etc.

Internees walked around the cage in an anti-clockwise manner and anyone who did not comply was branded as being eccentric. He tells of mock escapes — which most new internees actually believed they were going to. He also praises the voluntary teach-

ers who came in to give some education to the 'poor internees' who, let it be said, put them through hell, plagued them for wire-cutters and smoked all their cigarettes. I remember one lecturer, the late Claude Cockburn, son, who arrived in every Thursday night and because 'Top of the Pops' was on TV he virtually ended up teaching the bloody seagulls!

But this little booklet also covers the tragic side of Long Kesh — the dawn raids, the family break-ups, the men who survived Long Kesh only to be killed on the streets, the shooting of Gerard Conroy on an escape and the chilling Sunday when young Paddy Crawford hung himself in Cage 5.

'An Interlude with Seagulls' is well worth the £1.25, despite some paginal errors and its failure to analyse the efforts at politicisation, the republican structures and power struggles. However, being the unpretentious and slightly successful internee I may be being too particular. (I thought Dan Turley use to moan before I read this.)

Nothing changes

BY MAEVE ARMSTRONG

'SIXTY years of repression' was the theme running through the two-day exhibition and festival which took place at the weekend in the nationalist New Lodge Road area of north Belfast.

Organised by the Seamus McCusker Sinn Féin cumann, the exhibition mainly dealt with the special history of this small nationalist area which is geographically and physically bordered

by predominantly loyalist districts. Display boards with many striking photographs — including a newspaper clipping of five members of the McMahon family from Kinnaird Terrace,

FESTIVALS

New Lodge, who were murdered by 'B' Specials — were appropriately under the heading '1922-1982 — nothing changes'.

Other displays included photographs and information of the depression in the '30s; the Outdoor Relief (ODR) period where Catholic and Protestant workers united on a single economic issue — to secure jobs and a better standard of living for all working-class people; the strike of 1932, the riots and depressing conditions in which

families lived in overcrowded houses, no sanitation and starvation rife.

Another section came under the heading of industrialisation of Belfast and with its religious discrimination in jobs and housing.

Noticably, the youth were drawn to the section on loyalist pogroms, riots and assassinations, the bombing of McGurk's pub in the New Lodge by loyalists in which 16 people were killed and more random atrocities which seldom make the headlines, like the murder of 13-year-old Joseph McGuinness, shot dead in North Queen Street.



In a 10-year period, from 1971-1981, 120 people were killed from the New Lodge area alone. Video interviews on the history of the area were shown throughout the exhibition with

such well-known local characters as Murtagh Morgan and Barney Bothwell. Other sections were on the prison struggle, the hunger-strikes, photographs and profiles of prisoners from the area, poems and illustrations.

Joe Austin, chairperson of Belfast Sinn Féin, described the exhibition as "highly successful and an example to other areas to copy. The people who experience history are the most qualified to record it and a neighbourhood's tradition and identity, such as the New Lodge's, can be reinforced and maintained by such events."

DEMPESEY, John, (1st Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Flann John Dempsey, Belfast Brigade, Flanna Eireann, who was shot while on active service duty on July 8th 1981. Thus a shaoil 66 go troid ar son saoirse a mhuintir. Never forgotten by his friends and comrades in Flanna Eireann, Belfast.

DEMPESEY, John, (1st Anniversary). In loving memory of my precious son Flann John, 'Johnny' Dempsey, 1st Coy., 1st Batt., Belfast Brigade, who was brutally cut down by the Marine Commandos on July 8th 1981. My love and my tears and the years gather, you may come to be forgotten but I won't ever forget, I promise you, they'll regret. Dear son, since that fateful morning that brought you death, my life has been shattered into a million pieces. I was left alone, less nights, how often I have asked God why you had to die. But he alone has a plan and a purpose that we must all accept without question. Tender were your years, son, manhood you never saw to see. If my life I could have given, I'd have done so unthinkingly. May God bless you, he has you in his home, and the baby Jesus be baby, eternal friend, and may the gentle winds of heaven blow upon your lonely grave. You, my son, wrapped in the glory of your dreams. With my deepest love and respect from your daddy, God bless you.

DEMPESEY, John, (1st Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Flann John Dempsey whose anniversary occurs on July 8th. "Lay him down on the hillside, along with the brave and the bold, inscribe his name on the roll of fame, in letters of purest gold. Always remembered by Jim and Mary Scullion and family."

DEMPESEY, John, (1st Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Flann John Dempsey, 1st Batt., Belfast Brigade, Flanna Eireann, who was killed on active service on July 8th 1981. Always remembered by his dear friend 'Bunio', Beldn an tIlinn.

DEMPESEY, John, (1st Anniversary). In memory of Flann John Dempsey, Belfast Brigade, Flanna Eireann, who was killed on active service duty on July 8th 1981. "The fools, the fools, they have left us our Fenian dead and while Ireland holds these graves, Ireland unfree shall never be at peace." We shall never forget. From his comrades in the 1st Batt., Flanna Eireann.

DEMPESEY, John, (1st Anniversary). In memory of Flann John Dempsey, Belfast Brigade, Flanna Eireann, who was killed on active service duty on July 8th 1981. Mary, Queen of the Gael, pray for him. My heart, if it could, would miss him to this day, the blow was hard and vicious, to his comrades in the IRA. Although to young John, new to the war, you fought and died, your aims were clear. Your struggle is mine now, Johnny, and I never forget the comradeship that the bitter end, to make your dream come true. "From a friend and comrade."

DEMPESEY, John, (1st Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Flann John Dempsey who was murdered by the British army on July 8th 1981. Mary, Queen of Ireland, pray for him. Remembered by the members of the McCauley Sinn Féin cumann, Belfast.

DEMPESEY, John, (1st Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Flann John Dempsey, Belfast Brigade, Flanna Eireann, who was killed on active service duty on July 8th 1981 by the British army. May his soul rest in peace and may his family be comforted by his mother, father and family. Remembered by Loretta De Lellis, USA.

DOUGAL, John, (10th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Flann John Douglas, Flanna Eireann, who died while on active service duty on July 13th 1981. I mae Lachra na nGael go raibh a nam. Always. Never forgotten by his friends and comrades in Flanna Eireann.

DOUGAL, John, (10th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol. Julie Douglas, Cumann na mBan, Portadown, who died as a result of a car accident while on active service duty on July 8th 1972. "Just as you are, just as you are, be someone special in my memory." Always remembered with love by her mother, Mrs Smyth and family.

DOUGAN, Julie, (10th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol. Julie Douglas, Cumann na mBan, Portadown, who died as a result of a car accident while on active service duty on July 8th 1972. You and your dear comrades are an inspiration to us all. Remembered by her brothers Peter, Dan, Morris, Benny, Ned, Matt and Pat.

DOUGAN, Julie, (10th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol. Julie Douglas, Cumann na mBan, Portadown, who died on July 8th 1972. Mary, Queen of Ireland, pray for him. Always remembered by her loving sisters Marian, Delirde, Margaret, Maureen and Patricia.

DOUGAN, Julie, (10th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol. Julie Douglas, Cumann na mBan, Portadown, who died as a result of a car accident while on active service duty on July 8th 1972. Always remembered by the Tom Williams/Thomas Hartie Sinn Féin cumann, Lurgan.

DOUGAN, Julie, (10th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol. Julie Douglas, Cumann na mBan, Portadown, who died while on active service duty on July 8th 1972. Always remembered by the Tom Williams/Thomas Hartie Sinn Féin cumann, Lurgan.

DOUGAN, Julie, (10th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol. Julie Douglas, Cumann na mBan, Portadown, who died while on active service duty on July 8th 1972. Always remembered by the Tom Williams/Thomas Hartie Sinn Féin cumann, Lurgan.

DOUGAN, Julie, (10th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol. Julie Douglas, Cumann na mBan, Portadown, who died while on active service duty on July 8th 1972. Always remembered by the Tom Williams/Thomas Hartie Sinn Féin cumann, Lurgan.

THE REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT proudly remembers Vol. Joe McDonnell and Martin Hurson, Oghlaigh na hEireann, who gave their lives on hunger-strike for the love. "It is a year on July 8th and July 13th respectively, because they are remembered with the alternative of slavery or sacrifice they are forced to pay for their freedom and justice with their blood and sacrifice."

THE REPUBLICAN POWS, H-BLOCKS, LONG KESH, remember with love and pride the friends and comrades Vol. Joe McDonnell and Martin Hurson, Oghlaigh na hEireann, who died fighting for us on July 8th and July 13th 1981 respectively. Your memories will ensure the victory of a socialist republic. Ní bheith fíocháin ann gan saoirse.

THE REPUBLICAN POWS, ARMAGH WOMEN'S JAIL, remember with love and pride Vol. Joe McDonnell and Martin Hurson, Oghlaigh na hEireann, who died on hunger-strike in Long Kesh prison camp on July 8th and July 13th 1981 respectively. "We pledge to Ireland our love, and we pledge to England our hate. Our foes are the strong and wise and wary but they cannot undo the miracles of God who ripens in generation."

DOUGAN, Julie, (10th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol. Julie Douglas, Cumann na mBan, Portadown, who died on active service on July 8th 1972. Always remembered by the North Armagh comraire centair.

DOUGAN, Julie, (10th Anniversary). Julie Douglas, Cumann na mBan, Portadown, who died on active service on July 8th 1972. Always remembered by the Julie Douglas Sinn Féin cumann, Portadown.

DOUGAN, Julie, (10th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol. Julie Douglas, Cumann na mBan, Portadown, who died on active service on July 8th 1972. Always remembered by the Portadown H-Block Committee.

HURSON, Martin, (1st Anniversary). In memory of Vol. Martin Hurson who died on hunger-strike on July 13th 1981. "The fools, the fools, they have left us our Fenian dead and while Ireland holds these graves, Ireland unfree shall never be at peace." Always remembered by the McCann/Grant Sinn Féin cumann, Toome.

HURSON, Martin, (1st Anniversary). On July 13th 1981, the 1st anniversary of the hunger-strike of Martin Hurson, on July 13th 1981, the Armagh Co-ordinating Committee, Londonderry, send their condolences and send their best wishes and sympathy to Martin's family, friends and friends. "Ireland unfree shall never be at peace."

HURSON, Martin, (1st Anniversary). In memory of Vol. Martin Hurson who died on hunger-strike on July 13th 1981. "The fools, the fools, they have left us our Fenian dead and while Ireland holds these graves, Ireland unfree shall never be at peace." Always remembered by Mary and Ted, USA.

HURSON, Martin, (1st Anniversary). In memory of Vol. Martin Hurson who died on hunger-strike on July 13th 1981. "The fools, the fools, they have left us our Fenian dead and while Ireland holds these graves, Ireland unfree shall never be at peace." Always remembered by the Hughes family, Belfast.

HURSON, Martin, (1st Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol. Martin Hurson and Joe McDonnell, Oghlaigh na hEireann, who died on hunger-strike on July 13th and July 8th 1981 respectively. Always remembered by the Wolfe Tone Sinn Féin cumann, north Belfast.

HURSON, Martin, (1st Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol. Martin Hurson and Joe McDonnell, Oghlaigh na hEireann, who died on hunger-strike on July 13th and July 8th 1981 respectively. Always remembered by the Wolfe Tone Sinn Féin cumann, north Belfast.

HURSON, Martin, (1st Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol. Martin Hurson and Joe McDonnell, Oghlaigh na hEireann, who died on hunger-strike on July 13th and July 8th 1981 respectively. Always remembered by the Wolfe Tone Sinn Féin cumann, north Belfast.

HURSON, Martin, (1st Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol. Martin Hurson and Joe McDonnell, Oghlaigh na hEireann, who died on hunger-strike on July 13th and July 8th 1981 respectively. Always remembered by the Wolfe Tone Sinn Féin cumann, north Belfast.

HURSON, Martin, (1st Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol. Martin Hurson and Joe McDonnell, Oghlaigh na hEireann, who died on hunger-strike on July 13th and July 8th 1981 respectively. Always remembered by the Wolfe Tone Sinn Féin cumann, north Belfast.

HURSON, Martin, (1st Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol. Martin Hurson and Joe McDonnell, Oghlaigh na hEireann, who died on hunger-strike on July 13th and July 8th 1981 respectively. Always remembered by the Wolfe Tone Sinn Féin cumann, north Belfast.

HURSON, Martin, (1st Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol. Martin Hurson and Joe McDonnell, Oghlaigh na hEireann, who died on hunger-strike on July 13th and July 8th 1981 respectively. Always remembered by the Wolfe Tone Sinn Féin cumann, north Belfast.

HURSON, Martin, (1st Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol. Martin Hurson and Joe McDonnell, Oghlaigh na hEireann, who died on hunger-strike on July 13th and July 8th 1981 respectively. Always remembered by the Wolfe Tone Sinn Féin cumann, north Belfast.

HURSON, Martin, (1st Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol. Martin Hurson and Joe McDonnell, Oghlaigh na hEireann, who died on hunger-strike on July 13th and July 8th 1981 respectively. Always remembered by the Wolfe Tone Sinn Féin cumann, north Belfast.

HURSON, Martin, (1st Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol. Martin Hurson and Joe McDonnell, Oghlaigh na hEireann, who died on hunger-strike on July 13th and July 8th 1981 respectively. Always remembered by the Wolfe Tone Sinn Féin cumann, north Belfast.



● VOL. JOE McDONNELL died after 61 days on hunger-strike

crown fit, wear it." Always remembered by Brian MacCardell.

McDONNELL, Joe, (1st Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of my dear friend and comrade Vol. Joe McDonnell, Joe, I only wish we could have said goodbye. Mary, Queen of the Gael, pray for him and comfort his loved ones. Sadly missed and proudly remembered by his friend Ronnie McCartney, POW, Albany.

McDONNELL, Joe, (1st Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol. Joe McDonnell who died on hunger-strike on July 8th 1981. "Greater love hath no man than this, that he lay down his life for his friends." Always remembered by Ricky, Dublin.

McDONNELL, Joe, (1st Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol. Joe McDonnell who died on hunger-strike on July 8th 1981. "When a future side shall find this, free man shall stand side by side, mother and I, O'Connell's was a name and a name, always remembered by the Barney Morris Sinn Féin cumann, Crossmaglen.

McDONNELL, Joe, (1st Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol. Joe McDonnell, who died on hunger-strike in the H-Blocks, Long Kesh, on July 8th 1981. "The fools, the fools, they have left us our Fenian dead and while Ireland holds these graves, Ireland unfree shall never be at peace." Remembered by the Charles McCann/Phelim Grant Sinn Féin cumann, South Australia.

McDONNELL, Joe, (1st Anniversary). Our thoughts and love go to Goretty and family on the 1st anniversary of Joe's death. His sacrifice and that of his brave comrades can only ensure that freedom will one day come to us all. Always remembered by the London Armagh Co-ordinating Committee.

McDONNELL, Joe, (1st Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol. Joe McDonnell who died on hunger-strike on July 8th 1981. Mary, Queen of the Gael, pray for him. Always remembered by Jean and Frankie Short.

McDONNELL, Joe, (1st Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol. Joe McDonnell who died on hunger-strike on July 8th 1981. "The fools, the fools, they have left us our Fenian dead and while Ireland holds these graves, Ireland unfree shall never be at peace." Always remembered by his friends and comrades Martin, Paddy and Claran.

McDONNELL, Joe, (1st Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol. Joe McDonnell who died on hunger-strike on July 8th 1981. Always remembered by the Shamrock Flute Band, Glasgow.

McDONNELL, Joe, (1st Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol. Joe McDonnell who died on hunger-strike on July 8th 1981. Always remembered by his old cell-mate Sean Lavery (H5).

McDONNELL, Joe, (1st Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol. Joe McDonnell, Oghlaigh na hEireann, who gave his life for the republic on July 8th 1981. Always remembered by, and always an inspiration to, the staff of the Sinn Féin Educational Centre.

McDONNELL, Joe, (1st Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol. Joe McDonnell who died on hunger-strike in the H-Blocks, Long Kesh, on July 8th 1981. Always remembered by Paddy Bolger and Dave Farrell.

McDONNELL, Joe, (1st Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol. Joe McDonnell who died on hunger-strike on July 8th 1981. "Of course I am - a political prisoner-of-war." (Bobby Sands). Always remembered by the Belfast Brigade, Oghlaigh na hEireann.

McDONNELL, Joe, (1st Anniversary). The Irish POW Committee, Toronto, Canada, remembers with pride Vol. Joe McDonnell, Oghlaigh na hEireann, who died on hunger-strike in the H-Blocks, Long Kesh, on July 8th 1981.

McDONNELL, Joe, (1st Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol. Joe McDonnell who died on hunger-strike on July 8th 1981. "Greater love hath no man than this, that he lay down his life for his friends." Always remembered by Richard O'Callaghan.

McDONNELL, Joe, (1st Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol. Joe McDonnell who gave his life for the five years in the H-Blocks, Long Kesh, and the war on July 8th 1981. "Greater love hath no man than this, that he lay down his life for his friends." Always remembered by Richard O'Callaghan.

McDONNELL, Joe, (1st Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol. Joe McDonnell who gave his life for the five years in the H-Blocks, Long Kesh, and the war on July 8th 1981. "Greater love hath no man than this, that he lay down his life for his friends." Always remembered by Richard O'Callaghan.

McDONNELL, Joe, (1st Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol. Joe McDonnell who gave his life for the five years in the H-Blocks, Long Kesh, and the war on July 8th 1981. "Greater love hath no man than this, that he lay down his life for his friends." Always remembered by Richard O'Callaghan.

McDONNELL, Joe, (1st Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol. Joe McDonnell who gave his life for the five years in the H-Blocks, Long Kesh, and the war on July 8th 1981. "Greater love hath no man than this, that he lay down his life for his friends." Always remembered by Richard O'Callaghan.

● VOL. MARTIN HURSON died after 46 days on hunger-strike

Joe McDonnell, Oghlaigh na hEireann, who was murdered by British and Margaret Thatcher. Always remembered by the Bobby Sands Memorial Flute Band, Crossmaglen, Scotland.

McDONNELL, Joe, (1st Anniversary). In memory of Vol. Joe McDonnell, Oghlaigh na hEireann, who died on hunger-strike on July 8th 1981. "Greater love hath no man than this, that he lay down his life for his friends." Always remembered by Ricky, Dublin.

McDONNELL, Joe, (1st Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol. Joe McDonnell who died on hunger-strike on July 8th 1981. "When a future side shall find this, free man shall stand side by side, mother and I, O'Connell's was a name and a name, always remembered by the Barney Morris Sinn Féin cumann, Crossmaglen.

McDONNELL, Joe, (1st Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol. Joe McDonnell, who died on hunger-strike in the H-Blocks, Long Kesh, on July 8th 1981. "The fools, the fools, they have left us our Fenian dead and while Ireland holds these graves, Ireland unfree shall never be at peace." Remembered by the Charles McCann/Phelim Grant Sinn Féin cumann, South Australia.

McDONNELL, Joe, (1st Anniversary). Our thoughts and love go to Goretty and family on the 1st anniversary of Joe's death. His sacrifice and that of his brave comrades can only ensure that freedom will one day come to us all. Always remembered by the London Armagh Co-ordinating Committee.

McDONNELL, Joe, (1st Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol. Joe McDonnell who died on hunger-strike on July 8th 1981. Mary, Queen of the Gael, pray for him. Always remembered by Jean and Frankie Short.

McDONNELL, Joe, (1st Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol. Joe McDonnell who died on hunger-strike on July 8th 1981. "The fools, the fools, they have left us our Fenian dead and while Ireland holds these graves, Ireland unfree shall never be at peace." Always remembered by his friends and comrades Martin, Paddy and Claran.

McDONNELL, Joe, (1st Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol. Joe McDonnell who died on hunger-strike on July 8th 1981. Always remembered by the Shamrock Flute Band, Glasgow.

McDONNELL, Joe, (1st Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol. Joe McDonnell who died on hunger-strike on July 8th 1981. Always remembered by his old cell-mate Sean Lavery (H5).

McDONNELL, Joe, (1st Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol. Joe McDonnell, Oghlaigh na hEireann, who gave his life for the republic on July 8th 1981. Always remembered by, and always an inspiration to, the staff of the Sinn Féin Educational Centre.

McDONNELL, Joe, (1st Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol. Joe McDonnell who died on hunger-strike in the H-Blocks, Long Kesh, on July 8th 1981. Always remembered by Paddy Bolger and Dave Farrell.

McDONNELL, Joe, (1st Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol. Joe McDonnell who died on hunger-strike on July 8th 1981. "Of course I am - a political prisoner-of-war." (Bobby Sands). Always remembered by the Belfast Brigade, Oghlaigh na hEireann.

McDONNELL, Joe, (1st Anniversary). The Irish POW Committee, Toronto, Canada, remembers with pride Vol. Joe McDonnell, Oghlaigh na hEireann, who died on hunger-strike in the H-Blocks, Long Kesh, on July 8th 1981.

McDONNELL, Joe, (1st Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol. Joe McDonnell who died on hunger-strike on July 8th 1981. "Greater love hath no man than this, that he lay down his life for his friends." Always remembered by Richard O'Callaghan.

McDONNELL, Joe, (1st Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol. Joe McDonnell who gave his life for the five years in the H-Blocks, Long Kesh, and the war on July 8th 1981. "Greater love hath no man than this, that he lay down his life for his friends." Always remembered by Richard O'Callaghan.

McDONNELL, Joe, (1st Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol. Joe McDonnell who gave his life for the five years in the H-Blocks, Long Kesh, and the war on July 8th 1981. "Greater love hath no man than this, that he lay down his life for his friends." Always remembered by Richard O'Callaghan.

McDONNELL, Joe, (1st Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol. Joe McDonnell who gave his life for the five years in the H-Blocks, Long Kesh, and the war on July 8th 1981. "Greater love hath no man than this, that he lay down his life for his friends." Always remembered by Richard O'Callaghan.

McDONNELL, Joe, (1st Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol. Joe McDonnell who gave his life for the five years in the H-Blocks, Long Kesh, and the war on July 8th 1981. "Greater love hath no man than this, that he lay down his life for his friends." Always remembered by Richard O'Callaghan.

SYMPATHY

CRILLY. Dearest and sincere sympathy to Gerry Crilly and family on the death of his wife Betty. From the McAteer family, Dublin.

O'BRIEN. The Jim Bryson and Liam McIlwain Sinn Féin cumann, Dublin, extend their deepest sympathy to the family of the late Richard O'Brien of Mitchell's Crescent, Tralee.

CRILLY. The members of An Cumann Cabhrach, Walskinstown, Dublin, extend their sincere sympathy to Gerry Crilly and family on the death of his wife Betty, our good friend and colleague.



●Cathal Brugha's body lies in state watched over by two Cumann na mBan officers

Uncompromising republican

BY EOGHAN LYNCH

WEDNESDAY of this week, July 7th, marked the sixtieth anniversary of the death of probably the most uncompromising republican of the Tan and Civil War periods, Cathal Brugha.

Brugha was a Dubliner, born at Clontarf in 1874, and as a young man became deeply involved in the Gaelic revival. It was to remain a life-long passion.

Later he wrote of the need to restore an independent Gaelic culture:

"If we should fail, we should in future be but a contemptible English remnant under our enemy's oppression for ever. And we would deserve it."

He joined the IRB in 1908 and then the Irish Volunteers. In 1916 he served as second-in-command to Eamonn Ceannt in the South Dublin Union.

On the Thursday of Easter Week he was alone in the building when it was stormed by British troops. Although wounded he rejected calls to surrender and held them off from behind a small barricade in spite of waves of gunfire. In the end they withdrew in frustration.

When Brugha's comrades found their way back to the building they found him bleeding profusely from 25 bullet wounds, but miraculously still alive. When the surrender came, Brugha was transferred to hospital and later released because it was believed he was dying.

Within a short time he was hobbling around Dublin, reorganising the IRA and promoting the prisoners' cause. He was soon elected to the executive of Sinn Féin having, with de Valera, persuaded



●CATHAL BRUGHA

Arthur Griffith to accept an independent republic as the party's aim.

Later in the year he was elected Sinn Féin TD for Waterford and, in the absence of de Valera, served as president of the First Dail. He afterwards became Minister of Defence in which role he was to clash often with Michael Collins, although the two retained a strong

respect for each other.

He was very much opposed to the Truce when it was made and to the Treaty which followed. Speaking in the Dail on the Treaty debate, he said:

"Why, if instead of being so strong our last cartridge had been fired, our last shilling spent, and our last man lying on the ground his enemies howling around him, their bayonets raised and ready to plunge them into his body, if they said to him: 'Now will you come into our empire?' He should and would say: 'No, I will not.'"

LONDON

When the British threatened conscription in Ireland in 1918, Brugha travelled to London with other Volunteers planning to machine gun the British government front-bench in the House of Commons if conscription had been enforced.

His own defiant opposition to the Free State was to be finally proven in July 1922 after months of campaigning against it. When the Four Courts republican garrison was attacked by Free State troops, Brugha was in command of the IRA forces controlling a block of buildings on Dublin's Sackville Street (now O'Connell Street), from the Gresham Hotel to the Hammer Hotel.

After a fierce Free State onslaught he once again refused both a call to surrender and an order to retreat from his commander, Oscar Traynor. Ordering his own troops to leave the building and give themselves up, Brugha remained behind in the burning Granville Hotel.

At the last moment, he appeared in the doorway, gun in hand, and, ignoring the calls to surrender from both friend and foe rushed towards the Free State lines and was cut down by machine gun fire. Two days later, Friday July 7th, 1922, he died of his wounds.

DERRY REPUBLICAN DIES IN AMERICA

The death of James Kealey

LAST month saw the tragic death in America of 30-year-old Derry republican James Kealey whose remains were returned to his native Dungiven for burial.

James Kealey joined the Republican Movement in the spring of 1971 and was forced to go on-the-run after the introduction of internment. James evaded capture by crown forces on a number of occasions when he narrowly escaped.

In 1978 he went to America and remained active, carrying out solidarity work and fund-raising activities. However, on June 10th last, James died suddenly in New York from a heart condition. Seven days later his body was brought back from the States and given a republican burial in Dungiven. Local republicans provided a guard-of-honour for his Tricolour-draped coffin and it was one of the largest republican funerals seen in Dungiven. Among the wreaths carried were ones from Sinn Féin and the Irish Republican Army.

At the graveside John Downey of south Derry Sinn Féin said a decade of the Rosary, and veteran republican Sean Keenan gave the oration. He said:

"James's comrades will remember him as a quiet and dependable young man with a quick and lively sense of humour, liked and respected by all who knew him, especially his friends and neighbours in the Benady and Dungenen areas.

"The large number of people here today shows the esteem in which James was held in the community, and the large force of RUC oppressors, proves that they not only feared him in life but also in death.

"It is truly tragic that a young man of such promise should be forced to leave his native home because of the oppression and inhumanity of a foreign



● James Kealey, one of a long line of republicans forced to seek sanctuary in America and end their days there

force of occupation. But in exile James was not alone. Down the centuries Irish republicans have had to seek sanctuary in America. But love of Ireland, their determination and willingness to continue the struggle from abroad has never faltered. Our exiles as much as our Volunteers have ensured by their continuing sacrifices that Irish nationhood is assured in this generation."

The Republican Movement extends sincerest condolences to the relatives of James Kealey.

GREETINGS

ADAMS, Paddy, (Crumlin Road). Happy anniversary, Paddy. From your loving wife Anne Marie.
ADAMS, Paddy, (Crumlin Road). Happy anniversary, daddy. From Patrick and Brieghe Anne. Lots of love. xxx
ADAMS, Paddy, (Crumlin Road). Lots of love on your 10th wedding anniversary. Jim and I will have a drink for you.
BATESON, Ann, (Armagh). Happy birthday to you, Ann. You are always in our thoughts and prayers. Love from mum and dad: Jimmy, Gerry, and from Patrick, Dolores and family: Eddie, Marie and family; Brian, Mary and family; and Dolores, Terry and family.
BATESON, Ann, (Armagh). Birthday greetings to our sister Ann. Hope your birthday is in front of you. From brothers Finbar (H-Block) and Peter (age 10, Long Kesh).
CAMPBELL, Robert; CUNNINGHAM, 'Busty'; HAYES, John, (Parkhurst, Long Lartin and Gartree). Happy birthday and best wishes to Bobby, 'Busty' and John. From Mick and Dolores, Sinn Féin POW Dept., Dublin.
COYLE, Marian, (Limerick). Happy birthday, kid. From Sheila and Rose.
COYLE, Marian; MARKEY, George; McCURTIN, Cyril, (Limerick and Portlaoise). Happy birthday, Marian, George and Cyril. From Mick and Dolores, Sinn Féin POW Dept., Dublin.
CUNNINGHAM, 'Busty' (Long Lartin). Best wishes for your birthday on the 12th, 'Busty'. Also, best wishes to your brother, Gerry. From Mary and son Patrick.
HAYES, John, (Gartree). Happy birthday, John. From all your family and friends in Raheny.

HOGAN, Michael, (Portlaoise). All the best on your 22nd birthday, Mick. Love from mum, dad, Patrick, Rose, Henry, Margaret and Bernie.
HOGAN, Michael, (Portlaoise). Wishing you a happy birthday, Mick. Love from granny, Pat, Margaret and Dory.
HOGAN, Michael, (Portlaoise). Birthday greetings, Mick. Good luck always. Love from Rose and Brian. Also from Rose and family; and from Hughie, Mary and family.
HOGAN, Michael, (Portlaoise). Wishing you a happy birthday, Mick. From Bob and Sarah. Also from Pat, Lizzy and Michael.
HOGAN, Michael, (Portlaoise). Wishing you a happy birthday, Mick. From Betty, Mick and family.
HOLMES, Paul, (Long Lartin). Birthday greetings, Mick. May God bless you and comfort you in your hours of trial. From granny, Gavin, Conagh and family.

LENNON, Sean, (H-Block). I just couldn't let your 31st birthday pass without wishing you all the best. 'Ginty': You may be getting older but just remember, you are getting better! Happy birthday, dear friend. From Mary Ann Judge, Philadelphia, USA.
LENNON, Sean, (H-Block). Happy 31st birthday, Sean. This message is sent to you with my wishes for a happy day. UTP.
LENNON, Sean, (H-Block). Sincere birthday greetings on your 31st birthday. Have a great day. From Terri, Mike, wee Jill and wee Michael Chadraue, Philadelphia, USA.
LENNON, Sean, (H-Block). Wishing you the best on your 31st birthday. From Kathy and Chris Fuller, Colorado, USA.
McCAE, Pat, (H-Block). Happy birthday greetings to you, Patrick, on your birthday. From Pop and Gerard.
McCAE, Pat, (H-Block). Happy 24th birthday, Pat. God bless. From mother, father, brothers and sisters.
McCAE, Pat, (H-Block). Happy birthday, Pat. From your aunts, uncles, nephews, nieces and cousins.
McCAE, Pat, (H-Block). Birthday greetings and best wishes, Pat. From Granny and Grandpa.
McCAE, Pat, (H-Block). Happy birthday and good luck Pat. From your ex-cell mate Martin.

McCURTIN, Cyril, (Portlaoise). Best wishes for your birthday on July 11th, Cyril. I'll have your plints on Saturday, OK! Love from Marie. xxx
McCURTIN, Cyril, (Portlaoise). Love from Edna, Patsy, mam and dad. UTP.
McCURTIN, Cyril, (Portlaoise). Happy birthday, Cyril. Love from Brenda. xxx
McCURTIN, Cyril, (Portlaoise). Best wishes for your birthday, Cyril. From Cora, Holland.
McINTYRE, Tony (Long Kesh). Birthday greetings 'Mackey'. (Belated but every bit as good). Hope you didn't overdo it! From Mary Mac, Dublin.
MARKEY, George, (Portlaoise). Happy birthday, George. From all your comrades in the Terence MacSwiney Sinn Féin cumann, west London.

O'BOYLE, Michael, (H-Block). Happy 24th birthday, Michael. From your brother Owen (H).
O'BOYLE, Michael, (H-Block). Happy 24th birthday, Michael. From all the family. Love from Ina, Dublin and Cork.
O'BOYLE, Michael, (H-Block). Greetings and best wishes, Michael, for your birthday on July 13th. From the Ballaghy POW Welfare Association.
CONGRATULATIONS and best wishes to Brian McLaughlin on your release from Wakefield prison, England. From the O'Learys, Cork.

