

# An Phoblacht REPUBLICAN NEWS



Sraith Nua Im! 4 Uimhir 34 Deardoin Lunasa 26 Thursday, August 26th, 1982 (Britain 25p) Price 20p

## Vol. Eamonn Bradley

THE REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT in Derry offers its sincerest sympathy to Rosaleen and Edward Bradley and family on the sudden death of their son Eamonn, IRA Volunteer, Derry Brigade.

We pledge never to forget our friend and comrade and will avenge his death by freeing Ireland of British rule once and for all.

I measc Laochra na nGael go raibh a anam óg uasal.

# BRITISH ASSASSINS

## Former H-Block blanket man shot dead in street

A BRITISH FOOT PATROL assassinated a well-known republican in broad daylight last Wednesday at Shantallow in Derry city.

Twenty-three-year-old IRA Volunteer Eamonn 'Broncho' Bradley had just left a public bar, the Shantallow House, along with his friend, Paul 'Sammy' McCool, aged 22, at around 4.50 pm when soldiers of the second battalion Royal Anglian Regiment attacked them. Paul was pulled to one side and the defenceless Eamonn Bradley was shot by possibly more than one British soldier without being questioned or challenged. He was struck in the chest and head and died shortly afterwards from his wounds.

Bobby Sheerin, a bar worker at the pub said:

"Broncho and Sammy were in the bar about an hour, not drinking but playing cards

when they called to me. 'We're away to get our tea'. I called back to Broncho, 'See you tonight', because he played cards regularly here.

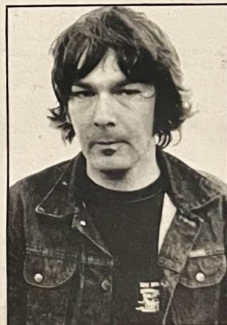
"They were out the door about a minute or two when I heard two shots."

Paul McCool and Eamonn had headed for Carnhill and went through the car park.

"When we got to the car park behind the bar Broncho was a bit in front," said Paul McCool.

"A Brit standing at the corner grabbed me by the arm and said, 'Stand there!' Broncho was still walking.

"Next thing there was a shot and it looked to me as if Broncho was shot in the leg because he crumpled up and



● Paul McCool - witnessed the killing

let out a roar. At that stage the Brit pushed me back and I couldn't see Broncho anymore. And then I heard two more shots.

"When I saw him again he

(continued on next page)



● IRA VOLUNTEER EAMONN BRADLEY



## BRITISH ASSASSINS

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lay crouched on the ground, not moving. Three Brits were standing in the car park bringing their weapons down as from firing position. The Brits left him lying there, concerned only to rope the area off and keep people away.

"They didn't try to administer first aid or get an ambulance. Bobby Sheerin, the barman, came on the scene and ordered an ambulance and covered Broncho with a coat."

### STOPPED

Bobby Sheerin came out of the bar to see what had happened.

"In the alleyway," he said, "between the pub and the bookies I could see a man lying crumpled up. When I tried to go down the alleyway to help him a Brit stopped me. When I explained I was trying to help a man who was possibly injured the Brit said to me, 'Mind your own fucking business'. I went round to the other side of the pub but was stopped by another Brit."

"Then Sammy called out, 'Bobby, they've shot Broncho!' At this point I forced my way past the Brit and went down to Broncho, lifting him up, but he was already dead, half the back portion of his skull was missing."

### REPUBLICAN

Eamonn Bradley, from the Carrhill area of Shantallow, served five years for his republican activities and had been on the blanket in the H-Blocks of Long Kesh. He was released in April 1981.

While Eamonn Bradley had understandable fears about being arrested, in the light of over 30 people being hauled off to interrogation centres last Tuesday and in the light of his friend Paul McCool being questioned about him while under detention for six days in Castlereagh within the past two weeks, Eamonn was not short for trying to escape, as has been suggested, but was shot purely because he was a republican opponent of the British presence in Ireland.

This was a political assassination.

Originally the British army claimed that they had been fired on. But the RUC (who, under the 'Ulsterisation' programme are now in charge of propaganda), realising how untenable this story was, said that no shots had been fired.

### KIDNAPPED

This latest crown killing came only 24 hours after what is thought to be the kidnapping of yet another close relative of an RUC-blackmailed victim. Mrs Lorraine Gilmore and her two children disappeared around about the same time as widespread raids and arrests in Derry for which her husband, Raymond, is believed responsible.

This RUC abduction exposes as a lie the statement from RUC superintendent James Crutchley in west Belfast who last week said that they were not interested in questioning Fiona Brown who escaped from her Twinbrook home shortly before the RUC raided it for her.

The RUC wanted seven-months pregnant Mrs Brown as a hostage and a means of pressing her imprisoned husband Bobby into becoming a prosecution witness.

With the RUC's blackmailing tactics crumbling — as other prisoners renege upon promises exacted under pressure — it may well be that 'impatient' British soldiers have decided to eliminate active republicans. They will certainly have the indulgence, if not the backing, of the RUC and the courts for this action.

## SDLP LEADERSHIP FORCES NATIONALIST PARTICIPATION IN ELECTION

# Sinn Fein will now fight

THE DECISION of the SDLP (by a vote of 25 to 14), swayed by the influence of party leader John Hume, to contest the assembly elections on October 20th has threatened to jeopardise the political future of the nationalist people because of that party's history of collaboration.

The decision, reached in Dungannon by the executive, despite strong lobbying from those opposed to the election and signs of serious rifts, has forced other nationalist groups and, in particular, Sinn Fein to also contest the elections. By contesting the elections Sinn Fein will give the nationalist electorate an opportunity to reject the uncontested monopoly in leadership which the SDLP has had.

The SDLP executive meeting (at which constituency representatives could speak but not vote) came against a background of daily verbal assaults by Sinn Fein spokespersons on the party and rumours that the party was swinging first this way and then that way on the question of an electoral boycott.

Last week the Belfast district executive of the SDLP voted 8 to 7 in favour of standing for the assembly. But in north Belfast it emerged that two local leading lights, Pascal O'Hare and Brian Feeney, were opposed to the election and went on record as stating that they were not prepared to work for anyone who stood in that area. The north Belfast branch of the party later supported their stance.

### FIGURES

It also emerged that at a meeting of the mid-Ulster constituency council on Thursday, August 19th, attended by about 80 party members that leading figures Denis Haughey and Paddy Duffy supported a boycott. The reviled Austin Currie, who did not attend the meeting, was attacked by Duffy for 'misleading people as to the position of the party'. Omagh, Cookstown and Draperstown branches which were thought to be in



● Sinn Fein vice-president Gerry Adams believed to be a candidate for west Belfast



● SDLP leader John Hume, 'a dangerous collaborator' interested only in himself

favour of the elections were swung to a boycott position by the arguments. Mid-Ulster unanimously agreed to recommend an electoral boycott to the party executive.

While party leader John Hume was holidaying in France the line which he originally favoured — contesting the elections and performing sham displays of resistance to the assembly itself — was being whittled away in his absence. By Wednesday night the considerable opposition to the elections looked as if it could actually come out on top but as usual the sweet-talking Hume had his way and received the backing needed. The apparent concession to which he bowed was that successful candidates would boycott the assembly until the

Brits 'meaningfully' re-commenced the Anglo-Irish talks. However, through time Hume will find a pretext for the taking of seats.

### SINN FEIN

Hume's swinging of the party brought down the wrath of Sinn Fein which said he was "a dangerous collaborator... not to be trusted" and was "concerned more with lining his pocket than with defending nationalist interests."

However, Sinn Fein said that "the fact that there was considerable opposition to Hume shows that at grassroots level some sections of the SDLP have a conscience and a proper reading of what Prior's assembly is all about."

Sinn Fein will be opposing the SDLP with a number of candidates in selected areas. Among those believed to have been either chosen by constituency representatives or who are being considered are Joe Austin (north Belfast); Gerry Adams and Danny Morrison (west Belfast); Owen Carron and Francie Molloy (Fermanagh and South Tyrone); and Martin McGuinness (Derry).

The closing date for nominations is September 28th.

## REGISTRATION

SINN FEIN have brought to the attention of their supporters that Household Electoral Registration forms have been delivered to most homes in the North.

Sinn Fein Director of Elections, Francie Molloy, in a statement last Wednesday urged all supporters to complete the forms and return them to the registrar as soon as possible.



## GERARD HUGHES BURIED

TWENTY-NINE-YEAR-OLD Gerard Hughes, who was attacked and set on fire in north Belfast almost two weeks ago, died from his wounds one week later on Sunday, August 22nd.

Gerard's attackers — believed to be loyalists — poured petrol over him and set him on fire. Joe Austin of Belfast Sinn Fein has accused the RUC of attempting to cover up the sectarian attack.

Gerard died in the Royal Victoria Hospital last Sunday and at his funeral to Milltown cemetery last Tuesday were many of his friends from Carrick House Hostel.



## Mrs McConomy persuaded from hunger-striking



● Mrs McConomy and her two remaining sons, Mark and Emmett, at Stephen's funeral last April

DERRY MOTHER Mrs Marie McConomy, whose 11-year-old son Stephen was murdered by a plastic bullet in April this year, decided not to undertake a hunger-strike which she and her sister Rhona Toland were to commence last Monday following the callous decision by the Director of Public Prosecutions not to prosecute the Brit responsible for Stephen's death.

Over the weekend, however, a long family discussion persuaded the two sisters not to go ahead with their plans. A meeting was also held on Sunday evening with Bishop Daly — solely at his request — but Marie McConomy's decision was chiefly influenced by her concern for the welfare of her two remaining sons, Mark

and Emmett. An additional decisive factor, according to Mrs McConomy, was her realisation that a hunger-strike would probably fail to draw a humanitarian response from what she described as "an inflexible British government who have not only killed my son but who have condemned me and my family to a life of grief."





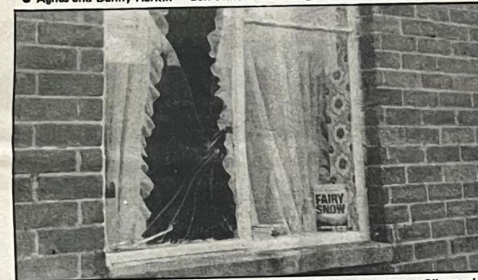
● RAYMOND GILMOUR



● LORRAINE GILMOUR



● Agnes and Danny Harkin — don't know their daughter's whereabouts



● The broken kitchen window used by the RUC to force entry into the Gilmours' Creggan flat

# MISSING!

*-Mother and two children  
believed kidnapped by the RUC*

BY MAEVE ARMSTRONG

IN DERRY the staggering total of 32 people were arrested by the RUC under 7-day orders in dawn swoops on Tuesday morning, August 24th, in what appears to be the result of statements made under pressure by 21-year-old Raymond Gilmour whose wife Lorraine and two children are believed to have been kidnapped by the RUC and are now euphemistically described by the RUC as being in 'protective custody'.

Lorraine's parents, Agnes and Danny Harkin, last saw her on Sunday, August 15th, when she told them that she, Raymond and the two children, one-year-old Denise and two-year-old Raymond, were going on a week's holiday to Buncrana, a Donegal resort.

Mrs Harkin recalls:

"They didn't come home on Sunday, then on Tuesday morning I got word to go round to Lorraine's flat in Cromore Gardens. My other daughter Roisin was a bag of nerves. The flat was completely empty. She told me the RUC, led by an Inspector Cook, had broken in through the kitchen window around 5am and removed everything into a van outside. They walked past her every time she asked them

where Lorraine was. They wouldn't tell her anything."

## QUESTIONS

At around 1pm that afternoon Mrs Harkin received a telephone call from her daughter but Lorraine avoided answering questions as to her whereabouts and asked her mother and father not to worry as 'they' were looking after everything. But, said Mrs Harkin:

"My daughter needs medical attention, she is due to have an operation on 9th September as there is poison in the neck of her womb. I am heartbroken and I appeal to them to let her and the children go."

During the swoop on Tuesday morning, which has been described by Derry republicans as a 'mini-

Motorman' type operation, several couples like Alice and Liam Fleming from Shantallow were forcibly arrested leaving their three children, aged from six years to nine months alone and unattended. The chronic chest condition of 56-year-old Bogside man Berty Barrett did not exempt him from arrest either.

Raymond Gilmour's parents, Bridie and Patrick Gilmour, have also strongly condemned the RUC in abducting the family, a sinister strategy which has now been used on numerous occasions to blackmail their victims into becoming crown prosecution witnesses.

However, this latest 'big catch' may well prove to be elusive for the RUC especially if Raymond Gilmour refuses to go into the dock and act as a 'supertout' but instead joins the growing list of blackmailed victims — eight so far — who subsequently withdrew their incriminating statements.

## BELFAST INQUEST ON DANIEL BARRETT NO JUSTICE

BY MAEVE ARMSTRONG

CRUMLIN ROAD COURTHOUSE erupted on Friday, August 20th, as the father of murdered 15-year-old Ardoyne boy Daniel Barrett justifiably rained blows and punches on a Brit giving evidence at an inquest into the circumstances of the fatal shooting on July 9th last year.

For Jimmy Barrett, his actions released a volcano of emotion. Frustration and grief after Danny's death had reduced him and his wife Molly, to shadows of their former selves. Their past year has been filled with a bitter sense of loss, made all the more poignant in May this year when the Director of Public Prosecutions (DPP) decided not to proceed with a murder charge against the Brit who shot Danny. Danny was hit in the neck as he sat on a garden wall outside his home.

On the evening of the shooting rioting had taken place around 9pm in the Brompton Park area and several shots were fired at an RUC mobile patrol. Insinuations in newspaper reports and the Brit gutter press the following day strongly implied that Danny was 'a gunman' who was shot during return fire and who died on his way to hospital. In court, however, it was clearly established that Danny belonged to no organisation nor was he involved in rioting, never mind being armed.

### POST

A statement was read out on behalf of soldier 'A' — the Brit who shot Danny and who conveniently was not in court — which stated that he had been under fire while in his observation post on top of Flax Street Mill, 260 yards from the



● Flax Street Mill observation post — from where Danny was shot dead

Barrett home. He alleged he clearly identified 'a gunman' in Havana

Court who had a rifle at his side and smoke was milling around him. He considered he was in sufficient danger, so he returned fire.

Forensic evidence, however, tore this concocted lie to pieces. Soldier 'A', it established, given the telescopic lens he was using, could not have clearly identified this because of the distance and position of the Barrett's wall.

Soldier 'A's' statement, though, was accepted by the DPP in May this year as gospel truth and was sufficient grounds for the DPP chief, Charles Barry Shaw, himself an ex-officer in the Royal Artillery regiment, not to prosecute on a murder charge. The credibility of the DPP (if it ever existed) in being an independent body, uninfluenced by the RUC and British government, rings hollow in nationalist ears in the light of case after case of Brit and RUC murderers walking free because of direct political decisions taken by the DPP not to prosecute.

### DROPPED

In the very few cases where prosecutions occur the original charge of murder has been dropped to manslaughter, as was recently illustrated in Enniskillen when the murderer of Angela D'Arcy received a derisory seven-year sentence.

Counsel for the British Ministry of Defence, (MoD) accepted without question — when confronted with overwhelming forensic evidence — that Danny Barrett was not armed, yet the unapologetic Brit



● Above: Mr and Mrs Barrett with their son Con outside their Ardoyne home; left: their murdered son Danny

giving evidence was quite adamant that he was and reproached the MoD for not substantiating his statement! It was during this outrageous statement that Mr Barrett physically attacked the Brit who scrambled for safety across a solicitor's desk.

It took the jury a brief five

minutes to return the verdict, "the deceased was not a gunman or a rioter," and to clear the name of Danny Barrett. But for his heartbroken parents and family no amount of inquiries will bring Danny's murderer to justice. The biased judicial system in the six counties will see to that.



## Storm over Carlingford

BY DAMIEN O'ROURKE

**FOLLOWING QUICKLY** in the wake of the RUC undercover squad found, and then freed, in Castleblayney, a storm has blown up over an armed attack on a yacht in Carlingford Lough by a British army patrol boat.

The attack, in which shots were fired at the family yacht carrying eight children, took place just off the County Louth coast in another blatant border-crossing by armed British forces.

The latest incident took place on Sunday, August 17th, but has only come to light early this week.

Matt Davies from Skerries, County Dublin, his wife Kay and their eight children, had been visiting relatives on the south side of the lough and were returning home when they were rammed by the British patrol boat as they turned Balluragan Point, off County Louth.

### SHOTS

When they refused to stop, insisting that the British were outside their claimed territorial waters, five shots were fired at them, the bullets missing and raking the Carlingford coast.

Luckily there were no injuries either on the yacht or on the coast, although several of the Davis children became hysterical as a result of the assault.

The Davises were eventually left alone as the British withdrew.

The only response so far has been an 'expression of concern' by the Free State Department of Foreign Affairs to the British government.

There is an ongoing legal difference between Free State and British governments over the waters around the Irish coastline, based on an anomaly in the Treaty of 1921, which appeared to leave all the territorial waters around Ireland under Free State control.

The British position is that waters around the six counties come under their control. Neither side have actually put their contentions to the test, but the owners of the two ships sunk by the IRA in Lough Foyle, between Donegal and Derry, were careful to put in claims against both sides.

This difference, however, is not the major contention in this latest Carlingford incident as the Davis yacht never in fact left what might be described as Free State waters.

## English prison picket



● Picket in support of republican prisoners held outside Long Lartin jail in England on Saturday 15th August last. 40 people attended.

# PLO begin to leave Beirut

BY SEAN HALPENNY

**DEFIANT TO THE END**, Palestinian guerrillas began the forced evacuation of West Beirut by marching from their positions in the city to the boats that were to carry them to Cyprus and then to their final destinations. To date, just over half of the 6,000 PLO freedom fighters have left West Beirut for the eight Arab states which have become their new host nations.

But as the Palestinians leave, the Lebanese left-wing guerrillas, who have refused to hand over their heavy weapons to the Lebanese army, have been taking up positions directly opposite the Israeli and Christian Phalangist lines between East and West Beirut.

Lebanese Muslims, who are in the majority, still control North and East Lebanon and are determined that the Zionist invaders will not consolidate their positions in their occupied country.

During the evacuation of the Palestinians clashes have occurred between Israeli forces and Lebanese Muslims. Also, clashes have been reported between Syrian forces and Christian Phalangists at the Bekaa Valley, and between PLO guerrillas and Israeli forces.

### GEMAYEL

The Israelis are desperately trying to control the situation in the Lebanon, and with the 'election' last Monday of the extreme right-wing Christian Phalangist leader Bashir Gemayel as president, the Zionists hope that in him they have a proxy military governor to look after their interests.

The Lebanese Muslims are bitterly opposed to Gemayel as he represents fascism in Lebanon. Gemayel is remembered for his actions as leader of the coalition of fascist militias during the Lebanese civil war in 1975.



● PLO guerrillas leave West Beirut for another home in exile

76, when he conducted an unrelenting campaign against the Palestinians and their Lebanese allies resulting in a number of horrific massacres.

On the announcement of Gemayel's victory, Zionist leader Menachem Begin sent a telegram expressing 'warmest wishes from the heart'. This was matched by a similar telegram from US President Reagan.

These messages of congratulations from a leader of a people that survived the Nazi 'Holocaust' and from a nation that played a significant part in the downfall of Hitler, certainly make strange reading.

Bashir Gemayel's father Pierre founded the Christian Phalangists after a visit to the 1936 Berlin Olympics, where he was very impressed by the Hitler Youth and the Nazis' political principles.

Bashir followed in his father's footsteps by joining the Phalangists at the age of

13 in 1960 and rose to become the overall military commander of the fascist forces in Lebanon.

### CIVIL WAR

During the Lebanese civil war the Zionist regime provided Gemayel with massive military aid to suppress the radical Palestinians and their Lebanese allies, and during this present invasion the Israelis have been working very closely with the Phalangists.

Even though the Palestinians will be forced to completely evacuate West Beirut, the Lebanese Muslims, who have fought side by side with the PLO, are determined that the Israelis will not enter the city, and will be forced to withdraw from occupied Lebanon.

They are also determined that the fascist forces led by Gemayel will not take over West Beirut or any area where the Lebanese Muslims are in the majority. The PLO for their part have de-



● Emotional scenes in West Beirut after a woman says goodbye to her husband, a PLO guerrilla on route to Tunisia.

clared that the fight for national liberation and self-determination still goes on, and will intensify within the occupied territories. The Zionists with their allies and backers are greatly mistaken if they think that the battle is now over.

Menachem Begin's boast of '40 years of peace' with the evacuation of the PLO will turn out to be an empty and very costly one.

# Midleton closure looms

BY BRIAN MARTIN

**LOCAL DETERMINATION** to prevent the closure of East Cork Foods Ltd., in Midleton, County Cork, has been growing since the parent semi-state Irish Sugar Company decided, on July 30th last, to wind up operations there as part of a 'rationalisation' programme.

The closure decision was marked by a split on the sugar company board, with the six 'management' directors voting for closure, and the four 'worker' directors, plus Ruairi Roberts of the ITGWU, opposing. The decision was also taken against the opposition of management at the Midleton plant.

The pressure on the sugar company to make the decision originated from the Dublin government, which has refused to make available a £30 million annual subvention until the company produced 'a major rationalisation plan' for the food industry.

A blueprint of such a plan has now been submitted to the Free State Minister for Agriculture, Brian Lenihan, by the company.

### MALLOW

Although the details of the blueprint are not known, the position as regards Midleton can already be gleaned. Plant and machinery is to be moved to the sugar factory at Malloy.

On Friday, August 13th, an emergency meeting was held at Midleton by the 115-strong permanent workforce, when the first unofficial news came of the closure decision. Condemning the total failure of the sugar company to even consult the unions on the proposed closure, the meeting pledged to



oppose the decision vigorously. The workers involved are being supported by farmers' organisations who have warned that a shut-down would cause serious damage to the east Cork area with its well-known capacity for vegetable-growing.

Local ITGWU branch secretary William Curran is adamant that East Cork Foods is a financially viable concern.

### REDUNDANCY

He points out that a very successful ration-

alisation took place at East Cork Foods two years ago when 23 employees settled for voluntary redundancy and the workload was taken up by the remaining workers at no extra cost.

As a result, he says, there is an outstanding relationship between the workforce and the vegetable growers, with a high-quality product (especially from the green pea crop), contracts with Batchelors for supply of produce, and scope for expansion.

He believes that if rationalisation is needed anywhere, it is at Irish Sugar Company head offices in Dublin. There have been closures proposed or carried out at Carlow, Tuam and Skibbereen in recent times, but the top of the organisation had always been unaffected, he says.

Certainly it is a huge scandal that in a country so well endowed with advantages in agriculture, situations like Midleton are occurring and it illustrates the total lack of integrated or forward planning in the food production and processing industry demonstrated by successive Dublin administrations. The employment potential of such planning is obvious, or should be.

### BILL

Meanwhile, the ITGWU has released figures showing a record £763 million food import bill last year. At a time when Irish produce is being ploughed back into the ground, imports of fruit and vegetables went up by 24% and animal feeds by 50%.

Imports of meat and dairy produce actually doubled, as meat factories closed down all over the country. All in all, 4,000 jobs have been lost in the food industry over the past two years.



## INDUSTRIAL ACTION

## NORTH

BY PETER HAYES

**LOYALIST BIGOT** Reverend Martin Smyth's outrageously cynical attack on the 15-week-long health service pay dispute in the North, which he described last Monday as a 'republican plot', is the first, typically crude but potentially damaging attempt to play the 'Orange card' against the trade union solidarity that has so far existed between loyalist and nationalist hospital workers, and which has resulted in widespread militant strike action to secure the health service workers' 12% pay claim.

Demonstrating his preparedness to jeopardise the legitimate struggle of low-paid workers in the narrow interests of loyalist sectarianism, the south Belfast Official Unionist MP said that the health service workers' tactics "indicate a modern, materialistic approach which betrays the basic purpose of the health service — care for patients."

"In Northern Ireland, in particular, with the claims that disturbances have been more effective than elsewhere, extreme republican factions have been using natural discontent to augment their industrial action against the government. We warn all right-thinking people, therefore, to beware the consequence of their action both to patients and state and call for a more responsible attitude to settle the dispute."

to confront the question of British imperialism, and the weakness this places them in when faced by the sort of scare tactic used by sectarianism like Smyth, our support for the pay struggles of all workers (of whatever political persuasion) is unequivocal.

Equally, while for obvious reasons (Smyth's kind of sabotaging outburst being the main one) republicans tend not to become directly or openly involved in actively supporting trade union disputes, this should not be used in any sense as a self-denying excuse for remaining uninformed or unconcerned about such disputes, or for not offering such vocal and practical support as may be possible in particular circumstances.

## BASIC

The entitlement of the health service workers to their full 12% wage claim is overwhelmingly obvious, constituting as they do a large proportion of the lowest-paid public sector workers.

For a basic 40-hour week, with little chance of boosting wages through overtime for most workers, the bulk of health service union employees currently earn around £43.45 in take-home pay, with qualified nurses' take-home pay in the region of £60.

This compares with British government 'estimates' of average pay as being between £80 and £90. Even more invidiously it compares with the £15-20,000 a year earned by senior consultants commuting between NHS patients and private practice, many of whom have had

the gall to criticise the unions' strike action for causing suffering to patients.

The responsibility for any such suffering clearly lies with the British government for refusing to meet the 12% claim and for persistent cuts in the last few years in the National Health Service budget, and with those self-same consultants whose well-rewarded private practice has long been carried on at the expense of the NHS.

The British government's present pay offer to the health union workers is a mere 6%, with 7% for nurses. Their hopes for breaking the dispute rely heavily on the traditional reluctance of the Royal College of Nursing (the largest nurses' organisation) to take industrial action.

## WEAKEN

The 7% offer to nurses (as op-

posed to 6% for general health service workers) is an obvious attempt to buy them off at the expense of other sections of health workers, in a bid to weaken the unions' position and reduce public sympathy for strike action. However, the growing militancy of many nurses may compel the RCN to reconsider their attitude towards strike action.

Equally important will be the call on the British TUC, by the six-county regional co-ordinating committee of the health service unions, to endorse an immediate all-out strike by health service workers.

Many Northern trade unionists believe that this would force the British government to concede the 12% claim within weeks, and is a vital escalation on the present industrial action which has seen workers in key areas such as sterile supplies, laundry and transport be-

ing withdrawn indefinitely, except for emergency cover.

In addition, ASTMS (which includes laboratory technicians) has called on the Northern Ireland Committee of the Irish Congress of Trade Unions to endorse a one-day 'general strike' on September 15th of all industries in the six counties, and there are bound to be calls for selective strikes by key workers in other industries in sympathy with the health unions.

Above all at this stage, as bigots like Smyth know all too well from long experience, there is a need for unity. His efforts to throw up a smokescreen in order to sabotage hospital workers' justified pay claims should be roundly rejected. Whether the stranglehold exerted by loyalist sectarianism on trade unions in the North will prove too strong, remains to be seen.



● Republicans give unequivocal support to striking health service workers in their fight for a living wage

## NONSENSE

The only grounds for this blatant piece of anti-trade union strike-breaking nonsense are two isolated and unrelated incidents at separate Belfast hospitals, one where a Tricolour was briefly flown, the other where a Union Jack was burnt.

But Smyth, opposed to any form of unity between Protestant and Catholic workers, no matter how limited and in however specific an area, is undoubtedly playing the employer's game (which happens to be, indirectly, the British government) and is trying to drive a wedge of distrust which would ultimately fragment strike action in the North.

While republicans have fundamental differences with trade union organisations in the six counties, principally because of their refusal

## SOUTH

BY KEVIN BURKE

**AS THE FIRST** test of the Fianna Fail government's public service pay freeze got underway on Thursday this week, August 27th, with the strike by 1,100 white-collar Dublin County Council workers, there were strong indications from other workers of a determination to pursue an all-out pay battle over the coming months.

At the same time, the political challenge to Fianna Fail's ability to survive in government on the pay-freeze issue is by no means as strong as the Fine Gael leader Garret Fitzgerald's announced opposition might appear at first sight.

Fitzgerald's opposition, which is not supported by the John Kelly-led dissidents in the party, only in fact extends to the non-payment of the 5% third phase increase in the 1982 public service pay agreement. Fitzgerald is in practical agreement with Haughey on the clampdown on special pay increases in 1983.

This is perhaps the most significant political point. The 5% postponement will cost public the service workers £27 million this year. The service workers' increase freeze will cost them in excess of £200 million next year.

The possibility of Fianna Fail manoeuvrability on the 5% to copper-fasten the special increase ban is therefore still on the cards.

## CAMPAIGN

The initial caution of the Irish Congress of Unions (ICTU) in planning their cam-

— the total pay-freeze package can However, on impact as their traditional



● Striking Dublin county council workers, seen here in O'Connell Street, could soon begin to test Fianna Fail's resolve

stoppage on September 24th and a full day's stoppage on October 26th to coincide with the reconvening of Leinster House.

Although this may appear to more enthusiastic workers as a frustratingly low-key beginning to the campaign, its strength is the united agreement appearing for it both from traditionally 'moderate' trade unions such as the Irish Nurses Organisation and from the militant non-congress unions like the National Busworkers.

If this unity can be maintained and escalated at a steady pace then the government's position will by the end of the year be untenable. But there are many obstacles, not least of which will be anti-worker propaganda from the establishment media, to be overcome before a

successful conclusion.

The action subsequently organised by the Irish Transport and General Workers Union (ITGWU), and launched with union president John Carroll's warning of 'a long, cold hard winter', is also broadly in keeping with the ICTU campaign.

The ITGWU action begins in Cork on Monday and will spread to half-day and full-day stoppages in other centres, such as Limerick, Galway and Waterford, leading up to the September 24th ICTU day of action.

In addition, the 13 unions in Aer Rianta and Aer Lingus also agreed this week that, rather than acting unilaterally, they too will co-ordinate activity around the ICTU programme.

In contrast the 'industrial action' by the Prison Officers Association is unclear in its objective at this stage in the overall campaign. They have introduced a ban on supervision in prison workshops and related activities, which is certain to have no effect on government thinking so early in the battle.

The Dublin County Council escalation is somewhat different to this isolated action, however, being based on an existing dispute in which 135 draughtsmen, technicians and computer staff have been on strike since Monday, August 16th. The strike relates to non-implementation of grading systems agreed in the 1979 and 1980 pay agreements.

## EMBARGO

However, the Fianna Fail government's embargo on all special claims until the end of next year extends to such existing disputes and the ICTU's resolve will be clearly tested by the application from the union involved, the Local Government and Public Service Union, to have an 'all-out' picket granted.

An 'all-out' strike by Dublin county council workers would quickly effect sewage, water-supply and refuse services and begin the first real pressure on Fianna Fail's resolve.

Meanwhile, further announcements of the second prong of public-spending cut-backs, in the decrease in public services, were revealed with a list of more than 900 items of medical supplies which will now have to be paid for by medical-card holders.

And further burdens on those least able to afford them were sanctioned this week in the form of several price increases for food products.

No freeze there.



# IRA encourages debate and discussion

## An alternative to punishment

AS A RESULT of the breakdown in the fabric of society in the North, due to the war, increasing pressure was put on the IRA to adopt a 'law and order' policing role. Besides acting as an adjudicator and settler of local disputes the IRA's form of punishment of miscreants (later known as 'hoods') at first involved tarring and featherings and community-oriented recompense (brushing of streets, replacing stolen or unity-oriented property).

The rising crime rate was encouraged by the RUC who could use it as an excuse to get back into nationalist areas, and who could use the small criminals as a 'fifth column' against the IRA.

In order to cope with this deteriorating situation the IRA — more so in urban areas where crime was more pronounced — set up special units whose sole function was to adjudicate and deal with the problem of 'the hoods'. Punishments also became more severe and over the years several hundred people have been 'kneecapped', as local parlance has it, although most of those punished have actually received only flesh wounds.

There is no doubt that 'the hoods' of west Belfast and Derry are torturing local people and destroying whatever amenities remain or have been created by local people. But a question mark has also sprung up over punishment shootings which have not quelled the problem of crime (it continues to soar) and has not deterred 'the hoods' (some of whom have been shot two or three times. Scars to the leg are actually a qualification for membership of some gangs.)

How to stem the tide of crime, protect the nationalist people from internal oppression and yet deal justly with the perpetrators is a major problem, with the revolutionary IRA acknowledging five years ago that punishment shootings were an imperfect and rough form of justice. The IRA at that time declared itself open to suggestions for change but nothing happened and punishment shootings continued and even increased.

Now, in an interview, a spokesperson for the Belfast Brigade IRA has declared once again that the controversial issue is up for discussion. Readers outside of the North should be aware of the fact that there is often tremendous pressure on the IRA from nationalist victims of 'the hoods' for even sterner action than mere 'kneecapping'.

AP/RN: How did the present debate on alternatives to punishment shootings arise?

IRA: The present debate arose following an article in AP/RN on November 12th, 1981, entitled 'The Hoods'. Following that article a number of Volunteers within the Brigade area came together to discuss the issues that were raised in the article, specifically the issues of political alienation within the youth and the identity that was being provided within the framework of the hunger-strike.

The Volunteers in question then drafted a reply to that article which was published on December 10th, 1981. There was a recognition within the period of time under discussion that the question of alternatives to punishment shootings had to be undertaken and had to be pursued. In the past there had been individual attempts to provide alternatives but there was never an overall policy within the Brigade area.

The Volunteers recognised that punishment shootings were not the answer, that they were only a short-term deterrent and that they would not overcome the long-term problem of criminal activity and the whole question of political alienation within the nationalist ghetto areas.

AP/RN: How did the IRA approach this problem of criminal activity and political alienation?

IRA: The Volunteers involved in the discussions recognised that the problem fell into these two areas. Although the two issues are quite obviously linked, they both posed different problems to the IRA. First and foremost, was the counter-insurgency role which the British war-machine made from the criminal element operating in the ghetto areas.

This counter-insurgency role involved a two-pronged strategy as far as the IRA was concerned: one was that it undermined the credibility of the IRA in that we were seen to be unable to deal with the problem of criminal activity and two, the resources and personnel of the IRA

were diverted into dealing with the problem. We also recognised that as long as the credibility of the IRA was undermined then the alienation between the people and the armed struggle was reinforced.

The Volunteers also recognised that an element involved in criminal activity within the ghetto areas were the youth who had come up within the past ten years of the war. The problem here was that this section of the youth had not been given a vehicle through which they could establish an identity of their own and thus become involved and participate in the armed struggle in whatever way possible.

We recognised that there was an element of political alienation from the armed struggle among the youth, principally because that vehicle did not exist. We realised that if we wanted to provide alternatives to punishment shootings we had to provide a vehicle through which people, in particular the youth, could identify with the armed struggle. We recognised that during the period of the hunger-strike, that the hunger-strike itself became a focal point for the youth in the ghetto areas and we recognised that where we could sustain that sort of focal point we could then create the conditions upon which the youth in particular could build an identity for themselves and would be able to relate to and work for the struggle.

AP/RN: How does political alienation lead to criminal activity?

IRA: If somebody is politically alienated from the armed struggle it means that they do not see themselves as having a role in building a constructive alternative to the present oppression which they live under. It also means that they do not really understand what the struggle is all about and do not identify with it.

Some of these people develop a strategy of exploiting what the present British state system offers, for their own ends regardless of the anti-social nature of their



actions and regardless of their negative effect on the armed struggle.

AP/RN: What did you decide to do about these problems?

IRA: Firstly, as regards the hard-core criminal element we recognised that it had to be crushed physically. We knew that this element would not respond to any conciliatory gestures from the IRA. They would not take the question of ongoing discussions of alternatives seriously. As a result of that analysis the Brigade made a conscious decision to crush that hard core. That process began with a series of escalating punishment shootings and culminated in the execution of a leading criminal in Belfast in April of this year and the attempted execution of a second.

Once the person involved in the criminal activity had been punished the matter would not end there. They would be approached again as regards their intention to become reinvolved in such activity. They are told that if they do get reinvolved

they will be dealt with more severely.

On the other hand, in raising the question of political alienation we realised that we had to offer a constructive alternative to those involved in crime who were not hard core. We understood that many of these people were involved in the periphery of the criminal circle not least because they saw that circle as offering them some sort of personal identity. Therefore, in parallel with the policy of escalating punishments we implemented an alternative policy which involved the person involved in the criminal activity giving the IRA a written undertaking not to get reinvolved in such activity. It also involved them giving a public commitment to that effect.

### ALTERNATIVE

AP/RN: How effective do you think that this alternative policy is? What do you think it offers?

IRA: We believe that this alternative can overcome the alienating effects which punishment shootings incur. Through jobs have been given over the past two

Through the alternative we create a situation where to physically punish people given an opportunity to stop doing and at the same time deal with the consequences of their behaviour by facing the community

alternative we are hoping to create a situation where instead of having to physically punish people they would be given an opportunity to stop what they were doing and at the same time they would have to deal with the consequences of their behaviour by facing the community concerned. Through this alternative the criminal would have to deal with this issue directly. By being up to this it is hoped that the person would then understand that there were very real social/political reasons behind the IRA's concern to stop criminal activity in nationalist areas. We feel that if they understand this then physical punishments wouldn't have such a prominent role.

AP/RN: When was the alternative policy implemented?

IRA: The alternative policy was implemented early this year. The policy can be illustrated by two specific cases. One was in Divis Flats where a rape took place.

Howe



# Discussion on controversial subject

## Punishment shootings?

declaration regarding his behaviour and did give an undertaking to us that he would not become reinvolved in criminal activity.

It was from that date and around these two cases that the Brigade began to seriously examine the results of the alternatives to punishment shootings. We have received a large number of written undertakings to this effect since this time.

### CONSTRUCTIVE

We are fully aware that this alternative is not sufficient to deal with the problem effectively. We have to go beyond relying on the commitment of the individual person concerned. The individual, in the long term, needs to see a constructive alternative to the type of life that he has been leading.

The alternative policy certainly offers a beginning to this process. Through asking for a commitment to the community through the IRA we hope to help the person concerned gain an insight into the political/social issues involved in criminal activity. This understanding is crucial if the person is not to become reinvolved in criminal activity. But there is no doubt that this understanding needs a supportive infrastructure: there has to be constructive alternative forms of action open to them whereby they can really identify with the armed struggle.

We also recognise that there is a danger that this policy might be understood as a moral crusade against criminal persons. It must be said that we are not into constructing mirror images of British state court justice where the social/political reasons behind crime are masked by a criminalisation policy. The IRA recognises that both the community and the IRA as well as the individual person concerned are responsible for this breakdown in the social fabric of society as a result of the stresses of war.

When we ask criminals for a commitment to reform we realise that the responsibility does not just rest with the individual, and at the same time we are not asking the person to become 'morally' better. The issue is not one of morals. It is one of starting a process whereby the individual can begin to build a constructive political identity for themselves.

### BEHAVIOUR

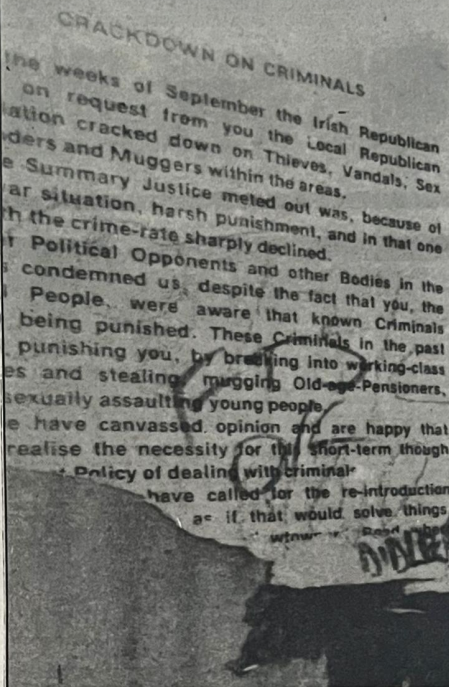
AP/RN: What problems have you encountered in implementing this policy?

IRA: The main problem is/was getting people to understand the reasons why we were prepared to create conditions in which people who were involved in social behaviour would be allowed some form of amnesty in return for the undertaking they were prepared to give to the IRA. So the main problem that we had was articulating the reasons why we saw the alternative as important because some people couldn't understand the reasons behind it and the benefits which came from it.

AP/RN: What do you think needs explained about how the IRA comes to reach a decision on what type of punishment is to be carried out?

IRA: I think it's important for the nationalist people to understand that the decisions reached by us in relation to punishments are not arbitrary decisions; they're not decisions reached spontaneously or quickly and they're not decisions reached by individuals.

There is an internal mechanism within the IRA which allows the Volunteers who have to make the decision to examine



● As far back as five years ago the Belfast Brigade IRA conceded that the 'summary justice meted out was... harsh'

the offence itself and the circumstances in which the offence took place, the identity of the person involved and the background of that person. Volunteers consider any factors which need to be taken into consideration: does the person have any individual problems in relation, for example, to a long period of unemployment, alcoholism, pressures within the home. Does the person have a weak educational background which would lend them to or make them pliable within a criminal circle. All those considerations are taken into account before a decision is reached and the decision is a collective one.

We must make it clear that as regards the issue of a public commitment, the person concerned is informed that they will be more severely dealt with if they break their undertaking than had they not given an undertaking at all. Obviously the alternative is only offered to a particular type of offender and it is also conditional on the type of offence committed. The alternative is not open to those who use weapons or carry out armed robberies or who use the name of the IRA for the purpose of carrying out a criminal activity.

### CIRCUMSTANCES

AP/RN: Does the offender have any say in this process?

IRA: It would depend on the particular offence. The person in question in all likelihood would be approached by the IRA and the allegations would be put to them. The question of providing witnesses and statements will depend on the circumstances in which the offence took place.

With all the allegations put, the person involved in the offence within the terms of our present policy in the Brigade area will be given an opportunity to indicate by their attitude in relation to the offence whether or not punishment, and, if so, what form of punishment, will be carried out.

AP/RN: What conditions are necessary for the policy to be a success?

IRA: Our attitude on the question of success is that it does not just revolve around the question of whether or not we have an alternative to punishment shootings but it involves a much wider area of interpretation. We see a particular

need to create certain mechanisms within the community which allow the people greater access to the IRA in terms of their ideas, their objectives, their criticisms and whatever else they want to put forward.

The whole question of social amenities, of social clubs and community centres has to be re-examined.

We are aware that there has to be a more energetic policy in terms of creating a mechanism which will allow people, again we are thinking particularly of the youth, to come together to form an identity of their own and consequently an identity within the struggle.

What we would consider success is for people to recognise that regardless of their age or sex there is a role for them to play in the armed struggle and it doesn't necessarily mean that they have to join the IRA. What it means is that they recognise that the IRA is struggling on their behalf and that the IRA needs the people and it therefore needs to create the conditions in which the people can articulate how they feel about the armed struggle and articulate how the policies of the IRA affect their quality of life.

With specific reference to this debate on alternatives to punishment shootings the IRA wants to encourage alternative forms of popular justice. We want to strengthen the identity of youth in the process and to create the sort of mechanism that allows the people to have a say in the war effort. We want the people to realise that in having that say they can have a direct effect on the war and that they will be listened to.

It is counter-productive to initiate changes in policy if there is too big a gap between the people's understanding of what we are trying to achieve and what we should be trying to achieve and how we consider the issue. We hope that this interview explains the reasons behind our attempt to develop alternatives and we hope that this can act as a platform for further discussion and ideas on the issue.

The interview should not be taken as criticism of the youth. Instead it should illustrate our concern that the potential of today's youth in terms of energy and new and progressive ideas should not be lost to the struggle.

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hoping to create a instead of having to people they would be opportunity to stop what they were the same time they would have to consequences of their behaviour the community concerned.

We had a number of discussions with the mediator and we discussed whether or not we should carry out punishment shootings on them. In the course of the discussions we raised the issue of a public declaration and a written undertaking to us. The mediator came back and indicated that both of the people concerned would be prepared to do that. Then we contacted the person who was the victim in the attack. We explained to that person the reasons why we wanted to carry out this alternative form of punishment. We wanted the person to understand the political reasons behind this decision. The person accepted the decision.

The second case was a man from Ballymurphy who was in prison at the time and who was aware that the IRA would be taking action against him when he was released. He sent out word to the Belfast Brigade saying that he was prepared to give an undertaking regarding his future behaviour. On his release he was contacted. He subsequently made a public

However, on impact



# 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 typed, written in double spacing with wide margins and on one side of paper only.



● Mrs Kathleen Stewart — mother of plastic bullet victim, Brian

## Silent too long

AN OPEN LETTER TO: Galway and Limerick Chambers of Commerce, Kinsale Urban District Council and The Royal Dublin Society.

Dear Sir/Madam,

I am writing to you on behalf of Silent Too Long which is made up of relatives of innocent people murdered by forces professing British loyalty.

Your recent statements and actions concerning the London bombings are in stark contrast to the silence concerning the deaths of our loved ones.

We are not trying to imply that you should not do what you are doing but asking what is the difference when our innocent relatives are murdered or butchered.

You can send money to relatives of British soldiers and replace seven horses which were killed in the London explosion and apologise to the British parliament and people, why do you not organise when our innocent relatives are murdered in such a brutal way by British loyalists?

I have enclosed a copy of our book which lists some of the atrocities which we have suffered continuously without one condemnation from your group. As can be seen from the book many of the relatives did not receive any compensation (unlike the relatives of British soldiers who get massive compensation).

Many of our relatives were murdered by the same British soldiers who have never been brought to trial for their crimes. Young Danny Barrett, aged 15 years, shot dead while sitting at his front door; Carol Ann Kelly, aged 12 years, murdered by a plastic bullet on her way home from a shop; Julie Livingstone, aged 14, (plastic bullet); Brian Stewart, aged 13, (plastic bullet); Leo Norney, aged 17, shot dead and body mutilated by Black Watch Regiment; Majella O'Hara, aged 12, shot dead on way to confession; Annette McGavigan, aged 14, shot dead; Michael McLarnon, Michael Hayes etc. Over 120 completely innocent people have been killed by the security forces and you never spoke out or organised.



● A victim of loyalist assassinations

A Chára,

Well-founded rumour has it that this time next year we'll all be in a broad front for 'Brits out'. Won't that be grand?

Well I don't think it will, and this letter is by way of a pre-emptive strike. In August 5th's *AP/RN* a major article by John Doyle titled 'Facing Realities' argued that the Free State as a state was a stable entity. Now, armed struggle in the Free State is not a viable option. But at the same time republicans North and South must realise that the South is the key to the North. The cause of republicanism must advance in the South if we are to succeed.

How then can we do this? The failure, or the limited success at any rate, of the 'Brits Out' campaign (remember 'An tEileamh Naisiunta') and the Irish Front in Derby, holds a number of lessons for the Republican Movement.

The first of these, I think, is that to reduce republicanism to the slogan 'Brits out' is a travesty, and only serves to alienate those who do not already support us, and make more vocal those who already do. In other words, we advance nowhere; we win no section of people over to us which was not already won over.

Republicans must always be outward-looking in their republicanism. We will never get anywhere if our activists dig themselves into a rut of perpetual commemorations, socials and collections. We should continually be bringing more people — students, youth, women, trade unionists and small farmers. And we can only do that if we address ourselves to the problems they face.

This may hurt. But it needs to be said. The Brits, for most people in the South, are irrelevant. It is not that people accept their presence in Ireland. It is more that the vast majority of them have never seen a Brit in real life, and know of no one who has.

The message republicans should be bringing to the people of the South is Connolly's message: if you remove the union jack from Dublin Castle, he said, and did not set about the establishment of a socialist republic, your efforts would be in vain. England would still rule you. She would rule you through her banks, through her financiers, through the whole panoply of her capitalist establishment.

Connolly's message, and ours, is this: England still rules. She rules through capital, and the instrument she uses, the weapon she wields in the twenty-six counties, is the apparatus of the Free State — its government, its police, its army, its laws, its courts, and above all, its prostituted economy.

Republicans should not only be saying to the people of the South: 'Look North! Look at the Brits, the RUC and the UDR. See Castlereagh and H-Block,

# FACING REALITIES



● The debate on the way forward for republicans poses the question of future involvement in broad fronts, as seen during last year's hunger-strike

farther, sooner, than we did during the H-Block campaign.

Submerging ourselves in a dead-end 'Brits out' broad-based campaign will be like taking one step forwards, two steps backwards.

Eamonn Murphy, Baile Atha Cliath.

A Chára,

John Doyle offers a personal view of some of the realities which, he says, republicans need to face first as they look towards the future and plan activity.

One of these plans must be a conception of an alliance between different forces who may not agree on many things but are prepared to oppose aspects of imperialism, and today it is more urgent than ever. Splits or hostility between the progressive socialist and Republican Movement only plays into the hands of imperialism. I fully agree with what Doyle said:

"We must therefore build a mass party while conditions allow. Socialism can be won in Ireland but it must be worked for."

Sean De Buta, Dublin.

A Chára,

John Doyle in his 'Way Forward — Facing Realities' (August 5th) takes at least two steps backwards.

The first step disavows nationalism — getting the Brits out from socialism — 'the other objective of republicans, the establishment of a democratic, socialist republic' which may or may not occur, he says, after the first objective is achieved.

Connolly answered Doyle in 1897:

"When you talk of freeing Ireland, do you mean the chemical elements which compose the soil of Ireland? Or is it the Irish people you mean? If the latter, from what do you propose to free them? From the rule of England? ... English rule in Ireland is but the symbol of the fact that English conquerors in the past forced upon this country a property system founded on spoliation, fraud and murder... If you remove the English army

tomorrow and hoist the green flag over Dublin Castle, unless you set about the organisation of the socialist republic your effort would be in vain. England would still rule you. Nationalism without socialism is only national recreancy."

On what other basis will the masses unite with you? And how are the Brits, with their garrison powers, North and South, to be forced from power, if it is not by the power and support of the people?

Nationalism without socialism can only mean one thing — it is an intent to achieve 'our first objective' by conciliating the privileged classes of Ireland — building an alliance of classes.

There is only a skimpily slilt of a nation bourgeoisie in Ireland, North or South, whose interests are not at all distinct from those of our imperial masters, and who are not on our side no matter how far we bend to conciliate them. Where they on one side, we would not be the people's movement we are, nor would we be the movement which could free Ireland of British/capitalist rule.

As Connolly says, the masses will not fight to preserve the property rights of a privileged class.

Socialism and nationalism must go hand in hand if either is to be won.

Doyle's second step backwards is to suggest that there are two types of capitalism — 'the secure kind' and the 'insecure kind'. In the 'insecure kind' force is allowed to enter into 'the socialist phase of the national liberation struggle' because of 'the desperate condition of the people', for example, El Salvador. Whereas in Ireland, where capitalism is stable 'in no other circumstances should military methods be used in a united Ireland situation... except in the defence of an established, or almost established, socialist revolution', under internal or external attack.

I don't see anything much secure about capitalism in Ireland, except that it is there at the moment. It is under threat from a liberation movement which is a light to freedom fighters the world over. It is propped up

in the Free State by Western capitalism with an exorbitant loan in proportion to GNP, only equalled by some other specially 'favoured' Third World countries, spent partly on an army and police which are not necessarily the most repressive, or professional as compared with Latin America, or other European countries, as yet.

If it is moral justification for armed struggle which Doyle is after, then it only needs to be said that the 'desperate conditions' under the 'narrow type of capitalism' in El Salvador are merely the flip side of the same coin of capitalist rule in the imperial heartland. Western capitalism, imposed by Britain, which we are fighting in Ireland, is the very system which has impoverished and stripped of their livelihoods the people of El Salvador. Our absolute levels of poverty are less — because we've a little bit more of the cake in Europe.

But it cannot be held that the higher the levels of poverty, the greater is the case for such a mass movement in support of armed struggle can be built. It is at least as hard for the Brazilian who makes his insufficient living scrambling over the rubbish tips of São Paulo to leave his source of 'income', as the 'poor' of Ireland. Aspirations are relative.

But, Doyle adds, we can make the British/Irish-style capitalism insecure by 'self-education and then the education of the people into a mass movement.'

Consciousness does not drop from the skies — nor does it come from the lips of school masters. The last 13 years — as the history of our revolutionary struggle — bears witness to the fact that consciousness, and the building of a mass movement, comes through struggle, because it is only armed struggle which poses an alternative to the 'social consensus' of Western capitalist 'democracies', and it is only through the practice of armed struggle, and political activation within this context, that Pearse's 'Murder Machine' can be overcome.

To believe that a mass movement can be built without armed struggle, or to believe that capitalism can be defeated, 'or nearly so', without armed struggle, is a recipe for the republicans to become a fringe 'socialist' party, unable to progress, with many a Brit in green or red coat there to attend its funeral.

Nationalism and socialism as ideals cannot be disavowed, no more than can the method of armed struggle. The building of a mass movement, and it is because they have increasingly gone hand in hand over the last years of struggle that Ireland's fight for liberation holds the place that it does in the eyes of the world and that the people of the six counties, no matter the repression, the brutality, or the inevitable reverses, have continued the armed struggle for liberation and justice.

Teresa O'Neill, Dublin.

## Assembly elections

A Chára,

As a 16-year-old nationalist youth in the occupied six counties, I feel that I must express my views on the forthcoming assembly elections proposed to take place in October.

It is now a well-known fact that Prior's proposal to have this assembly is only another fling in his political career — Prior's main objective being to stabilise his position in Thatcher's ruthless and intransigent Tory cabinet, and to re-form the

loyalist-controlled Stormont administration.

Therefore, primarily, my wish would be to have a total nationalist boycott of these elections. However, with the likelihood of the SDLP contesting, a total boycott is no longer possible. So, it is now that I feel Sinn Féin should contest these elections in order to crush the fictitious viewpoint that the middle-class, bourgeois SDLP represents the voice of the oppressed nationalists in the six counties. I must also say that Sinn Féin members, if elected, should not sit in this sectarian assembly. Then we shall know what party represents the feelings of oppressed nationalists within the occupied six counties, and it will be realised at home and abroad that the SDLP do not

represent the 'minority' in the occupied six counties.

Barry McDuff, Carrickmore, County Tyrone.

## Ard Fheis resolutions

A Chára,

The secretaries of all Sinn Féin cumainn, comhairli cainéal and comhairli cuige are reminded that resolutions for this year's Ard Fheis must reach Ard Clig not later than 31st.

Jobs have been given over the past two



## Burke's at the back

BY KEVIN BURKE

# Those tell-tale signs

WHEN FREE STATE politicians take to sky-diving over Croke Park on All-Ireland final day, ride a bullock bareback through Puck Fair, play the uilleann pipes dressed in a kilt on the Bunny Carr show, or have their photograph taken with the oldest matchmaker in Ballydehob, most of us experienced political pundits begin to predict a general election is about to take place.

So when I espied Dublin's inner-city deputy Tony Gregory acting the male model in last weekend's *Sunday World* (and didn't he look well?), I quickly drew the conclusion that this key Independent is not ruling out the possibility of a Fianna Fail defeat in Leinster House when the public sector pay freeze comes up for debate after the holidays end in October.

And when, later in the day, Garret 'just back from France' Fitzgerald announced on RTE that Fine Gael would vote against Haughey on the subject, many party stalwarts could be expected to have taken themselves up to the attic for the posters and paste once again.

But do not be surprised if Fine Gael, the Labour Party, the Workers Party and the Independents, who have declared themselves against a pay freeze, cannot find a motion, the wording of which they can all agree on — and Haughey survives.

After all, October this year brings with it the centenary of the birth of Eamon de Valera and it's going to be a month of Fianna Fail commemorations in every parish, Fianna Fail events in every day's papers, Fianna Fail this and Fianna Fail that.

And at the end of such a month the other parties precipitate a general election?

For once I am tempted to stick my neck out and say 'you must be joking'.

★ ★ ★

*Peace By Peace*, the intermittent newsheet of what is left of the Peace People is always a fascinating read for its complete lack of touch with reality.

For example, the latest issue, dated August 20th, tells us of a 'peace camp' in Norway, of an anti-nuke march in New York and of an address by an Austrian to the United Nations.

That takes up most of the space.

Back home, matters are somewhat more difficult to deal with. A meeting with the RUC chief, Jack Hermon, to "discuss a number of points... particularly the use of plastic bullets" leaves us ignorant as to what was said by the Peace People on that subject.

Again an internal meeting in Newry "discussed at length the use of plastic bullets by the security forces" amongst other things. But again we are not told what conclusions were reached.

And if you thought that plastic bullets would have to be condemned by anyone claiming to be 'peaceful', think again; because the report goes on to tell us that members could at even agree on support for the anti-nuclear bomb campaign!

Even the 'Youth for Peace' prefer to keep their thoughts far away from the realities of home. A report on a 72-hour fast by four of them at Belfast City Hall — 'a protest against the continuing violence in our community' — (a protest outside City Hall, note!) ends with the pious thought that now the participants 'have a much stronger picture' of what the Third World's hungry have to go through.

Far safer to think of the Third World than let minds stray a few miles down the road to thoughts of last year's H-Block hunger-strikers?

★ ★ ★

However, on important matters the Peace

People do know where they stand.

The front page of *Peace By Peace* tells us in no uncertain terms:

"It will be up to everyone who cares about the future of Northern Ireland to bring all the pressure they can to bear on our timid politicians in the next few weeks, to ensure that they enter the assembly with a will to make it work for the good of all the people of Northern Ireland and to elect new ones who will if the old ones won't."

They have their Priorities right alright.

But what are we to make of this amazing admission in an article on a trip in June to that 'reconciliation' outfit at Corrymeela. (An article once again revealingly headed 'Away From It All'.)

The trip was for a group of thirty-odd Peace People and non-republican prisoners' relatives who, we are told, were conveyed to Corrymeela by 'a friendly man' from the RUC's community relations division.

This jolly RUC man ran out of petrol at Ballycastle with no garages open — travelling on the Sabbath, no doubt — but "this matter did not fluster him one bit."

"He merely radioed the police in Ballycastle, who in turn asked a garage owner to help us. Within a very few minutes we were on our way to the Corrymeela site with a full tank of petrol. Guess it helps to know the 'right people!'"

'Peace' it seems will include plastic bullets, nuclear bombs, a new Stormont and the RUC.

War, more war!

★ ★ ★

And on the subject of nuclear war, the *New York Daily News* earlier this month reported that the United States Postal Service had detailed plans for delivering the mail in the event of nuclear war.

You may wonder how they are going to carry on delivering with houses, roads, bridges, airports, railway stations, railway lines, trains, lorries and airplanes all destroyed by nuclear bombs — not to mention postmen and addressees missing without trace.

No problem according to the general manager of the Postal Inspection Service who told a United States congress committee that "the plans include emergency change-of-address forms".

And I thought no-one could be crazy enough to start a nuclear war!

They are crazier than that already.

★ ★ ★

I see that the British prince Edward passed his A-level examinations with unsubstantiated 'flying-colours'. No accusations of favouritism could be levelled, of course, because numbers are used on the papers instead of names.

But he did particularly well in history, we are told, and I can imagine the answers:

"As my great-great-grand-aunt said to her Prime Minister Disraeli at the end of the last century..."

Or:

"In the unfortunate Great War against my great-uncle Wilhelm in 1914..."

★ ★ ★

A measure of the SDLP's real concern, as opposed to political opportunism, came this week from their law and order 'expert' and spokesperson. Michael Canavan was suitably 'aghast' at the DPP's decision not to prosecute the murderer of Derry boy Stephen McConomy who was killed by a plastic bullet in April this year.

Canavan cited Stephen McConomy's case and the death of 15-year-old Danny Barrett in Belfast as two plastic bullet deaths where no prosecutions followed.

If Canavan paid any kind of attention to these brutal killings at all he should have known that Danny Barrett was actually killed by a lead bullet not a plastic bullet.

★ ★ ★

With the British unemployment figures jumping 100,000 to 3,292,702 and no IRA bombings this week to distract attention from them, I expect that the British left will be launching their revolution within the next few days.

Last month it apparently had to be postponed because of Irish interference in British affairs, if I read the leftie newspapers correctly.

But don't hold your breath. The seemingly innocent announcement, on the same day as the new figures, that Bob Paisley is quitting as Liverpool's manager, looks very much to me like another diversion masterminded by Margaret Thatcher.

*News Line, Socialist Worker and Socialist Challenge* readers note — you read it here first!



## WHAT'S ON

**FOLK NIGHT**  
8.30 pm Friday 27th August  
Andersonstown  
**BELFAST**  
Admission £1  
Organised by the DeLorean  
H-Block/Arragh Committee

**COMHAIRLE CUIGE LAIGHEAN**  
**SPECIAL MEETING**  
2.30 pm Sunday 29th August  
5 Blessington Street  
**DUBLIN**  
Two delegates to attend from  
each comhairle ceantair

**COMHAIRLE CHUIGE NA MUMHAN**  
**MEETING**  
2.30 pm Sunday 29th August  
**NENAGH**  
Co. Tipperary

**VOLS MICHAEL GAUGHAN & FRANK STAGG COMMEMORATION**  
3pm Sunday 29th August  
**BALLINA**  
County Mayo  
Speaker: Owen Carron MP

**PALESTINIAN PEOPLE**  
**SOLIDARITY MEETING**  
8.30 pm Tuesday 31st August  
Rocking Chair Lounge  
Waterloo Road  
**DERRY**

An exhibition depicting the similarity of the Irish and Palestinian struggles. Speakers from Sinn Féin and a representative of Palestine Solidarity. Music by the 'People of No Property'

**THE PATRIOT GAME FILM**  
7.30 pm Friday 3rd September  
Holborn Central Library  
32/38 Theobald Road  
**LONDON WC1**  
Admission 70p,  
unemployed & OAPS 30p  
Buses 5, 19, 38, 55 & 172  
(Organised by The London  
Irish Solidarity Committee)

**CELT CLUB**  
Presents 'Ragumuffin'  
7.30 pm Saturday 4th September  
Brown Derby  
James's Street  
**DUBLIN**  
Admission £1 Buses: 78A, 21, 21A

**BALLAD SESSION**  
Featuring 'The Barrowman'  
8 pm Friday 17th September  
Brown Derby  
James's Street  
**DUBLIN**  
Admission £2  
In aid of the Cebra election fund  
Organised by  
the Carroll/Ashé Sinn Féin cumann

## Draw results

Cork Sinn Féin private members draw  
1st: Mick Barry; 2nd: P. Marley; 3rd:  
J. Farrell.

## Galway meeting

TWO members of the French solidarity organisation *Irlande Libre* addressed members of Sinn Féin in Galway city on Thursday, August 19th.

Jacques Le Goff and Gilles Le Bleg, both from Paris, spoke to members of the Griffin/D'Arcy/Hurson cumann about their solidarity work in France and they also offered their opinions on the many problems confronting Sinn Féin in the west of Ireland.

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# REVIEW PAGE

## Subtle propaganda

BY SIOBHAN O'MALLEY

EARLIER this month 'World In Action' screened an expose of the corruption in Britain's Metropolitan Police and Scotland Yard and how the investigation into it was hampered, blocked and finally stopped. Since then, almost inevitably, there seem to have been a spate of films and plays aimed at allaying the public's fears that the cops are actually all like that.

In Sunday's episode of 'The Chinese Detective' on BBC1, John Ho (David Yip) tracked down the corrupt cop who had framed his father years ago, causing the death of his mother and ruining his life. Ho was, of course, helped in his mission by his wonderful colleagues in the Metropolitan Police.

An added psychological touch to this unusual police series has been its unpredictability in the main, John Ho is not your conventional British bobby. He is Chinese for a start

and even has mates who are black.

BBC Radio 4's Saturday night play 'Who's talking about an arrest?' had a similar theme. It was a disturbing play about an investigation of the brutal murder of a black disco dancer.

As a play, its impact was startling. The use of background noise to set the mood was excellent and the atmosphere of sleazy bars and lurking evil came across with effect.

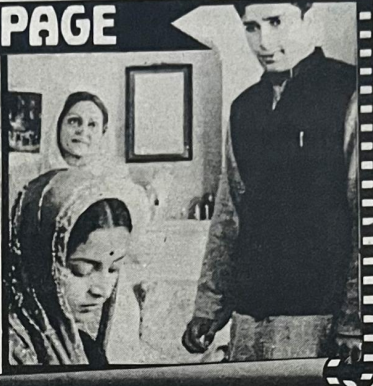
But the more subtle message was there too — there might

## TV & RADIO

be a few bad apples in the force, folks, but their straight mates will sort it out. For after all, they are really a fine bunch of lads.

I thought that the pilloried Irish mammy's attitude to her sons had no parallel anywhere in the world until I watched 'The Householder', a lovely film in BBC's Merchant Ivory Season on Sunday nights. Set in Delhi, the film is a gentle and humorous observation of young newly-weds coming to terms with each other and with the real world.

Prem Sagar (Shashi Kapoor) just cannot cope with a home-sick wife, a bullying boss and a class of kids at school who will not respect him. His inadequacies and disappointments come to a head when his wife,



● Indu (left) — a disappointment to her husband Prem and mother-in-law

Indu (Leela Naidu), discovers she is pregnant.

He sends for his mammy. She will sort it all out.

Mammy comes equipped with shrill complaints about Indu's neglect of her son Prem

and a bundle of photographs of him as a baby.

Prem escapes the worsening situation by befriending an American living in Delhi who is looking for 'the light'. There is also a lovely characterisation

of two elderly English people who feel 'close to the Indian mystique'. Prem is utterly mystified by them!

A nice happy ending with Prem and Indu together getting rid of the mammy diplomatically and living happily ever after.

Unfortunately the film, like many Irish commentaries, accepts the flip image of foolish servile mothers fawning on their sons, rather than examining the years of conditioning which has brought them to that.

And in India, where marriages are arranged, there are still stories of the ritual burning of a wife if her in-laws consider that her dowry is not after all big enough.

Monday night's 'Panorama' was an updated version of their previous report on Zimbabwe — 'Searching for the New Zimbabwe' — concentrated mainly on the split between Nkomo and Mugabe.

Although it raised many questions it failed to answer them and offered us little on the difficulties of a country struggling with its colonial past and under constant threat from its powerful neighbour South Africa.

## In the belly of the beast

BY THOMAS DUNNE

THE author of this book, Jack Henry Abbott, half Chinese, half Irish-American has spent almost 25 years continuously in prison, with one break of six months and another of six weeks after it escape, and of these 25 years fourteen were spent in solitary confinement. The book consists of letters he wrote from prison to the author Norman Mailer and they are mainly concerned with himself and prison life.

The first thing that struck me is how much is said in the title. For anyone in prison, all pretence about capitalist democracy, justice, etc., is ripped aside and the raw, naked brutality of the state is left exposed. The title, in fact, put me immediately in mind of Bobby Sands 'I fought a monster today'.

Abbott details how the prison

authorities have complete power to do whatever they want, even to commit murder, and that the judiciary will always protect them.

The terrible isolation and sense of injustice felt by the prisoner is described well and a theory he puts forward, that much mental illness in prison is caused by oppression, is worthy of further thought.

## BOOKS

Many of the tactics used by the prison authorities to keep control over prisoners are listed, including the giving of privileges to strong men so that they will discourage agitation among others, the use of psychotropic drugs, beatings, informers and splitting the prisoners on racial grounds.

To the prison authorities the most dangerous type of prisoner is not the mass murderer or the impulsive violent one, but he who reads and studies and is willing to put into practice the knowledge he has learnt.

I once heard an old Screw complain that in the old days we could handle the difficult ones and they accepted kick-



ings as part of the game, but these politically-motivated prisoners are impossible to control'. This is the reason why so much effort is made by the authorities to censor political books but, on the other hand, encourage pornography and the gutter press as the staple reading diet of the average prisoner.

For me, the best chapter was on solitary confinement. Firstly, because it is so difficult to write about and describe but also and more importantly, because of its poignancy for Irish prisoners in England. He puts into words those feelings when a prisoner is in absolute isolation and has to rely on himself to survive, how the prisoner looks in upon himself, analysing his make-up and how a POW's political consciousness acts as a prop to keep him going to fight another day.

He quotes a piece of poetry by Ho Chi Minh that has become a sort of anthem for the prisoners over here: 'Without the cold and desolation of winter, there would not be the warmth and splendour of spring. Calamity has tempered and hardened me, and turned my mind to steel.'

Prisons within a capitalist society have three aims: 1) to deter potential challenges to the existing order; 2) to socialise the prisoners into a submissive

acceptance of hierarchical divisions and 3) to manage the inmates, and population at large, with the ideology of the ruling class concerning morality, legality, theft and crime. The state puts itself forward as the guardian of the interests and sentiments of the people, but at the same time the majority of laws are protecting the unequal distribution of wealth and the massive accumulation of private property in the hands of a small elite.

Although Abbott claims to be a communist and to recognise the necessity of political struggle, it's a pity he didn't practise this, as within months of his release he stabbed to death a waiter during an argument in a restaurant.

Like the majority of criminals he has to wait a long time and time again, with romantic notions of the criminal as an individual bucking the system whereas they usually prey on ordinary people and are used against revolutionary forces by the state.

## A source of wonderment

BY PAUL ROONEY

"LISTOWEL is a great place for a fleadh," announced one Scottish visitor last weekend on his first visit to Ireland. It is an experience that will remain in his memory for a long, long time — and who could blame that Scotsman?

This year's All-Ireland Fleadh Cheoil attracted over 2,000 musicians to the north Kerry town and another 20,000 visitors and they certainly got value for money. And they came from the four corners of Ireland, from Britain, Europe, Australia and the United States — all united in a harmonious quest for music.

The fleadh has now been an annual event for 30 years since Comhaltas Ceoltóirí Éireann was founded in 1951. One of its major aims was to create a closer bond among all lovers of Irish music and some of its particular objectives to restore the playing of harp and uilleann pipes.

Its success has been form-

## MUSIC

idable, as any fleadh visitor will testify.

There are two platforms for the musicians, who ranged from eight to eighty years old — one formal, the other anything but.

The formal competitions are divided into 35 different categories and four age groups. Their aim is to find the All-Ireland champion in each of these categories be it the fiddle, concert flute, harp, bodhran, banjo or melodian.

The event is also a barometer



● Listowel — non-stop music

of musical standards. And those standards were amazingly high last weekend, especially among the younger performers whose

ability on their instruments provided an unending source of wonderment for the gathered multitudes.

But it was away from the strict area of competition that most of the musicians came into their own.

Hundreds of impromptu sessions were to be found in the streets, pubs and hotels of Listowel. Saturday's weather was very kind to the musicians apart from the odd shower of rain, which quite considerably held off its force until after one o'clock in the morning, when the publicans finally ushered people in various states of euphoria out into the darkness.

But even the rain could not stop the crack. Musicians, soaked inside and out, kept the entertainment going with enthusiasts

dancing and singing under whatever bit of shelter could be found until seven o'clock the next morning.

Down at the well-organised campsite the night was out with music and song with thoughts of a good night's sleep to awake refreshed banished without option.

The fleadh has an amazing capacity for stretching endurance to the limit. Not hampered by the trappings of professionalism, people come to Listowel to sample a life that only music can provide.

And it was with very great reluctance that we left Listowel, parting from old friends and new, whilst diaries were determined to stay on and keep the festivities going for another week at least!

## Close game confirms doubts

BY BRIAN MARTIN

LAST SUNDAY'S second all-Ireland football semi-final, as expected, turned out to be a close affair with only a point in it at the end, and Offaly winning by 1 - 12 to Galway's 1 - 11.

From a football point of view, however, it confirmed many people's doubts as to the exact capabilities of both sides, doubts which had been heavily underlined by the teams' respective performances in the provincial championships this year.

In Connacht, Galway's runaway win over Mayo had prompted many to declare that the promise shown in the team's National League victory in 1981 had finally been realised. Yet a more sober assessment had to take into account not

only the pathetic display of Mayo in that provincial final, but also the extremely hard work Galway had made of disposing of Roscommon in the semi-final.

There were too many question marks for any sort of clear judgement to emerge.

As far as Offaly were concerned their progress through Leinster had been just as erratic. After the dispatching of Louth in their opening fixture they found themselves often outplayed by a moderate 'Caisle side in the semi-final before

pulling through because of their greater craft and experience.

Then, in the Leinster final itself, they had an impressive but easy victory over an inept and inexperienced Dublin team still in the throes of re-building, and subject on the day to inexplicable decision-making by the team selectors. Again, as with Galway, Offaly's true worth was impossible to estimate although they were clearly a much better side than they'd been three years earlier, when they first regained the provincial championship.

Conventional wisdom before Sunday's match had it that with the forwards the strong point of both sides, which



● Galway's Brian Talty, up against Offaly's Sean Lowry (left) and Richie Connor

ever defence held up better would decide the game. This facile generalisation tanded, however, to obscure the point that the respective forward lines functioned more as a collection of talented individuals than as forward units. This, of course, applied even more to the defences.

One of the inevitable results therefore apart from the

tension of the occasion, was a game littered with fouls and frees which consistently negated the closeness and excitement of the proceedings.

Galway have only themselves to blame for not winning. Gay McManus's two wides at the end ought to have been converted, and Daly's failure to take a goal rather than a point early in the first half was in-

excusable.

Barry Brennan, who notched up some lovely scores, and Brian Talty at midfield were outstanding. Unfortunately, aside from Tom Naughton, the rest of the Galway attack failed to link up with them effectively.

For Offaly Johnny Mooney was the hero of the hour with as fine a performance as he has ever given, and he was ably supported by Brendan Lowry. Forward co-ordination here, however, was even poorer than Galway's, and Offaly's long and high-kick game will have to be varied if they are not to play into Kerry's expert hands on September 19th.

Similarly, their defence will have to improve dramatically, although the evergreen Sean Lowry as well as Pat Fitzgerald played individually well. Galway meanwhile can take consolation in the fact that their youth and obvious talent should eventually see them come good.



# Stailceanna agus sochaí an lae inniú

CUID A HAON - LE HEAMONN MAC CONBHUIDHE, H6

IS MINIC a baintear feidhm as stailceanna sa lá atá inniu ann, stairil éifeachtach an lucht oibre is ea an stailc. Faoi láthair tá stairil mhór na n-oibríthe oispidéil ar siúl agus tá stailc na n-oibríthe traenach críochnaithe. Oibríthe tabhachtacha is iad an dá dream seo agus is mór an cur isteach is féidir leo a dhéanamh don ghráthshaoil.

Mhair stailc na traenach an fhad sin ag deirdeadh na dála go raibh BR beagach briste go dtí an pointe go mbeadh orthu druidim siar. Tá an cumas ar an scéal anois gur buail eadh na hoibríthe go hionlán. Ar ndoigh ní fhaigheann lucht stailce céad faoin gofadh tacaíochta i gcóid. Bíonn na daoine sin ann nach gcomhíonann a ndualgais.

Rud amháin is gá don lucht oibre a thuiscint anois ná nach bhfuil an rialtas (tíoraigh) ná na comhlachtair móra (súmairí fola) chun tabhairt isteach leis féidir leo é a sheachaint. Tá go leor samplaí de seo againn. Tá siad toilteanach na milliún punt a chailliúint agus bhí sampla an-mhath de sin againn le linn stailc na traenach.

## CEANNAIRÍ

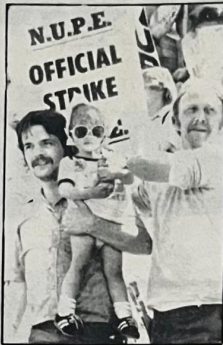
Antaíom fínn go hionlán leis na stailceanna seo, ach sílim nach

bhfuil coannairí na stailceanna eagraithe i gceart. Ba chóir do na daoine seo a bheith ag minúint don ghnáthphobal cúisí agus fathanna gurb éigean dóibh dul ar stailc sa chéad iú.

Tá go mairbh, éiríonn le roinnt stailceoirí a n-ádhm d'fhail agus mar is eol do chách ní thugann na rachmasaigh aon rud ach fásachán siad chuige go bhfaighfidh siad thar n-ais é trí ardaithe praghasanna agus leithéid. Sa chéad chéimhais-néis eile ardaítear an costas mair-eacháil agus na daoine nach raibh go mairbh as, bíonn siad i gcruachas níos measa fós.

## DIFIR

'Sé seo an síl ina n-oibríonn an córas rachmasach. Bíonn difir mhór idir chách chun a chinntiú go mbeidh iomaíocht ann do phostanna. Oireann an dí-fhostaíocht do



● Le chéile, ar stailc

na rachmasaigh.

Más féidir an t-eolas seo a chur ina luf ar an ngnáthdhúine bheadh sé toilteanach orthu lepa chomhoibrithe chun sochaí níos sonasá a bhunú. Níofaíocht an t-uasalaicme ná na rachmasaigh beaga le seo. Troid fíochmhar a bheidh ann, ach ar a laghad beidh cothrom na féinne le fáil ag cách.

# KEVIN LYNCH MEMORIAL

THE FIRST annual commemoration to mark the anniversary of hunger-striker Kevin Lynch was held on Sunday, August 1st.

The commemoration was one of the most moving and impressive seen in Dungen for many years. The newly-formed Kevin Lynch memorial flag band, drums draped with black flags, led the silent, 2,000-strong crowd through the town sounding only a drumbeat.

At the graveside Mrs Lynch officially unveiled the large marble Celtic cross erected to the memory of her son by the people of Dungen parish and surrounding North Derry areas.

An H-shaped wreath was then laid by Mr Lynch on behalf of the family followed by wreaths laid on behalf of numerous organisations and individuals including the Kevin Lynch cumann IRSP, the Kevin Lynch hurling club and the Kevin Lynch band.

Orations were then given by Tony O'Hara, whose brother Patsy's death signalled the commencement of Kevin's 71-day-long hunger-strike, and by Mrs M. Moore representing the comhairle ceantair of the IRSP.

The proceedings were drawn to a close by the band playing the national



● The Kevin Lynch memorial band

anthem after Aidan Hegarty, chairperson of the Kevin Lynch memorial committee, had expressed the gratitude of the Lynch family to all who had attended, especially the contingent from Waterford in whose constituency Kevin stood for election, the representatives from Nor-aid and from Holland.

The commemoration, conducted with solemnity and dignity, reflected the respect and esteem in which Kevin Lynch was held. It was a sure indication that he and his nine brave comrades have not been nor will ever be forgotten.



● Mrs Lynch unveiled the cross in memory of her son Kevin

## REMEMBERING THE PAST

# To overthrow British rule

BY PETER O'ROURKE

SAMUEL NEILSON was born in 1761 at Ballyronan, County Down. The son of a Presbyterian minister, he was a prosperous woollen merchant in Belfast at the time of his first active involvement with the cause of Irish freedom.

In 1791 he suggested to Henry Joy McCracken the idea of a society of Irishmen of every persuasion to overthrow British rule in Ireland. He became associated with Wolfe Tone and together they founded the Society of the United Irishmen in Belfast.

Neilson was one of the small group who gathered on Cave Hill in Antrim and swore never to desist in their efforts to subvert English authority in Ireland. In 1792 he established the Northern Star, the organ of the United Irishmen in the North and became its editor. He had now adopted Tone's republican outlook and in his paper came to ad-



● SAMUEL NEILSON

vocate complete separation from England.

In 1796 Neilson was arrested for a 'seditious' article in the paper and held

on remand for 17 months in Newgate and Kilmainham jails. Although found not guilty at his trial, he was broken in health on his release.

Following the arrest of the leaders of the United Irishmen in 1798, a new National Directory of the organisation, consisting of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, John and Henry Shears, Surgeon Lawless and Samuel Neilson, met in Dublin to reconsider their plans for the rebellion.

In May of that year, Neilson, a sick man now dependent on alcohol, went to Newgate Jail to reconcile with a view to rescuing Lord Edward. He was captured after a desperate resistance in which he was badly wounded.

At his trial he refused to recognise the authority of the court and in January 1799 he was removed to imprisonment at Fort George in Scotland.

He was released in 1802 and emigrated to America, where he died in New York on August 29th, 1833.

CARLIN, James: CURRAN, Martin (10th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vois James, Carlin and John Curran, Ogligh na hÉireann, Downpatrick, who died while on active service duty on August 26th 1972. I mae laochra na nGaeil go raibh a n-anamach. Always remembered by their friends and comrades in the Republican Movement, Downpatrick.

CARLIN, James: CURRAN, Martin. (10th Anniversary). The members of the Leo O'Hanlon Sinn Féin cumann, Downpatrick, remember with pride Carlin James and John Curran, who died on August 26th 1972. "Lay them away on the hillside along with the brave and the noble, inscribe their names on the roll of fame in letters of purest gold."

DEVINE, Mick. (1st Anniversary). The Pearse/McDaid Sinn Féin cumann, Bham, remembers with pride INLA Vol Mickie Devine who died on hunger-strike on August 20th 1981. Your courageous sacrifice shall not be in vain. They may kill the revolutionary but never the revolution.

DEVINE, Mick. (1st Anniversary). An Cumann Cabhrach and Sinn Féin POW Department, Britain, remember with pride INLA Vol Mickie Devine, who died defending the rights of POWs in the H-Blocks, Long Kesh on August 20th 1981. If inspirations are necessary, surely your courage and sacrifice will drive all forward to the realisation of a socialist republic.

DEVINE, Mick. (1st Anniversary). The republican POWs, England, remember with pride our gallant comrade INLA Vol Mickie Devine who died a prisoner-of-war in the H-Blocks, Long Kesh, August 20th 1981 after 60 days on hunger-strike. You resisted to the end British attempts to break your spirit. Your death was a continuation of your fight against British imperialism, we pledge your dream of freedom will become a reality.

DEVINE, Mick. (1st Anniversary). The Martin Forsythe Sinn Féin cumann, Rathfriland, remember with pride, Mickie Devine, who gave his life for Ireland on hunger-strike on August 20th 1981. May the spirit of the Gael pray for him. "They are gone and I must follow to that goal and above. Where your flag of justice shall reward a patriot's love. When a future age shall find your freedom standing by your side, brother Ireland, Oh remember, 'twas for you we fought and died."

DEVINE, Michael. (1st Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol Mickie Devine, who died on hunger-strike on August 20th 1981. "We will not take any steps backwards, our steps shall be forwards, for we don't the ghosts of the martyrs who died for us, for me, for this country will haunt us for eternity." From the Tony Aherne Sinn Féin cumann, Manchester.

DEVINE, Michael. (1st Anniversary). In proud memory of Michael Devine, who was murdered by Thatcher's intransigence on August 20th 1981, while on hunger-strike in the hell-holes of Long Kesh. Six counties are in bondage still, those men who died 'twas not their will. Until they're free and oppression cease, only then will we all rest in peace." From the Manchester Troops Out Movement.

DEVINE, Mick. (1st Anniversary). In loving memory of INLA Vol Mickie Devine, murdered by Thatcher's intransigence. "Ireland unfree shall never be at peace." Always remembered by the Pádraig O'Pearraí Sinn Féin cumann, Loch Garman.

DEVINE, Mick. (1st Anniversary). The Glasgow Irish Freedom Action Committee salutes the glorious memory of the martyred hunger-striker Mickie Devine. We send our condolences to his family and friends on this, the anniversary of his death. We will continue our work in full support of the Irish resistance, its freedom fighters and Irish prisoners-of-war.

DEVINE, Mick. (1st Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of INLA Vol Mickie Devine who died on August 20th 1981 after 60 days on hunger-strike. They have not fought in vain and we have not forgotten. Always remembered by the Barry Morris Sinn Féin cumann, Crossmaglen.

DEVINE, Mick. (1st Anniversary). In memory of Mickie and his nine brave

comrades who so selflessly died for Irish freedom. We send love and solidarity to all their families and friends. From the London Women's Armagh Co-ordinating Committee.

DEVINE, Mick. (1st Anniversary). In proud memory of INLA Vol Mickie Devine, who died on hunger-strike for political status on August 20th 1981. Ní bheidh slocháin ann san saolra. Always remembered by the Dublin Youth Against H-Block/Armagh.

HALL, Francis. (9th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol Francis Hall, Belfast Brigade, Ogligh na hÉireann, who died while on active service duty on August 30th 1973. Thus he a hÉireann. Never forgotten by his friends and comrades in the Belfast Brigade.

HALL, Francis. (9th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of my dear husband Francis 'Freddie' Hall, whose anniversary occurs on August 30th. Mary Queen of Ireland pray for him. Always remembered by his loving wife Patsy and son Martin.

HALL, Francis. (9th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of my dear son-in-law Francis 'Freddie' Hall, whose anniversary occurs on August 30th. St. Francis pray for him. May Erin keep the men who sleep from the ranks of the old Brigade. Always remembered by Sally and all the family circle.

McKEOWN, Patrick. (8th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol Patrick McKeown, Ogligh na hÉireann, Newry, who died while on active service duty on August 27th 1974. Always remembered by his friends and comrades in the Republican Movement, Newry.

MAOLMHEANA, Padraig. (9th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol Padraig Maolmheana, 2nd Battalion, Belfast Brigade, Ogligh na hÉireann. "Soft be the soil that mantles his grave. Remember the memory of his soul that tied to join the great men before him." For him we are remembered by Pauline, Tony and family.

MULVENNA, Patrick. (9th Anniversary). In loving memory of Vol Patrick Mulvenna, Belfast Brigade, Ogligh na hÉireann, who was shot dead by renegade British troops on August 21st 1973. Thus he a shaoi ag obair agus ag troid ar son saoirse multirín na hÉireann. Always remembered by his friends and comrades in the Belfast Brigade.

MULVENNA, Patrick. (9th Anniversary). In loving memory of my son Vol Patrick Mulvenna, Belfast Brigade, Ogligh na hÉireann, who was killed by renegade British troops on August 31st 1973. Our Lady, queen of the holy rosary, pray for him. Always remembered by his mother, his father, brothers, sisters, brothers-in-law, sisters-in-law, nieces and nephews.

MULVENNA, Patrick. (9th Anniversary). In loving memory of our good friend Vol Patrick Mulvenna, Belfast Brigade, Ogligh na hÉireann. Our Lady of heaven pray for him. Always remembered by his friends Mr and Mrs Magee and family, Mr and Mrs Parker and family and by John and Patricia Donnelly and family.

MULVENNA, Patrick. (9th Anniversary). In loving memory of my good friend Vol Patrick. RIP. St. Patrick pray for him. Always remembered by his friend Eugene Murphy, Martin Walsh (H-Block), Roisin and child, and all the Walsh family. Also from Mrs Donnelly and family.

MULVENNA, Patrick. (9th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of our dear friend Vol Patrick Mulvenna, 2nd Coy., 2nd Battalion, Belfast Brigade, Ogligh na hÉireann, who was murdered by renegade British troops on August 31st 1973. "You came to the red gap of danger and never bent knee to the foe. You fought like a Gael and soldier for a cause that lay trampled and low." Rest in peace. Always remembered by his friends Ellen and Tony and children Stephanie, Rory, Tracy and Bronagh Sinead.

OWLE, Patrick. (4th Anniversary). In loving memory of our dear uncle Pat, who died on August 26th 1978. For those who think of him today a prayer to Jesus say, I love you. The Worker pray for him. Always remembered by his nieces Kathleen and Patricia and families. Masses offered.

## GREETINGS

COLEMAN, John Patrick. (H5-Block). Happy birthday, 'Packy'. You are always in our thoughts and prayers. God bless and take care of you. From dad, brothers, sisters, brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law.

COLEMAN, John Patrick. (H5-Block). Happy birthday, 'Packy'. Thinking of you today and everyday. God bless. From Tish, Gerry Shauna, Enda and Orshan.

CROWE, Alex. (Long Kesh). Every best wish to you on your 21st wedding anniversary. Alex, shall I compare thee to a summer's day? Thou art more lovely and more temperate. Harsh winds do shake the darling buds of May, and summer's days have all too short a span. From your ever loving wife, Bridie.

McCONVILLE, Gerard. (H6-Block). A happy 23rd birthday Gerard for August 29th. Your seven years in the H-Block hell hole. Thinking of you today and everyday. God bless you. From your loving Mum. Also from Brian and Hugh, Australia.

McCONVILLE, Gerard. (H6-Block). A happy birthday Gerard. Wishing you love and best wishes from your sister Aileen.

McCONVILLE, Gerard. (H6-Block). Birthday greetings to my dear brother Gerard. Always thinking of you and praying for the day we can all be together. From your loving sister Maureen, brother-in-law Billy and children.

MEDERMOT, George. Best wishes on your birthday, George. All my love, Babs. MEDERMOT, George. All the best on your birthday, George. From all the Sloan family.

MEDERMOT, George. Greetings to you on your birthday, George. From your comrades Dave and May.

O'NEALE, Eoin. (H6-Block). Happy Birthday Eoin for August 31st. From the Bellaghy POW Welfare Association.

TORPHY, Pat. (Portlaoise). All the best on your birthday, your last one away from us all. Looking forward to seeing you soon. Lots of love from Ruth, Tony, Fiona, Ellen and Michael.

TORPHY, Pat. (Portlaoise). Happy birthday, Pat. Best wishes and lots of love from your loving wife Maureen, Sean Michael Kevin, and from those dogs again, Rover and Miss. We're counting the days until you are home again.

TORPHY, Pat. (Portlaoise). Congratulations Dave on your 55th birthday. It won't be long now till we have you home again. All our love, From Terry, Tom, Brian, Vincent and Elaine.

## Get well soon

DUNNE. All the lads and lassies in cumann Padraig O'Pearraí, Loch Garman,

would like to wish Jack Dunne who is presently in the Wexford County hospital a very speedy recovery. Hope it won't be long Jack, until you are up and about again.



Charles J Kickham centenary



# A physical force separatist

BY PAT McGLYNN

**CHARLES JOSEPH KICKHAM**, Fenian, novelist, poet and journalist, died 100 years ago this week on August 22nd, 1882. A gentle, though uncompromising Fenian, he is best remembered as the author of 'Knocknagow, or The Homes of Tipperary', a novel which, certainly until the middle of this century, would have been found in almost every Irish home.

As a propagandist for Fenianism he used the columns of *The Irish People* to great effect particularly in countering the attacks of the clergy, led by Cardinal Paul Dillon, archbishop of Dublin.

Charles Kickham was born in Mullinahone, near Cashel, County Tipperary, in 1828 and was a cousin, on his mother's side, of John O'Mahony who founded the Fenian Brotherhood in America. At the age of 15, as a result of an accident with a powder-flask when out shooting, Kickham became virtually blind and deaf, an affliction which remained with him for life.

In spite of his disabilities, Kickham became an enthusiastic member of Thomas Davis' Young Ireland and later split along with the radicals, from Daniel O'Connell's Repeal Association, to form the Irish Confederation, whose leading members included William Smith O'Brien, Charles Gavan Duffy and John Mitchell.

Kickham organised a confederate club in Mullinahone and was involved in the 1848 Young Ireland rising at Ballingarry, County Tipperary, after which he went into hiding for a period.

He became involved in the short-lived Tenant League, the aims of which were to gain parliamentary representation in pursuit of the three F's of Fair Rent, Fixity of Tenure and Free Sale. But by the late 1850s, and the disintegration of the Tenant League, Kickham was convinced that parliamentary politics was a waste of time, a conviction he held for the remainder of his life, even though he stood for parliament later, in 1869.

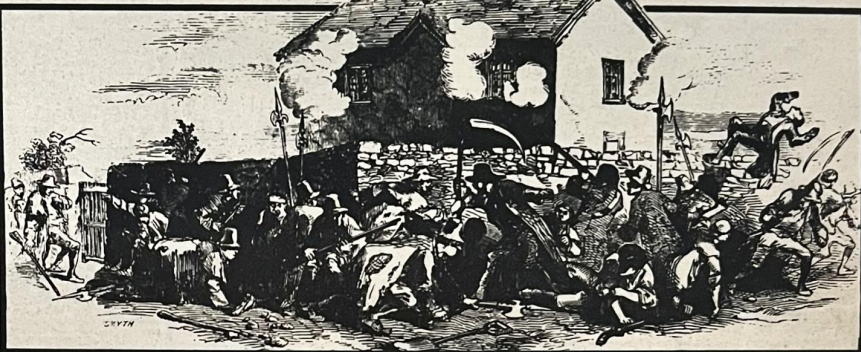
## IRB

By inclination a physical force separatist Charles Kickham joined the Irish Republican Brotherhood (IRB) in 1860, when the oath was administered by his cousin John O'Mahony. Shortly afterwards he went to America, on behalf of the IRB, returning in November 1863 to become joint editor of *The Irish People*, the official organ of the IRB, along with Thomas Clarke Luby and John O'Leary.

Although Kickham contributed many fine articles to the paper, he was outstanding in his fiery articles in defence of Fenianism against clerical attack. A devout Catholic himself, he bitterly resented the interference of the clergy in political affairs, challenging their right to pronounce on temporal, rather than spiritual matters.

In September 1865 the office of *The Irish People* was raided and the paper suppressed. Kickham evaded arrest for seven weeks before he was eventually arrested.

In January 1866 he was tried before



● The Fenians were easily routed at Ballingarry, County Tipperary, during the 1848 rebellion



● Leaders of the Fenian movement in Dublin being arrested after a police swoop

Judge Keogh in Green Street court charged with treason felony. The chief witness for the Crown was an informer, a fellow Tipperary Fenian, Pierce Nagel.

Because of Kickham's poor hearing, notes of the evidence were passed to him to read, and his solicitor, with the aid of an ear trumpet, communicated the proceedings to him. He was found guilty and sentenced to 14 years' imprisonment.

After periods in Pentonville and Portland prisons, because of his poor health he was transferred to the invalid prison at Woking in Surrey where he spent the remainder of his incarceration until being unconditionally released in March 1869. Not surprisingly his health had worsened further.

Kickham's best-remembered verses had been published between 1857 and 1859, and included such popular ballads as 'She Lived Beside The Anner', 'Rory of the Hill' and 'Slievenamon'. Two months after his release from prison his first novel 'Sally Cavanagh' was published.

## KNOCKNAGOW

Encouraged by its success, he undertook the writing of a full-length story of Irish life

and 'Knocknagow, or The Homes of Tipperary' was published in 1873.

Meanwhile he was undiminished in his involvement in revolutionary politics and back in Mullinahone, following the annulment of the election of Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa as MP for Tipperary, Kickham stood in the by-election and polled even better, but was defeated by four votes.

In 1874 he was elected president of the IRB, a position which he held until his death and in the words of John O'Leary, remained its guiding spirit.

The 'New Departure' launched by John Devoy in 1878, committing Fenians to supporting Parnell's parliamentarians, was fiercely opposed by the anti-constitutionalist Kickham. If Fenians entered the British parliament, he argued, they would be assumed to have seen the error and futility of their ways, to have come at last to accept the legality of the English connection.

Kickham also opposed the Land War of the 1880s, arguing that although the landlords were the worst offenders, the tenant-farmers, who stood to benefit, were also ruthless in clearing small farmers and agricultural lab-

ourers from the land.

The interests of the latter, he declared, could only be established by an Irish legislature in an independent Ireland.

## REFUSED

Living very close to poverty Kickham had moved to the house of a friend in Blackrock, County Dublin. It was here he met with an accident, being knocked down by a jaunting car, and never fully recovered. He suffered a stroke and died, aged 53, on August 22nd 1882.

En route to Mullinahone his funeral attracted thousands of mourners, but at Thurles his remains were refused admission to the cathedral. The doors of his home parish church were also closed to him.

No priest was present to officiate at the graveside and the burial took place without any of the usual religious services. The Limerick Fenian, John Daly, later to become involved in the Dynamite Campaign in England, became an MP whilst in jail there and later Mayor of Limerick, gave the oration.

Clerical hatred of Irish nationalism had followed Kickham even after death, not an unusual situation even now, 100 years later.