

An Phoblacht REPUBLICAN NEWS

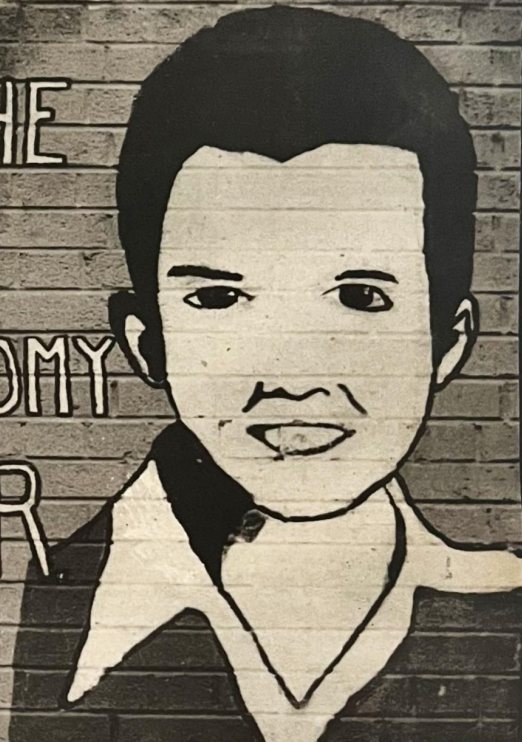


CIVIL ORDER PLASTIC DEATH

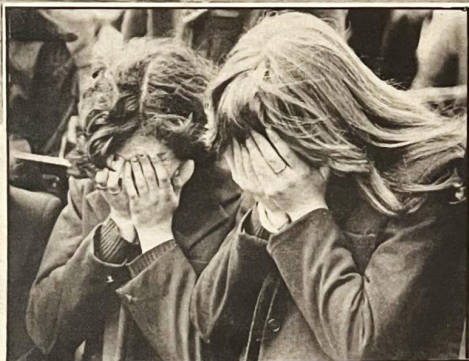


Sraith Nua Imj 4 uimhir 36 Deardain Mean Fomhair 9 Thursday, September 9th, 1982 (Britain 25p) Price 20p

THEY CALL THE KILLING OF STEPHEN M'CONOMY CIVIL ORDER



● Derry wall mural (underneath which Mrs Maria McConomy threatened to go on hunger-strike three weeks ago) expressing the widespread cynicism of nationalist people to British claims about the use of plastic bullets



● Visible distress at the funeral of 14-year-old Julie Livingstone, killed by plastic bullet, May 1981



● The father and brother of mother-of-three Nora McCabe, carrying Nora's coffin. She died in July 1981 after being struck by a plastic bullet fired from a passing RUC jeep

ONE BRIT MINISTER in the North who feels quite smug with himself climbs into bed every night thinking his conscience is salved by the odd concession he makes every now and then about being appalled at the killings 'necessary' to keep the nationalist population of the six counties oppressed and in check.

For the flamboyant, Free State-born Lord Gowrie, deputy direct-ruler under Jim Prior, despite all his quite literal 'wise-cracks', is a supporter of the shedding of Irish children's blood so that Britain can maintain a political, military and strategic foothold in Ireland.

His comments attempting to justify the use of plastic bullets, given in a Downtown Radio interview last Monday night and broadcast throughout the North, are nothing but the mouthings of an egotistical hypocrite enjoying the sound of his own delusions of 'reasonableness'.

Gowrie said that plastic bullets were 'here to stay' and then engaged in the sort of blethering for which he is becoming renowned:

"The problem with plastic bullets is that they are loathsome weapons and use of them is very bitter and innocent people can suffer in violent situations where any weapons

are used...

"My great fear is that if we banned this weapon, as I would dearly like to do, the security forces would be left with their real weapons, if I may put it that way, and in the last resort, lead bullets are worse than plastic ones. More innocent lives would suffer to a greater extent.

"If I were able to ban the use of baton rounds it would be only a matter of time before bullets would have to be used and that would seem to us to be worse."

Their use was 'the subject of anxiety' to him and the RUC Chief Constable Jack Hermon, the hypocrite bemoaned.

IMMUNE

He lied his way through the interview when pressed on the question of those innocent men, women and children killed by British soldiers and RUC men — crown forces who are immune from prosecution.

He said that the answer was for people not to riot.

Firstly, children like 12-year-old Carol Ann Kelly or 11-year-old Stephen McConomy were not rioting when they were attacked by the British army. And even if Irish children — apparently of such great threat to the security of the British state — were to throw stones at the foreign occupiers of our streets there is little difference between them being murdered by a plastic bullet or a lead one (which generally would be even more humane, given the massive injuries plastic bullets inflict).

The value of plastic bullets to the British is the name-sounding 'harmless' image they portray which acts to keep them out of foreign press reports.

Secondly, there is, repeat, is no justice for the nationalist community when a mother of three young children, Mrs Nora McCabe, can be cut down in her young life by a passing RUC man who remains anonymous, immune from prosecution and free to repeat the action. But don't worry, Lord Gowrie and Jack Hermon are feeling 'anxious'.

Justice the nationalist community thirsts after but justice is achievable only in a united Ireland and it is the British who, by denying the nationalist people a peaceful road to that objective, have made armed struggle by the IRA the only real means of achieving freedom, peace and justice.

DERRY BLACKMAIL ATTEMPTS

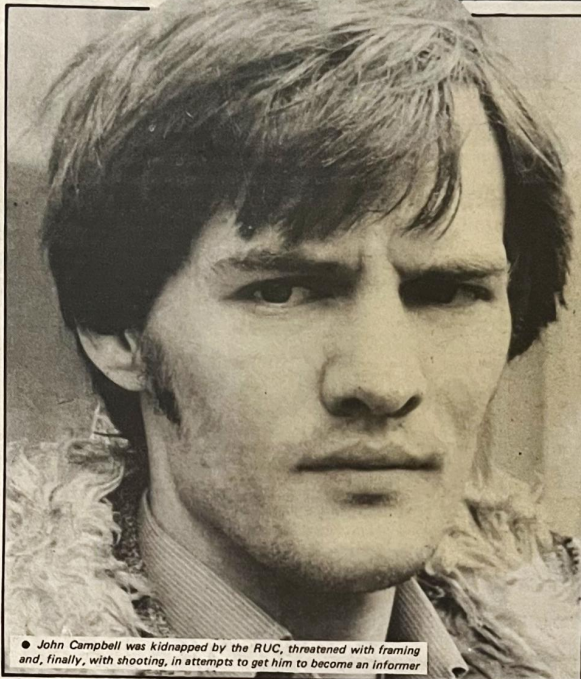
FOLLOWING THE recent arrest of 32 people in Derry on the evidence of information forcibly extracted from a local man, Raymond Gilmour, the RUC in Derry, in collusion with the British army, the Special Branch and members of Military Intelligence, have again attempted to blackmail a young married man, John Campbell, into becoming a paid informer.

Shortly after midnight on Saturday, September 4th, while making his way home through Bishop's Gate, John Campbell, aged 25, of Bards Hill, Waterside, was called on by a man in civilian dress who demanded to know his name and what he was doing there. Replying that he had been out for a drink Mr Campbell was dragged into the Masonic RUC barracks, where he was made to squat against a wall with his hands over his head for some considerable length of time, until he was asked to get into an unmarked police car.

Mr Campbell then asked why he was being arrested and was told, "You aren't, get into the car." At Strand Road RUC barracks he again asked, "Am I being arrested?" and having been told that he had come of his own accord he replied that he would leave of his own accord, but was forcibly prevented from doing so.

ABUSED

He was then taken to the rear of the barracks, verbally abused, degraded, and made to lie on the ground. Afterwards, he was taken upstairs to a small room where he was shown photographs. Denying recognition of



● John Campbell was kidnapped by the RUC, threatened with framing and, finally, with shooting, in attempts to get him to become an informer

anyone in the photos, he was told, "You could easily be shot out there, very handy."

The RUC man then placed a gun on the table facing Mr Campbell and again asked him about the people in the photographs some of which had been ringed adding, "It doesn't matter

about them, they're skulled" (meaning they had been shot in the head). He was then asked to give information about a neighbour whom he denied knowing.

At this, the RUC man rose, suddenly frisked him and left the room leaving Mr Campbell alone with the gun still

on the table. After some time two plain-clothed detectives entered the room, removed the gun and showed him a case history relating to an offence for which Mr Campbell had received a recorded sentence suspended for three years. They then threatened to put it into operation if he did not co-operate.

They alleged that a relative of Mr Campbell's was involved in illegal activities and urged him to inform. Replying that he knew nothing, he was then questioned about several people they insisted he knew. Again replying he knew nothing he was told: "It doesn't matter anyway, we don't want to arrest them, we are going to 'skull' them," making references to Eamon 'Bronco' Bradley, the Derry IRA Volunteer assassinated by the British army two weeks ago.

Mr Campbell was asked to go to court and give evidence that he saw a certain man shoot a soldier. He explained he could not do so as he had not seen him but was told, "That doesn't matter; all you have to do is say you saw it," which he refused to do. Again, making references to Raymond Gilmour, he was told, "You don't have to worry, we'll make you a wealthy man and move your family out," but warned that if he refused they would circulate a story that he had informed and somebody would shoot him. They added:

"We're giving you both ends of the rope to hang yourself; you either work for us and risk being shot by the Provos or don't work for us and get shot by us."

At 11.55am Mr Campbell was carried bodily downstairs and thrown out of the building, having been warned that he would 'end up like 'Bronco' Bradley' if he told anyone about the incident.

Blackmail tactic to jail activists

BY MAEVE ARMSTRONG

AT THE BEGINNING of this year a young Belfast man returned from Holland, where he had been for several years, walked into an RUC barracks, and claimed he had gone through some extreme form of 'religious conversion'.

He then dramatically confessed to a number of incidents — including the killing of two alleged UVF men — in which he implicated eight others (including his brother Sean), all of whom were subsequently arrested and are now facing a range of charges. One of those arrested and charged was the then Sinn Féin National Organiser, Jim Gibney from Belfast.

Since his appearance, Kevin McGrady, from the Markets area of Belfast, declared that his brother Sean — who is serving a life sentence in the cages of Long Kesh — was completely innocent of the killings for which he has so far served 4½ years. He was convicted on the strength of a statement which he signed under torture in Castlereagh.

Kevin McGrady claims that he himself was guilty, an admission

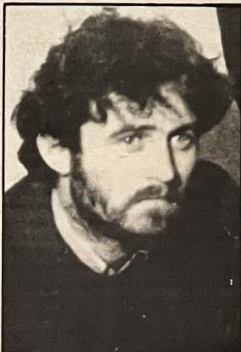
albeit via new-found 'religious enlightenment' — which nevertheless landed him with a life sentence a number of weeks back.

McGrady is now in protective custody, isolated and strongly influenced by the RUC who are maintaining regular contact in order to press him to go into court and act as a crown prosecution witness against the others. The fate of many people, not just alone those who have been charged, but their families and loved ones, lies in the balance on McGrady's word.

APPEAL

Last Wednesday, his brother Sean, from the cages of Long Kesh, appealed to him in a statement not to give 'false evidence'.

"Eight months ago my brother Kevin gave himself up and cleared



● JIM GIBNEY

me of any involvement in the killing for which I am now doing life. "I believe my brother is now being used by the RUC and that my release is conditional on him now

giving evidence against other men who are innocent. I have tried unsuccessfully to get a visit with my brother. I believe the prison authorities are deliberately frustrating my attempts to get a visit with my brother, on instructions from the RUC, who fear that I will influence him against giving evidence. "I therefore appeal to my brother, through the courtesy of the media, not to allow himself to be pressed into giving false evidence against innocent people.

"The RUC cannot prevent me from having my case reviewed, that is now out of their hands."

In the last two years, the RUC, starved of information because they are rejected in nationalist ghettos, have been attempting to jail people, and particularly republican activists, by bribing or blackmailing others into giving evidence.

In March 1980 a number of north Belfast republicans were jailed on the perjury of Stephen McWilliams, a self-confessed British army tout. Since then the RUC have attempted to use about a dozen people in similar prosecutions against over one hundred people. While most of these have yet to come to trial over half of those arranged by the RUC to give evidence have withdrawn from the cases, citing RUC blackmail and bribery (and hostage-taking) as their reasons for going into court.

What the RUC do not appear to realise is that, far from giving the impression of a breakthrough against the IRA and an ingratiating breakthrough with the nationalist community, their actions simply strengthen nationalist convictions that this loyalist militia should be shunned and isolated.

H-Block incidents

TWO republican prisoners, Frank Maguire and Brendan MacParland, were placed in solitary confinement in the punishment cells of H-Block 6 recently as a result of a confrontation on August 26th when a Screw made sectarian and derogatory remarks following the assassination earlier that day of Ligoniel man Frank McCluskey.

The Screw is reported to have said, "That's another one of the bastards this morning. There'll be a drop in a few Fenian pay packets this week," thought to be a reference to those Catholics who would be giving up a day's work to attend Mr McCluskey's funeral.

In a further incident on Thursday, September 2nd, also in H6, another republican prisoner, Michael Gorman, was charged with using 'offensive language to a prison officer', and as a result lost all privileges and was placed in solitary confinement for 23 hours per day. The true circumstances, however, were that the previous day the Screw in question called Michael a 'Fenian bastard' and then reported to the governor that he had been verbally abused!

The PRO of H6 has warned: "For things to continue as they are is only going to lead to more serious trouble in the H-Blocks. Therefore, the responsibility for anything which may happen in the future lies solely with the Screws and the Northern Ireland Office."

IIP DECISION FAILS TO SHIFT SDLP COLLABORATORS

Sinn Fein - SDLP power struggle

BY SEAMUS BOYLE

AS EFFORTS TO FORM a boycott movement received a short spurt last Monday with the announcement from the Irish Independence Party (IIP) that they would not be contesting the October 20th elections, the almost immediate sharp reply from the SDLP party leader John Hume that their decision to fight remained unchanged, has made an election confrontation between Sinn Fein and the SDLP almost certain.

Reacting to the IIP decision Danny Morrison, Sinn Fein Director of Publicity, said:

"Sinn Fein welcomes the belated announcement from the IIP that they have decided to boycott the Stormont elections. It was a position which we ourselves strongly worked for, especially through a group of independents in mid-Ulster, but unfortunately at those meetings where a 'boycott pledge' was drawn up, the IIP despite numerous requests from ourselves failed to attend or subsequently sign the pledge, leaving Sinn Fein in doubt as to what position they would eventually adopt."

The meetings referred to were held in Carrickmore and Dungannon from July 17th and into mid-August and were attended by Morrison, Owen Carron MP and Francie Molloy on behalf of Sinn Fein. The idea behind the 'boycott pledge', which Sinn Fein signed, was to demonstrate to the SDLP before their crucial ex-

ecutive meeting on August 25th that a considerable section of nationalist opinion favoured a boycott of the elections. The IIP, for whatever reason, boycotted those talks and indirectly helped the pro-election lobby within the SDLP who were able to argue that a boycott movement did not include their rural political rivals — the, mainly west of the Bann, IIP — and so they would have to fight the elections to keep them at bay.

CONDITIONAL

Sinn Fein's support for a boycott was conditional on the basis that it included the other major nationalist political parties — the IIP and the SDLP. As Danny Morrison stated last Monday, that remains the case:

"Sinn Fein believes that a total nationalist boycott of the elections is the best way of destroying Prior's attempts to refloat Stormont and our position is quite clear. It is now



● Danny Morrison: 'Nationalist boycott is still best way to destroy new Stormont'

imperative that the nationalist section of the SDLP asserts itself loudly and clearly and forces that collaborationist rump of the leadership into adopting a boycott stance. We will certainly boycott under those conditions."

"However," said Morrison, "we cannot leave ourselves or our people once again at the mercy of this section of the SDLP under John Hume. We cannot allow them to monopolise the leadership of the nationalist people, and prop up Stormont at the earliest pretext. Under those conditions we will fight the elections and oppose the SDLP."

Morrison pointed out that Sinn Fein's participation in the elections "has nothing to do with Prior's assembly but is over who does or does not represent the nationalist people, for whether or not the elections take place republicans will destroy the new Stormont."

TWINGES

The IIP's appeal for a boycott, while directed to the SDLP and Sinn Fein, was rebuffed by John Hume whose party is showing signs of stress and strain.

In north Belfast, two leading lights, Brian Feeney and Pascal O'Hare, stated some weeks ago that they would not stand for nomination (nor work for anyone who did, though this



● Niall McAteer, Fergus McAteer, Pat Fahy and Frank McManus, of the IIP, announce their party's decision on Monday to boycott the elections

may have changed). In Derry, SDLP 'law and order' spokesperson Michael Canavan has stated that he will not be contesting the election, and Paddy Duffy in Tyrone was believed to be having similar twinges.

The mid-Ulster council of the SDLP held a meeting at which it was thought they would ask their leadership for a reconsideration. But an appeal by Seamus Mallon — who has positioned himself uniquely as being pro-boycott but standing for election! — that a conspiracy by the British government, the IIP and Sinn Fein, was underway to split the party swung the council to reluctantly backing participation.

This weekend a conference is to be held in Coalisland sponsored by Bernadette McAliskey and open to those who 'support a boycott no

matter what anyone else does'. Not to be upstaged, the IIP are also boycotting this boycott conference. They want to run their own boycott!

As Sinn Fein does not need convincing of the merits of a total boycott, but awaits to see how the pressures inside the SDLP work themselves out, a decision has been taken not to participate in or attend the conference. However, should the SDLP be forced to reconsider and officially adopt a boycott position Sinn Fein would immediately withdraw from the elections. In the likely absence of that development it appears that a power struggle between Sinn Fein and the SDLP, with a paradoxical reversal of roles and slogans from those on the boycott sidelines, will emerge between September 28th, nomination deadline, and October 20th, election day.

Prisoners call for electoral support

PROTESTING republican prisoners in the H-Blocks of Long Kesh have formed themselves into a new Sinn Fein cumann in honour of the dead hunger-strikers and in their first statement have called upon republican supporters to back Sinn Fein at the polls. They said:

"The election for Prior's ill-conceived assembly is just one more obstacle which must be removed before freedom can be achieved. We wish our comrades in Sinn Fein every success in their challenge to the SDLP collaborators and we pledge to Sinn Fein our full support in the coming campaign."

The republican POWs intend canvassing, as they did during the hunger-strike, local groups and sympathetic organisations in the areas from which they come. The prisoners conclude their statement by saying that the election is a golden opportunity for supporters and sympathisers to end "the false monopoly which the SDLP have claimed over the years when misrepresenting the wishes of the nationalist people."

Gowrie thinks the SDLP are nice

DURING his controversial interview on the Downtown Radio station last Monday night, in which he defended the use of the murderous plastic bullets, Lord Gowrie said that he was pleased the SDLP were standing in the elections and he hoped they would "get a good showing."

They were a legitimate nationalist party, "a thoroughly respectable party," he said.



● LORD GOWRIE

SOME OF THE SINN FEIN CANDIDATES



● OWEN CARRON MP



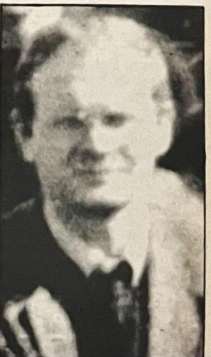
● FRANCIE MOLLOY



● GERRY ADAMS



● JOE AUSTIN



● MARTIN MCGUINNESS

New Zealand campaign

A PETITION calling for the banning of plastic bullets in the North is currently being circulated in New Zealand by the four New Zealand H-Block/Armagh committees there.

The committees, which are autonomous although working in unity, are based in Auckland, Porirua, Christchurch and Dunedin and have as members Irish immigrants in New Zealand, their descendants and other members of a socialist background.

Visiting Belfast and Dublin last week, Mike O'Connor, a member and former chairperson of the Auckland committee said that his group had collected 2,000 signatures in support of the hunger-strikers last year and attracted up to 400 people on protest marches.

The H-Block hunger-strike campaign there faced the difficulty of coinciding with the South African rugby tour to New Zealand which naturally dominated the attention of human rights campaigners.

O'Connor, a fourth-generation Irish man, has been active both as a trade union representative in the Public Service Association and as a constituency official in the New Zealand Labour Party. He says that the H-Block/Armagh committees liaise with Maori land activists, have won support on Irish issues in some trade unions, have appeared on radio and have good access to university and trade union newspapers.

The committees have also organised pickets of the British High Commission, held information seminars and distributed propaganda material in the form of badges, posters and newsletters.

Allegation refuted

LAST WEDNESDAY'S *Irish Times* carried an article by its Northern editor Ed Moloney in which serious allegations were levelled against a former member of the Sinn Féin and comhairle whose identity was barely concealed.

The coiste seasta immediately issued a statement refuting the allegations. It said:

"Sinn Féin repudiates a claim in Wednesday's *Irish Times* that a member of the ard comhairle of Sinn Féin was expelled recently on the basis that the person in question was an alleged informer.

"There is no truth in Mr Moloney's claim and we view his article as a piece of scurrilous journalism."

It is understood that Sinn Féin considers the matter as *sub judice*.

Foreign visitors

THE Sinn Féin Foreign Affairs Bureau has requested that all Irish solidarity groups who wish to attend this year's Sinn Féin and this apply immediately for credentials to the FAB at 44 Parnell Square, Dublin, telephone 726932.

The ard feis will be held in the Mansion House, Dublin, over the weekend of October 30th-31st.

Join Sinn Féin

ANYONE interested in joining Sinn Féin should contact their local cumann; or head office at 44 Parnell Square, Dublin.

I am interested in becoming a member of Sinn Féin

NAME.....

ADDRESS.....

Racists mass forces for attack

THE SOUTH AFRICAN regime has been massing troops and heavy armour along the Namibian/South African border since early August, indicating that the South Africans could be prepared to launch a massive invasion of that country.

The success of the Israeli invasion of Lebanon will, of course, have encouraged thought in this direction. Following on that, and the earlier British adventure in the Malvinas, Pretoria may feel the time is ripe for similar action.

The South Africans, like their Israeli counterparts, feel threatened from all sides, and so in order for the racist regime to survive, an active expansionist policy has to be generated.

Intense diplomatic manoeuvrings are on the move to initiate United Nations-supervised elections in occupied Namibia. South Africa has occupied Namibia since 1919 when the forerunner of the UN, the League of Nations, conferred on South Africa the right to govern Namibia.

But since 1966 a strong nationalist movement, the South West African People's Organisation (SWAPO), have been waging a war through their military wing, the People's Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN), against the occupation forces. This 16-year war has intensified in the past 12 months.

PUPPET

The South Africans are reluctant to accept any UN-supervised elections, even though they have a puppet administration in the form of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance in Namibia. The South Africans realise that SWAPO, if they accepted the format of the elections, which incidentally is being worked out by the 'Western Contact group' (USA, Britain, West Germany, France and Canada), would sweep the elections.

That, of course, would be totally against South Africa's interests, as the South African regime believes that the key to the control of the southern tip of Africa lies in Namibia.

The South Africans claim that the majority of SWAPO guerrillas operate from Angolan territory (in the same way that Britain claims that the IRA operates from the twenty-six counties) and have thus launched many punitive raids deep into Angolan territory.

The latest raids, which could be considered a softening-up operation, occurred on July 19th and August 10th, resulting in the deaths of hundreds of innocent civilians.

Speculation is mounting that the South Africans will launch this big push soon, especially as the South African regime recently stated that it will allow UN elections in Namibia "if the 20,000 Cubans leave Angola." The Angolans for their part would never agree to this as long as South Africa occupies Namibia and daily threatens Angola's border. The Cubans saved Angola from an attempt by the Western powers in conjunction with South Africa to deliver the country to the pro-imperialist UNITA

BY SEAN HALPENNY



Sam Nujoma, President of SWAPO



PLAN fighters with villagers in a liberated area of Namibia

movement during the 1975-76 civil war when the MPLA (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola) came to power.

SOUTH AFRICA

In South Africa repression has been mounting on a large scale, with the arrest and imprisonment of both African National Congress (ANC) activists and trade unionists.

During July 30,000 black miners went on

strike over a cut in pay. In the resulting savage repression ten miners were shot dead, hundreds were injured and over 2,000 were forced to flee. Other trade unionists have been arrested, tortured and remain indefinitely in prison.

On August 6th three members of the ANC, Thelie Simon Mogogere, Jerry Semano Mosololi and Marcus Thabo Motaung, were sentenced to death for actions against the racist regime's state forces. They join three more ANC members under a similar sentence of death.

RUTH FIRST

On August 18th a leading member of the ANC, Ruth First, was murdered by the South African secret service. She died instantly when a parcel bomb delivered to her office in the Centre for African Studies in Maputo, Mozambique, exploded.

Ruth First was one of many activists to be assassinated recently by the South African regime, which included the murder of 12 ANC members in Matola, Mozambique, and Joe Gqabi, the ANC representative in Zimbabwe.

Also, on August 8th Ernest Moabi Dupale, a 21-year-old black student, was found 'hanged in his cell', the forty-seventh known victim to be murdered this way.

Dr Neil Aggett and Griffiths Mxenge are the two most recent victims.

When Neil Aggett was buried, thousands of black people followed his coffin in a mass political demonstration. The South African regime amended the Internal Security Act to forbid any more such demonstrations. It also forbids declarations of support for political organisations at funerals, forbids posters, banners, and, just in case, funeral processions as well.

I BHFEAD Ó LONDAIN

LE DONNCHA MACNIALLAIS H3

TÁ SÉ de rún ag Rialtas Mháiread Thatcher Comhléas Diuracáin Trident a ionnú ar an abhainn Clyde in Alban in áit atá gar do creithre mhóirionad daonra. Mar atá an scéal faoi láthair, níl an ceantar ina áit slán in aon chor, toise an bhun-áit fomhuireán, Polaris (beidh an córas Trident in úsáid ina ionad seo) bheith ann cheana féin. Tá baol ionasf eithneigh faoin áit (agus dá bhri sin faoin dúiche mhaguaird) imithe go mór i méad ó shocraigh Thatcher agus a comhleacaithe air seo a dhéanamh.

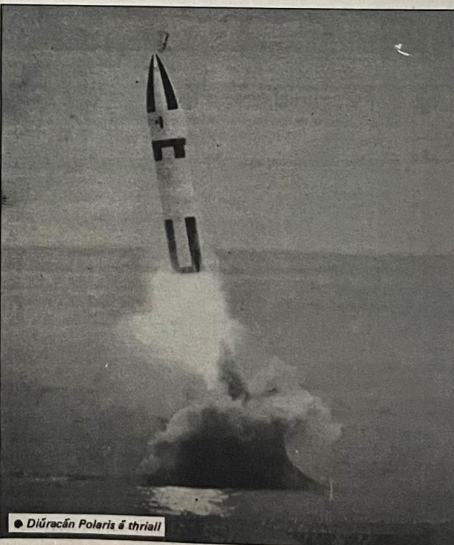
Dúirt Páirtí Náisiúnta na hAlban i ráiteas a scaoilead go bhfuil an Rialtas Caomhnach i Sasana ag úsáid talamh na hAlban mar líonad dos na diuracáin. Dúirt urlabhraí an pháirtí, an t-Uas. Seoirse Leslie go bhfuil a pháirtí chun iarracht a dhéanamh muintir na hAlban a mhúscailt as a suan agus an chontúirt a chur ar a súile dóibh.

Thagair sé freisin don tuairim i measc an phobail áitiúil atá i gcoinne an tsocráithe seo. Deir sé go bhfuil fiú lucht tacaíthe na dtóraithe sa cheantar ar aon intinn leas maidir leis seo. Tá an páirtí le 'B'fhéidir go bhféadfaidís an áit a tosáint ar theachtas chun tabhairt do phléascadh?!!

ar an Rialtas thall stad a chur leis an bheartas oic seo.

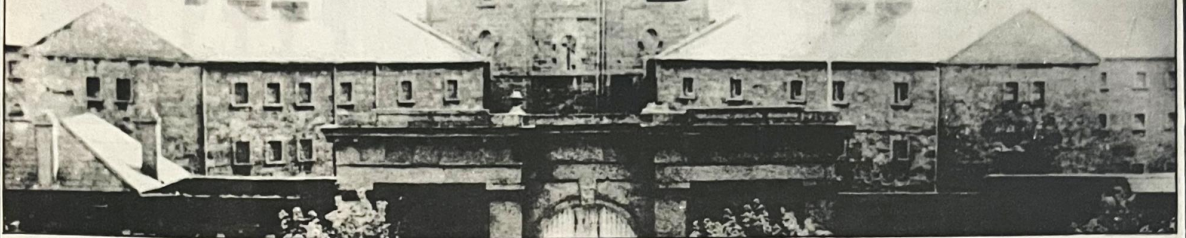
Ar ndóigh nuair a chinn Máiread ar an ionad dá ndiuracáin níor thug siad aird dá laghad do thoil mhuintir na háite, rud a chuireann as go mór na hAlbanaigh mar léiríonn sé an drochmhéas atá ag na Sasanaigh i gcoir ar mhuintir na hAlban.

Tuigimid anseo in Éirinn go mairbh mar a mhóthaíonn siad ós rud é go raibh na Sasanaigh Riamh beag beann ar thoil mhuintir na hÉireann, gan aon athrú ar a meoin sa lá atá ann inniu féin. Má sea cad a dhéanfaidh na hAlbanaigh nuair gach gcúigear aon nath iontu leas maidir leis seo. Tá an páirtí le 'B'fhéidir go bhféadfaidís an áit a tosáint ar theachtas chun tabhairt do phléascadh?!!



Diuracáin Polaris é thrial

Limerick hunger-strike



BY DAMIEN O'ROURKE

LAST WEDNESDAY, September 8th, three more political prisoners joined the week-old hunger-strike at Limerick prison, bringing to six the number of prisoners on the hunger-strike.

Those now involved are Ciaran McMorrow, Paddy McDonald and Dermot Cassidy, who have been on the fast since Wednesday last week, and Daithí O Domhaill, Michael Ceitinn and Eugene O'Hanlon who joined them this week.

In all, 17 political prisoners at Limerick are involved in the protest and include INLA prisoners and some others who were formerly on the republican wing at Portlaoise prison but transferred off it after an internal dispute five years ago.

The group of prisoners were transferred to Limerick from Portlaoise earlier this year. The two women political prisoners already

in Limerick, Marion Coyle and Marie Murray, are not involved in the current protest.

The 17 prisoners are basically demanding the same conditions which they had as political prisoners in Portlaoise jail — conditions conceded by the Dublin government after the republican hunger-strike there in 1977.

They have listed ten demands to this end including extended hours of association, suitable exercise facilities, access to craft-work and education courses, the end of anal searches, the right to have Irish language teachers and an end to harassment of prisoners and their relatives during visits.

VISIT

Dublin independent TD Tony Gregory, who condemned the present conditions at the jail as '19th century' after a six-hour visit there last Saturday, met the Fianna Fáil Minister for Justice Sean Doherty last Tuesday to urge immediate action to settle the protest and on Wednesday two Department of Justice officials visited the jail to meet the prisoners.



● Sean Doherty, Free State Minister for Justice, is using the hunger-strike as a political football

From the beginning of the fast, however, it quickly became apparent that it was being used as a football between ex-Special Branch man Sean Doherty and the prison warders at Limerick, as part of the current battle over the freeze in public service pay.

On the night the hunger-strike began, Doherty announced that he was prepared to make some concessions on extra overtime

payments to the warders but would not concede their demand for payment during their lunch-hour. He claimed that the warders are already earning between £15,000 and £23,000 per annum.

The prison warders hit back with claims that Doherty was setting them up for attack and said that some of them had received threatening phone-calls. Supporters of the prisoners disassociated themselves from the calls.

Last Friday the prison warders escalated their action by mounting a 70-strong unprecedented picket outside the jail, demanding the resignation of the Fianna Fáil minister. Their resignation call was supported by prison warders at Mountjoy prison in Dublin.

In a statement issued on Wednesday this week Sinn Féin said:

"While in principle not approving the use of the hunger-strike weapon, the ard comhairle of Sinn Féin supports the demands of the hunger-striking political prisoners in Limerick prison. Sinn Féin seeks humanitarian conditions for all prisoners."

PAUSE IN PAY FREEZE PROTEST

BY DAMIEN O'ROURKE

THE CANCELLATION of planned half-day protests in Galway and Limerick against the Fianna Fáil public pay freeze, and the agreement by the Irish Congress of Trade Unions to hold talks with the Free State premier Charles Haughey on the basis of a vaguely-worded letter from him, have led to fears among some public service trade unionists that the campaign of protest against the freeze will be dangerously weakened.

Meanwhile, the first full strike to arise directly from the pay freeze got underway on Friday last when 110 technical assistants at the Department of Agriculture, who are engaged in testing cattle for brucellosis, placed pickets on the laboratories in Cork, Dublin and Sligo.

Some other public service workers, including traffic wardens and VEC workers, are currently conducting work-to-rules and on Tuesday 1,500 employees of the Eastern Health Board — an important group of workers — voted in favour of industrial action against the freeze.

But the main development of the week has been the acceptance of the talks with Haughey by the ICTU, a decision which some public service trade unionists have described as making it appear that the unions are anxious to talk at any price, thus weakening their bargaining position.

They also warned that to halt the campaign against the Fianna Fáil pay policy at this early stage could make it extremely difficult to regain momentum should work

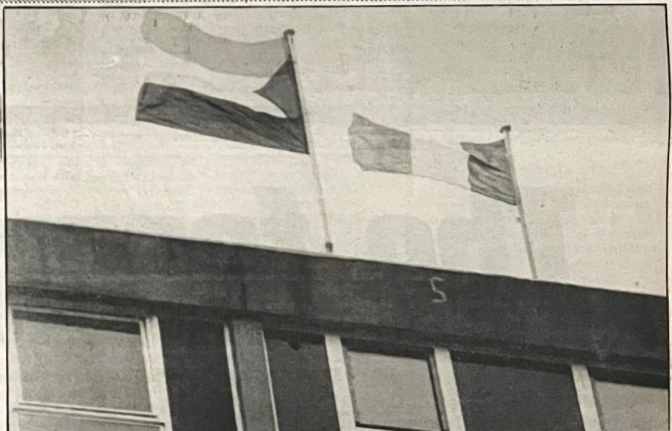
talks with Haughey prove to be fruitless, as seems likely.

PROPOSALS

The letter from Haughey inviting the ICTU leaders to talks was hailed at first by some of the trade union leaders as an invitation to negotiations. But, although the letter has not been published, it has since been learned that it merely spoke of 'consultation and co-operation' about the pay-freeze proposals.

Opponents of the hasty agreement to talks say that many of the ICTU leaders are viewing the postponement of the 1982 third-phase increase of 5% until next year as acceptable as part of a bargaining position for talks on a 1983 wage agreement.

The eagerness to take part in undefined talks is, they say, clearly signalling this position to the government side and causing a diminishing of morale among public service workers, who are already anxious that they are losing the propaganda battle on the issue, with 'British labour was disappointed on the Liberal government for reforms to satisfy its members,



The times they are a-changing

(Above): The Palestinian national flag and the Irish Tricolour flying side-by-side over Rossville Flats in Derry in a unique display of solidarity. The plight of the Palestinian people is of major concern to their republican comrades; and (below): an Andersonstown scribe in west Belfast commenting on the decision of the new owner and editor of the Irish News to censor death notices for IRA Volunteers. The Irish News will report a person being arrested by the RUC and charged with IRA membership, and will publish that person being convicted in court. But should that person go on hunger-strike in protest against being there, and die, then to the Irish News the IRA membership is irrelevant





BY TONY BARRY

THE oldest organisation of those which form the Republican Movement is, in contrast, one which caters for the youngest members — Na Fianna Éireann.

It was founded in 1909 by Countess Markievicz with the declared aim "to train the youth of Ireland to fight Ireland's fight when they are older." And from its very inception the organisation has always placed itself firmly within republican ranks and the struggle for national liberation.

Some of the outstanding figures in that struggle have been involved with the Fianna and the lists of its members and close associates have included Constance Markievicz herself, Padraig Pearse, James Connolly, Roger Casement, Sean Heuston, Con Colbert, Kevin Barry, Liam Mellowes, Joe McKelvey, Frank Ryan, Nora Connolly O'Brien, and of the late H-Block hunger-strikers, Francis Hughes, Raymond McCreech, Patsy O'Hara, Kieran Doherty and Thomas McElwee.

The organisation, soon after its foundation, and following Markievicz's lead, allied itself to the struggle of Irish workers. Its first casualty was Fian Patsy O'Connor, who died after being bated savagely by the Dublin Metropolitan Police whilst giving first-aid to an injured worker during the Great Lock-Out of 1913.

Fianna Éireann officers marshalled the foundation meeting of the Irish Volunteers

in the Rotunda, in Dublin, the same year, and were involved in teaching the Volunteers how to drill and shoot.

The value of the Fianna was not lost on the Irish Republican Brotherhood and it was taken within that organisation's control as part of the revolutionary build-up. Na Fianna Éireann was considered to be the only body at the time with sufficient discipline to be entrusted with ammunition at the Howth gun-running in 1914.

BOMBBS

Not surprisingly then, Na Fianna Éireann played a very active part in the 1916 Rising. The Fianna, or 'slua', in Pearse's school, Naomh Eanna, spent Holy Week in the school basement preparing bombs for the Rising.

The first shots of Easter Week were fired by a Fianna unit in the take-over of the Magazine Fort — a British army arsenal in Dublin's Phoenix Park. Fian-naidhe carried dispatches, acted as scouts and manned rebel posts in St Stephen's Green, the Mendicity Institute and the South Dublin Union.

Four Fian-naidhe were killed in the fighting, and two, Sean Heuston and Con Colbert, were executed afterwards.

After the 1916 Rising, the Fianna was re-organised on an exclusively military basis and took part in a large number of operations in the Black and Tan War. From 1918 to 1920, IRA headquarters estimated that four to five thousand Fian-naidhe had transferred from the organisation to the Army. They had provided a valuable stream of recruits for the IRA, and in January 1921 a composite council



• COUNTESS MARKIEVICZ

had been set up consisting of three GHQ officers of the IRA and three of the Fianna GHQ.

When the Treaty was signed, Na Fianna Éireann stood by the Republic. The Fianna and theis of 1922, which took place on April 16th, three days after the Four Courts headquarters of anti-Treaty Volunteers had been established, was presided over by Barney Mellowes, brother of Liam. At that time Fianna strength was estimated to be about 26,000 on paper with an effective strength of 17,000.

The Fianna was re-organised in 1925 to carry on "the training of the youth of Ireland to be honourable and self-reliant citizens" and it reverted to the old slua system, with each slua leader in direct contact with head office.

The emphasis was on physical training and physical training. Fianna was constituted by the Free Staters under the Act of 1925 and in 1925 and in 1925. In 1931 this body was dissolved. South by the Government only to be Valera when Fianna power a year later elected president. However, Fianna Fail and during the 40s and indeed, fluctuating rise and fall in popularity.

Highly organized, Brendan Behan's writings, records of the period — missed from the drunk in uniform well-publicised just in 1957 of a group in the Wicklow region 'illegal drilling' included the late Costello and the Party Leinster House de Rossa.

In the '60s there were to lead to the Movement initiated by Na Fianna Éireann that the organisation absorbed into the movement as part of a 're-

'The Irish Transport and General Workers' Union: The Formative Years' by C. Desmond Greaves, Published by Gill and Macmillan, Dublin, Price Ir£15.00 hardback, (A paperback edition also available)

The formative years

BY DERMOT WHELAN

THE APPEARANCE of C. Desmond Greaves' latest book, 'The Irish Transport and General Workers' Union: The Formative Years', is something of a major event in the field of labour history dealing in detail as it does with the early years of that union up to 1923.

Although much of the ground has been previously covered by Emmet Larkin and others, this is the first systematic history of the ITGWU based on all the available documentation. The reason it has taken so long to produce a proper history of the union during this period lies in the fact that the British destroyed all of the union's records and papers when they ransacked Liberty Hall after the 1916 Rising.

However, within the last four years or so, important new material has come to light and this, together with the memoirs of William O'Brien, the late long-standing ITGWU general secretary, forms the basis of Greaves' book.

Desmond Greaves has the distinction of having written the best

available book on Connolly, 'The Life and Times of James Connolly'. He is also the author of 'Liam Mellowes and the Irish Revolution', which will be re-printed shortly.

Although not a republican, Greaves' politics are sufficiently close to the Connolly tradition to make him easily the best historian of the period from among the recognised heavyweights in the field.

Naturally enough then, it comes as no surprise to find that the book's greatest strength lies in its ability to relate the growth of the union to the political background of the times.

DOCKWORKERS

The story properly begins in 1907 with Big Jim Larkin's arrival in Belfast to organise the dockworkers on behalf of the British National Union of Dock Labourers (NUDL).

It was not the first time the NUDL had tried to organise general workers in Ireland. A previous drive in 1890 and 1891, alongside other British unions like the Gasworkers, had failed after some initial successes. This time round it was to be considerably more successful.

Larkin's achievements in Belfast through the famous 1907 strike are clearly outlined by Greaves, but he also disposes of a number of cherished myths among sections of the left about 'working-class unity' during 1907.

One of these was that at the height of the strike Larkin led a united demonstration of Catholic and Protestant workers on the Twelfth. Apart from the fact that he wasn't in Belfast on the day, Larkin had, ten days earlier, offered his resignation of the strike leadership and was ready to hand it to Alexander Boyd, a member of the Orange Order, in anticipation of proceedings on the Twelfth.

Greaves points out that the reason for the absence of the usual sectarianism that year was because of a split in unionist ranks, with Lindsay Crawford, Independent Orange Order, and the strikers' year aon nath iontu phileascadh?!!



• The Irish Citizens' Army parade outside Liberty Hall in 1914

Indeed, the reality was that mutual solidarity only held until the 1907 dispute was concluded (on terms which Larkin found unsatisfactory, and which had been concluded by the English executive of the NUDL).

REACTIONARY

When the ITGWU was founded two years later, following the

ers stayed with the British union, while the Catholic deep-sea dockers remained loyal to Larkin and joined the ITGWU. A classic demonstration of the truth that reactionary politics have always dominated over immediate class concerns in the mentality of loyalist workers, whose trade unionism has always had a deeply conservative character.

Despite setbacks, such as the 1913 Cork dispute, the ITGWU in 1910 utterly revolution-

ised trade unionism in its wider effect. The Dundalk Irish Trade Union (ITUC) that year considered a watershed in that not only formally admitted the national but its admission forced the withdrawal of the Irish Trade Unionists who had previously dominated the movement.

• Diúracán Polairis á thrial

Éireann

The emphasis was changed from rifle and revolver practice towards education and physical training. In spite of this the Fianna was consistently harassed by the Free Staters under the Treasonable Offences Act 1925 and in the six counties the Fianna was declared an illegal organisation.

In 1931 this ban was extended to the South by the Cumann na nGaedhal government only to be removed again by de Valera when Fianna Fail were elected to power a year later. De Valera had been elected president of the Fianna in 1917. However, harassment of the Fianna by Fianna Fail and Coalition governments during the '40s and '50s was very real indeed, fluctuating in accordance with the rise and fall in republican activity.

HIGHLIGHTS

Brendan Behan, in a number of his writings, records some personal highlights of the period. He was eventually dismissed from the Fianna for appearing drunk in uniform at Bodinstown. Other well-publicised incidents included the arrest in 1957 of a group of 30 Fiannaíde in the Wicklow mountains, to be jailed on 'illegal drilling' charges — the group included the late IRSP leader Seamus Costello and the present 'Sticky Workers' Party Leinster House member Proinsias de Rossa.

In the '60s the disagreements which were to lead to the split in the Republican Movement inevitably emerged also in Na Fianna Éireann and it was proposed that the organisation be dissolved and absorbed into the Connolly Youth Movement as part of a 'national liberation front'.

When the eventual split came in 1970, however, most of the rank and file stood by the Fianna constitution and the Provisional Army Council.

FIAN GERARD McAULEY

The previous August, Gerard McAuley, from Belfast's Clonard area, had been killed while he was helping to defend his area from a joint 'B' Special and loyalist attack. He was the first Fian to die in this campaign.

Since his death, 18 other Fianna members have given their lives in the cause of Irish freedom. Many more are being held in juvenile detention centres, remand jails and prison camps throughout the country.

During the H-Block hunger-strike last year, Na Fianna Éireann was particularly active in the 26 counties in mobilising the support of young people behind the prisoners' demands. Its members involved themselves in 'youth against H-Block/Armagh' groups and the Fianna independently organised a number of successful youth marches and staged several protest occupations, some of them particularly spectacular.

Currently, Na Fianna Éireann has been re-assessing its role in a determined effort to address itself to the problems of Irish youth. It has been conducting activating work on youth unemployment and developing radical policies on education and youth affairs generally.

Its primary objective remains the promotion of the principles of Irish republicanism among the youth of Ireland and thereby to aid the establishment of a thirty-two-county democratic, socialist republic.



Members of the Fianna march through nationalist west Belfast despite being 'illegal' in the North

back. (A paperback edition of £5.00 is available from the ITGWU to union members only.)

Years



'BIG JIM' LARKIN

and who opposed recognition of the ITGWU at Dundalk.

LOCK-OUT

The Redmondites, through their yellow press, subsequently stepped up the attack on the 'Larkinite disease'. In the person of William Martin Murphy and by the time of the 1913 lock-out, they were to attempt, with imperialist support, to crush the union completely.

though they forced the work-

ers of Dublin to go back to work on their terms, the victory was a hollow one for the employers. It did not crush the ITGWU. Indeed, were it not for the stab in the back by the official labour movement in Britain, which refused all requests for sympathetic strike support, the six-month struggle would have been won early on.

Greaves writes: "British labour was dependent on the Liberal government for reforms to satisfy its members,

while the Liberal government was dependent for its majority on Redmond." So much for class solidarity from the British 'brothers'.

ADVANCED

It is astonishing to recall just how advanced the Irish labour movement was at this time. The outbreak of world war was trenchantly condemned by the ITUC, the only labour movement in Europe to do so. Its leaders, Connolly and Larkin, mounted a national anti-partition campaign immediately following Redmond's treacherous acceptance of the proposal from the Liberals to exclude the six counties from the Home Rule Bill. The Irish Citizens' Army (ICA) was now openly organising for an anti-imperialist revolt. All of this was happening alongside the day-to-day work of rebuilding the union after 1913.

Greaves makes the often little-appreciated point that the Easter Rising could hardly have happened without Liberty Hall being available to the insurgents. From April 18th, it served as GHQ. It allowed a whole range of military activities to be held on the premises, including bomb-making and the storage of weapons and ammunition. The 1916 Proclamation itself was printed in the basement.

The process leading to the convergence of Connolly's forces and the IRB-led Irish Volunteers is traced by Greaves through the development of Connolly's thinking from 1914 to 1916. By April 1916 he had accepted that the Irish revolution would have two distinct phases, the first national, the second social.

It is also clear, however, that Connolly saw it as vital to have a strong labour component in the

leadership of the national rising so as to allow the possibility of the second phase opening up after the first had been completed.

CAUTIOUS

This position, unfortunately, was not to be adopted by his former colleagues, notably William O'Brien and Thomas Foran (Larkin had gone to America in 1914). Apart from their natural cautious disposition, especially in the case of O'Brien, they simply failed to grasp Connolly's thought, so that there was always a gap between their syndicalism and their nationalism.

Consequently they did not challenge the Belfast-based Thomas Johnson at the Sligo ITUC congress of 1916 when the delegates were urged by him not to endorse the Rising.

Greaves believes that, apart from their theoretical inadequacies, they were also unwilling to go out too far in front of public opinion, which had not at that point swung sufficiently behind the men and women of 1916.

This 'non-political' stance was to be maintained right up to 1921, notably in the decision not to stand Labour candidates on an agreed platform with Sinn Féin in 1918.

This was to have some unfortunate consequences later on, notable in Labour's inability to politically take on Griffith in 1920 over the issue of land seizures by the poorer farmers, when Griffith, true to his pro-employer stance in 1913, backed the ranchers and dissolved the seizures.

Yet 1917 and 1918 had seen the greatest-ever expansion of the ITGWU, especially among land

labourers in the rural areas.

SUBORDINATE

The ITGWU and labour movement was to play an important, and, in the organisation of the 1918 general strike on conscription, vital role in the national struggle. But it was always a secondary and subordinate one politically.

The least satisfactory part of the book is that covering the 1921 to 1923 period. Up to then the union's difficulties with the British authorities, its relations with the national movement and its internal debates and struggles (notably on the degree of solidarity with the Soviet revolution) are excellently described.

This last section, however, is too cursory. For example, Greaves writes:

"The anti-Treaty section moved uneasily in the direction of the working class."

But this is not elaborated on in any serious way in the book. It is much better dealing with the economic offensive of the employers against the unions in the wake of the Treaty.

The story closes on this difficult period for the ITGWU, difficulties soon to be exacerbated by the return of the headstrong Larkin from America and the development of the O'Brien-Larkin feud.

As well as the criticism of the treatment of the Civil War period, reservations can be made of the often dry style of Greaves' writing, and the book would have been enhanced with photographs.

Nevertheless, it deserves to be read as a very valuable addition to the libraries of socialists, republicans and trade unionists.

Mála poist...Mála poist.



● British concern for human rights in faraway countries continues, but what about Ireland?

Brit hypocrisy

A Chara,
May I draw your attention to an article in the latest issue of a paper called *Iran Liberation* (August 30th), a PMOI publication.

The piece in question is the front page article, headlined, 'Urgency in British parliament to stop Khomeini's heinous crimes - 172 members show concern for human rights abuses in Iran'.

It appears that an all-party group of MPs have signed a motion condemning Khomeini's excesses in Iran. I feel that this motion rings very hollow and bears out my belief that the members of this house of ill-repute are nothing but a shower of hypocrites. The motion reads as follows:

'That this house expresses its deep concern at the continuing executions in Iran, the increasing numbers of people being tortured and the lack of political safeguards in trial procedures, and requests Her Majesty's government to make known its condemnation of the Iranian authorities of these heinous human rights violations at every opportunity and to support the work of Amnesty International in combatting them.'

This all sounds very familiar. We live in a statelet where executions are regular occurrences (Eamon Bradley, Danny Barrett, Stephen McConomy), and the torture centres at Gough and Castle-reagh are used to extract statements and recruit informers. We also have a corrupt legal and judicial apparatus which assists in the crushing of the republican people's rights, as it was intended.

All of these British excesses in the occupied six counties are ignored or covered up by the British rags and the British parliament.

Organisations such as the Red Cross and Amnesty International have been obstructed by the Brits every time they have enquired into repression here - the Brits' excuse being 'it's an internal affair'. But when they investigate human rights' violations in Russia, Chile, South Africa, etc., they are applauded.

Incidentally, Harold McCusker and James Kilfedder were among the 'concerned MPs' who signed the disgusting motion!

PRO,
James Loughrey Sinn Fein cumann,
Dromintee,
South Armagh.

A/town News

Dear Editor,
Re the letter in last week's *AP/RN* regarding death insertions in the *Andersonstown News*. It

FACING REALITIES

A Chara,
There are, I believe, three stages in the maturing of a revolutionary organisation.

First comes the realisation by a group of people that something is rotten in their country, and their arrival at a principled position of opposition to that rottenness.

Second comes the identification of objectives the attainment of which will sweep away what is rotten.

Lastly comes the decision by a group organised around basic principles to use certain tactics to change the situation they face in order to secure their objectives.

In my article 'Facing realities' (*AP/RN*, August 5th) I did my best to contribute meaningfully to the discussion by republicans on the latter of the above three stages.

Contrary to the assumptions of Teresa O'Neill (*AP/RN*, August 26th) I accept as my principled position the view of Connolly which she quotes in her letter. Furthermore, I accept that the only class in Ireland which can secure socialism is the working class. Unlike O'Neill, who seems to be influenced by Trotsky on class alliances (e.g. 'Trotsky on China') I believe, like Connolly, that in a colonised country the working class are not the only class that can play a revolutionary role. The task which I grappled with in my article is that of converting the actual and potential support we enjoy around the national struggle into support which can, based on course on the controllability of the working class, secure a socialist republic.

Nationalism in an occupied country, can, as a revolutionary force, span classes. What matters for the future of socialism in a national liberation struggle is that leadership of a front, however broad, must lie with a revolutionary party based on the working class which will oppose, up to and beyond victory, the socio-economic



omic as well as politico-military features of imperialism.

Nowhere in my article did I suggest class compromise and I cannot see where O'Neill suggests I take two steps back.

Rather, I discuss how best to take two steps forward, hopefully in one leap: the step to national freedom and the step to socialism.

O'Neill also suggests political impunity on my part by advocating armed struggle as a principle, something which she accurately shows I do not.

Unlike socialism, armed struggle is not a principle but a method. Socialism must be applied whatever the circumstances. I simply argue that force cannot be applied without regard to support, and its possible effectiveness.

The comparison between El Salvador and Brazil in this regard is false.

El Salvador is semi-feudal. Brazil has a semi-developed capitalist base and is a major Third

World economy.

The martyred dead of the Brazilian revolution would resent O'Neill's suggestion of their failure to fight.

'Consciousness does not drop from the skies!' I agree. But I do not agree with O'Neill that only armed struggle can be a social yeast. She should read some Gramsci.

A mass socialist movement will not be built because it does or does not see force as a badge of purity.

It will be built when all the people go through the process I mentioned above and arrive at a republican socialist position. It is our duty to lead them in that direction.

'Nationalism and socialism cannot be discovered!' I agree. It is how they can be joined that is the question.

Let's have some more views on that issue and let Trotskyite extremism about the impurity of class alliances remain where it belongs.

The method and direction

the Republican Movement is increasingly adopting of more involvement with the people, and broad work, is the correct one, and follows an internationally proven method of successful revolution.

Also, Jim Dwyer, in his more considered letter, mistakenly says that I advocated mass recruitment into the IRA and that I have a 'statistical' attitude to the war: 'He (that's me) argues for an increase in the level of activity!' Shock horror.

Now I did not suggest a mass recruitment drive into the IRA. That is not practicable and, arguably, is not necessary. What I did advocate was that support for the IRA must be given more cohesion and direction in the political arena: the water for the fish to swim in that all non-allies know is essential.

On the level of the military: word has it that the IRA constantly strives in that direction. I simply said that an escalation is required - I believe that is IRA policy - and that the political base must be expanded to assist this escalation.

I did not separate socialism from nationalism but that is answered above.

Dwyer is more realistic when he stresses the limitations of the ERM as opposed to the policy of building a mass revolutionary party. I share his concern on this issue and perhaps he could contribute at length on that problem.

Dwyer's second to last paragraph is politically correct but his last paragraph avoids the practical problems we face.

I am offended by his remark that 'he understands revolutionary socialism so little,' etc.

Socialists in the Movement should not avoid confrontation with the status quo. The Movement no more than they should avoid confrontation with external forces.

My article was not an attempt to outflank anybody. It was a series of points which must be faced. That is all.

Hopefully, a slightly more fraternal debate on the issues will aid people more than inaccuracies and slurs.

Finally, I'd just like to say that Seamus Maguire makes some good points which deserve expansion.

John Doyle.

Assembly elections

A Chara,
Now that the SDLP has seemingly rejected all appeals for an electoral boycott I would like to make some observations about Sinn Féin, the media and the IRA.

Firstly, Sinn Féin activists should not be lulled into a sense of grandeur and self-esteem after the way the party has been correctly elevated into prominence by sections of the media this week. The *Irish News* and the BBC's political correspondent prominently featured Sinn Féin because of their desire to ensure that the factions within the nationalist camp were kept at loggerheads and would fight the elections.

After September 26th this will change and the favourable presentation will immediately be shifted to the SDLP, and Sinn Féin will have to fight its corner and will be pressed to defend every aspect of the armed struggle over the past 12 years.

It is with regard to this that the IRA needs to be especially careful. For just as a reckless Brit on the ground by killing two or three civilians around polling day could conceivably take its toll on the vote of the collaborationist SDLP, so too could a commercial bombing campaign hurt Sinn Féin.

On the other hand it is important for Sinn Féin to defend the struggle for national liberation. It is also important for the IRA to maintain a level of activity to demonstrate that the war, regardless of the outcome, is a war, goes on, because it is the war (although increasingly not alone) which creates political dynamism for republicans.

People will vote this way or that way for many different reasons. It is impossible to quantify exactly why people (apart from an individual) vote for one party over another. The SDLP has 12 years of electoral experience behind it, it has the Catholic middle-class vote, the Catholic hierarchy and all of the media will be 'palsy-walsy' with John and Seamus.

Indeed, Sinn Féin will be fighting an uphill ideological battle, has little electoral experience, but at least it has a history of consistency and, of course, honesty about where it stands in relation to physical force and the British occupation.

Sinn Féin also has a considerable following, even at grassroots SDLP level, and whether or not it can demonstrate credibility (in the media sense) and translate this support into a mobilisation of votes is open to question. Republican supporters have been weaned and reared on boycotts. Any grumbling by those who are not happy about Sinn Féin's involvement in the election could cost the Republican Movement valuable votes and would be used to flog the IRA.

However, on the last point, the election is not a referendum on whether or not the armed struggle should continue. (Had Bobby Sands lost in Fermanagh and South Tyrone he would have continued with the hunger-strike.) Regardless of how many votes Sinn Féin polls the war goes on.

The election is just the beginning of developing a new, radical dimension to the revolutionary struggle and from it the Republican Movement will emerge much stronger and will recruit new activists. The election will possibly also throw the Brits into a crisis and will definitely be a major propaganda set-back to them should the likes of Garry Adams be elected in west Belfast and Martin McGuinness in Derry.

P. Short,
Andersonstown,
Belfast.

Reviews

Dear Editor,

As a republican of many years, I have found *AP/RN* over the last few months very boring and uninteresting to read. I, for one, and I'm sure there are many like me, buy *AP/RN* to read about republican affairs or other struggles closely linked with ours. I don't want to know about films, videos, or music through the paper.

If I want these things I can buy a record or visit a cinema. It would be a different case if the films or books were relevant to the republican struggle but very often they're not.

I also think there is too much space wasted on 'political' items, e.g. the Stardust fire, pay freezes, Dublin stores' strikes (all from last week's issue), which aren't relevant and hold no interest whatsoever to the vast majority of the readership

of the newspaper.

After all, the majority of people reading the paper are in the North or from the North and are not interested about pay freezes in Dublin.

Why can't the space be used up (if there is little or no war news) on outlining various Sinn Féin policies and educating the readership, or to selected items through the years and biographies on various nearly-forgotten Volunteers of the past?

Sean Collins,
Dundalk.

Editor's note: The majority of people who read *AP/RN* do not reside in the six counties. Any other readers' views or comments on the paper are welcome.

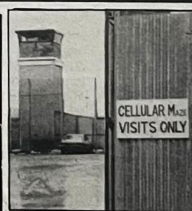
A Chara,
In your issue of *AP/RN* (August 12th) Brian Martin refers to Galway's first-time All-Ireland hurling success in 1980. This, however, is only half the truth. They also won it in 1923.

John Stapleton,
Crumlin,
Dublin.

Parcels

Dear Editor,

As all republicans know, the receiving of food and clothes parcels throughout the last 12 years has kept the morale of many



prisoners high.

Many ordinary families, at great personal expense and sacrifice, gather together whatever is needed to make up parcels for their loved ones. However, the Irish Republican Prisoners' Welfare and Transport based at 51/53 Falls Road would like to inform quite a number of families about parcels which have gone astray or which have been refused at the prison.

Relatives of the following prisoners should contact our office as soon as possible to reclaim such parcels. If these parcels are not collected after seven days we will distribute the contents to the prisoners in general. In the future would all relatives who send parcels through our office check within three days that the parcel has been accepted at the prison.

Secretary,
IRPW,
Belfast.
The prisoners are: T. G. Bennett,

G. A. McDonald, J. Hanratty, all in H1; P. Kane, G. McConville, - McKee, all in H2; G. H. Kelly, H3; T. McMahon, J. Lismore, H4; P. McLarnon, P. Conlon, H5; J. Gibson, J. Devine, S. Kelly, P. McCotter, R. Coughay, all H6; J. J. O'Neill, H8. Two other parcels are identified by the names, M. Nugent and - Johnston, C12.

Post cards

Dear Editor,

I am a collector of old picture postcards, it is my hobby and pleasure. My idea is to give your readers a novel way of participating in and helping financially (without dipping into their pockets) the many causes published in this paper, i.e. an Cumann Cathach, Green Cross, etc.

I will pay a fair price for any old post cards (pre-1939), cigarette cards, old covers (envelopes) and postmarks sent to me.

I will reply to every letter sent and include the postage incurred on your sending of the cards in the cheque to the cause you name or as instructed. My own preference is for political and advertising cards, but I will buy any. Many thanks for your help.

James Murphy,
19 Newgrange Road,
Cabra,
Dublin 7

Burke's
at the back
BY KEVIN BURKE

It can't be!

THE PHOTOFIT picture of a man wanted in connection with the IRA bombings in London last July, which was issued by Scotland Yard this week, was instantly recognisable as one of two people.

But perhaps someone should remind them that Gerry Tuite is already imprisoned in Portlaoise. And what Jimmy Tarbock would be doing planting bombs for the IRA I just cannot imagine.

★ ★ ★

I see that the Free State garda Special Branch is attempting to cleanse its murky past by a name-change to the Intelligence and Security Branch.

It will also make derogatory slogans that much more difficult to shout, and think how much longer a wall slogan will take to write.

I have yet to figure out what the new name actually means. Job security is of course very important in these days of rising unemployment, but I cannot believe that intelligence is to become a requirement for entrance to the force.

★ ★ ★

The Sticky Workers' Party, undeterred by the fact that their fund-raising wing has several members serving prison sentences for armed robbery, continue on their campaign for respectability.

The latest example came in a letter to Dublin's *Southside* weekly newspaper from their Dun Laoghaire 'law and order' spokesperson Eamon Gilmore. Staunchly defending the gardai from what he describes as 'unfair criticism' over 'rising crime', particularly post office hold-ups, Gilmore says: "The gardai in this area, by and large, do a good job."

This is, of course, strictly in line with the same party's policy of solid support for the RUC in the North.

★ ★ ★

British army incursions across the border, courtesy of official Free State collaboration, are now so commonplace that they usually go unreported.

But they are still of major concern to residents in border areas of the twenty-six counties.

The latest incident took place last Monday when two low-flying British army helicopters crossed from County Armagh and hovered low over several farmyards in the Courtbane and Sheelagh areas of County Louth.

★ ★ ★

Strange how the one and a half tons of safe IRA explosives captured by the RUC in a country lane at Lenaderg, near Banbridge, County Down, the weekend before last, could be calmly removed from the isolated area by the Brits.

Yet when a similar haul, although much less in size, was seized in Belfast's Springfield Avenue at the end of June, the Brits insisted that on no account could it be moved and blew the whole lot up, wrecking several dozen nationalist homes.

★ ★ ★

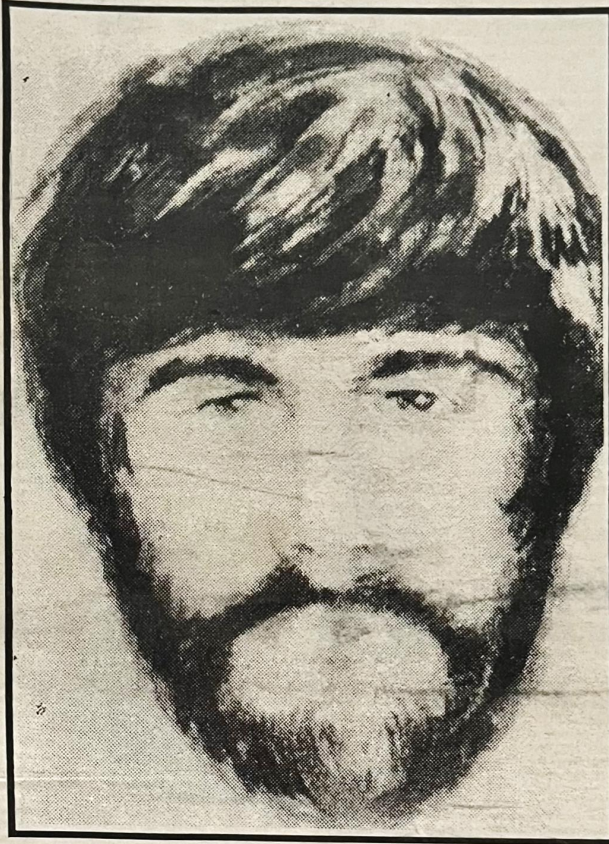
You can't help feeling sorry for Fianna Fail Minister of State for the Environment Sylvester Barrett that his planned £25,000 world trip (on the pretext of attending some obscure conference in Indonesia) was discovered and had to be cancelled because of the embarrassment caused in these days of public spending cut-backs.

To make matters worse the government decision was conveyed to him in Spain where he has been lying in the sun for the last few weeks.

It's things like that which just ruin your holidays.

★ ★ ★

The film 'Who Dares Wins' which has just been released to boost the super-macho image of Britain's elite SAS crack regiment, has been cut out of the hands for SAS men by their own



manding officers.

A special showing of the film near the Hereford base of the regiment will not after all be attended by any of the world-renowned, trained-to-kill, ultra-tough, heroic dare-devils.

The reason given by the SAS chiefs for this caution: they are afraid that such a gathering of their men would provide a target for an IRA attack.

★ ★ ★

The remarks I made in this column a few weeks ago about the British lefty newspaper *News Line* and its hysterical condem-

nations of the IRA's London bombings have been answered by that newspaper last week.

You won't believe it, but they devoted nearly four pages over two successive days to a lengthy wandering attack on what they describe as my 'impudent remarks'.

But the part of their reply I like best is their outrage at my brief mention of 'buggery in Buckingham Palace'. With a sudden burst of jingoistic nationalism they say:

"In any case, we note that Leinster House is not free from scandal itself."

Scratch such a British revolutionary and you find a royalist underneath?



WHAT'S ON

CND FUND-RAISING SOCIAL
8 pm Friday 10th September
Midland Hotel
Upper Dominick Street
DUBLIN
Admission £1 (50p unwaged)

RECLAIM THE NIGHT
BENEFIT DISCO
8 pm Friday 10th September
The Pembroke
Lower Pembroke Street
DUBLIN
Admission £1.50 (£1 unwaged)
Organised by Women Against Violence Against Women

CHILE COMMITTEE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS DEMONSTRATION
(to mark the US-backed fascist takeover of Chile 9 years ago)
3 pm Saturday 11th September
United States Embassy
43 Elgin Road
Ballisbridge
DUBLIN

BALLAD SESSION
Featuring 'Ragamuffin'
7.30 pm Saturday 11th September
James's Street
DUBLIN
Admission £1
Buses 21, 21A, 78 & 78A
Organised by Sinn Féin

ANDERSONSTOWN MARTYRS ANNUAL COMMEMORATION
To honour the dead of the 1st Battalion, Belfast Brigade (Andersonstown, Turf Lodge, Twinbrook)
Sunday 12th September
BELFAST
Assemble inside Milltown cemetery gates at 2 pm
Honour Ireland's dead

CAPT. TOM McDONAGH COMMEMORATION
(killed in action October 1st 1920)
Sunday 12th September
Assemble 3 pm Dubhalis Turn
Parade to Templeoran graveyard
CLONLLOO
County Sligo
Organised by Sligo NGA

LIAM LYNCH COMMEMORATION
3.30 pm Sunday 12th September
Knockmealdown Mountains
Goatenbridge
ARDFINNAN
County Tipperary

HUNGER-STRIKE COMMEMORATION CONCERT
Featuring 'The Barleycorn'
Wednesday 15th September
The Lagoon
TERMON
County Donegal
Organised by the Kilmacrenan/Termon H-Block Committee

BALLAD SESSION
Featuring 'The Irish Brigade'
8 pm Friday 10th September
Dowling's
PROSPEROUS
County Kildare
Admission £1.50

BALLAD SESSION
Featuring 'The Barleycorn'
8 pm Friday 17th September
The Brown Derby
James's Street
DUBLIN
Admission £2
Organised by Sinn Féin

BALLAD SESSION
Featuring 'The Irish Brigade'
Saturday 18th September
The Glenside Lounge
KILLESHIN
County Carlow
Admission £1

BALLAD SESSION
Featuring 'The Irish Brigade' and friends
Sunday 19th September
The Embankment
TALLAGHT
Admission £1.50

PUBLIC MEETING
POWS IN ENGLISH JAILS
7.30 pm Friday 24th September
Town Hall
Old High Street
HEMEL HEMPSTEAD
England

Speakers: Michael Holden (Sinn Féin), Colin Lambert (T&GWU shop-steward), Denis Arbuckle (Young Socialists) & Abou Kasel (Palestinian Students' Assoc.)

REVIEW PAGE

TU & RADIO

The ability to trivialise

BY SIOBHAN O'MALLEY

ANYBODY who still thinks that Humphrey Bogart actually said "Play it again, Sam," had two opportunities to correct themselves last week. That classic movie 'Casablanca' was shown twice, once on RTE and once on BBC, as a tribute to the recently deceased Ingrid Bergman.

But the most memorable line for me in the film, unfortunately, is Bogart telling Bergman: "I'm going where you can't follow." That whole scene, at the end of the film smacks of a man's gotta do what a man's gotta do and the woman gets out of the way!

RTE time was dominated last week by the Rose of Tralee Festival on both Tuesday and Wednesday nights. This is determinedly projected as not just a beauty contest but a brains and personality contest too.

And the fact that the women must be very pretty with 'good

figures' of course has nothing to do with it and mere coincidence. Gay Byrne's presentation managed to belittle any real achievement or interest the contestants might have had and made it even more embarrassing and painful to watch than an 'ordinary' beauty contest where there is no pretence at respectability.

Gay is back on RTE Radio 1 each morning. Students of political censorship might raise eyebrows at the RTE Guide's claim for the show that "any topic of potential interest to listeners has never been refused,

no matter how controversial."

This boast is probably based on Byrne's trip to do a show from Tallaght during the anti-traveler protests there, just before his summer break. But he has the ability to trivialise the most tragic situations and turn them into 'entertainment'. I wonder who decides what is of potential interest to listeners anyway?

EUROPE

A new series on UTV, 'Jonathan Dimbleby in Evidence: The Cold War Games', began on Monday. His investigation into how the threat of nuclear war is affecting the lives of the people of Europe turned into a comparison of living standards of factory workers in East and West Germany.

The East Germans have a very high standard of living, we were shown and told, but have



● The Rose of Tralee 'not just a beauty contest' — who are they trying to kid?

"no freedom of movement and no freedom of protest."

Cut to West Germany and its

inferior housing, rising unemployment and its people finding it hard to get the money together to exercise their 'freedom to travel'. And, the highlight of the programme, shots of a peaceful protest against the stockpiling of weapons being brutally attacked by the West German police.

The impression left by the programme was the exact opposite of what its presenter seemed to intend.

It isn't anything new to mention it, but how strange it is to hear the disturbances in Poland reported on radio and television as involving 'demonstrators' and 'rioters'. Similar news from Belfast or Derry involves 'mobs' and 'rioters'.

And the newsreaders' faces portray concern and sympathy or horror and disgust, depending on whether the news is borne by the east wind or the west.

But how many of us can spot these subtle nuances in less familiar areas as they sink into our programmed sub-consciousness?



● CHRISTY MOORE

Moore and friends

MUSIC

BY GEARDOL MacARDLE

A RECORDING, much promoted on television, is RTE's 'Christy Moore and Friends'. I got my copy a good six months ago but as it's still being heavily advertised I thought I would put in my tuppence worth, and I may add a recommendation. I don't know how much the tape costs, because my present wife is responsible for the one in my possession, but Tony Ruane, I am sure, will extend credit, to duly accredited customers at Parnell Square.

The recordings are taken from the popular RTE series of the same name and include Planxty, Ralph McTell, Stockton's Wing and Mary Black. Christy Moore, in all, renders five of the twelve offerings and includes the beautiful 'John of Dreams'. Although, like Tommy O'Gorman, I am a Christy Moore groupie, my only complaint is that most of his pieces are included in other recordings. Somebody, somewhere, will probably contradict that. For all that, 'Cliffs of Moher', 'Trip to Jerusalem', 'Patrick was a Gentleman', and 'The Crack was Ninety in the Isle of Man' are Moore at his best.

They are all firm favourites of mine and Christy's fine vocals to one side I thought it interesting to note how his voice has deepened and mellowed slightly since the days of 'Prosperous'.

Planxty, now re-united (again!), are in their usual inimitable form with Moore joining them in 'The Good Ship Kangaroo' which leads into 'East of Glendart', a double jig.

Stockton's Wing give another fine instrumental, 'The Maid behind Sonny Brogan's', but Ralph McTell and Mary Black must compete with Moore himself for the best tracks on this production.

Mary Black gives us 'Anachie Gordon', a long song (which perhaps explains why there are only 12 tracks) but one really worth listening to. Mary Black has a fantastic voice which blends beautifully to tell the sad story of Anachie Gordon and his girl who dies rather than be coaxed into an arranged marriage with a rich heir.

Ralph McTell's classic 'Streets of London' is brilliant especially because the audience join in and add very considerably to the atmosphere of what must have been a great session. He returns with his 'From Clare to Here', a much better and more sensitive version than the Fureys' speeded-up production.

As I said at the beginning, definitely recommended and well-worth buying.

A nasty film

BY PAUL ROONEY

THAT NOW INFAMOUS motto 'Who Dares Wins', has at last become a title of a film which, according to the official publicity material, "explores this elite regiment, the SAS, with as much accuracy and professional insight as the Official Secrets Act permits."

In reality that means you will get as much insight and accuracy as you would from a John Fieney column in the Dublin Evening Herald. And the contents of the film quickly confirm this, as does another line from the publicity blurb that "their training methods and unique style of attack, remain a closely guarded secret."

All the same, that has not helped Britain's 'crack' regiment in all situations. Remember their embarrassment after all the jingoistic fervour of the Iranian embassy siege in London, when soon afterwards Captain Westmoreland was killed on confronting opponents ready to fight back in Belfast. And more recently in the debacle of the Malvinas war 22 of the same regiment died more as a result of bungling than anything else.

The film's opening sequence is of a Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND) march in

FILE

London, which has been infiltrated and manipulated by a sinister left-wing/anarchist organisation called 'People's Lobby'. The leaders of this group are all foreign and female — apparently to meet the diverging presumptions and prurience of the British audience.

The two foreign women, Frankie Leith (an American), played by Judy Davis, and Helga (an East German), played by Ingrid Pitt, are utterly ruthless and devoid of feeling, apart from the fatal female weakness of succumbing readily to the sexual charms of the male.

HEAD

The 'People's Lobby' have been infiltrated by a British governing agent who is sloppy enough to be discovered and gets a cross-bow arrow through his head as a result, during the



● Luckily for SAS Captain Skellen, in 'Who Dares Wins', he doesn't have to face the IRA opening CND march.

In steps the head of Scotland Yard's C13 anti-terrorist squad, Commander Powell (Edward Woodward) who, of course, knows who is responsible. The man picked to replace the dead agent is SAS Captain Peter Skellen, square-jawed, clean-living, devoted family man — who would kill his granny at the drop of a hat.

Lewis Collins, the actor who plays this maniac, is in fact giving his spare time a member of the British army's Parachute Regiment Reserve and a trained killer. In a recent interview

he claimed: "The SAS are my heroes. They are intelligent and always discreet."

Captain Robert Nairac, it would seem, has soon been forgotten.

Skellen sets about obtaining a dishonourable discharge from the SAS, which involves brutally half-killing two foreign officers on the way to the regiment for in-depth training. This task successfully completed, Skellen sets off to infiltrate.

Our 'intelligent' and 'discreet' hero makes contact at a CND social where he stands out like a Special Branch man at a republican commemoration.

Frankie Leith immediately falls for Skellen, and it's back to the penthouse (Frankie has very rich parents) where, yes, you guessed it, they indulge in a game of 'hospitality'.

Before this moving scene, Frankie asks: "Are you a police man?" Skellen replies: "What do you think I am?" To which she answers, with rare insight: "I think you are a jerk."

In the heat of the hunt, lover-boy admits he is an ex-SAS man but is invited to join the 'People's Lobby', where he learns that this organisation believes in the use of force to obtain world peace.

This theme of the film has not endeared its producer, Evan Lloyd, to the CND. In fact, CND has maintained a nightly picket outside the Savoy cinema in Dublin, as they have at

other cinemas where it is being shown.

Meanwhile, Helga is suspicious of Skellen and has him tailed, resulting in him leaping on and off buses, into taxis, onto boats and trains, and, in fact, at one point I thought I was watching an advertisement for Milk Tray.

The most ridiculous part of the film, however, is yet to come. The 'People's Lobby' decide — with the help of a 'foreign power' — to storm the American embassy. There they capture an impressive array of hostages and — this is the clincher — demand that the British government launch a nuclear missile at the Polaris nuclear submarine base and blow it up in the interests of world peace.

This is where the SAS come in, and, predictably enough, ruthlessly clear out the 'terrorists' with no prisoners taken. The world is saved for civilisation yet again!

This film is a very crude anti-evil effort full of British shibboleths. It is a dangerous and scurrilous attack against the anti-nuclear movement which has been growing in strength over the past few years. It propagates the establishment pretence that 'ordinary decent people' is interfering in such matters, are always manipulated by sinister communistic forces, without realising it.

It is indeed a nasty film.

Hurling's top cats

BY BRIAN MARTIN

THE OVER-RIDING feeling after last Sunday's All-Ireland hurling final in which Kilkenny beat Cork by 3-18 to 1-13, is still one of terrible anti-climax. What should have been a memorable showpiece game in the end was a rout.

A rout distinguished by some vintage Kilkenny play, but a rout nonetheless.

Everybody's expectations proved way off the mark and attempts at explanation no doubt will occupy sportswriters, fans and others close to the game for many weeks to come.

Perhaps the most logical explanation is simply that Kilkenny had an urgent will-to-win, which can be traced back to the inglorious period spent in Division 2 of the National League. For a county with Kilkenny's pedigree, that period was a blot on their copybook and the players associated with it were in danger of going down in the annals as third-raters.

An analogy, up to a point, can perhaps be made with the Kerry team following the two successive All-Ireland defeats in Dublin in 1976 and 1977. Unaccustomed to such indignity,

SPORT

a determination was born which still burns fiercely. Without suggesting any five-year reigns in hurling, one can see a similar mental process in operation in the Kilkenny camp.

With this in mind, Kilkenny's victory earlier this year in the league was more significant than it was given credit for afterwards. (Incidentally, what a contrast between Sunday's game and that epic final against Wexford.)

PERFORMANCE

Most people's assessment of the Black and Ambers centred on the pedestrian performance against Offaly in the Leinster final, however. The main feature of that game, of course, had been the crippling of the Kilkenny forwards by the tight-marking Offaly defence. Kilkenny obviously learned much



● Kilkenny's Christy Heffernan once again stretches Martin O'Doherty to the limit.

from their rather lucky victory that day and Cork on Sunday fell victim to the full application of those lessons.

To begin with, the Cork forwards, who had ripped the Tipperary, Clare and Wexford defences to shreds in successive Munster championship games on their way to the final, were never

allowed to settle on the ball and almost invariably the Kilkenny backs — quicker, more physical and more competitive — got to the ball earlier.

Kilkenny's Paddy Prendergast and Brian Cody (who totally snuffed-out Ray Cummins) stood out in particular. Then at mid-field, setting up his

forwards with a powerhouse display, was Frank Cummins, his energy totally belying his years.

And how those forwards reacted. With increasing disbelief, the 60,000 crowd saw the score go from five points to four after 20 minutes, to nine points to four only five minutes later. Pat Horgan's brace of points for Cork offered a short-lived hope of a comeback by the men in red, but Christy Heffernan delivered his two-goal killer-blow and Croke Park can hardly ever have been so stunned.

Officially it may have been half-time, but, to all purposes, the game was over.

In the second period, most of the time it was just exhibition stuff. Heffernan ran riot over the unfortunate Martin O'Doherty, and clinical point-taking by Richie Power and Billy Fitzpatrick for Kilkenny put the final nails in the coffin.

One really felt sorry for Cork on any average day, there is not an eleven-point gap in class between the sides.

This was not an average day, however, and Noel Skehan, was not on 'average' form. He was inspired, and when that happens you begin to wonder whether there is perhaps some truth in the notion that he really is Ollie Walsh reincarnated.

COSC

na hÉireann

LE DONNCHA Mac NIALLAIS H3

Cuireadh iontas an domhain orm le déanaí nuair a léigh mé ar nuachtán go ndúirt an Tiarna Gowrie, Aire na bPiosúna sna Se Chontae fargafa go mbreathnaíonn air féin níos mó mar Éireannach ná Sasanach. Tá sé ina ráfla fresin go bhfuil an Ghaeilge aige. Is ábhar iontais é seo leis féin, ag áireamh gur ball den Phairtí Chaomhnach an tiarna (cé gur "wet" é) ach is mó an t-iontas a bhíonn ar dhúine, a mhacaíonn ar an méid adúirt sé ag éisteacht leis ón taobh istigh de Cheis Fhada.

Anseo sna H-Blocanna tá cosc iomlán nach mór ar chultúr na h-Éireann i gcoitinne agus ar an Ghaeilge in áirde ag na húdaráis. Is fíor é go bhfuil cead ag cime Gaeilge a fhoghlaim trí ranganna ar na heagraí ag an Roinn Oideachais an Phrosúin (mar a thugtar air) ach ní spreagtar na ranganna seo agus ní fíidir ach líon teoranta leabhar a fháil.

Mura mbíonn duine páirteach i rang ní chéadafóir do leabhar Gaeilge ar bith a fháil. Fíú má bhíonn duine i rang bíonn a bhac air i gbonaí úrscelta, nuachtáin ná irisí Gaeilge d'fháil. "Béarla amháin" sea an riail.

COSC

Is amhlaidh an riail seo maidir le comhrá idir chimí is a ngealla ná a gcairde ar na cuairteanna sa champa. Cuireadh stad le cuairt anseo le déanaí nuair a chualathas cime ag labhairt as Gaeilge le tuairiscíoir ón Irish Times.

Nuair a d'fhiafraigh an fear seo d'oifig Tuaisceart na h-Éireann an tuige ar thárla sin, cuireadh in iúl do nach bhfuil cead ag daoine

a bhfuil cumas labhartha Béarla acu comhrá a nGaeilge. Mar dúirt bardach liom tráth dar chuala sé mé ag labhairt as Gaeilge (ag deirhead na cuairte nuair a bhí mo chuairteoirí ag imeacht) "ní bheifear ag labhairt Gaeilge anseo, Béarla amháin."

PEIL

Ní éalaíonn spórt na hÉireann



The death of John McWeeney

JOHN MCWEENEY, veteran republican and native of Drumkeeran, County Leitrim, was laid to rest on Wednesday, September 1st, at Kensal Green Cemetery in west London, following the offering of a Mass for the deceased at Percy Road Church by Fr P. Mee.

In the course of a moving tribute, Fr Mee spoke of John McWeeney's devotion to the cause of Ireland, his renowned modesty and his fearless expression of his ideals: freedom, justice and civil rights.

He will be remembered for the

service he rendered to these ideals down the years in Leitrim, Kildare and London, where he was a member of the United Irishmen in the '40s. In later years, he became a founder member of Green Cross and was an active member of an Cumann Cabhrach until his illness.

He was also a member of the Gaelic League, Garsa na Gael, and an honorary member of Northern Aid (USA) and Clan na Gael (Ireland). Early in his life he joined the Irish in Britain Representation Group (IBRG).

Mourners in attendance were Mrs Terry Gavin-McWeeney, widow of the

deceased, next-of-kin, friends, old comrades and representatives of Irish organisations in London including an Cumann Cabhrach, Sinn Féin, Irish Civil Rights, Cumann na Poblaíochta and the IBRG. There were several wreaths and floral tributes.

Among those present was veteran republican Harry O'Brien, life-long comrade of John McWeeney.

Messages of sympathy to Terry, his widow, and family - especially to Jimmy Gavin, who is in Portlaoise prison - have been received from many parts of Ireland, Britain and the USA.

REMEMBERING THE PAST

Transported to Van Dieman's Land

BY PETER O'ROURKE

THE YOUNG IRELANDER John Martin was born 170 years ago at Loughorne, near Newry in County Down on September 8th, 1812.

In a letter to Charles Gavan Duffy in 1844, recommending John Martin as a member of the Repeal Association, John Mitchell, a life-long friend wrote:

"If there be a single member who joined for the pure love of justice and of his native land, that one is John Martin."

When the Young Irelanders split with Daniel O'Connell in 1847, Martin and Mitchell joined William Smith O'Brien's Irish Confederation. After the arrest of John Mitchell the following year, and the suppression of Mitchell's newspaper, *The United Irishman*, Martin founded *The Irish Fleet* to continue the propaganda battle.

In the first issue, which appeared in June 1848, Martin wrote:

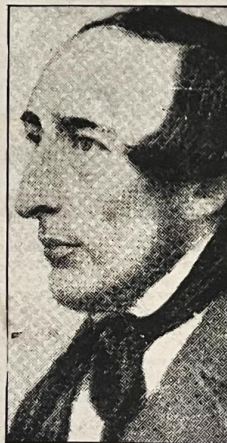
"I cannot be loyal to a system of

meanness, terror and corruption, although it usurps the title and assumes the form of 'government'. So long as such a 'government' presumes to injure and insult me and those in whose prosperity I am involved, I must offer to it all the resistance in my power..."

"I hope to witness the overthrow, and assist in the overthrow, of the most abominable tyranny the world now groans under - the British imperialist system."

Within two weeks he too was arrested, found guilty of treason felony, and transported to Van Dieman's Land (now Tasmania) where he remained from 1849 to 1854. He eventually returned to County Down in 1856, where he married John Mitchell's sister Henrietta.

Martin then became involved in constitutional politics being elected as MP for County Meath on the Home Rule ticket. His friendship with Mitchell survived their differing political opinions, however, and learning in London of Mitchell's death in March 1875, Martin



John Martin: 'I hope to witness the overthrow of the capitalist system'

rushed home to be present at his brother-in-law's funeral.

He became ill in the churchyard and died nine days later. He was succeeded as MP for County Meath by Charles Stewart Parnell.

memoriam

DODDS, Francis. (9th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol Francis Dodds, Oghlaigh na h-Éireann, who died while a political prisoner in Long Kesh prison camp on September 9th, 1973. I miss the laughter and noise go raib a sham. Never forgotten by his friends and comrades in the Republican Movement.

McELWEE, Thomas. (1st Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol Thomas McElwee, Oghlaigh na h-Éireann, who died on hunger-strike in August 1981. Always remembered by Brian MacArdhail, Belfast.

MacArdhail, Belfast. In fond memory of Paul Traynor, solicitor, who died on September 8th 1982. Paul's commitment, dedication and concern for the oppressed and underprivileged when faced with the cold inhumanity of the legal system was a source of comfort to many. Always remembered by the O/C, Staff and Volunteers, Oghlaigh na h-Éireann (Portlaoise) and the Sinn Féin POW Dept., Dublin.

WILLIAMS, Tom. (40th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of my

comrade Vol Tom Williams, Belfast Brigade, Oghlaigh na h-Éireann, who was murdered by the British in Crumlin Road Jail, Belfast, on September 2nd 1942. Always remembered by Joe Williams, Tom. (40th Anniversary).

In proud and loving memory of Vol Tom Williams, 'C' Coy., 1st Battalion, Belfast Brigade, Oghlaigh na h-Éireann, who was hanged in Crumlin Road Jail, Belfast, on September 2nd 1942. "They have left us our Fenian dead and while Ireland holds these graves Ireland unfree shall never be at peace." From the Tom Williams/Thomas Harte Sinn Féin cumann, Lurgan.

Birthday memories

HURSON, Martin. Birthday memories of Martin whose birthday would have occurred on September 13th. "Will those who think of him today, a little prayer be said for him." From his fiancée Bernadette.

Comrades Patrick and Thomas, who died recently. Deepest sympathy to the entire Fearn family circle.

McWEENEY, The republican POWs (Britain) extend their deepest sympathy and send their condolences to their very good friend Terry on the death of her husband John, Masses offered.

McWEENEY, John. (40th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of my comrade John, Masses offered.

McWEENEY, The Pearse/McDade Sinn Féin cumann, Birmingham, extend their deepest sympathy to Treasa (Terry) on the death of her husband John, who together with his comrades in the Sinn Féin Cumann Cabhrach and the POWs in England, Masses offered.

McWEENEY, John. (Lia and Ronnie (Durham) offer their sincere sympathy to Terry on the death of her husband John, Masses offered.

McWEENEY, John. Rosie, Eddie and family extend their deepest sympathy to their esteemed friend Terry on the recent death of her husband John, Masses offered.

SYMPATHY

BRADLEY, The Tommy Lanan Sinn Féin cumann, Sligo, offer their deepest sympathy to the Bradley family on the death of their son Vol Eamon Bradley, Derry Brigade, Oghlaigh na h-Éireann, Ireland will not forget her brave and loyal sons - his murder will be avenged.

CONDON, Comraide Altha Cillian, Sinn Féin, extend their sincere sympathy to Gerry Condon and family on the death of his father Dan.

CONDON, The Martin Forsythe Sinn Féin cumann, Dublin, extend their deepest sympathy to the friend and comrade Ger Condon, and his family, on the death of his father Dan.

FEARAN, The republican POWs, (A) and 'C' Wings, Crumlin Road) extend their deepest sympathy to our comrades Patrick and Thomas (H-Block) and family on the death of their mother Lucinda Fearan.

FEARAN, The republican POWs (H-Block) deeply regret the death of Mrs Lucinda Fearan, mother of our

GREETINGS

BAKER, Liam. (Gartree). Happy birthday, Liam. All our love and best wishes. From mother and sister Pat.

BAKER, Liam. (Gartree). Happy birthday, Liam. Thinking of you always. From aunts Agnes, Teresa, Mary and Bridget and from Uncle Joe.

DINES, Sammy. (H-Block). Greetings to you on your 24th birthday, Sammy. You're always in our thoughts and prayers. From mum, dad and all in Vulcan Street. Best wishes too from your mother (Maggie).

DINES, Sammy. (H-Block). Greetings to you on your birthday, Sammy. They have you in their keeping but we have you in our hearts. From Theresa, Gerald (Portlaoise) and wee Sammy, Sheila and John and kids and from Mary, Jim and kids. All the best.

DONEGAN, Jim. (Portlaoise). Best wishes, Jim. From your mother and all the family at Dromintee, County Armagh. Donegan, Jim. (Portlaoise). Happy birthday and best wishes, Jim. From your brother Kevin (H7), UTP.

DONEGAN, Jim. (Portlaoise). Best wishes on your birthday, Jim. From your loving brother and sister Sean and Kathleen.

DONNELLY, Vincent; GLENHOLMES, Richard; McCARTNEY, Ronnie. (Parkhurst, Hull, Durham). Best wishes on your birthday, Vincent and Dickie. Also, all the very best on your 21st, Ronnie. You don't look a day older. From Raymond, Mary and Patrick.

FUSCO, Angelo; McKEE, Michael; WHELAN, Joe. (Portlaoise). Belated greetings, Angelo and Joe 'Sperm Whale'. Also, very best wishes to you, 'Beaky', and your wife Patricia, on your wedding anniversary. From Mick and Doinín, Sinn Féin POW Dept., Dublin.

GLENHOLMES, Richard. (Hull). Greetings to my husband and our father, Dicky, for Saturday 11th September. Though prison bars and the Irish Sea divide us and we are far apart they have you in their keeping and we have you in our hearts. From Lily and the kids.

GLENHOLMES, Richard. (Hull). Many happy returns on your birthday, Richard. You're always in our thoughts. From Glen, Barbara and family.

GLENHOLMES, Richard. (Hull). Greetings to you on your birthday, Dicky. From Harry T. and family.

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GLENHOLMES, Richard. (Hull). Revolutionary greetings and best wishes on your birthday, Dicky. From Jim. Venceremos!

GLENHOLMES, Richard. (Hull). Greetings to you on your birthday, Dicky. From all your many friends in the Short Strand.

McCARTNEY, Ronnie. (Durham). Happy birthday, Ronnie. "It does not take a special day to bring you love and for a day without a thought of you is very hard to find." All our love. From Una, Sally, Rita and family. Love to all our men and women in English jails.

McCARTNEY, Ronnie. (Durham). Happy birthday, Ronnie. "They may have you in their keeping but we have you in our hearts." Thinking of you, all our prisoners in English jails, always. Love from Eddie, Rosie and family.

McCAUGHEY, Brieghe Ann. (Armagh). Happy birthday, Brieghe. Thinking of you on your birthday. From all the family. "When you civilise a man you only civilise an individual, but when you civilise a woman you civilise a whole people." In sisterhood, Trisha. Venceremos!

McGEOWN, Pat. (H-Block). Happy birthday to you my friend, Pat. My thoughts are always with you and the boys in the Kesh. From Ronnie McCartney (Durham).

McMULLAN, John. (H-Block). Birthday greetings, John. "It's not those who can inflict the most but those who can endure the most who shall ultimately be victorious." Love from Kate and Gerald (H2).

McMULLAN, John. (H-Block). Happy birthday, 'Duck'. "We do not wear the guilty stare of those who bear a crime nor do we don the badge of wrong to tramp the penal line. So all endure this pit of sewer for freedom of the mind." (Bobby Sands). Love from Maggie and Seamus (H6).

McMULLAN, John. (H-Block). Birthday greetings to you, John. "Carry on, no matter what odds are against you, carry on, no matter what the enemy calls you. Carry on, no matter what torments are inflicted on you. The road to freedom is paved with suffering, and torture. Carry on, my gallant comrades, until that certain day." (Tom Williams). All my love, Chris. Also from Lisa and Mary. UTP.

McMULLAN, John. (H-Block). Birthday greetings to you, John. Thinking of you today and always. God bless and love from Grace and John.

Draw results

Cork Sinn Féin private members draw 1st: card 200, line 2; 2nd: card 103, line 7; 3rd: card 67, line 3. L. Tyrone Sinn Féin Building Fund draw Week 15 £100: B. Borman, Brockagh; £50: K. McGuckan, Dunganen.

Lost

THE patrons of McGuinness's bar, Falls Road, Belfast, appeal to the person or persons who stole the 'Our Lady of Mercy Charity Box' from the premises to return it without delay. Hopefully those who stole the box will themselves never need charity.

New poster

THE Republican Movement has just issued a new poster entitled 'Guerrilla Days in Ireland'. 'Guerrilla days', which is in black on red, is available from the Sinn Féin centres or shops in Dublin, Belfast or Derry, at 30p each plus postage.



BY MAIRE DE BARRA

"THEY AIMED at breaking resistance by attacking and intimidating the ordinary people, but, of course, the IRA were of the people and one complemented the other so their task was impossible. While you have a situation like this, I believe the true spirit of freedom will never be broken."

Dan Gleeson, aged 80 years, of Ballymackey, County Tipperary, has been a republican activist since the early age of 15, when he first became a member of the Irish Volunteers.

Looking back over his long involvement in the republican struggle, he has no doubts as to the continuity of the IRA down to the present day.

"Though the '16 Rising did not affect us here very much at the time, it did have the longer-term effect that the young people began to realise that, rather than take up Britain's fight abroad, they had a country of their own which needed to be freed.

"I remember the day, in October 1917 it was, a few of us were playing hurling down the road when two local men approached us on behalf of the Irish Volunteers. We were all recruited and from that day forth I had pledged my life to the cause of the Irish republic.

IRA

"St Stephen's Day, 1917, remains as clear in my memory as though it were only yesterday. About 100 of us marched in full uniform to the town of Moneygall. That was an historical occasion because it was the first march in North Tipperary of what could be said to be the Irish Republican Army.

"From then on the interest and enthusiasm was something marvellous to look back on. There you had ordinary, simple country people, without sophistication, convinced that they had a right to free their country, and determined to do just that."

After the first shots were fired at Soloheadbeg there was no turning back and Dan Gleeson describes how they engaged in what was to be a tough and ruthless war against the Black and Tans.

"The most successful ambush to take place here during that time caused a whole column of Black and Tans to be wiped out. They were travelling in convoy from Borrisokane to Cloughjordan, when they were attacked along the way. We had less than 50 men — they were well ahead of us in numbers.

"Well, if that didn't drive them mad! Reinforcements came into Nenagh and went on the rampage. They blew up the creamery, burned and looted houses and tortured people wholesale.

"But it had a good military effect. From then on all the small RIC barracks were evacuated and they all withdrew to the larger centres. We practically controlled the country."

ENEMY

At that time drastic measures were taken against anyone who collaborated with the enemy.

"We dealt with them in the most ruthless ways — we had to. You can't fight a war and tolerate informers at the same time.

"An ultimatum went out to all RIC men to resign or suffer the consequences. Actually, many did resign, but those who didn't — like today's RUC — were considered by us to be legitimate targets and many were executed for doing Britain's dirty work against the Irish people.

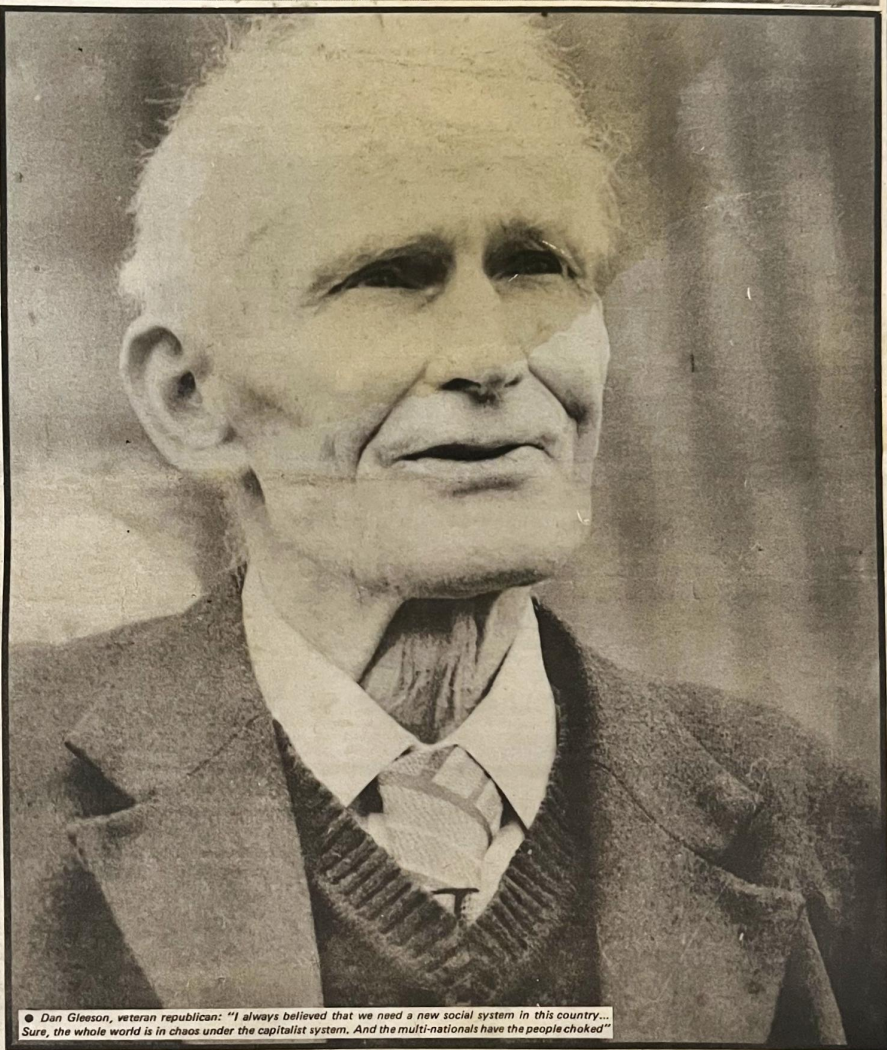
"From then on, the order went out that IRA Volunteers were not to sleep at home any more, so most nights were spent out on manoeuvres, blocking roads and generally obstructing the enemy.

"This was really a great period of dedication by all, and that to me was the main thing. Rank meant nothing to me. I always believe that no matter how small anyone's part, it is just as important as the biggest. This is always how a revolutionary organisation is made up.

DISASTER

"At the time of the Truce, we had a great organisation. Indeed, that same truce was a great disaster, it should never have happened. It brought about the exact situation that the Brits wanted to see. They knew then that the Treaty would have to be accepted. This, it was claimed by the pro-Treatyites, was

The unbroken spirit of freedom



● Dan Gleeson, veteran republican: "I always believed that we need a new social system in this country... Sure, the whole world is in chaos under the capitalist system. And the multi-nationals have the people choked"

only a stepping stone to the republic'. But, by God, if they regarded the bodies of 77 executed men as stepping stones...

"One thing I'll say: there was a great awareness among the people at the time of what they were fighting for. There was no one laying their lives on the line out of sentimentality.

"I always believed that we need a new social system in this country — the First Dail made provision for that, but, of course, when the Free State was established, all that went out the window.

"But it will have to come about. Sure, the whole world is in chaos under the capitalist system. And the multi-nationals have the people choked."

COMMANDER

From 1928 onwards, Dan Gleeson became

O/C of the IRA's North Tipperary Brigade.

"We hadn't a great political structure as such at that time, we concentrated more on the military aspect. But coming on to the '30s and the beginning of Fianna Fail, a lot of people were beginning to relax into comfortable positions from which it would be difficult to move them.

"People had to be made see that they could not be in Dev's party and still be members of the Republican Movement. When Dev got himself fully fledged into power, he turned out to be just as bad as the others.

"If it was wrong for Collins to accept it as a stepping stone, it was just as wrong for Dev."

After the beginning of the IRA's '30s bombing campaign in England, and the out-

break of the Second World War, there was a big round-up of republicans in the Free State.

It was under De Valera that Dan Gleeson was to serve two prison sentences, during which he came into frequent contact with such people as Mairtin O Cadhain, Moss Twomey, Peadar O'Donnell and others.

On today's situation, Dan Gleeson warns that with present trends and the power of the media it would be easy for the Irish people in the Free State to be lulled into a sense of security, thinking that they have a free country.

"But they would do well to remember that while there is a British presence in our country there will never be peace.

"And while they hold guns to the throats of Irish people there will always be an IRA to fight them."