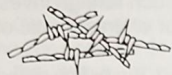


# SAOIRSE



## IRISH FREEDOM

UIMH. 4 LÚNASA — AUGUST 1987

20p

### STOP THE STRIP SEARCHES

In the first year of their operation from November 1982 to December 1983, 1621 strip-searches were carried out on a maximum prison population of 40, ten of those being ordinary criminal prisoners who were searched on average three times each. Therefore 30 Republican prisoners were searched 1591 times in 13 months: an average of 53 searches each. A NIO reply in the House of Commons said strip-searching in Armagh was "no more frequent than in Scottish Prisons".

The British National Council for Civil Liberties published a report recently on an investigation they carried out into strip-searching of women prisoners in Armagh Jail between 1982 and 1985. They came to certain conclusions on the issue of strip-searching and made some recommendations.

The Council first got involved in Six-County affairs in 1935 when they set up a Commission to examine the Special Powers Acts of 1922 and 1933.

Strip-searching of male prisoners in  
(To Page 3)

#### IFJ Condemns Section 31

The International Federation of Journalists has condemned the operation of Section 31 of the Broadcasting Act in the 26 Counties.

This report declares:

*"Irish radio and television are subjected to clear-cut political censorship, and the defence for exercising that censorship, whether it is put up by present or former ministers, by journalists or others, does not stand close scrutiny."*

The report was launched in Dublin on July 9 by Mr. Hans Larsen of the International Federation of Journalists.

He said it was up to the National Union of Journalists in Ireland to decide how the report would be used here. His Federation would distribute it to member unions, the United Nations, UNESCO, EEC, and the Council of Europe.

Áine and Eibhlín Nic Giolla Easpaig whose story of 10 years in Durham Prison has become a bestseller.



#### RUC Accused

Almost 2,800 allegations of RUC misconduct were received by the Police Complaints Board in the Six Counties last year.

This represents the highest total in the ten-year history of the board, its annual report has revealed.

Only a small number of the cases resulted in disciplinary action against the officers involved.

SAOIRSE is the official organ of Republican Sinn Féin.

#### BESTSELLER

*Sisters in Cells* the English translation of Áine and Eibhlín Nic Giolla Easpaig's account of their trial and incarceration for almost 10 years in England's infamous Durham prison, has become a bestseller. According to the "Bestsellers" list in the *Sunday Tribune* compiled at the end of May and published in that paper on June 6 last, the paperback version of the original work in Irish by the two sisters from the Donegal Gaeltacht entered the lists of Irish-

published bestsellers at No. 5, just below *Ireland in Crisis*, the critical look at the Irish economy by Raymond Crotty.

This is the first time since the Irish Books Marketing Group began to compile reliable statistics from a wide range of commercial bookshops throughout the country, that an Oireachtas Award-Winning work in the Irish language has entered the bestsellers list — in Irish or in translation.

Originally published as *Girseacha i nGéibheann* in hardback, this time last year, the work in Irish proved such a success that it had to be re-printed, again in Irish, by FNT last Christmas. The English translation by Nollaig Ó Gadhra — who also collaborated in the Irish original — was published by FNT

(To Page 3)

## DEFINING OUR TERMS

# 26-County State a Neo-Colony

Irish Republicans often refer to the 26-County State as a 'neo-colony'. What do we mean by this label and how can it be usefully applied to the economic mess in which we find ourselves?

A 'neo-colony' can be defined as an ex-colony where both the direction and level of development in the economy are controlled by external factors i.e. the advanced capitalist countries. Neo-colonies therefore would include countries such as Canada and Australia as well as what we call the 'Third World'.

This external control was obvious in our colonial period. Ireland served Britain's industrial economy by supplying food and workers. The good agricultural land of the east and south had a relatively low population and more commercial agriculture. In the west the people had not been cleared off the land to the same extent and thus a relatively dense population provided a steady flow of emigrants to Britain's industrial cities.

Cultural colonisation went hand-in-hand with this economic control through the English language, education, law, politics etc. and facilitated the movement of Irish workers to Britain. In the same way Irish agricultural products found a ready mass market among the industrial workforce there.

With political 'independence' for the 26 Counties in 1922 the basic pattern of industrial imports and agricultural exports remained. De Valera, from 1932 on, attempted to encourage native industries by a policy of protectionism and a prohibition on foreign investment. The neo-colonial structure of the economy meant however that the existing industries were mostly British owned and they re-invested profits outside Ireland.

Also, the considerable Irish capital available was continuously invested abroad e.g. savings deposited went to London where interest rates were higher and Irish investments in foreign government stocks were eleven and a half times the value of investments in Irish government stocks. No 26-County administration has yet attempted to change this situation.

With the failure to develop export markets or to diversify locally the small home market was quickly exhausted. The trend of emigration continued apace and with the economic stagnation in Ireland in the 1940s and 1950s it grew rapidly.

Many of these emigrants were the most enterprising and energetic — a situation described by one writer as follows: *'Thus there had been, in Ireland, a perpetual survival of the unfittest, a steady debasement of the human currency . . .'*

The next policy was one of opening the Irish economy to foreign investment. To do this meant lowering the barriers to imports as a reciprocal measure. This exposed the native Irish industry to the free market conditions of the major capitalist countries. Entry to the EEC exacerbated this.

Foreign investment in the manufacturing sector rose to 80,000 jobs (out of a total of 200,000) by 1977. They are

attracted by grants and other incentives and for US companies (in 1978 they made up over 50% of total foreign investment) it means free access to the lucrative EEC markets. A growing dependence on such foreign investment in the manufacturing sector is a major characteristic of neo-colonies.

While economic growth is generated, the policy reflects the 'core-periphery' nature of the world economy, with Ireland as part of the *periphery* of neo-colonies exploited in various ways by the *core* of advanced capitalist powers. The foreign investment strategy results in:

- (1) *Lower-status jobs in the neo-colonies. The research and decision making remain abroad and the best native brains are attracted abroad.*
- (2) *Profits are also sent abroad i.e. the so-called 'black-hole'. In 1975-76 US companies had an average earnings rate of 29.5% which was three times the world average for US firms.*
- (3) *Multinational branch plants usually have less spin-off benefits for the local area than native firms. They import much of their raw materials and export their finished products.*
- (4) *Multinational investment often uses scarce local resources to produce products or services which are of little use to the Irish economy. Examples are the production of consumer items for rich countries.*
- (5) *The classic form of neo-colonialism is seen in foreign investment in Irish mines. Raw ore is exported to be smelted and processed abroad. The alumina factory on the Shannon estuary is processing raw ore from another neo-colony while this goes on!*

The Irish economy is neo-colonial in the same way as Third World countries that we associate with appalling poverty and misery. Because of our geographical position close to Britain and Western Europe we have been relatively prosperous in the same manner as Canada for example. And, of course, substantial sums have been borrowed to prop up the system and pay the dole.

The price has been the constant emigration to Britain so that the reserve army of unemployed can be maintained in that country. Ireland is probably unique in the world in this respect in the period 1841-1961.

The political system in the 26 Counties is ideally suited to the short-term fly-by-nights of foreign multinationals. The alternative of serious investment in indigenous resources and industries would require medium and long term planning which could take years to bear fruit.

In a political system that is derived from Britain, with frequent elections and therefore short-term policies to maintain governmental popularity (and little difference in policy between the parties) any such planning is impossible.

Ruairi Ó Conchúir.

## RSF not involved

Comhairle Uladh of Republican Sinn Féin reacted swiftly on June 7 to the statement by the SDLP's John Hume in that day's **'Sunday News'** suggesting that an internal row among Republicans was the reason for the shooting of Alex Maskey and Brendan Davison in Belfast. The attacks were obviously the work of Loyalists.

Comhairle Uladh's statement said:

*"The suggestion in today's Sunday News that Republican Sinn Féin is involved in physical attacks on election workers in Belfast is mischievous, malicious and totally without foundation".*

## SYMPATHY

The members of the Anne Devlin Cumann, Rathfarnham, extend heartfelt sympathy to Leo and Gobnait Duignan on the sudden death of their son Dr. Patrick Naoise.

Gabhann muid comhbhrón lena ghaolta ar ad.

**Correction:** The number of Seán Hayes, POW, Isle of Wight is 341418.

# Strip Searches

(From Page 1)

Long Kesh is going on for years and is justified by the authorities by citing incidents of escape using weapons which had been concealed on the body. Strip-searching was introduced into Armagh Prison in November 1982 after two keys were found on prisoners returning from court.

The Council for Civil Liberties carried out an enquiry because of allegations made about the way in which these searches have been carried out and their frequency. There were women on the Commission, one staff member from BNCCCL, a Rabbi, a Journalist, a Barrister and a member of the BNCCCL executive committee.

The Commission had two meetings at the NIO in London, Nicholas Scott, Minister for Prisons being present at the first. Two members of the Commission were allowed to visit Armagh Prison. The enquiry team contacted relevant bodies in the Six Counties for their views and the team spent three days in the area in February, 1985.

The ratio of prison officers to prisoners in Armagh was extraordinarily high — two to one. James Prior approved of the use of random strip-searching and Nicholas Scott defended its use in a letter to the BNCCCL in 1984 on the grounds of "security maintenance". The screws in Armagh Prison said they did not trust mechanical methods of detection.

The NIO defended the procedure by saying that the process is discreet, perfunctory and private. Groups campaigning against the practice allege that it is brutal, inhuman and degrading, tantamount to rape in some cases.

Up to March, 1984, some prisoners refused to allow themselves to be searched and were forcibly searched. Republican prisoners interpreted strip-searching as a method of 'punishing' or 'breaking' them. Some prison officers used the occasion to exercise their racial or religious prejudices.

In the first year, 1982-83, 1621 searches were carried out on a prison population of 40 which averages over 40 searches per prisoner, almost one per week. Prison screws maintained that candidates were chosen on a 'random' basis but agreed that one sure way of enduring strip-searching was to claim to be sick. **"This would arouse their suspicions and they would search her"**. According to available facts which are hard to obtain, strip-searching on women prisoners in Armagh Jail was carried out 32 times more frequently than elsewhere.

The Board of Visitors to Armagh Jail, all Protestant, defend the use of the procedure but admit that **"the searches have not produced any item to warrant their continuation"**. They claim to be concerned with the length of time women are on remand awaiting trial, usually over two years, which amounts to internment. The Presbyterian chaplain agreed that it was a **"most degrading"** practice but **"necessary for security"**.

The Association for Legal Justice believes that the practice is **"deliberate**

**degradation"**, and should be discontinued especially as it has been shown to be unnecessary since no item has ever been found.

The SDLP has attacked the practice in both Westminster and the 'European Parliament'. They oppose it because it is **"intentional sexual humiliation"** and **"unnecessary because surveillance is so strict that nothing can be smuggled in or out"**. It is a means of victimising certain unpopular prisoners and causes suffering to families.

A general consensus of opinion was that the Republican prisoners were targeted for searching to punish them and break them.

The report comes to a few conclusions:

1. The period of remand is far too long;
2. In the main, prisoners are Catholic and screws are Protestant.
3. Strip-searching is more traumatic to Irish girls because of their strict moral up-bringing.
4. The introduction of strip-searching in November, 1982 was ostensibly for greater security but in reality an attempt to maintain authority in the prison after years of unrest.
5. Republican prisoners are being punished.

The Commission of Enquiry makes some recommendations:

1. Improve surveillance;
2. Reduce the frequency of strip-searching and thereby reduce the hostility among prisoners and their community at large.
3. Use metal and drug detection equipment;

The report quotes a Sinn Féin source only once and shows a sceptical attitude towards opinions from this quarter but in general it is sympathetic and humanitarian while lacking in depth of study and statistics. One only strip-search was observed and the enquiry pair visited court only once during a total of three days work on the enquiry.

The BNCCCL have a good record on Ireland having kept a watching brief on many episodes in recent history. They challenged Widgery's report on Bloody Sunday (who didn't!) and have examined the RUC. They have compiled several reports on the operation of the PTA in Britain and have advocated the abolition of the Diplock Courts (join the queue!).

Their attitude towards the suffering of Irish people under Brit violence and oppression has been a benevolent one. Gura fada buan iad.

The pamphlet:— *Strip-Searching* is available from: The National Council for Civil Liberties, 21 Tabard St., London, SE1 4LA. Price £2.25

Now that Armagh Jail is closed all women prisoners are incarcerated in Maghaberry, a top security prison, but strip-searching still goes on.

## RSF and Moyle Council

Dear Sir,

With reference to a report on the front page of the *Irish News* of June 30 re election of chairperson at Moyle, Mr. McSparran (SDLP) says he is happy to serve under Mr. McConaghey (Ind. Unionist) so apparently he has no gripe with power-sharing.

As we read down the column we detect a note of peevishness — *"The conduct of SF members was reprehensible"*. Might I ask what punishment Mr. McSparran has in mind for us? And for what?

Do Mr. McSparran's progressive policies include the secret meetings with the RUC over which he presides every three months? At these meetings the press reporters are ordered to leave, no notes can be taken, no records or minutes kept. Nationalist Councillors leave. SDLP and others remain. What goes on at these meetings? Irish Nationalists are entitled to know. Is it supergrass or informer discussion?

Mr. McSparran speaks of our fear of the achievements of the Anglo-Irish Agreement but why does he confine himself to the Anglo-Irish Agreement? This agreement is only one of three major Anglo-Irish Agreements or dirty tricks played on the Irish people this century, the Government of Ireland Acts of 1920 and 1949 being the other two.

The British Government does not care who rules in Ireland provided they rule for the British advantage. If the Anglo-Irish Agreement with its policy of criminalization of Republicans and copper-fastening of Partition achieves anything in comparison with its two predecessors then Republicans will indeed have cause to fear it.

There was nothing in my manifesto which said I had to vote Malachy McSparran for chairperson, nothing which said that I had to assist in making local government work in this Six-County partitionist state. I stood for election on the basis of a 32-County Independent Republic and on that basis I will stand again. My election or otherwise will be a matter for the people of Ballycastle to decide.

Frank McCarry, Councillor, RSF,  
Moyle,  
Ballycastle, Co. Antrim.

## Bestseller

(From Page 1)

two months ago, and launched in Dublin by Dr. Seán Mac Bride, International Nobel and Lenin Peace Prize Winner.

Tá spéis idirnáisiúnta léirithe sa leabhar chomh maith agus tá leagan Gearmáinise de á réiteach faoi láthair. Ceann de na nithe is suimiúla dar leis na foilsitheoirí a bhaineann leis an saothar áirithe seo ná go bhfuil an leagan Béarla chomh dílis sin don bhunchuntas Gaeilge, ó insint bhéil na gcailíní féin, go bhfuil go leor daoine ar bheagán Gaeilge nó daoine atá ag foghlaim Gaeilge in ann an dá théacs a chur i gcomparáid le chéile agus cleachtadh spéisúil teanga a bheith acu le linn dóibh a bheith ag cur eolais ar an gcaoi ina gcaitheann dlí na Sasanach le cine Ghael i gcofnaí.

# SCRÚDÚ NA TEISTIMÉIREACHTA I SMAOINEAMH CERTIFICATE IN CLEAR THINKING EXAMINATION

## CUID 1 — PART 1 FACTS

Please attempt **all** questions

1. When did Ireland join Europe? 10 marks
2. How many states are there in Europe? 20 marks
3. Name six states in Western Europe which are not in the EEC. 25 marks
4. Apart from the Lapland region of Scandinavia, what country in Western Europe has the lowest density of population? 10 marks
5. What is the population of Ireland to the nearest million? 10 marks
  - (a) 3,000,000
  - (b) 4,000,000
  - (c) 5,000,000
6. Give the current unemployment rates (%) for 25 marks
  - (a) EEC
  - (b) 26 Counties
  - (c) Six Counties
  - (d) EFTA countries

## CUID 2 — PART 2 OPINIONS

Please attempt **three** questions

All questions carry equal marks

1. Why, in your opinion, are so many Irish people led to accept that  
26 Counties = Ireland  
12 Counties = Europe  
Inis Eoghain "is not in the North" but "is in the South"?  
Analyse these misconceptions and discuss their possible sources and consequences. Can you give any further examples? How can such distortions be avoided?
2. Both States in Ireland have records of relatively high unemployment and emigration. Is this due to a failure to develop resources such as forestry, fisheries, minerals, horticulture, etc. Discuss, with reference to our history of colonialism.
3. Do you think that Ireland, in relation to the rest of Western Europe, is underdeveloped? Is it possible to bring Ireland to the stage of a developed country while there is complete free trade and unrestricted competition from stronger and more developed countries? Can you discover any country which has ever managed to develop in such circumstances?
4. (a) What do you think of the EEC ban on the publicly funded BUY IRISH campaign?  
(b) Outline the possible consequences for Irish industry and employment of the ban on national trade marks (e.g. Made in Ireland) which will result from the implementation of the Single European Act.

5. (a) Can you suggest ways in which smaller trading links with other countries with  
(b) Do you think that the ending of British creation of an all-Ireland market, or government, would be a positive benefit?
6. Given our experience since 1973, discuss remaining in the EEC. Are social and regional realistic alternative to development of our such schemes have on
  - (a) national morale?
  - (b) Prospects of steady employment in Ireland?

## Lord of the

The "Lord of the Manor" attitude is most noticeable in his dealings with workers and their union at shop floor level, where he is obsessed with his right to hire and fire at will, regardless of agreements or Labour Court rulings.

In November of 1986 Hanlon laid off 85 workers, and refused to comply with normal industrial procedure of "last in first out", and insisted on hand-picking those who were to lose their jobs. All of these just happened to be union activists.

In the present dispute Hanlon has refused to speak to the union and insists that the workers capitulate before he will begin talks on redundancy payments or the future of other jobs at the plant.

Bob Brady of the ITGWU is ready and willing to have open agenda talks with Mr. Hanlon at any time or venue, but this has been rejected by Noel Hanlon.

By threatening to pull out of Longford and relocate his business in Liverpool, Hanlon has attempted to intimidate the local community and workers into accepting his terms, and given the current high unemployment this form of moral blackmail has worked.

Anxious to help his friend and avoid the loss of 210 jobs in this Fianna Fáil heartland, Albert Reynolds weighed in with the innuendo of sabotage against the workers, and hinted that the union would like to see the company in liquidation.

Reynolds can say such things from his privileged position in Leinster House without producing any proof, which once again goes to show that in Longford-Westmeath the power of money, and Party connections, puts certain people above and beyond the law.

Workers at Hanlon's have shown remarkable restraint and responsibility towards their firm and fellow workers in the

# THE SOILÉIR 1987 NATION 1987

Smaller countries can forge cultural and political identities without being dominated or exploited? British rule in the Six Counties and the Republic, under a decentralised system of government, benefit?

Discuss the social implications of Ireland's regional fund transfers or "handouts" a la carte from our own resources, and what effect do they have on Ireland for young people?

## The Manor

face of obstinate and unreasonable demands by Noel Hanlon, while having to endure a smear campaign mounted by Albert Reynolds and his local Fianna Fáil organisation.

Mr. Brady of the ITGWU and Mr. Hanlon are political opponents, but to suggest that this is the reason why workers have been tramping the picket lines for over five weeks is a measure of how low Fianna Fáil will go, to try and smash the union in this Company owned by its principal financial backer.

Noel Hanlon of Longford has embarked on a one man crusade to put Irish Trade

(To Page 6)

# 'The State has crucified the Nation' — Raymond Crotty

For 160 years, this country has failed to provide a livelihood for half of its people. If they didn't emigrate they literally starved to death. We had a crooked, corrupt inefficient and inequitable social order. It didn't matter, because the casualties of that social order cleared out. What they left behind them was a fat cat society. The problems of that society were carted away by the boatload. Suddenly this has ended — not totally, but virtually.

The safety valve — emigration — of a wretched, corrupt and rotten social system is no longer in operation. If we were back in the 1950s, all the government would have to do would be to cut back on expenditure and the people would be on the boat the next day when a few factories closed. Nowadays, they're on the dole. So there's very little saving by exchequer cutbacks.

There is also the point that along with almost 140 countries that were colonised and had various systems and technologies forced upon them, Ireland has failed to develop. All of those countries were taken over by what now constitute the nine most powerful countries in the EEC. None of the 140 has developed. They are 'undeveloped' and 'undeveloping'.

Ireland is unique amongst these countries in that living standards are pretty high, aspirations are high, mainly because half the population always emigrated. Having the incomes and aspirations of a developed country, and having to face the fact that we are an undeveloped country, is one of the main reasons we are now facing the crisis at this point in time.

We are the same as the countries of Africa, Asia or Latin America. We have to face that situation for the first time in our history. It's a major crisis. You have equally incompetent governments in the Third World but their people are poor, illiterate, have few aspirations and are usually run by military dictatorships. They keep going down year after year. But for us now, there's no escape. We've exhausted our credit. You can search all of human history and you won't get a crisis comparable to this, either in this country or anywhere else.

A coalition of right wing and centre parties could hold the present position for a few years. They might make cutbacks of a few hundred million here or there, but that would be totally inadequate to deal with the situation.

The politicians, being the people who created the debt, are unlikely to take an initiative which will effectively rob them of power. They're all people who are concerned above all with power and position and displayed no concern for the welfare of the country. They were after power, regardless of the national interest. Their policies have been pursued over the years.

I start with T. K. Whitaker who is responsible more than any of them. Those policies were bound to lead to disaster. They were popular at the time but they have led to the present mess. *We have fewer people getting a livelihood in this country now than at any time in the last 250 years.* We have twenty per cent fewer than when the state was established. With an undeveloping economy, we are in the same boat as the Latin Americans, the Caribbeans, the Africans, and the South East Asians.

I think it's important to realise how we got into this mess. Even if we had never borrowed a penny, we would still be in trouble.

Remember, for over 160 years, every second person born in Ireland has been denied a livelihood here. The system didn't become defective when John A. Costello started to borrow money first in 1948. That was an expedient that allowed the ship of state to carry on for another forty years.

The state has crucified the nation and it's the nation that must liberate itself. It must come from the people, not the politicians.

Raymond Crotty, author of *Ireland in Crisis* writing in *In Dublin*.

## Bundoran March

ANYONE WISHING TO TRAVEL TO BUNDORAN HUNGER STRIKE MARCH ON AUGUST 29 SHOULD CONTACT 21, SHAW STREET, DUBLIN 2, PHONE: 718224

## NA FREAGRAÍ — ANSWERS

Faillte roimh thuairim!

Interests of Irish youth. Comments welcome.

Published by Sinn Féin Foin Poblachtach, 21 Sraid Seá, Baile Átha Cliath 2 in the

is important to search out the real FACTS before forming opinions or judgements. fraudulent. In this age of mass media, clever censorship, national handlers, etc., it value they must be informed opinions, based on FACTS which are not distorted or There are no neat or simple answers to these questions. For opinions to be of any

### CUID 2 — PART 2 OPINIONS

- 6. a. 12% b. 19% c. 19% d. 3%
- 5. 5,000,000
- 4. Ireland.

European Free Trade Association — EFTA.

- 3. Austria, Switzerland, Norway, Sweden, Finland, Iceland, all members of the
- 2. At least 30.
- 1. Never. Ireland was always part of Europe.

### CUID 1 — PART 1 FACTS (which are actually true)

# SDLP agus Cinsireacht

I measc na nithe ba sheafóidí a bhain le clúdach RTÉ ar thorthaí an Olltoghcháin sna Sé Chontae, bhí dlúthfheidhmiú na cinsireachta faoi Alt 31 — an cineál ruda a dúirt Cathal Ó hEochaidh a thiocfadh chun deiridh ach é féin a bheith ina Thaoiseach arís!

Ba dheacair gan claontacht Mhontrose a thabhairt faoi deara roimh agus le linn an toghcháin ar bhealaí chomh míghaimiúil a thug cead don SDLP ionsaithe a dhéanamh ar iarrthóirí eile nach bhféadfaí labhairt leo, go dtí an focal comhghairdeachais a rinneadh le gach ball den SDLP ar labhraíodh leis — rud nár dearmadh i gcás na mbuathóirí féin ach corr-uair.

Ní léir cén fáth ar tugadh cead do thuairisceoir RTÉ "East Londonderry" a úsáid i gcás an tsuíocháin a bhuaigh William Ross, cé gur tuairiscíodh John Hume a bheith tofa in "Derry", "Foyle" an teideal oifigiúil atá ar an toghcheantar a bhuaigh Hume ar ndóigh — ach is dócha go gcaithfeadh siad leanúint den mhíotias in RTÉ gurb é Hume an t-aon ghuth poiblí atá in ann labhairt ar son mhuintir Dhoire.

Cuireadh an-bhéim ar iarthar Bhéal Feirste, an Dún Theas agus Ard Macha/an tIúr an uair seo — na háiteanna ina raibh súil ag an SDLP le buanna — le hais Lár Uladh agus Fear Manach/Tír Eoghain Theas, an dá cheantar stairiúil mar a d'éirigh leis an mionlach Aontachtach an lámh in uachtar a fháil arís de bharr pholaitíocht scoilte an phobail Náisiúnaigh.

Mar sin féin, níor luaigh RTÉ díomá na bPoblachtach le cinneadh lucht leanúna Adams an Chríochdheighilt a aithint trí Theach Laighean a aithint mí na Samhna seo caite — rud a d'fhág nach raibh aon rogha ag go leor daoine an uair seo ach fanacht sa bhaile. Ken Maginnis, an tAontachtach an t-aon duine a raibh dóthain tuisceana aige ar an scéal, le Sinn Féin Poblachtach a lua.

Ní chreidfeadh muintir RTÉ na figiúirí féin. Ná Austin Currie, guth neamhthofa an SDLP ar theip air arís is arís eile suíochán a bhaint i bhFear Manach/Tír Eoghain Theas, agus a raibh casán dearg déanta ag John Hume agus aige féin chuig C. J. Haughey ag iarraidh go gceapfaí mar Sheanadóir é le míonna anuas.

## IONSAÍ CURRIE

Ba spéisiúil ar fad an t-ionsaí gránna a rinne Currie, ar an aer, ar Ghearóid Ó Cearbhalláin, Eagarthóir LÁ nuair a sheol sé cuntas chuig RTÉ faoi imeachtaí in iarthar Bhéal Feirste.

"Who is this person?" a d'fhiafraigh sé — rud a léirigh a aineolas ar LÁ, agus ar obair Ghearóid do Raidió na Gaeltachta i measc rudaí eile. "He is not an objective journalist" a cheol Currie, nuair a thug sé nach raibh Gearóid sásta an gnáthphort a sheinm faoi na daoine iontach a bhí ag an SDLP, agus faoin obair a bhí ar siúl acu in iarthar Bhéal Feirste. Cén dochar ach focal ní raibh as an Currie céanna faoi neamhchlaontacht lucht leanúna an DUP agus OUP nuair a labhraíodh leo ar an gclár céanna.

Nuair a mheabhraigh Gearóid dó gur chónaigh sé in iarthar Bhéal Feirste, agus go raibh dlúthbhaint aige le imeachtaí an phobail ansin le blianta anuas, tharraing Austin an líne ba shuaraí ar fad chuige féin: "Obviously, RTÉ have found a way around Section 31" a mhaigh sé — rud nár thaitin, de réir cosúlachta, ró-mhór leis an láithreoir, Rodney Rice, an ball dlíis úd den NUJ atá chomh dlíis sin do chomhlíonadh gach orlach d'Alt 31 mar a leag an Dr. Conchúr Crús-Ó Briain síos é i dtosach i lár na '70aí — i gcás na hÉireann ar aon chuma.

Ní bhíonn aon leisce ar Rodney labhairt le lucht an fhoréigin san Afraic Theas, nó in áit ar bith eile thar lear. Go deimhin is minic é ar a dtóir ar fud na cruinne, go háirithe sa Tríú Domhan. Nach gcuireann an Roinn Gnóthaí Eachtracha deontais taistil ar fáil do RTÉ chun gur féidir leo cruachásanna na muintire ar fud an Tríú Domhain a roinnt le daoine sa bhaile sa tsraith "Worlds Apart"?

## AFRAIC THEAS

Cén dochar, ach an polasaí nua ceardchumainn faoina luann muintir RTÉ ó am go chéile nach bhfuil cead acu scéal ar leith a chlúdach go gairmiúil toisc Ailt 31, níor bhrúigh an NUJ ar aghaidh é, go dtí gur thosaigh an BBC á dhéanamh de thoradh shrianta cinsireachta san Afraic Theas.

Ba dheacair do RTÉ é a dhéanamh i gcás na hAfraice amháin. Dá bhri sin, déantar i gcás na hÉireann leis é, cé go gceapann Ray Burke agus Charlie Haughey gur sampla eile é de chlaontacht lucht leanúna Pháirtí na nOibrithe in RTÉ a thug an nós chun cinn ag an am a tháinig siad féin ar ais i mbun cumhachta le geallúint go gcuirfí deireadh le Alt 31!

Maidir le Currie agus a ionsaí ar Ghearóid, ba cheart go gcuimhneodh Rodney, ar a laghad, gur ghlac an SDLP le rún in aghaidh Ailt 31 freisin, cosúil le Fianna Fáil. Ní féidir gur ghlac an páirtí le rún chomh raidiceach sin gan aird RTÉ a tharraingt orthu féin? Níor mhiste iad a cheistiú ina thaobh, uair éigin, ó tharla iad a bheith ar an aer chomh minic sin faoi nithe nach bhfuil leath chomh tábhachtach.

Fan go n-éireoidh Eddie McGrady amach as Westminster i ngeall ar Sellafeld. Sháraigh sé féin is Enoch Powell a chéile le hóráidí fada i dtaobh na ceiste seo atá ina ábhar buartha an-mhór ag muintir an Dúin, le míonna anuas.

Ach cad a dhéanfaidh Maggie Anois ó tá an toghchán ina póca aici — agus cóip den SEA sa phóca eile? Cuir ceist ar Ray Burke! B'fhéidir gur cheart dó Alt 31 a shíneadh chun díospóireachtaí ar an ábhar sin a chosc freisin!

— Tomás Ó Neachtain

## Comhbhrón

Comhbhrón do na laochra a dhúnmharú i Loughgall ó Seósamh Ó Maoileoin agus Emmett Walsh i gContae na h-Iar-Mhí.

## Loughgall Martyrs

Sincere sympathy is extended to the families and friends of the eight volunteers Óglaigh na hÉireann murdered by the SAS in Loughgall on May 8 last.

"Weep not for them with useless tears  
But think of them with pride  
For Ireland they fought the fight  
For Ireland — they died."

I measc Laochra na nGael go raibh siad.

From Terry McWeeney and Family,  
London.

**BUCKLEY**, The National Organising Committee of Republican Sinn Féin deeply regrets the death of Joe Buckley, former O/C Dublin Brigade Óglaigh na hÉireann and extends sympathy to his family. Go ndéana Dia trócaire ar a anam.

**BUCKLEY**, Deepest sympathy is extended to the family of Joe Buckley who died recently. From Dermot McGuirk and former comrades, Dún Laoghaire.

**BUCKLEY**, Sincere sympathy is extended to the family and relatives of Joe Buckley, Dublin who died on July 10. From Seán Ó Sé, Ballybrack. Ar dheis Dé go raibh a anam.

**BUCKLEY**, Sincere sympathy is extended to the family and relatives of Joe Buckley, Dublin who died on July 10. Go ndéana Dia trócaire ar a anam. Remembered with affection by Cathleen Knowles.

## Lord of the Manor

(From Page 5)

Unionists in their place, and has threatened to pull out of Ireland if he doesn't get his way.

Hanlon (Ireland) which manufactures ambulances in Longford exports most of them to Britain where the company has a depot in Liverpool employing a number of people.

Through the expertise of his skilled workforce which is drawn from counties Longford, Roscommon and Leitrim, Hanlon has gained 45% of the ambulance market in Britain, and as a result is one of Ireland's wealthiest men.

A former chairman of Foir Teo, which dispenses money to businessmen in financial trouble, he is also a director of Aer Lingus as well as owning several other companies and a multitude of properties.

Mr. Hanlon is a close personal and political friend of local TD and Industry Minister Albert Reynolds, but as a Fianna Fáil "King Maker" in the midlands is better known as "Mr. Fianna Fáil" because of his ability to raise funds for the party.

Like many of our wealthy native capitalists, Noel Hanlon likes to project the image of the "Self-made man" while at the same time acting the "Lord of the Manor" by bestowing favours and talking about it afterwards.

## Siopa na Poblachta

Our bookshop at 21, Shaw Street, Dublin 2 is now open. Amongst books available there are:

**Frongoch** — Seán O'Mahony, (£5.95)  
**The Connolly Column** — Michael O'Riordan, (£7.00)  
**Skylark Sing Your Lonely Song** — Bobby Sands, (£4.95)  
**The McGarrity Papers** — ed. Seán Cronin, (£4.95)  
**The Singing Flame** — Ernie O'Malley, (£3.50)  
**Raids and Rallies** — Ernie O'Malley, (£3.50)  
**The Centre Cannot Hold** — Tom Collins, (£7.95)  
**My Fight for Irish Freedom** — Dan Breen, (£3.50)  
**No Other Law** — Florence O'Donoghue, (£5.95)  
**Tone and His Times** — Frank McDermot, (£4.95)

**Ireland Since the Famine** — F. S. L. Lyons, (£6.50)  
**Kevin Barry** — Seán Cronin, (£1.30)  
**Labour in Irish History** — James Connolly, (£1.35)  
**The Re-Conquest of Ireland** — James Connolly, (80p)  
**Labour, Nationality and Religion** — James Connolly, (50p)  
**Socialism Made Easy** — James Connolly, (30p)  
**The Tale of a Great Sham** — Anna Parnell, (£9.90)  
**Foclóir Gaeilge/Béarla (Gearrthoclóir)** (£4.00)  
**The Faber Book of Irish Verse** (£4.95)  
**Borstal Boy** — Brendan Behan, (£4.35)  
**Confessions of an Irish Rebel** — Brendan Behan, (£3.25)  
**The IRA** — (Revised edition) J. Bowyer Bell, (£7.95)

**Songs of 1798 — The Year of the French**, (£1.50)  
**Songs and Recitations of Ireland Books 1 — 5**, (£1.20 each)  
**Soul of Fire** — Biography of Mary Mac Swiney, (£7.95)  
**The IRA** — (1987 edition) Tim Pat Coogan, (£5.49)  
**Girseacha i nGéibheann** — Aine agus Eibhlín Nic Giolla Easpaig, (£4.50)  
**Sisters in Cells** — (English translation), Aine agus Eibhlín Nic Giolla Easpaig, (£4.50)  
**Fíocht Foinnte** — Nollaig Ó Gadhra, (£6.00)  
**Ten Men Dead** — David Beresford, (£4.38)

Available by post — Cash with orders, postage extra.  
 A wide range of books, pamphlets, tapes, posters, badges including James Connolly badges at £1.20 each, available.  
 Opening hours: 11am to 6pm.

## 'Sworn to be Free'

### REPUBLICANS AND IRISH

When Peadar Ó Cearnaigh penned those words in that song which afterwards become our National Anthem the theme 'determination' was no doubt in his mind. But he used the word 'sworn' rather than 'determined'. He who is determined swears a private oath to himself. And in so far as is humanly possible he tries to remain true to that oath.

Although we promised to discuss 'Determination' in this article we now find it much easier to talk of lack of determination than to discuss the very varied qualities which constitute determination itself. A case in point, since we have mentioned the National Anthem, was the recent disgraceful episode where a group substituted 'The Rose of Tralee' for the National Anthem. The incident arose because one part of the group were determined not to be represented by Amhrán na bhFiann and the remainder of the group were not determined enough to take a stand.

*How true is this in general about the usage of the Irish language amongst us Republicans?*

A difficult question to answer since determination with regard to language usage is an individual thing and our determined stand with regard to our Republican principles is mostly demonstrated in group activities. Nevertheless if each of us were to determine to take a positive stand in regard to using Irish it would quickly be reflected in our group activities.

Let us return for a moment to the usage of one's name in Irish only. A decision to do this would entail great determination by anyone. Your friends who called you John, Joe or Mary must now call you Seán, Seosamh or Máire. They would forget quite often and you would need to remind them constantly of the change. And if you lacked determination to establish yourself as Seán Ó Murchú rather than John Murphy you might, rather than blame yourself, blame your friends. Which of the two groups in question regarding the Rose of Tralee incident lacked determination? Which of the two groups is most to be admired (although not necessarily agreed with)? In answering that we have a method of measuring our own determination.

One might ask why such emphasis is being put on the usage of one's name in Irish as a mark of determination. The simple answer is that a person who insists on using and being

addressed by that which is most precious to him/her (i.e. his/her name) makes a clear statement of intent.

Irish history shows how one of the first steps taken by our conquerors was to Anglicise (or vulgarise if you wish) our names and our place-names. The conqueror understood only too well that both our names and place-names constantly recalled our history. They were the greatest and most significant marks of our folk memory. Áth Fhirdia recalled a heroic legend. 'Ardee' meant nothing. 'Ó Murchú' recalled bravery, Murphy meant nothing. We should note also the refusal of the white race in America to give surnames to their Negro slaves. They were allowed to use only nicknames as one would name a dog or any other animal. Too much dignity would be inculcated by usage of surnames — they might begin to consider themselves as humans!

Quietly and cleverly therefore, forms were applied to our names and placenames which in essence were often nothing less than gobbledygook. Gradually where urban areas were built names of 'Peers of the Realm' were applied to the streets. Surely no self-respecting Republican can be happy today with streets in our capital city carrying execrable names such as Mountjoy Square, Chatham Street, George's Street, King Street, etc.?

Yet, since we cannot do much about street names (or indeed new housing estate names such as Dallas Square or Dynasty Avenue!) *we can show our determination to do something about our own names.*

The test will strengthen us. The example we will show will win respect for our Republican beliefs. The irritation caused by that constant stupid question "what's that in English?" will remind us of the great maxim of Traolach Mac Suibhne "It is not those who can inflict the most but those who can endure the most who will conquer in the end."

Are we determined enough?

**Nóta Breise** — Anyone who needs advice as to the correct Irish form of names may write to me and I shall be only too glad to be of assistance.

**Domhnall Ó Lúbhlaí**

## The Martyrs of Loughgall

*Air: The Felons of our Land.*

*When we talk of Ireland's Heroes  
Of days long, long ago  
Of heroic acts of valour  
As they faced the Saxon foe  
We keep the memory fresh and bright  
Of our gallants, one and all,  
And among their ranks we proudly place  
The Martyrs of Loughgall.*

*Brave Lynagh came from Monaghan —  
A rebel true and bold —  
Pat Kelly from Dungannon came  
Their names in honour hold.  
Keep dear the name of Arthurs  
We love them one and all  
The volunteers who died that day  
The Martyrs of Loughgall.*

*There was Pat McKearney from the Moy  
In evergreen Tyrone  
We keep his memory bright and clear  
And remember as our own*

*Gene Kelly who from Cappagh came  
God keep them one and all  
The glorious eight who faced the foe  
The Martyrs of Loughgall.*

*From Benburb came O'Callaghan  
The land of Owen Roe,  
From Galbally brave Donnelly  
Went out to face the foe,  
From Cappagh came young Gormley  
Who answered Ireland's call  
Oh, Irishmen, remember them  
The Martyrs of Loughgall.*

*The slavelings will condemn them  
As they did in days of yore  
As terrorists and gunmen  
We've heard it all before  
But those who want their country free  
From England's cruel thrall  
Will never cease to love them  
The Martyrs of Loughgall.*

Copyright Vincent O'Doherty, Sligo.

## AN FHLEÁ DHUBH!

At a meeting of Cumann an Athar Uí Ghríofa of Republican Sinn Féin a resolution was passed criticising the take-over of street festivals in Galway by breweries. Particular reference was made to the Woodquay Festival where a huge lorry smothered in Guinness posters and advertisements was in use as a stage by little children. This is scandal. The meeting also condemned the begging-bowl mentality of sporting organisations accepting sponsorship from powerful multinational and national companies.

A further resolution was passed condemning the grant of £50,000,000 to the Goodman Giant. Small family butchers would suffer. £50,000,000 would provide one thousand residential farms, at an average cost of £50,000 each. The present "beef-mountain" policy of "farming" needs to be replaced by husbandry and horticulture.

The State, at present, imports almost £30,000,000 worth of potatoes annually as well as hundreds of millions of pounds worth of other vegetables and fruit. The flight from the land into our depressed cities and emigration itself can be stemmed by a sane back-to-the-land agricultural policy.

## McCUSKER'S TRUE FACE

Harold McCusker is perhaps one of the more widely recognised personalities in the declining Official Unionist Party and is also one of its more outspoken, if not guarded, spokesmen. To Nationalists he is often a figure of contempt whose hypocrisy is to be equalled only by his rabid anti-Nationalist sentiments. To Republicans he is an apologist for British terror.

It is no great surprise that he was invited to speak recently at a gathering of his followers in the "Newry and Armagh Young Unionist Association" Dinner Dance. In his address, the newly re-elected MP for Upper Bann, the well known advocate of re-partition and occasional Lambeg Drummer entertained his faithful by preaching at length of the injustice done to the loyalists and proved to their satisfaction that gerrymandering caused the loss of two seats for their own beloved Union. Strange logic indeed!

Mr. McCusker claimed that the four new constituencies which were carved out of the two old constituencies of Armagh and South Down, both Unionist dominated since partition, a few years back left Loyalists badly represented.

An appreciative audience agreed with his claim that there was an inherent injustice in the situation where in the four constituencies concerned "only 60,000 Nationalists had voted and got two members elected yet, 100,000 Unionists voted to get the same representation."

It was a truly remarkable outburst and one which should have demanded greater prominence by the press than it actually got. Here he was with his mask off, his true face shown.

Nationalists will laugh at Mr. McCusker's

frustration and bitterness for few can forget that the redrawing of boundaries and creation of five extra seats in the occupied Six Counties came about only because of a cynical deal worked out between the Loyalists themselves and a minority British Labour government under James Callaghan. Unionist MPs, McCusker included, kept that party in power in return for the promise of increased representation for themselves in that foreign assembly; more crumbs from the colonial master's table to calm the restless natives.

Like many of his ilk Mr. McCusker is an expert at quoting and manipulating statistics and finding an acceptable result. It matters not to him that his statistics are irrelevant and dishonest. It only matters that they prove his case. He was of course comparing four rather different areas, each one unique in its own way. Mr. McCusker and his audience are not concerned about the more appropriate examples of Fermanagh/South Tyrone and Mid-Ulster where, more often than not, quite substantial Nationalist majorities fail to unseat a single Loyalist candidate who has only minority support in those areas.

This then is a statistic which Mr. McCusker and his colleagues can, for their own sectarian reasons, find acceptable. It is all very well when a Unionist minority can consistently impose an ex-UDR officer and a music hall cleric on a Nationalist majority but quite different when Nationalists are seen to have the upper hand.

Few can doubt McCusker's contempt for the ballot box and for the Nationalist majorities in Newry and Armagh and South Down since he is well known for favouring UDI and redrawing the border if ever the

Nationalists become a majority. So much for democracy!

Nor does McCusker accept that the very state which he upholds is itself a gerrymandered entity set up against the wishes of the Irish people who voted for Pearse's vision of the Republic in the last free election. It matters not to him that he is perpetuating a system which offers only oppression, jails, strife and continued injustice for the Nationalist people. "An orange state for . . ."

McCusker will not see reason to change his views and indeed why should he when his bigotry, his Unionism and loyalty to his own fits in well with the Brits' objectives in Ireland. They give all the support and encouragement he needs. They have no intention of leaving, peacefully at least, for they still crave dominance over the island as a whole. While they remain, backed up by the Loyalist parliamentary RUC/UDR, Nationalists will be forced to suffer on with the bigotry of Harold McCusker.

Michael Donegan.

The Unionist newspaper *The Newsletter* was editorialising recently about general electioneering and the need for broad politics and the need for unionist politicians to debate the bread and butter issues of jobs, education, welfare etc.

The editorial said exclusively parroting on about "the Union and nothing else but the Union" was all right in the old Stormont but:

*"That was good enough for the days when a sash on a donkey was good enough to pull the votes".*