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No

short-cuts

AS WE go to press it appears certain that Charles Haughey's Fianna Fail is set to obtain a safe majority in the election and that his government will be secure enough to run its full term.

The prospect of a Fine Gael/Progressive Democrats coalition was a spectre that frightened many voters who might have otherwise voted for Sinn Fein or one of the other smaller parties.

Sinn Fein did not do as well as many activists anticipated and for many the results will be a disappointment. It is not, however, a time to be despondent. We must always be realistic. There are many lessons to be learned.

Frankly, Sinn Fein was not seen by the electorate as a credible alternative to any of the long-established parties or to the many independents and parties of the left against whom it was competing for rural and urban working-class votes.

Clearly, the organisation suffered from major problems, all of which can be overcome with patience and perseverance.

The isolation imposed by 65 years of abstentionism is not going to be overturned in the election. The other side of the coin is the need for the vote to be free from the influence of the media and the state apparatus.

The vote on 19 February is not the subject of a rate of censorship which during the 1987 campaign spilled over into the 1987 election.

personal surpluses. The year's argument for the vote to be free from the influence of the media and the state apparatus was reinforced by this election result.

EASY TO BE BITTER

The Republican Movement's strategy of armed struggle in the Six Counties and political struggle in the 32 Counties is correct. Sinn Fein can



● Caoimhghin O Caolain and his election workers keeping a close eye on the tally for the Cavan/Managhan constituency

only progress if it sets out to win seats in the next election by thorough constituency and community work, through agitation and involvement in people's struggles now. In short, by becoming relevant.

It is easy to be bitter about 65 years of Free State propaganda which has promoted partitionist thinking and undermined the demand for sovereignty. It will be a hard, upward climb against massive odds to reverse that, but it has to be done otherwise we remain a 'Brits out!' movement and the united and democratic socialist Ireland for which IRA Volunteers are laying down their lives will never be achieved.

Support has to be worked at and that is the lesson. Sinn Fein in many areas has successfully recruited during the campaign and opportunities for expansion have also appeared.

It is the next election to which Sinn Fein must pin its hopes of an electoral breakthrough and the calling of that election will be determined by Haughey's security of tenure. The people of the 26 Counties face the daunting prospect of cut-backs in social welfare, rising unemployment (with the siphon of emigration forestalling a backlash) and a sharp fall in the overall standard of living.

Haughey will be every bit as vic-

ious as the outgoing Coalition was on social and economic issues. He has inherited the "unconstitutional" Hillsborough Agreement in which, in the words of direct-ruler Tom King.

"The prime minister of Ireland has in fact accepted that, for all practical purposes, there will never be a united Ireland."

He has made the passage of the Extradition Act conditional upon the requesting state showing a *prima facie* case.

It will be interesting to watch the somersaults; watching, that is, while we busy ourselves building a radical, relevant, republican political party.

OPINION

Haughey and Hillsborough

SDLP DEPUTY LEADER Seamus Mallon has announced a major breakthrough for the long-suffering people of South Armagh. He says that, after much negotiation, the British Ministry of Defence is to consider grants for home insulation against the noise and vibrations of over-flying British army helicopters.

The intrepid Mr Mallon should make further representations.

If he could only get grants for blinkers to go with the earplugs then no-one in South Armagh would see the helicopters, or the checkpoints, or the outposts, and the nationalist nightmare would be truly ended!

The SDLP candidate for the constituency of West Belfast, Joe Hendron (who just happens to live across the city in the quiet, leafy suburbs of *South Belfast*), loves the British army so much that he wants them to stay... in the Falls and Andersonstown.

He told the *Daily Express* on February 10th: "British withdrawal could only lead to civil war." So, if you want the British to leave Ireland you're a civil war fan.

But credit where credit is due. For sheer effrontery it is hard to beat the outgoing Dublin government. Garret FitzGerald and Peter Barry both opportunistically raised the Hillsborough Agreement halfway through the 26-County election and repeated the lies and myths about its successes.

They were taken to task by two priests, Fr Des Wilson and Fr Joe McVeigh, members of the Community for Justice group, who accused them of using the suffering of the nationalist people in the North and of being part of an establishment conspiracy to present the Agreement as a success.

The Agreement, fresh and untested, was certainly of electoral benefit to the SDLP against Sinn Fein in the North in the January 1986 by-elections. But as a *constitutional* *warfare*, people in the 26 Counties, however, have been overwhelmingly subjected to false boasts and outlandish claims without any attempts at balance. For the establishment to admit to the reality of life under the Agreement would be to concede the correctness of the republican analysis.

That is why, in his address to the Young Fine Gael Northern Ireland Group, FitzGerald totally ignored the real cost of the Agreement — the renewal of the loyalist assassination campaign, the hundreds of Catholic families attacked in their homes or driven from them, loyalist bombs in the 26 Counties, the drain on the economy as a result of the maintenance of paramilitary guards and cross-border security collaboration, and the erosion of civil liberties as a result of repressive laws.

And to the British government has accrued massive political, propaganda and diplomatic benefits, with the British dismissing any charges of colonialism by pointing to the truism that they are in Ireland with the blessing of the Duálin government.

When Charles Haughey forms the next government the British can be assured of continued support, despite his verbalising against the Agreement. He has said that because Article 1 of the Hillsborough Agreement (which concedes sovereignty over the North and the loyalist veto) conflicts with Article 2 and 3 of de Valera's 1937 Constitution (which claims sovereignty over all of Ireland, defined as the 32 Counties), it is clearly unconstitutional and is unacceptable to Fianna Fail and himself. He has been challenged to test its constitutionality in the Supreme Court but has balked at the idea.

The British government can rest easy. Haughey will work the system. Haughey will bow before partition. And he'll not need the use of earplugs and blinkers.

WAR NEWS



IRA attacks

IRA VOLUNTEERS in Belfast, Derry, Armagh and Dungannon struck at crown force targets in the last week on several occasions. In two attacks on Thursday night, February 12th, IRA active service units in Belfast and Armagh used grenade launchers against the RUC.

The Belfast attack on Woodbourne RUC Barracks took place about 8pm. A commandeered car was driven down the Stewartstown Road in the direction of Andersonstown by IRA Volunteers who, on drawing level with a sangar guarding the entrance to the barracks, fired a single grenade. The device hit the protective bullet-proof glass and glanced off but failed to detonate.

Simultaneously, four IRA Volunteers in Lenadon, a short distance away, opened fire with automatic rifles against a second sangar on the roof of the barracks which presented a threat to their escaping comrades. Over 60 rounds were fired.

Three hours later, in Armagh city, the IRA's 2nd Battalion of the North Armagh Brigade fired two grenades at a mobile RUC patrol as it was leaving the Drum-breda housing estate. One grenade detonated, knocking the vehicle to one side and over 40 shots were fired by Volunteers using automatic rifles.

Also on Thursday, a single shot was fired at a British army patrol at Stewart's Terrace in Derry. The attack occurred at 11.30am but no hits were claimed.

DERRY EXPLOSION

On Friday night, IRA Volunteers in Derry placed an anti-personnel mine behind a builder's fence at the junction of William Street and Creggan Street. The bomb was detonated as a British army foot patrol passed by at around 11.15pm, blowing one soldier off his feet and injuring him.

the area and, after an unnecessary delay, defused the bomb. In a further effort to discredit the IRA, the RUC claimed that over 50 families had to be evacuated. However, only the 19 families living in Mulholland Terrace were affected. Other families living in nearby streets refused to leave their homes and local pubs refused to close.

Also on Saturday afternoon, shortly after 2pm, IRA Volunteers fired a single shot at one of many British soldiers scattered in side streets around the scene of the abandoned bomb. The soldier was standing in Islandawn Street when a single shot narrowly missed him and struck a wall.

In Dungannon, County Tyrone, IRA Volunteers ambushed an RUC mobile patrol shortly after 9pm on the Lisnahull Road. A second RUC patrol spotted the Volunteers withdrawing from the area and opened fire. The Volunteers returned fire but no hits were claimed. Despite an extensive and lengthy follow-up search by the IRA Volunteers to the base.

UDR SOLDIER

A UDR soldier was wounded in a Sunday evening, February 14th. The soldier was driving through the Pennyburn industrial estate when ambushed by IRA Volunteers.

Also on Monday, IRA Volunteers in Belfast placed a hoax bomb in Springfield Avenue to lure crown forces into the area. An IRA Volunteer, using a high-velocity rifle, fired five shots at British soldiers but no hits were claimed.



●FR JOE McVEIGH & FR DES WILSON

North used as political football

BY HILDA Mac THOMAS

THE NORTH was kicked back to centre-stage in the last week of the election campaign in the 26 Counties, in spite of repeated assurances earlier on by the outgoing Fine Gael government that it would not be used as a political football.

The back-room advisers in Fine Gael reckoned that since the economic debate was going so badly for them they should use the one 'achievement' Fitz-

Gerald could boast about. And Haughey's own ambiguous attitude to the Hillsborough Agreement was too much of a temptation for Fine Gael not to try to exploit it before polling day.

On Tuesday, February 10th, Peter Barry launched the attack: Haughey would work to change the "constitutional implications" of the Hillsborough Agreement and this, Barry said, amounted to renegeing on an international treaty.

Haughey was intending to renegotiate Article 1 of the treaty, FitzGerald said the next day, and this would destroy

the Agreement as Britain would never stand for it unless it included the guarantee to unionists.

CHANGED HIS TUNE

Haughey's attitude to the Hillsborough Agreement had been extremely critical in November 1985. But opinion polls conducted in the 26 Counties suggested that the Agreement was popular and so Haughey gradually changed his tune. From outright criticism it became qualified criticism, then qualified support.

then, as the election campaign got under way, complete silence — and this was his, or his handlers', big mistake.

Seemingly unprepared for all these attacks by Fine Gael, Haughey lied in front of the cameras on Thursday night. He was talking of the "constitutional implications" of emigration to the United States, he tried to say, and got muddled when FitzGerald reminded him that it was Haughey that started the whole process leading to Hillsborough at the Downing Street talks in 1980.

NORTHERN NATIONALISTS' CASE

It was left to two Northern priests, Des Wilson and Joe McVeigh, to put the case of Northern nationalists to the media.

At a press conference on Wednesday, February 11th, they accused FitzGerald of lying about alleged "benefits to nationalists" in the London-Dublin Agreement. There was a conspiracy of silence around the Agreement by the Dublin government, the church, the media and the SDLP, Wilson said, and McVeigh pointed out that women prisoners are still being strip-searched, plastic bullets are still being used, people are still being incarcerated on the word of an informer, job discrimination is still rife and the RUC is still sectarian.

These were words which the 26-County electorate had not heard on television before, and certainly not coming from priests. They must have frightened Fine Gael. The next day FitzGerald tried to dismiss the group, saying that they "represented nobody".

UNCHALLENGED

But apart from the intervention of Des Wilson and Joe McVeigh, Section 31 ensured that Fine Gael's cynical use of the Agreement to prop up its faltering political fortunes went unchallenged. Haughey seemed at first unwilling, then unable, to make a clear case for opposing the Hillsborough Agreement, caught as he was in cynical calculations of his own.

Far from giving oppressed Northern nationalists a voice, the treaty has been shown once again to provide the British and Irish establishment with a gag to silence them.

Friday's High Court action against unionist councillors for failing to carry out normal council business.

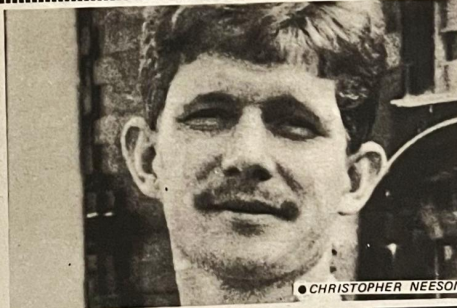
COOKSTOWN SAYS NO

An attempt last Wednesday week, February 11th, by Sinn Fein Councillors Christopher Neeson and Francie McNally to physically remove the "Cookstown says no" banner from Cookstown Council's offices was thwarted when the RUC arrived and intervened. The Sinn Fein effort to take down the banner followed the success by unionist councillors on Monday night to prevent nationalist councillors voting for the removal of the banner.

Sinn Fein's Mid-Ulster constituency representative, Sean Begley, explained to AP/RN:

"While we are indifferent to the banner itself, its continued presence will result in the council yet again being taken to court by the Department of the Environment and heavy fines being imposed which will be passed on to the rate payers.

"Wednesday's exercise was successful in so far as it focused attention on the fact that the loyalist campaign against the Hillsborough Agreement is being funded by ratepayers' money. We will continue to oppose the squandering of public money by loyalist councillors."



●CHRISTOPHER NEESON



●SEAN BEGLEY

New committees blocked

BY EAMON TRACEY

DESPITE A SPLIT in unionist ranks on Belfast City Council which allowed other parties, including Sinn Fein, to vote in a new rate for the city, unionist opposition to the Hillsborough Agreement remains solid.

The vote on Monday night to strike a rate succeeded for two reasons. Firstly, Official Unionists, worried at the possibility of personal surcharges, again walked out before the vote, leaving 14 DUP and Independent Unionists to oppose the new rate. Secondly, Sinn Fein's seven Belfast councillors, having held discussions with council officials and department heads, agreed "with reservations" to support the new rate. At the previous meeting of the council on February 2nd, Sinn Fein councillors had abstained, arguing that three days was insufficient time to examine the new £36 million budget proposals.

On Tuesday night, February 17th, Official Unionists united with the DUP to stall plans to reappoint new council committees. Their success on this issue severely limits the work the council can do.

Last June, following the council's AGM, the unionists, in an effort to block council business and exclude Sinn Fein from committees, had proposed a motion asking for the committee structure to be re-examined. A report was handed to the unionist-dominated Finance & General Purposes Committee in November where unionists have sat on it for four months.

An Alliance Party motion on

Tuesday night sought to re-establish the committees but an amendment by a unionist councillor referring the issue back to the

Finance & General Purposes Committee was passed by the unionist bloc vote. Alliance councillors now plan to push ahead with

loyalist councillors.

PORTLAOISE CENSORSHIP

RECENT INCIDENTS in Portlaoise Prison have shown that the authorities there are as determined as ever in their attempts to censor republicans and repress the campaign for release dates for life prisoners.

A particularly callous attack was made against a prisoner on Friday, January 16th. Eugene McKee was returning to the prison after 72 hours' parole to attend his father's funeral. The agreed search procedure, where the prisoner takes off most of his own clothes, wasn't enough for Prison Officer Dave Lawlor, who attempted to tear off McKee's underclothing. McKee received two months' solitary confinement for his resistance to this assault.

And parole was denied to Sean McGettigan (a life prisoner who has been in jail since 1974) when

he asked to visit his 71-year-old father in Galway. McGettigan's mother died recently and his father, who is in poor health, is unable to visit Portlaoise. Parole had been denied McGettigan for his mother's funeral.

PAPER ON DISABLED

The Portlaoise Prison authorities have also refused to release a research paper on disabled people and their needs.

The paper, written by Eamon Nolan from Waterford was held by prison censors when he handed



● PORTLAOISE PRISON

it in to be posted in January. Four months previously, a letter from Nolan to his sister about the fight to secure release dates for prisoners on life sentences was also censored. The denial of a definite end to these sentences is an attempt to depress and demoralise 'lifers'

Welsh tour resounding success

THE DETENTION, under the controversial Prevention of Terrorism Act, of Sinn Fein Councillor Thomas Maguire for the entire duration of a four-day cultural visit to Wales by Six-County Irish-language activists has strengthened the resolve of the Welsh Language Society to continue exchanges with Northern Gaeilgeoiri.

Welsh writer Angharad Tomas, a member of the society, travelled to Liverpool on the final day of the visit, Monday, February 16th, in the hope of presenting the official Fermanagh Council delegate with gifts from language groups in Wales. However, Councillor Maguire was held for a further day by the Liverpool police. After being served with an exclusion order, Maguire flew back to Belfast on Tuesday morning, escorted by a Special Branch detective and accompanied by the leader of the delegation to Wales, Sinn Fein's Mairtin O Muilleoir.

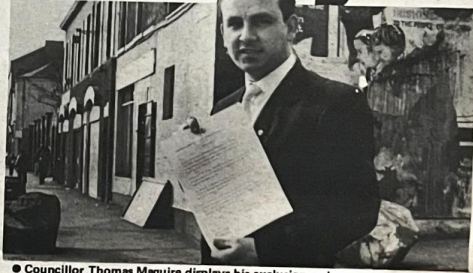
On his return, Councillor Maguire, who chairs Fermanagh Council's Culture Sub-Committee, condemned his "racist and South African-style detention" but stressed

ed the "flat-footed attempt to disrupt the cultural exchange had only succeeded in quadrupling media coverage of the event".

PACKED PRESS CONFERENCE

The remaining seven members of the delegation told a packed press conference in Bangor, North Wales, on Monday morning that the visit had been an unqualified success and said they had been "overwhelmed" by the warmth of their welcome in Wales.

The seven were Mairtin O Muilleoir and Pdraig O Maolchraoibhe (Sinn Fein Cultural Department), Brendan O Fiach (Glor na nGael), Sean Mac Corraigh (Conradh na Gaeilge), Pat Ni Artaile (Association of Irish Nursery Schools), Maire Nic Eoin



● Councillor Thomas Maguire displays his exclusion order

(Parents' Representative, Scoil Phobal Feirste), and Seamus Mac Grianna (Conradh na Gaeilge, Derry).

During a busy itinerary the delegation met with Welsh publishers, social workers, journalists, political and language activists. In the course of the four-day tour the delegation met every major language group in Wales.

Concrete benefits for the Irish language from the visit were

outlined by delegation spokesperson Sean Mac Corraigh, who addressed Monday's press conference entirely in Welsh. These include plans to bring Welsh rock groups to the Six Counties, the production of the first-ever Irish birthday cards in Wales, the publication of an Irish translation of a popular Welsh comic, and the promotion of more cultural exchanges.

Opposition to the visit by Plaid

Cymru leader Dafydd Elis Thomas (who actually praised Liverpool police for detaining Councillor Maguire!) was not reflected among the grassroots of Plaid Cymru membership. Indeed, Thomas (who is now faced with expulsion from the Labour Committee on Ireland which he successfully petitioned for honorary membership in 1985) so enraged party executive member and senior national figure Wynford James that he resigned from the party's ruling body. The country's most popular folk singer, Darydd Iwan, who is vice-president of Plaid Cymru, disagreed publicly with Thomas and made the delegation welcome at the largest Welsh recording studios, Sain, of which he is a director.

Sain presented each delegation member, including Councillor Maguire, with a gift and accepted an ornamental mirror engraved with the words, "Cymru rhydd, Cymru Cymraeg" (Wales free, Wales Welsh-speaking).

Radio Sinn Fein

CENSORSHIP was beaten by Sinn Fein in Dublin for three days up to polling day when Radio Sinn Fein broadcast from the party's centre in the Liberties.

Broadcasting began on Sunday morning, February 15th, and listeners over a radius of several miles tuned into the station which for the first time gave people the opportunity to hear on air the voice of Sinn Fein uncensored by RTE's Section 31.

With Brendan Farrelly of the party's Education Department as DJ, Radio Sinn Fein broadcast a mixture of pop and Irish music as well as carrying Sinn Fein

statements and news bulletins.

Among those interviewed were Gerry Adams, veteran republican Joe Cahill, some of the Dublin Sinn Fein candidates, and Nicky Kelly (Repeal Section 31 Committee).

Matt Larkin (chairperson of the National Association of Tenants' Organisations) told Radio Sinn Fein's listeners about the strike against increased rents by Corporation tenants and similar access was offered to other working-class bodies and progressive groups such as the Irish Anti-Apartheid Movement.

John 'Whacker' Humphries and Philip Moloney (who was recently acquitted for his part in the occupation of drug-pusher 'Ma Baker's' house) were interviewed on their involvement in the Concerned Parents Against Drugs campaign. Dunnes Stores striker Cathryn O'Reilly was another guest while Sinn Fein Publicity Director Brian MacDonald spoke on the issue of censorship and Rita O'Hare (editor of AP/RR) dealt with women's issues.

SUCCESSFUL

After the widespread censorship of Sinn Fein in all the media, Radio Sinn Fein was successful in embarrassing the



● Radio Sinn Fein disc jockey Brendan Farrelly

Dublin government and no attempts were made to shut it down.

Despite their union's commitment to do so at the beginning of the campaign,

RTE journalists consistently failed to issue 'health warnings' informing the public that broadcasts were censored by Section 31.

LESSONS TO BE LEARNED

WHEN the Fine Gael leader Garret FitzGerald called for transfers to the Progressive Democrats at the weekend he probably sealed the outcome of the 26-County general election.

Terrified at the prospect of another Coalition government (and especially one which would include the arch-conservative Progressive Democrats) working-class people turned out in

unusually high numbers to ensure that this wouldn't happen.

Smaller parties such as Sinn Fein inevitably suffered as their natural constituency, the rural and urban working class, opted for Fianna Fail as the only perceived alternative to Coalition government.

The impact of the swing to Fianna Fail was felt most in border constituencies and in the cities too. Sinn Fein appears to have lost out to the

general determination to keep a Fine Gael-led Coalition out of power.

In sharp contrast to the voting pattern among low-income groups, the middle class deserted both Fine Gael and Fianna Fail in droves and voted for the Progressive Democrats. Their success, on an unashamedly reactionary platform, represents a victory for the 'new right' in Irish politics and must be viewed with alarm by all radical sections of soc-

iety in the 26 Counties.

Perhaps the clearest message for republicans is that we have a long way to go before we succeed in breaking the grip that the pseudo radicalism of Fianna Fail has over the working class and before we can convince the people that we are a relevant and credible alternative.

The lessons learned in this campaign will provide valuable guidelines in that building process.



CAVAN/MONAGHAN 4,219

As the tally of the Sinn Fein vote began to take shape at the Cavan/Monaghan count centre in Cootehill it soon became obvious that the expected Sinn Fein vote would not be achieved.

However, Caoimhghin O Caolain and his election team had given and done their very best. O Caolain commented:

"We will continue as determinedly as ever to build for the next contest."

CORK EAST 534

Inexperience in electioneering meant local republicans had low expectations so they were not particularly disappointed although Kieran McCarthy's campaign showed a slight drop on the total for the EEC election in the area.

CORK NORTH-CENTRAL 681

In this constituency, where the Sinn Fein candidate was Don O'Leary it was shown once again that Leinster House elections are not comparable to local elections. The Sinn Fein campaign was unable to match the party's much higher total in the 1985 poll.

DONEGAL NORTH-EAST 2,365

This result was disappointing as it showed a drop for County Councillor Eddie Fullerton on the Sinn Fein total for the Donegal local elections.

Despite this, Eddie's 8% of the poll was the best showing of any Sinn Fein candidate, and the organisation in the area is strong and well organised.

DONEGAL SOUTH-WEST 1,276

In this constituency Sinn Fein workers were satisfied with a result which reached the target set before the campaign.

Eamonn Monaghan's vote held local election patterns better than in other areas contested by Sinn Fein.

DUBLIN CENTRAL 2,501

In one of Sinn Fein's most successful results, Christy Burke's first-preferences were nearly double Labour's and he came within 150 votes of the Fine Gael front-runner. Notice has been given that Sinn Fein can fill a second left-wing seat in this Inner City constituency.

Christy surpassed the total he achieved in the 1983 by-election and stayed in until the 11th count. Speaking after the count, he said:

"Sinn Fein will continue to fight for the people of the Inner City. We're not about to go away."

DUBLIN NORTH-CENTRAL 779

In Charles Haughey's stronghold the Sinn Fein performance was weak but party candidate Ciaran Mac Cormaic maintained the traditional republican vote in his and the party's first time out in the constituency.

DUBLIN SOUTH-CENTRAL 1,266

This was another constituency where the Sinn Fein performance did not measure up to expectations.

Again previous electoral support did not materialise to push up Micheal O Muireagain's vote or to reflect the hard work done in the constituency.



Election results

DUBLIN NORTH-EAST 655

The intervention of Independent Paddy Healy, who stood as an H-Block candidate in 1981, affected the republican vote in this constituency with his and the Sinn Fein total for Pamela Kane just exceeding that H-Block result.

DUBLIN NORTH-WEST 1,065

Harry Fleming's 642 votes and Niall Donnelly's 423 votes were disappointing in the areas of Finglas and Ballymun where Sinn Fein had expected to poll much better.

One good point to emerge from Dublin North-West was the disciplined transfers between the two Sinn Fein candidates, which showed a well-organised party campaign and a strong core of support among the electorate, demonstrating that there is very good potential for building upon.

DUBLIN SOUTH-EAST 811

In a constituency dominated by right-wing parties, Sinn Fein's Aengus O Snodaigh polled a respectable 811 votes and the party maintained its support in working-class areas.

DUBLIN SOUTH-WEST 1,379

Again this total for John Noonan and Christy Dunne did not live up to expectations and, as elsewhere in Dublin, hard work done on the ground did not materialise in sufficient numbers of voters on polling day. In both Dublin North-West and South-West, Workers' Party candidates with high media profiles were dominant.

DUBLIN WEST 1,041

The Sinn Fein vote here was slightly up on its local election total with Jimmy Delaney and his election team doing well to hold their ground in this sprawling constituency.

DUN LAOGHAIRE 1,202

Although the Sinn Fein vote here was a disappointment in that Kevin Fitzpatrick did not improve much on his result in the local elections of 1985, he did hold the Sinn Fein vote in his own area. The result from the Ballybrack end of the constituency was bad as the Sinn Fein vote from 1985 was lost.

NORTH KERRY 1,227

In polling over a thousand votes between them, the candidates, Tralee Councillor Billy Leen and Declan Finucane, from Listowel, saw support won in the 1985 local elections fail to transfer to the Leinster House context.

Anti-Coalition anger centred on Labour leader Dick Spring, costing him one third of his vote and nearly losing him his seat.

KILDARE 1,420

The Kildare vote for Paddy Wright showed that the republican vote, mainly based in the south of the county, had been mobilised and significantly increased. The organisation has been revitalised in the north and middle of the county and the result reflects that in its geographical spread.

LAOIS/OFFALY 1,405

This was an excellent performance for Sinn Fein candidate John Carroll and the party organisation, taking into consideration its relative weakness in the area.

In polling over 1,000 votes, Sinn Fein came far ahead of the Labour Party and pointed the way for similar constituencies.

LIMERICK EAST 565

This was a particularly saddening result for Padraig Malone.

It showed only a minute improvement on the local elections in spite of a much larger electorate.

LOUTH 2,599

With a first-preference total of 2,599, the Sinn Fein result in Louth was disappointing. The last comparable result was the February 1982 general election when the party polled 3,714.

A very strong campaign did not pull out the vote expected on polling day for Arthur Morgan, with Fianna Fail and Michael Bell of Labour polling well.

An undaunted Arthur Morgan told AP/RN:

"We have set our bottom line in Louth. We are on our way."

MAYO EAST 668

Although Joe McHale was the only alternative to Fianna Fail or Fine Gael in Mayo, local republicans did not expect a substantial result. They actually got nearly twice McHale's total in the local elections.

Dublin Defence Minister Paddy O'Toole (Fine Gael) lost his seat here over opposition to Knock Airport.

MEATH 1,012

Despite a lack of election experience, Joe Reilly's campaign achieved a respectable result, nearly doubling Sinn Fein's local election total.

The vote reflected a well-organised core of workers and has established a good working base for Sinn Fein's expansion in this area.

SLIGO/LEITRIM 2,267

The Sinn Fein vote for John Joe McGill remained steady but did not show the increase indicated during the campaign.

The strong Leitrim support for John Joe McGill was maintained but in Sligo the Sinn Fein vote was low.

Again the pattern around the country of opting for a Fianna Fail ticket for fear of Fine Gael/Progressive Democrat advances was continued in rural and urban working-class areas where Sinn Fein support is based.

TIPPERARY NORTH 878

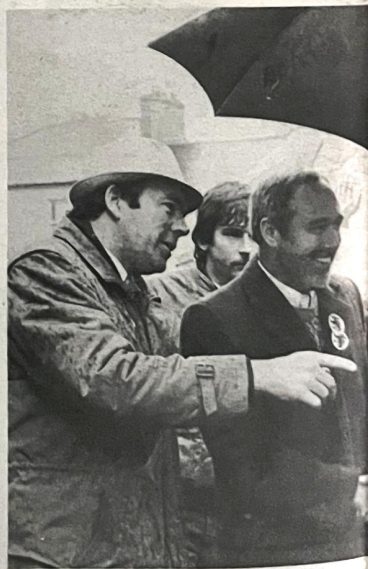
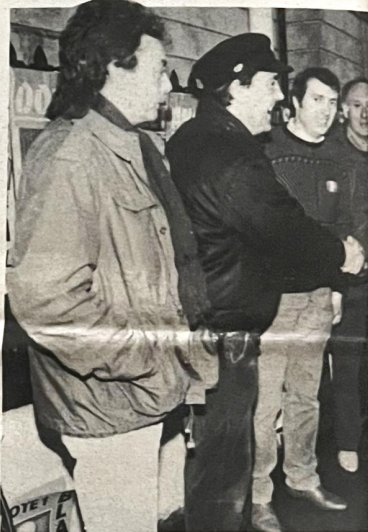
Although Jimmy Nolan's campaign consolidated the small republican base in Nenagh, the vote showed only a tiny increase on the total for the EEC elections.

WATERFORD 758

Noel Ryan polled well for Sinn Fein in the Gaeltacht area of An Rinn but his vote in the city was particularly disappointing as it showed a large drop on the total during the EEC elections.



● Dublin West Sinn Fein candidate Jimmy Delaney doing some last-minute canvassing at a polling booth in Ballyfermot





● Eddie Fullerton (centre) canvassing in Donegal



● Sinn Féin candidate in Dublin North-East, Pamela Kane, discussing youth policies in Donaghmede Shopping Centre



● Billy Leen and Danny Morrison canvassing in North Kerry



● Wiped out - Radio Sinn Féin Supremo Jim Monaghan snatches 40 winks during a non-stop 72-hour shift

The cultural reconquest of Ireland

BY DONALL O DUFAIGH

THE RESTORATION of Irish as our country's main language is undoubtedly one of the greatest challenges that faces the Irish people in the last quarter of the 20th Century. As all the surveys carried out have shown, it is still the unquenchable desire of the majority of Irish people, after 800 years of colonial and neo-colonial repression, for real national independence.

However, time is not on our side as regards the survival of our language and it is essential that republicans who are in the vanguard of the struggle for political and economic independence and justice should fully understand the need for the restoration of the Irish language as the major part of the cultural reconquest of Ireland.

The Sinn Fein Constitution states that one of the fundamental principles of Sinn Fein is "to promote the restoration of the Irish language and Irish culture", and the IRA is even more explicit. In 1983, an IRA spokesperson said:

"Irish is the greatest cultural symbol we have. We are committed to reviving the Irish language as the main spoken language of the Irish people."

These then are the principles, but a deep understanding of the absolute importance of the Irish language and keeping the need for restoration to the front of our minds is vital because of the sheer difficulty of this most revolutionary of tasks.

We must understand that Britain deliberately set out to kill our language because the Irish way of life, the Irish language and cultural systems had to be broken if the British imperial design to hold Ireland in subjection were to succeed. The English poet Edmund Spenser, who was here as part of the English colonial administration in the second half of the 16th Century, urged that more be done to exterminate the Irish language:

"It hath ever been the use of the conqueror to despise the language of the conquered and to force him by all means to learn his... The speech being Irish, the heart must needs be Irish."

It is not my intention here to detail the constant actions against the Irish language. The Statutes of Kilkenny in 1366 are among the best known, but the English did not confine themselves to laws and acts of parliament. Irish schools were closed, manuscripts that re-

corded Irish history were stolen or burned, and the poets were hunted down and murdered because, according to James, Earl of Desmond, they "by their ditties and rhymes in commendation of extortion, rebellion, rape and rapine, do encourage lords and gentlemen to maintain the Irish language and traditions".

LANGUAGE AS A WEAPON

As the English language has been (and is still being) used as a weapon against us, nationalists saw the attempt to restore Irish as an essential part of the struggle for freedom and absolutely necessary in the long run if the reconquest was to be complete. Pearse declared:

"I have said, time and time again, that when the Gaelic League was founded in 1893 the Irish revolution began."

The Irish-language movement challenged something that was a major tenet of English counter-insurgency tactics — cultural imperialism — and the English realised, too late, that they had become lax about the necessity for cultural repression and that their battle was not yet won. By 1919, they had made Conradh na Gaeilge a proscribed organisation, eloquent testimony to the importance our enemies attached to our language.

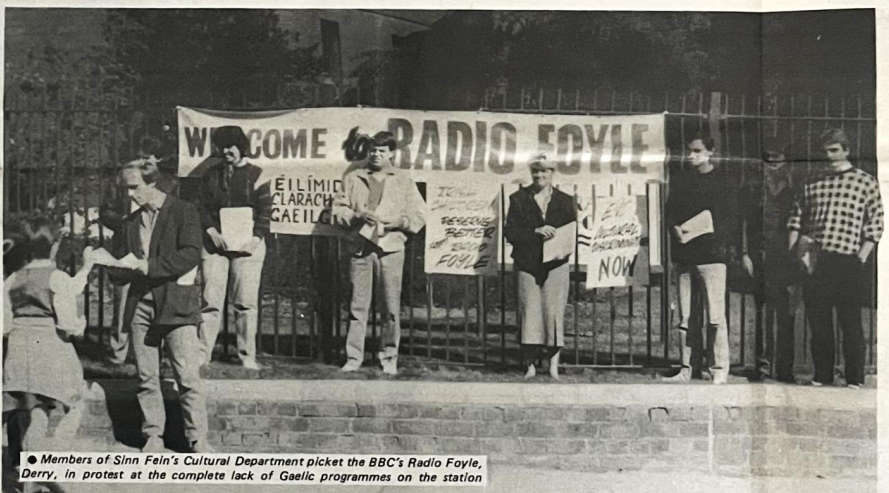
But cultural imperialism has continued unabated in Ireland, North and South, since partition. Because the language of a majority of the people had become English, we were almost defenceless before the onslaught of British and United States newspapers, magazines, books, television, etc. And when one thinks that Irish

people buy this type of press and have little or no access to any Irish nationalist material on radio or TV, it is a miracle that we still find the will to resist. But because our values are constantly being eroded by these cultural death rays from outside, it is not surprising that many who could be described as nationalist, and (dare I say it?) even republicans, can have attitudes to the language that are basically negative and defeatist.

It is vitally important that those from the "What use is Irish? How much money will it earn me?" school of thought are made to realise that this attitude is not natural, but is the product of hundreds of years of English cultural imperialism here.



● Learning through Irish at the Shaw's Road primary school, Belfast



● Members of Sinn Fein's Cultural Department picket the BBC's Radio Foyle, Derry, in protest at the complete lack of Gaelic programmes on the station



The facts have to be looked at.

Irish has an unbroken history of almost 2,500 years in our country and it is only in the last 150 years that English has

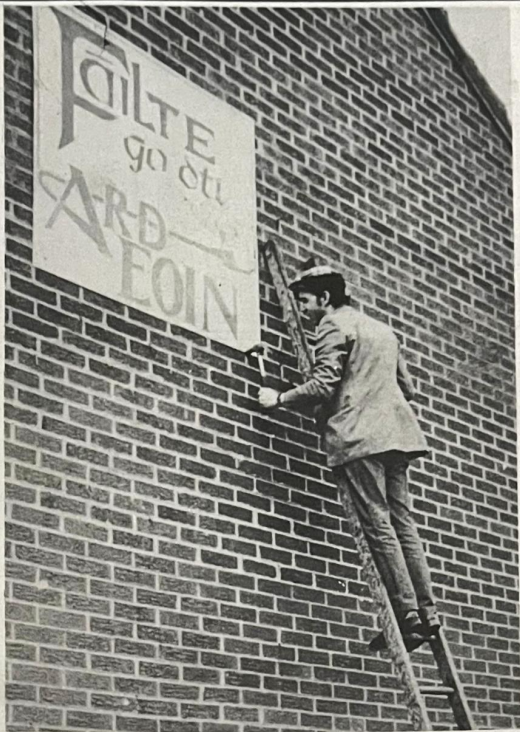
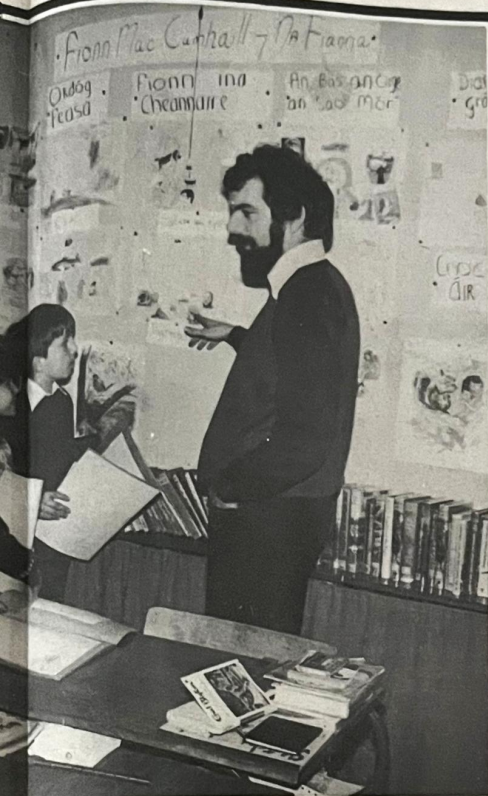
become the language of a majority. Irish was spoken all over Ireland, including of course the North-East, for at least 2,000 years before the colonial plantation of Ulster. Irish is the

repository of all our thought, emotions, history — in a word, of our culture. So anyone knowing the facts and still saying that Irish is not relevant today cannot be thinking.

The object of cultural imperialism is to make us have feelings of inferiority about our own language and culture. If we have these feelings then cultural imperialism is succeeding.

Throughout the world, those who struggle to break the shackles of imperialism in their own countries always attach importance to the defence and restoration of their own languages against those of the colonial usurper. Recently an African National Congress representative told me:

"Neither English nor Afri-



● (Above) An Irish welcome to Belfast's Ardoyne area; (Below) Lismore Councillor Pádraig Ó Maolchraoibh presenting a cheque for £100 on behalf of Sinn Féin to Gearóid O'Caireallain, editor of LA, for 100 shares in LA Teoranta

Short Strand Irish-medium nursery school in Belfast is to have its ACE grants withdrawn also.

Irish has no legal standing under British rule in North-Eastern Ireland and a number of people have gone to prison because they tried to assert their right to use the Irish language in the courts. Republican prisoners are not allowed to speak Irish to visitors, or to write letters in their own language, or to get Irish periodicals or even newspapers containing Irish articles. They are not allowed to play Gaelic football or hurling, and the 'reason' that is contemptuously given is that prison officers don't know the rules of Gaelic games! So much for respect for the two traditions.

But ordinary working-class nationalists have been making tremendous progress with the language revival through their own efforts. A number of Six-County councils now have, at the instigation of Sinn Féin, cultural sub-committees for promoting the language through the councils. Most impressive of all is that, since the beginning of the '80s, when we had only the Shaws Road all-Irish primary school in Belfast, we now have six nursery schools in Belfast and two in Derry. A recent survey in the Clonard area of Belfast found that 75% of parents with young children would like to send their children to an all-Irish nursery school if they were available.

'kaans will be the language of a free South Africa.'

THE SIX COUNTIES

The enthusiasm for the restoration of the Irish language in the occupied Six Counties is something which has begun to attract the attention of commentators at home and abroad. Though there were those who learned, spoke and taught Irish in the 1960s, theirs was a fairly esoteric pastime which fellow nationalists might have admired but tended not to get involved in, and this was especially so of the working class. Since the beginning of the present phase of the struggle for Irish independence, all this has gradually changed.

When the Civil Rights marchers were beaten off the streets and pogroms against nationalist communities were led by the RUC and the B-Specials, when the British army, sent in supposedly to defend nationalist areas, quickly and inevitably became the oppressors of the nationalists, then the Northern nationalists in particular became more aware of their identity.

Internment without trial in Long Kesh contributed to a great number of people feeling more strongly Irish. A lot of internees stated to learn and use Irish and this encouraged people outside to do the same. 1971, the year that the first Irish-medium primary school opened in the Six Counties (although people had been thinking about it for some time) with one teacher and nine pupils in a very old prefabricated room hastily acquired and erected in the few

days before the school year began in September.

I recall going in as a voluntary teacher to teach Irish in Long Kesh in that same year and there was a lot of interest in the language among the internees. But outside, the Gaelic atmosphere was palpable too and I recall setting up an Irish class for a good number of those voluntary Long Kesh teachers who did not know the language.

PRISON STRUGGLE

I believe that the Gaelic philosophy of the nationalist people really deepened with the prison struggle that followed the ending of political status.

When the blanket and no-wash protests led into the hunger-strike in which ten republican prisoners died, the depth of the people's understanding of the importance of the language in the struggle greatly increased.

In the H-Blocks, with no books, no paper, no pens, no professional teachers, young Irishmen living in filthy conditions, stripped naked, frequently beaten, but unbowed, taught each other Irish with great success by shouting the lessons from cell to cell.

When everything else had been taken from them, the prisoners realised that the most Irish thing they had was their language. Learning it, speaking it, was a way of resisting, of asserting your identity, of crying out your defiance against a system that sought to rob you of your identity and break in you the spirit of defiance. Bobby Sands, like Pearse before him, was a soldier



and a Gaelic poet, and the people identified with him and resolved to step up their efforts to restore the Irish language.

Today there are over 60 night classes for adults in Belfast alone and Sinn Féin's Roinn an Chultuir is very much to the fore in this work. The Republican Movement has succeeded in making the language an issue in the Six Counties that neither the language's enemies, nor its recent and lukewarm friends, can ignore.

IRISH STREET SIGNS

Irish street signs have been going up in all of the nationalist areas with the overwhelming support of the people. It is

still illegal to put up a street sign in Irish on an Irish street in the British-occupied Six Counties but we are told that this racist law will soon be removed. We pour scorn on the laughable idea that after the British spending hundreds of years exterminating our language it is some kind of important reform when we are 'allowed' to erect Irish street names on Irish streets.

Since the Hillsborough Agreement, there is absolutely no evidence of greater respect for the Irish tradition in the occupied Six Counties. In fact the opposite is true. ACE contracts have actually been withdrawn from the Irish-language daily 'LA', the first daily

REVOLUTIONARY POTENTIAL

The British-ruled enclave in the North-Eastern part of the province of Ulster is not reformable, and I believe that if we can raise consciousness about the language issue and get popular campaigns around the language, then this has real revolutionary potential.

The idea of an imperial regime now giving equality of treatment to the Irish tradition is a contradiction in terms. If it were so, we wouldn't have imperialism! Our demands, as part of the ongoing struggle, have to be for complete equality for the Irish language before the law and every aspect of the civil service and state bureaucracy; every official document to practise positive discrimination in favour of Irish (higher grants for Irish-medium schools, etc) in order to make up for the ethnocide of hundreds of years.

The basis for all our demands is not the number of Irish speakers in the Six Counties but the fact that the nationalist people of the Six Counties regard it as their language and demand every facility for being taught it and being able to live their lives through it. Anything less makes a mockery of the supposed equal respect from the British for the Irish and pro-British traditions.

Republicans must be to the fore in this type of campaign. Just as the English language was used as a weapon against the Irish people, so the Irish language must be a weapon in a struggle which, with its other components, will lead to the political, social, economic and cultural reconquest of Ireland.

Open weekend at Falls Women's Centre

THE FALLS Women's Centre in West Belfast held an open weekend on February 14th-15th to publicise the work of the centre.

Topics covered in talks, videos and information stalls included women and health, welfare benefits, Irish culture, rape, child sex abuse and adult education. Women's Aid, the Rape Crisis Centre, Family Planning Association and Just Books were among the groups which provided books and leaflets.

Several new courses will be starting at the Falls Women's Centre in the next few weeks. A six-week course entitled *Your Body, Your Health* begins on Tuesday, March 3rd (7.30 to 9.30pm) with guest speakers from various health agencies. Also on March 3rd (10.30am) an introductory Irish class, *Bunrang*, will start.

If you're interested in either of these subjects, just turn up on the day, say the centre workers.

A selection of videos of interest to women will be shown on Monday nights, fortnightly, starting on March 16th at 8pm, when *Anne Devlin* will be shown.

The centre is also planning several advice workshops for those thinking of beginning some form of adult education classes. These will be run by a qualified adult education teacher. Women interested should contact the centre at 170A Falls Road (telephone 227672).

INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY EVENTS

BELFAST

MARCH & RALLY
6.30pm Friday 6th March
From Beechmount Avenue
To Dunville Park

WORKSHOPS
10.30am to 4pm
Saturday 7th March
Whiterock Leisure Centre

Including
Stop the Strip-Searches Campaign,
Campaign Against Plastic Bullets
and Housing etc

SOCIAL
People's Theatre,
Ceilí dancing and guest musicians
8pm Saturday 7th March
Andersonstown Social Club

**STOP STRIP-SEARCHES
MEETING**
11am to 1pm Sunday 8th March
(Venue to be announced)

**MAGHABERRY PRISON
PICKET**
Sunday 8th March
Buses leave Dunville Park, Belfast
at 2.30pm
Tallie £1.50

VIDEO
Premiere presentation of
'If you didn't laugh you'd cry'
Sunday 8th March

ZIRCON

ZIRCON, the banned programme in the BBC series *Secret Society* which was seized by the Special Branch will be shown in Belfast at 1pm on Saturday, February 21st in Just Books, 7, Winetavern Street. Admission is free.



● Short Strand residents picket Mountpottinger RUC Barracks in East Belfast

Pregnant woman kicked by RUC

BY MAEVE ARMSTRONG

NATIONALISTS in East Belfast's Short Strand area have started a protest campaign to highlight the marked increase in RUC harassment, which has sharply escalated since early January.

Over 100 residents staged a half-hour protest picket outside Mountpottinger RUC Barracks on Monday, February 15th, as many local people have been physically abused, brought up on trumped-up charges, or offered inducements to become informers while under arrest.

The newly-formed Concerned Parents' & Residents' Association organised the picket as a direct result of almost a score of incidents where locals have been

singled out for harassment. Two RUC men in particular, Inspector Parkes and Sergeant Templeton, have been named by local people as being among senior RUC personnel in the barracks responsible for such incidents.

SUNDAY MORNING

The most recent case occurred at around 1am on Saturday last when a five-month-pregnant woman was assaulted by the RUC while returning home from St Matthew's Social Club.

she recalled was "two RUC men running out of the barracks and one of them pushed me into the wall and I fell to the ground". Fortunately her brother, 16-year-old Jim Fitzsimmons, was coming from the chip shop and ran to her assistance. He told *AP/RN*: "I didn't know it was Geraldine at the time; I just saw they had a woman by the arms and when I did recognise her I told them to leave her alone because she was pregnant."

The RUC called them "Fenian bastards!" and ran off down Madrid Street.

Close to their home, an RUC jeep blocked their way by mounting the footpath in front of them. Six RUC men jumped out and immediately set upon Fitzsimmons, kicking him around the legs and punching him in the ribs and neck.

When a terrified Geraldine Stelges tried to protect her brother, the RUC punched and kicked her before both were dragged into the jeep and taken to the barracks. Inside, Fitzsimmons was grabbed by the throat and held down on a bench and later asked if he knew any "IRA men". When Geraldine tried to protect her brother the RUC once more ignored the fact that she was pregnant and violently flung her across the room so she landed on the ground.

HUSBAND ATTACKED

When her husband Terence arrived to make enquiries about her and Jim at the barracks, he too was physically attacked and was dragged into a cell. Eventually, because of her distressed condition, Geraldine Stelges was brought to Musgrave Street Barracks where she was examined by an RUC doctor who confirmed that she had sustained bruising to her back and legs. She was later released but has since been verbally abused by the RUC on the street and is extremely distressed as a result.

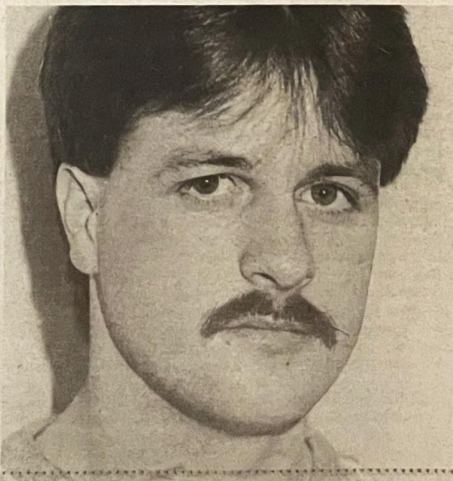
Ironically, the Stelges and Fitzsimmons were charged with various counts of disorderly behaviour and assault.

At Monday's protest outside Mountpottinger Barracks, Billy Matthews, spokesperson for the Concerned Parents' and Residents' Association, appealed to local people to attend a forthcoming public tribunal, organised by Fr Des Wilson, and register their anger at RUC harassment "the strongest possible terms".



● GERALDINE STELGES

Geraldine Stelges heard the sound of a bottle smashing in Madrid Street and the next thing



● THOMAS MCCOURT

Man hit with rifle butt

A 21-YEAR-OLD West Belfast man was beaten to the ground in an attack by British troops on Tuesday night, February 10th.

Shortly after midnight, Thomas McCourt from the Beechmount area, was walking his girlfriend home along Springfield Avenue when a British soldier, who had been standing some distance away, walked over, shouted "Fenian bastard!" and, using the butt of his SLR rifle, struck McCourt on the side of the face.

Shocked and dizzy, McCourt fell to the ground, where several

other soldiers began kicking him about the legs, body and head. A few minutes later, an RUC mobile patrol arrived and bundled a semi-conscious McCourt into the back of a Land Rover.

SEMI-CONSCIOUS

He was taken to Grosvenor Road Barracks and held overnight. Before he was released, the RUC charged him with assaulting the soldier and disorderly behaviour.

PENSIONER'S HEATING PLIGHT

BY JANE PLUNKETT

AN 81-YEAR-OLD West Belfast woman is being denied the right to live in her own home by the Housing Executive, which refuses to install central heating there.

Ellen Stewart, a widow, has been unable to live in her bungalow in Benraw Gardens, Andersonstown, since last October, when she was released from hospital following major surgery. She also has a heart complaint and hospital doctors refused to send her home to a house without central heating. Since then she has had to stay with her sister, sharing her small one-bedroom pensioner's

bungalow.

Ellen Stewart has twice had spells in hospital suffering from hypothermia. Yet despite years of pressure from her relatives, plus letters from her GP and from a social worker at the Royal Victoria Hospital, the Executive has failed to install central heating.

Under the Housing Executive's present restrictive policy, the Executive refuses to install central



ELLEN STEWART

heating for chronically sick or elderly tenants unless they are bed-ridden or confined to a wheelchair.

A very independent woman, Ellen Stewart told AP/RN:

"Everybody likes their own wee home, but I can't stand the cold. I've only got the coal fire to heat the place and it's difficult to heat even one room."

Ellen Stewart is one of many hundreds of elderly and chronically sick tenants in the Six Counties who are denied central

heating by the Executive's inflexible policy. In Benraw Gardens alone, two other pensioners are without central heating: one is blind and the other has artificial hips.

REVIEW CALL

This issue has been taken up by local Sinn Fein Councillor Teresa Holland and by Sinn Fein's West Belfast MP, Gerry Adams, who has called on the Executive to review its present policy. Adams told AP/RN:

"Sinn Fein has made a number of representations to the board of the Housing Executive. We have proposed that the need for central heating be based on a recommendation from a general practitioner, a social worker or a welfare worker in liaison with Executive welfare officers. This would give a degree of flexibility."

Gerry Adams is asking concerned welfare and community groups to write to the Executive's board, explaining the need for a policy review.



TE NÍ CHIONNAITH

RTÉ gan cosaint

SA CHÚIRT DÚICHE i Rath Fearnáin i mBaile Átha Cliath ar an gCéadaoin, 11 Feabhra, gearradh fíneál £50 agus costaisí nó cúig lá i bpríosún ar Ite Ní Chionnaith, Uachtarán Chonradh na Gaeilge agus Pádraig Ó Duibhir, múinteoir bun-scoile i Scoil Caitlín Maude i dTamhlacht.

Tá an beirt ag díoltú fóc as ceadúnas teilifíse de bharr easpa cláracha teilifíse as Gaeilge, cláracha do daoine óga ach go hairithe. Chuir an beirt in iúl tar éis an cháis nach raibh sé i gceist acu an fhíneál a fóc.

Agus é ag labhairt leis na cosantóirí dúirt an Breitheamh Delap gur thug sé gur prionsabal a bhí i gceist agus go raibh díomá air go gcaitfeadh sé an dlí a chur i bhfeidhm. D'aontaigh sé nach raibh RTÉ ag freastal go sáslú ar phobal na Gaeilge agus dúirt nach raibh sé an chun RTÉ a chosaint, ach chun an dlí a chur i bhfeidhm.



Soldiers smash boy's bicycle

A YOUNG Ballymurphy boy's bicycle was deliberately smashed by British soldiers in an act of wilful vandalism.

Edmund Fryer (13) had left his new BMX bike, a Christmas present from his parents, outside his Norfolk Road home last Friday night. A neighbour's child

saw the soldiers putting the bike into a jeep.

Edmund and his uncle went to look for the soldiers who had by then driven away, and they found the bike at the corner of the street. It was mangled beyond repair and the front wheel was missing.

The bike had apparently been run over by the British army jeep.



1976-1987 GAN SCOIL

CHOIMEÁD tuismitheoirí Scoil Chrónáin i Rath Cúil, Contae Átha Cliath a bpáistí ón scoil ar an gCéadaoin 11 Feabhra agus rinneadar agóid lasmuigh den Roinn Oideachas i gcoinne na moille atá ag gabháil le soláthar scoile nua do na páistí. Tá siad ag lorg scoile nua ó 1976.

Ag labhairt thar ceann na dtuismitheoirí, dúirt Bairbre Ó Donnghaile, Cathaoirleach an Choiste Gnímh.

"Táimidne, tuismitheoirí Scoil Chrónáin, tinn tuirseach den mhóilleadóireacht atá ag gabháil le togáil na scoile nua. Thosaíomar ag lorg scoil i 1976, agus fós i 1987, níl aon rian den obair thógála a bheith ag tosú. Motháimid go bhfuil dílseagadh á dhéanamh ar ár gcearta mar thuismitheoirí oideachas lán Ghaelach faoi chionniollacha réasúnta a bheith ar fáil dár bpáistí."

"Sé bun agus barr na bhfadhbanna go léir go bhfuil na páistí a

múineadh i scoil shealadach atá thar a bheith mí-oiriúnach.

RÉITEACH

Deir na tuismitheoirí go bhfuil réiteach tapaídh ar an scoil mar tá láthair acu ceannaithe ag an Roinn Oideachas agus bealach isteach ann acu. Tá leagan amach agus pleananna na scoile curtha i gcrích agus foctha ag an Roinn Oideachais astu.

Dá bhrí sin tá muintir Scoil Chrónáin ag iarraidh ar an Aire Oideachais ordú faoi Mhír B4 den Acht Pleanála 1963 a shíniú chun a chur ar chumas na tógála dul ar aghaidh gan a thuilleadh moille.



Agóid ar páistí agus tuismitheoirí Scoil Chrónáin lasmuigh den Roinn Oideachas

Truth may never be known

A SPECIAL COMMITTEE of inquiry into irregularities in Strabane District Council's finances (established by the council on December 1st after pressure from Sinn Fein) was last week disbanded in disgust and frustration.

According to Sinn Fein councillor Ivan Barr, who was largely responsible for exposing incompetence and corruption among councillors and council officials, a "cover-up" by some of those intimately involved in the scandal has ensured that the inquiry has been unable to do the job it was established for.

Since their election in May 1985, the three Sinn Fein councillors, Ivan Barr, Tommy McNamee and Charlie McHugh, have exhaustively investigated the financial records of the council. Their hard work and meetings held with various officials, including John Buchanan, the local government auditor, led to a damning report by the auditor of the council's finances in November 1986.

Almost two months later, it was followed by a letter from the North's Department of Environment which pointed out that the DOE was "seriously concerned about the procedures and systems

of internal control within your council". The DOE demanded, under the Local Government Act 1972, a detailed memorandum on a lengthy list of issues, including "the council's failure to keep within budgets and estimates and excessive charges for medical fees".

DOE COVER-UP

An outraged Ivan Barr has now accused the DOE and "certain long-serving councillors" of being deliberately obstructive. Barr has also revealed that the works manager, P.J. Doherty, who was criticised in the auditor's report and has been on sick leave for some time, recently handed in his resignation — the day before he was due to face the inquiry.

In addition, Barr indicted the DOE for attempting to cover-up its own negligence in "not taking the necessary steps to ensure that the irregular financial procedures



The Strabane District Council offices; (Inset) Ivan Barr

were corrected when they first came to light during the 1980/81 audit". He pointed out that the assistant secretary of the DOE the chief government auditor and the auditor for Strabane all failed

to attend meetings of the inquiry. In protest at the DOE's attitude, a motion of 'no confidence' in the audits branch was passed at the committee's final meeting last week. A report will be sent by the

committee to the DOE, but Ivan Barr believes that "it is now unlikely that those responsible for the part mismanagement of council finances will be subjected to disciplinary proceedings".

Clondalkin cop-out rejected

AS ELECTION DAY approached, the FitzGerald government continued to play politics with the jobs of paper-mill workers in Clondalkin.

Dublin Finance Minister John Bruton met secretly with the workers from Leinster Paper Mills on Sunday, February 15th, but still withheld the £3.5 million necessary to keep the plant going. If the jobs are lost, the social welfare bill and the drop in tax income will be at least £4 million.

The workers have attacked Fair Teo, the 26-County state recovery service, for not saving the mills' 260 jobs. Brian Nolan, the workers' spokesperson said this week:

"We're not accepting this cop-out by Fair Teo. This is not the end of the road for us. We will take whatever action necessary to save our jobs."

"State ownership is the only answer," said Christy Dunne, the Sinn Fein election candidate in the Clondalkin area after a meeting with the workers. "These mills have been starved of funds by government agencies and private capital. A profitable national resource is being squandered."

Six-County jobless rise

The number of jobless in the Six Counties rose last month to 131,250, the highest ever January total. At least 7,700 more people were without a job than in January 1986, 2,405 more were jobless than in December. (The figures are an echo of disastrous 26-County totals.)

Changes made by the British govern-



Workers' sit-in at Leinster Paper Mills; (Inset) Brian Nolan

ment in the way unemployment figures are calculated mean that thousands of people have been removed from the register in recent years. The Belfast Centre for the Unemployed said in December that, since 1979, the Tory government has altered the method of computing the jobless figure 17 times. The centre believes that information compiled by accountants Coopers & Lybrand suggests that there would be a further 10,000 people on the unemployment register if previous methods were used.

Many categories of people, such as married women and those judged 'dependent' on other people's state benefits, have been removed from the official statistics. The new availability-for-work

test is another factor which will be used increasingly in the coming months to reduce the dole figures.

Bacon jobs butchered

Kerry Co-op threatened 300 jobs at Denny's bacon plant in Portadown, County Armagh, last week. The Kerry company (which, despite its name went private last year) bought the plant two weeks ago and is now demanding 100 redundancies as the price of keeping it open.

Kerry's 'get tough' management policy which endangers the Portadown jobs has already caused the 'milk wars' in Munster which have put many farmers out of business.

Closure threats also hang over bacon workers at Rooskey, County Roscommon who have been locked out since January 19th. The workers, members of the ITGWU, rejected a 'take it or leave it' productivity deal on Tuesday, February 10th. The 260 employees of the Irish Country Bacon Company have had no social welfare assistance since being locked out and have picketed Longford Employment Exchange.

Sitting in

When the Times Furnishing shop in Mary Street, Dublin, was closed by its British-based parent company, Harris Queensway, on January 21st, the 14 workers occupied the premises.

The Mary Street shop was the last of the company's outlets in Ireland and redundancy terms were considerably worse there. This angered the workers, mostly members of the Irish Distributive & Administrative Trade Union, who have had up to 30 years service.

The company is now trying to force the workers out of the shop but despite legal threats they're staying put. IDATU spokesperson Marie Hayde told AP/RN:

"This is a huge company and for them to haggle like this with a few workers with long service is disgusting."

Wexford cuts

Nineteen jobs are at risk in Ennis-corthy, County Wexford, following the refusal of Fair Teo to inject £75,000 into the local Wexford Cutlery-owned Viners plant. The company has increased sales which would ensure its future given the necessary new capital.

Fair Teo's refusal of funding has been strongly criticised by Sinn Fein locally.

"Over 19% of the local labour force is on the dole — now they want to add another 19 workers. Surely it would be better (and cheaper) to keep the workers in employment rather than dumping them with the nearly 2,000 signing on in Ennis-corthy. Sinn Fein fully supports the fight for jobs."

Z. HAMMETT ON THE ELECTION FRONT



THE LEAST IMPORTANT THING

"VOTING is the least important political thing I do."

So said an acquaintance of mine, a committed revolutionary, when someone asked him how he could be involved in electoral politics. And he was right. Seats or no seats, the important political struggle goes on between elections. The elections are a platform for revolutionary politics. They can also be a way into Leinster House or the local councils, which can be made an arena for political agitation.

But too many elections are primarily beauty contests which are decided more by media images than by informed opinion based on the issues.

If you don't believe me, look at the way the issues were presented in this campaign. Take Fine Gael, for example.

"We need to bring down interest rates to create jobs," Garret FitzGerald kept telling us — over and over again. Many people voted for Fine Gael because "we need to bring interest rates down".

How will lower interest rates create jobs and solve the problems that haunt our society? Well, the interviewers on the radio never asked and I'll bet they hadn't a clue.

Or look at the important issues that were ignored in the recent election campaign.

POVERTY

None of the so-called major parties even mentioned poverty in this election campaign. I have been harping on it for weeks now, but the fact remains that more than a million people in the 32 Counties are living in poverty today. Even the so-called left-wing parties have ignored this fact.

None of the other parties is ready to admit that government must immediately bring social welfare payments to a subsistence level and provide housing for the tens of thousands who are homeless.

These are not revolutionary demands. Charitable groups and government commissions have made them. The politicians

and the media have ignored them. Many of the homeless and the impoverished have not voted because they feel that the government will do nothing for them. Yet we are supposed to believe that an election decided by a proportion of the voters, none of whom was addressed on the issue of poverty, is a legitimate democratic decision.

THE PLUNDER OF OUR ECONOMIC PRODUCT

The candidates told us how well off we are. They said we are one of the richest countries in the world. The thirtieth richest to be precise.

During the election campaign, they never did tell us that we produce less per person than Israel, Hong Kong and Singapore. They never told us that we produced no more in 1985 than we did in 1980.

Most of all, they never told us that more than a third of what is paid for the products of Irish workers — our so-called "national income" — is immediately plundered and taken abroad.

Over £1½ billion of what we produce goes to the multinationals in profits and is immediately taken back to America and Europe.

A similar amount is taken out of Ireland on the sly by Irish capitalists and other speculators who invest their ill-gotten money abroad.

Another billion and a half goes abroad to service the governments' foreign debt.

In other words, our real per person "national income"

is not the £4,000 — which makes us the "13th richest country in the world". It is more like £2,500. Instead of being on a par with Israel or Trinidad we have the same income as Uruguay, Algeria or Venezuela. But no one told us so in the election campaign. They were too busy rattling on about interest rates and comparing the 26 Counties with Denmark or Germany, who are three times as rich as us. Even the Workers' Party, in its final news conference, said that we should be more like France.

France!

THE ENVIRONMENT

To hear the election broadcasts, you would think that the Irish environment was in great shape. No mention of Sellafield and the dumping of nuclear waste in the Irish sea. No mention of the plunder of our few remaining natural woodlands. Nothing about the decimation of our salmon stocks or the over-fishing of Irish waters by European boats. No mention of the *Kowloon Bridge* spilling its oil in a hundred-mile oil slick. No acid rain. No polluting factories.

Nothing about the Single European Act, NATO overflights, Transshipments of US armaments through Shannon, Millions of pounds of grants for companies headquartered in South Africa. The near-complete domination of our economic policy by Europe.

And women. Their domination by men in their homes and their work. Domestic violence. Their lack of control over their own bodies. Their imprisonment in failed marriages because of a sectarian constitution. It was a man's election.

THE NORTH

Then there is the North. At the outset, the major parties agreed that the North was not an election issue.

Not an election issue!

One and a half million people and several thousand armed thugs in a corner of the nation are swept under the carpet. They do not exist.

Towns along the border from Donegal to Louth are

turned into ghost towns by the twin evils of emigration and partition. Not an election issue.

The British army and the RUC step up their harassment of nationalists on the Falls, the Bogside and Strabane. Families are burned and intimidated out of their homes because of a failed 'political initiative': women are shot in cafes. Funerals are broken up by police, South Africa style.

Not an election issue.

MYTH OF DEMOCRACY

When an electorate is not informed about the major issues of the day. When they have to make do with rhetoric about "lower interest rates" and "big government". When alternative political perspectives are banned from the radio and television. When the poorest sections of the population are disenfranchised by their own alienation, is it democracy? Is it good enough?

The other parties think so.

That is why the media has shunned the only true alternative message. Even the newspapers, who do not come under Section 31, have gone out of their way to shun Sinn Fein. Or it has been downright hostile.

Among the hostile, the recent performance by our favourite Dublin yuppie Vincent Browne (editor of the *Sunday Tribune*) sums it all up.

Browne told his readers not to vote for Sinn Fein. It would put the cat among the pigeons, he agreed. Sinn Fein represents the nationalists in the North and thus its voice should be heard in Leinster House, he agreed. He even spouted some nonsense about how success for Sinn Fein in Leinster House would encourage the party to "end its campaign of political violence". But... as Gerry Adams does not regard the outcome of this week's election as the final and legitimate expression of the wishes and aspirations of "the electorate of this part of Ireland" then "there is no room for them in our parliament".

Now, Vincent was there at the Ard-Fheis. I saw him there, taking his notes. My sources tell me he even requested a transcript of all the speeches for his paper's articles.

He knows from those speeches that Sinn Fein is not going to Leinster House to sit and hobbob with Charlie and Garret. He knows that Sinn Fein alone is not going to parliament to win some fat pensions and to keep the system going so that they can get more fat pensions. Nor to trade a few favours for votes.

He knows that Sinn Fein stands for revolutionary change, real change in this country. All 32 Counties. Even the ones that the major parties agreed did not exist in the election campaign.

So he told his readers not to vote for Sinn Fein. Fair enough. He also told them to vote for 58 candidates. Candidates of "a high calibre". They ranged from arch-conservative Fine Gaeler John Bruton to arch-conservative Repulsive Demagogue Des O'Malley, to nearly-as-conservative Charlie Haughey to arch-Stalinist-Stickie Proinsias de Rossa.

BEAUTY CONTEST

Obviously, to Vincent Browne and to many others in the media, democratic elections have nothing to do with politics or with issues. They have to do with some ill-defined, magical property called "high calibre" which some editor or TV personality bestows with a wave of the wand.

Interviewer: "And if you are selected by our panel of electors, what do you hope to achieve in your term of office?"

Politician (in strapless evening gown, holding a bunch of roses): "If I am selected I want to help bring peace and contentment to all of the peoples of this country and the world."

Interviewer (to tumultuous applause): "Obviously, this is a candidate of high calibre!" Sounds a lot like a beauty contest to me — not democracy.

IMEACHTAÍ

BALLAD SESSION
The Fluke & Ramblers
8pm Friday 20th February
Piká Inn
Mulgrave Street
LIMERICK CITY
Táille £2
Organised by Sinn Fein

FOLK NIGHT
Music by The Irish Brigade
10pm till late Friday 20th February
Thornlas Hotel
CUSHENDALL
County Antrim
Proceeds to the Hogan/Martin Memorial Fund

ZIRCÓN - THE BANNED BBC FILM
1pm Saturday 21st February
Just Books
7 Winetavern Street
BELFAST
Admission free

HENRY HOGAN/DECLAN MARTIN COMMEMORATION
(3rd Anniversary)
Wreath-laying ceremony
1.30pm Sunday 22nd February
St Joseph's Cemetery
2.30pm Parade from McAleese's Filling Station
DUNLOY
County Antrim
All bands welcome

WEST TYRONE VOLUNTEERS COMMEMORATION
2pm Sunday 22nd February
Assemble McNally's shop
March to Cemetery Ballycolman estate
STRABANE
Unwilling ceremonies at the graves of Vols Charlie Breslin, and David and Michael Devine

ANC 75th ANNIVERSARY LECTURE
From Passive Resistance to Armed Struggle
Speaker: Enuga Reddy
8pm Tuesday 24th February
55 Middle Abbey Street
DUBLIN
Anti-Organised by the Irish Anti-Apartheid Movement

ELECTION FUND SOCIAL
Music by The Irish Brigade
8pm Friday 27th February
The Wexford Inn
DUBLIN
Táille £2

POLICING THE IRISH COMMUNITY
One-day conference
Speakers on the PTA, plastic bullets & strip-searching
10am to 4.30pm
Saturday 28th February
The Albany Centre
Douglas Way
Deptford
LONDON
England

REPEAL SECTION 31 FUN TABLE QUIZ
8pm Saturday 28th February
Keating's
Store Street
DUBLIN
Táille £10 per table

KERRY SINN FEIN ANNUAL SOCIAL
Music by Shebeen
8.30pm Saturday 28th February
The Manor Inn
KILLORGLIN
County Kerry
Táille £6.50

BALLAD SESSION ELECTION FUND-RAISER
Music by Latch
8.30pm Saturday 28th February
Cassidy's
COLLON
County Louth
Táille £1.50



WORLD VIEW

"MOSSAD is charged with inciting disturbances calculated to create mutual distrust among Arabs and to draw Western sympathy away from the Arab cause. In the area of counter-terrorism, the Israelis have carried the fight to Arab terrorists by taking executive action against them, especially in parts of the Near East and Western Europe."

— US Central Intelligence Agency secret report on the Israeli foreign intelligence and security service, March 1979.

Mossad operations outside Israel can be placed into two categories: operations in the Near East, regarded as the "first line of defence" (examples being Egypt and Syria, with Egypt designated as the main target area for establishing intelligence networks), and Europe, USA, USSR, plus South and Central America.

These operations are conducted through both official and semi-official Israeli establishments, through covert and overt channels using the deep cover of commercial organisations, and through a network of individual agents leading normal lives in their native or host countries.

SWITZERLAND

One example of 'official' operations is the special relationship that Israel has built up with 'neutral' Switzerland.

There is very close collaboration between Israel and Switzerland on scientific and technical expertise in the area of intelligence and security operations. Swiss officials are constantly visiting Israel, and there is a pro-rata flow of Israelis into Switzerland. The interesting point about all of these visits is that they are not arranged through the Israeli Embassy in Berne but through the Political Action & Liaison Control at the Israeli Embassy in Paris, the European headquarters of Mossad.

A good insight into the operational methods of Mossad is provided through the case histories of three agents: Eliahu Cohen, Johann Lotz and Sylvia Rafael.

Eliahu Ben Shaul Cohen was an Egyptian Jew recruited by Mossad after he had fled from Egypt in 1952. Cohen received intensive training in setting up intelligence networks and was given a thorough grounding in Syrian politics and military information. Cohen then adopted the identity of a dead Syrian merchant, Kamil Amin Thabet, and travelled to Argentina. There he was accepted into the Arab emigre community and after a few years made his way to Syria.

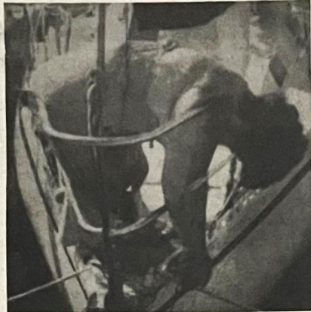
From 1961, Cohen lived in Damascus, where he built up a network and succeeded in ingratiating himself within political and military circles. Over the next four years, Cohen made a number of trips to Europe and Israel, where Mossad control debriefed him. But in January 1965, Cohen made a fatal mistake in transmitting information directly to Tel Aviv.

He used a hand Morse radio transmitter and stayed on the air for over an hour. He was caught, tried, found guilty of spying and publicly executed in Damascus in May 1965.

EGYPT

Johann Wolfgang Lotz (station name 'Zeev Gur Arieh') was an Israeli Military Intelligence officer who was recruited by Mossad in 1959. Mossad needed a resident agent to target the numerous German scientists assisting the Egyptian government to revamp the economy and military establishment.

Lotz, like all Mossad agents, received intensive training, including equestrian instruction. In 1960, he was sent to Germany, posing as an ex-Afrika Korps officer and a refugee from East Germany. Although already married in Israel, Lotz succeeded in marrying a German woman to complete his disguise.



● (Above) The body of Sylvia Roxburg aboard a yacht in Larnaca harbour, Cyprus, in 1985; (Right) Norwegian police lead away a member of an Israeli hit-team who murdered a Moroccan waiter in Lillhammer in 1973; (Below) King Hussein's prime minister Wasfi Tal whose execution in 1971 marked the debut of the Palestinian Black September group



In 1961, he travelled to Cairo and opened a riding school. Through this operation he made contact with many Germans and, as an added bonus, became friendly with many well-placed Egyptians. Like other agents, he made regular trips to Israel and Western Europe for debriefing.

In 1964, acting on orders, Lotz began to send threatening letters to various German scientists. Like Cohen, he was caught in February 1965. He was imprisoned but released in 1968 (that particular operation cost the Israelis a staggering 250,000 dollars).

RAFAEL

One of the most infamous Mossad agents was Sylvia Rafael.

Rafael was born in South Africa, her true name being Sylvia Roxburg. During her life as a Mossad agent she used a number of aliases: Patricia Roxburgh, Erika Mary Chambers, 'Penelope', Esther Paltzur and, of course, Sylvia Rafael. Although she became a top agent, Rafael was never accepted as a Jew because of the Matrilinear Orthodox law — her mother was a Christian.

Rafael first surfaced as a Mossad agent in 1969, when she turned up in Amman, the capital of Jordan, as a press photographer named Patricia Roxburgh. She quickly became a familiar figure at the Hashemite court of King Hussein. Rafael/Roxburgh became 'close friends' with at least one cabinet minister and a number of high-ranking officials. These liaisons



enabled her to gather high-level information and pass it on to her bosses in Tel Aviv. Some of that information included the names and movements of prominent Palestinians, especially PLO members resident in Jordan.

BLACK SEPTEMBER

The information was passed back to Hussein's military intelligence and led directly to the September 1970 'Black September' purge of Palestinians by Hussein. Thousands of Palestinians were tortured and killed and many tens of thousands more fled to Lebanon. While the Palestinians were being massacred, Rafael/Roxburgh went to ground.

After the Amman pogrom, Fatah set up an independent group, Black September, to exact revenge. In charge was Abu Ayyad, head of PLO Intelligence. He recruited Abu Hassan, son of the 1948 Palestinian guerrilla leader, Sheikh Hassan Salameh, and Abu Daoud.

Their first operation was aimed at King Hussein's prime minister, Wasfi Tal, whom they executed on November 28th 1971. While Black September was carrying out its campaign of revenge, the Israelis, under Golda Meir, decided to assassinate all the Palestinian leaders (or at least those they could lay hands on). Sylvia Rafael was chosen to be part of the Israeli murder squad. She left Amman and travelled to Paris where she joined David Kimche and Itzhak Shamir (now prime minister of Israel).

MUNICH

After the Black September abduction of the Israeli team from the Olympic Village in Munich in 1972 and the subsequent murder of five Palestinians, nine Israeli athletes and a German policeman by German and Israeli commandos, the Israeli government redoubled its efforts to wipe out the Palestinian leaders, especially Hassan, Daoud and Ayyad. In that Mossad campaign, Rafael was involved in the killings of PLO representatives Adel Wael Zwaitier in Rome and Mahmud Hamshari in Paris.

Her next public outing was on July 21st 1973 when, along with 16 other Israeli agents, she murdered a Moroccan waiter named Ahmed Bouchiki in the town of Lillhammer, Norway. The hit-team was caught and Rafael spent 18 months in prison. She obtained an early

release because she married her lawyer in jail!

In 1978, Rafael was called into action again when she was sent to Beirut, Lebanon, to kill Abu Hassan. Carrying a British passport in the name of Erika Mary Chambers, she rented a flat in Beirut's Rue Marie Curie. The flat overlooked the route Abu Hassan took between his home and the PLO office. On January 22nd 1979, Rafael detonated a remote-control bomb hidden in a Volkswagen just as Abu Hassan's car passed. He was instantly killed.

FORCE 17

Six years before this, the PLO had disbanded Black September and set up Force 17, a crack intelligence commando unit headed by Abu Hassan. Force 17 became the eyes and ears of Fatah, with members acting as PLO leader Yasser Arafat's bodyguard. Now with their leader Abu Hassan murdered, the hunt began to track down the Mossad agents responsible. Force 17 got two new leaders, Abu Tayyeb and Abu Jihad (deputy commander-in-chief of all PLO forces). It took six years to exact revenge, but when that day came it was well worth waiting for. After the PLO evacuation of Beirut in 1982, the PLO moved its headquarters to Tunis and Cyprus became an important centre for the PLO. Mossad followed suit by moving agents into Cyprus.

PLO STRIKES BACK

In 1985, one team of agents was stationed at Larnaca, but it was spotted by the PLO. Information was passed to Force 17 that Sylvia Rafael, Reuben Paltzur (European station chief) and Avraham Avnery, (Mossad's assistant director) were on board a boat at Larnaca harbour. Force 17 sent three members, two Palestinians and a British citizen, to carry out the executions. This they did on September 30th, liquidating three of Israel's top intelligence agents and exacting revenge in full for the murder of Abu Hassan.

"In recent years there have been indications that Israeli intelligence on the Arabs, other than communications intelligence, has been somewhat inadequate in quality and their agent operations lacking in success."

— CIA report, March 1979.

OBITUARY

'Neo' Browne

THE DEATH of veteran Waterford republican and trade union activist Edward 'Neo' Browne occurred on December 28th 1986.

A lifelong supporter of the Republican Movement, Neo was interned in the Curragh during the 1939-48 'Emergency'.

Aged 85, he was predeceased by his wife Elizabeth, a sister of Bobby Clancy who, as a fellow internee of Neo's, was shot dead by Free State soldiers.

Neo was a committed trade unionist, representing the Electrical Trade Union on Waterford Trades Council for many years.

The Republican Movement extends sincere sympathy to the Browne family, friends and comrades.

REMEMBERING THE PAST

Outstanding guerrilla leader

BY PETER O'ROURKE

DINNY LACEY, undoubtedly one of the outstanding guerrilla leaders of the Tan and Civil Wars, was born at Attybrack, Annacarty, County Tipperary, in 1890.

He joined the Irish Volunteers soon after its formation in 1913 and the following year, through the influence of Sean Treacy, was sworn into the IRB.

Bitterly disappointed that the fighting during Easter Week 1916 had not extended to the country as a whole, Lacey swore that should the fighting ever be resumed he would be in the thick of it, no matter where it took place.

With Sean Treacy and Dan Breen, he set about reorganising the IRA and Sinn Féin in Tipperary after the Rising. Under his supervision, two small munitions factories were started at Knocking and Shrogh.

In October 1920, following the death of Treacy, Lacey became O/C of the 3rd Tipperary Brigade's No.1 Flying Column, which operated throughout South Munster.

He was able to move his Column through the countryside with an instinct that rarely erred. He continued the Treacy tradition with an ambush at Thomastown in October in which three British soldiers were killed and five wounded and another the following month at Lisnagal in which two RIC men were shot dead and two injured.

Dinny set a high standard of conduct for those under his command. Discipline was enforced with a strictness not normally associated with guerrilla armies and he expected his men to be as little trouble as was humanly possible to the people with whom they were billeted.

TREATY

Rejecting the Treaty, Lacey and a large number of his men continued

the fight against the Free State during the Civil War. He took part in some of the toughest fighting of the Civil War in the south. In early February 1922, the 3rd Tipperary Brigade IRA, led by Lacey, raided Clonmel Barracks and seized a large quantity of ammunition. After holding the region around Carrick-on-Suir for a short time in December, they were forced back into the mountains.

Lacey and his Column were encircled in the Glen of Aherlow by about a thousand Free State troops in one of the most extensive round-up operations undertaken to that date. Trapped in a house in Ballydavid, he fought his way out and was shot dead as he tried to help a wounded comrade over a fence.

Dinny Lacey died on February 18th 1923, 64 years ago this week.

He was a committed trade unionist, representing the Electrical Trade Union on Waterford Trades Council for many years. The Republican Movement extends sincere sympathy to the Browne family, friends and comrades.

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Irish Lesson

Cead (kyad) - Permission
 An bhfuil cead agam dul amach? (un fay-dir oagm dull umoch) - Have I permission to may I go out?
 Níl cead ag a duine sin teacht isteach (neel kyad egg un dinnuh shin tyocht isteach) - That person may not come in.
 Is féidir liom é sin a dhéanamh (is fay-dir liom é shin a yane-uv) - I can do that.
 Is féidir leat fanacht anseo (is fay-dir lait fanchuht un-shuh) - You can stay here.
 An féidir leis an doras a oscailt? (un fay-dir leis an durrus a uskilt) - Can he open the door?
 Ní féidir é gluaisiáin a thiomáint (neé fay-dir layee gloishtáin a humáint) - She cannot drive a car.
 Ní féidir linn dul ar bhóthar sin (neoh fay-dir linn dull booh-ús un bothar shin) - Can we not go up that road?
 Is féidir libh dul abhalla anois (is fay-dir libh dull abhalla anois) - You

can go home now
 Is féidir linn béile a itheadh anseo (is fay-dir linn béile a itheadh anseo) - We can eat a meal here
 Is gá duit doech a dól (is gaw ditt dyoch a oie) - You have to drink a drink
 Níl gá do an litir a scríobh (nig gaw doe un litir uh skroob) - He does not need to write that letter
 An gá dom bheith anseo? (un gaw dum veith unshuh) - Do I need to be here?
 Is féidir dól go dtí an scannán sin (is fay-dir dull gaw doe un skonáin shin) - It is worth going to that film
 Is féidir cuig phunt an leabhar (is fay-dir cuig punt an leavir) - The book is worth five pounds
 Níl raibh léine síne fíú amháin (neé rav lanyuh léine síne fíú amháin) - He didn't even have a shirt
 Is fíú a rá go bhfuil muid chun fanacht anseo feasta (is fyoo a raw gaw mill muid chun fonacht unsho fastuh) - It is worth saying that we are going to stay here in the future

COMHBRÓN

BELL, Gerard; DORRAN, Robert; MAGEE, Joseph; STEELE, Gerard (18th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vols Gerard Bell, Robert Dorran, Joseph Magee and Gerard Steele, 3rd Battalion, Belfast Brigade, Oglagh na hÉireann, who were killed in an accidental explosion on February 21st 1972. Fuair siad bás ag troid ar son na seoirs. Always remembered by their friends and comrades in the Belfast Brigade.

BEST, Paul (11th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Paul Best, Sinn Féin, who was killed on February 18th 1976, as a result of wounds received when he was shot in the back by Workers' Party gunmen. Paul was a tireless worker for the cause of a socialist Republic. Always remembered by his friends and comrades in Belfast Sinn Féin.

BEST, Paul (11th Anniversary). In loving memory of Paul Best, who died from gunshot wounds on February 18th 1976. Mass offered. Always remembered by Pol and Patricia O'Connell and Marie Og.

CUNNINGHAM, Joseph (15th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of IRA Volunteer Joseph Cunningham, who was killed on active service on February 10th, 1972. Always remembered by the Joseph Cunningham Sinn Féin Cumann, Bawnmore.

CUNNINGHAM, Joseph (15th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Joseph Cunningham, who was killed on active service on February 10th, 1972. I maeis laochra na nGael go raibh siad a' troid. Always remembered by Peter and Geraldine.

GOUGH, Tony (1st Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Tony Gough, Derry Brigade, Oglagh na hÉireann, who was shot dead while on active service on February 20th 1986. The tyrants that war break, the lying formulae that war overthrow, the hypocrites that war strip naked, are evil. The Padraig Pearse. Always remembered by his friends and comrades in the Derry Brigade.

GOUGH, Tony (1st Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol Tony Gough, Derry Brigade, Oglagh na hÉireann, who was killed by British forces while on active service on February 22nd, 1986. "You may lose, you may kill us, but out of those hills and graves will arise the spirit that will thwart you and defeat you." James Connolly. Sadly missed and always remembered by Ranks (Portlaoise).

HOGAN, Henry; MARTIN, Declan (3rd Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vols Henry Hogan and Declan Martin, Oglagh na hÉireann, who were killed in action on February 21st, 1984. "Soft, be the soil that covers their graves, proud be the country that bore them, Green be the memory that binds them, that have gone to join the soldiers before them." Always remembered by their friends and comrades in North Antrim Brigade, Oglagh na hÉireann.

HOGAN, Henry (3rd Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol Henry Hogan, Oglagh na hÉireann, who was killed in action on February 21st 1984. "Our memories grow stronger with each passing day. It is with pride we think of you, we remember the courage and bravery shown, the love of your land, and the love of your home. And as time unfolds another year, we miss you more, brave Volunteer." Always loved and remembered by Mam, Dad, Patrick, Micky (Portlaoise) and Bernie.

HOGAN, Henry (3rd Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol Henry Hogan, Oglagh na hÉireann, who was killed in action with the Gael, pray for them. Always remembered by Gran, aunts, uncles and family circle.

HOGAN, Henry; MARTIN, Declan (3rd Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of my brother Vol Henry Hogan and his comrade Vol Declan Martin, Oglagh na hÉireann, who were killed in action on February 21st 1984. Mary, Queen of the Gael, pray for her. Always remembered by Eithne McAteer.

HOGAN, Henry (3rd Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol Henry Hogan, who was killed in action on February 21st 1984. Sadly missed by Monica and Gerry (Portlaoise).

HOGAN, Henry; MARTIN, Declan (3rd Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vols Henry Hogan and Declan Martin, Oglagh na hÉireann, who were killed in action on February 21st 1984. Rest in your graves, brave Irish soldiers, beneath our Irish soil, until the day we shall again kneel and pray in a free and Gaelic Ireland. Always remembered by their friend Sean, Dunloy.

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MAULEY, David (15th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Flan David McAuley, Flanna Éireann, who was killed in an accidental shooting on February 19th 1972. I maeis laochra na nGael go raibh se. Always remembered by Flanna Éireann.

MAGEE, Joseph (15th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of my dear brother Vol Joe Magee, who died on February 21st 1972. RIP. Masses offered. Our Lady of the Gaeil, pray for him. Will miss you, but have mercy on his soul. I never said goodbye to you, perhaps it's just as well, for I never would have said goodbye to a brother I loved so well. Sadly missed by his loving sister Chris and Desy Monaghan and nephew.

MAGEE, Joseph (15th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of my dear brother Vol Joseph Magee, who died on February 21st 1972. RIP. Masses offered. Mary, Queen of the Gael, pray for him. The leaves and flowers may wither, the evening sun may set, but the hearts that loved you dearly, are the ones that won't ever die. Sadly missed by his loving sister Betty, brothers Michael and Emmanuel, and the family circle at home and abroad.

MAGEE, Joseph (15th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of my dear brother Vol Joseph Magee, 3rd Battalion, Belfast Brigade, Oglagh na hÉireann, and his comrades, Gerry Dorran, Gerard Bell and Gerard Steele, who were killed in action. Masses offered. Our Lady of the Gaeil, pray for them. Will miss you, but think of them today, a little prayer to Jesus say. Always remembered by his sister and brother-in-law, Esther and Patsy Vailley and family.

MAGEE, Joseph (15th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of my dear brother Vol Joseph Magee, 3rd Battalion, Belfast Brigade, Oglagh na hÉireann, who was killed on active service on February 21st 1972. Masses offered. St. Gerard, pray for him. A special corner of our hearts is set aside for you, as long as we live, memories last, we will remember you. Still sadly missed by his brother Patsy, Maureen and family.

MAGEE, Joseph (15th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of my dear brother Vol Joe Magee, 3rd Battalion, Belfast Brigade, Oglagh na hÉireann, who was killed in action on February 21st 1972. Masses offered. St. Joseph, pray for him. He and that others may live in freedom in a land whose cause he loved. Always remembered by his loving sister Sarah McVarnock, brother-in-law Conn and family.

MAGEE, Joseph (15th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of my dear brother Vol Joseph Magee, 3rd Battalion, Belfast Brigade, Oglagh na hÉireann, who was killed on active service on February 21st 1972. Masses offered. St. Patrick, pray for him. Your name we often mention, our thoughts are with you, and you haven't been forgotten. God knows you never will. Always remembered by his loving sister Peggy and Eddie Loughran and family.

MARTIN, Declan Dominic (3rd Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of my dear brother Vol Declan Martin, Oglagh na hÉireann, who was killed in action on February 21st 1984. Lovingly remembered by Mum, Dad, Bridie, Seamus Og, Donald, Sean, Turlogh, Fiedelme and Cathair.

MARTIN, Declan (3rd Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol Declan Martin, North Antrim Brigade, Oglagh na hÉireann, who was killed in action on February 21st 1984. Always remembered by Archie and Rose, and the O'Neill family, Dunloy.

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An Cumann Cabhrach

An Cumann Cabhrach, the Republican Prisoners' Dependents' Fund, is a voluntary organisation which helps alleviate the hardship of republican prisoners and their dependants.

If you wish to help the POWs' dependants send all donations to:

An Cumann Cabhrach, 44 Parnell Square, Dublin 1.

COMHBRÓN

McLOSKEY, Deapest (South Down). Deapest sympathy is extended to Tom Egan and family (New York) on the recent death of his wife Anne, a dedicated worker for Noraid. "To carry on, no matter what odds we against you, to carry on, no matter what tortures are inflicted on you. The road to freedom is paved with suffering, hardships and torture. Carry on my dear comrades, until that certain day." Mary, Queen of the Gael, pray for her. Always remembered by Eithne McAteer.

FITZSIMONS, Deapest (South Down). Deapest sympathy is extended to Paddy and family on the tragic death of his brother Michael. Always remembered by the Maloney/Martin Sinn Féin Cumann, Castlewellan.

McLOSKEY, Deapest (South Down). Deapest sympathy is extended to the wife and family of the late Tony McCloskey, on their tragic bereavement from Seamus Sorohan (Portlaoise).

IRISH NAZIS in the minuscule and lunatic National Socialist Irish Workers' Party aren't the only ones to use the racist term "nigger" in references to black people.

Dick Spring, leader of the Labour Party, has yet to refute the comment made by one of his canvassers at an after-Mass meeting in Listowel, County Kerry, last Sunday week.

The *Kerryman* newspaper reports the Labour Party campaigner as saying: "Dick Spring has worked like a nigger for North Kerry."

The guilty party was one Arthur Spring - Dick Spring's brother.



WHEN FINE GAELERS next come the high-and-mighty about bribery and skulduggery remind them about Shane Byrne's Dublin Central campaign.

Shameless Shane's father, Hugh, approached the local Sinn Fein director of elections, Brian Dowling, outside the Pro-Cathedral on Sunday and offered him £100 if Sinn Fein workers tore down the posters of rival Fine Gaeler Pat Lee in Marino and Fairview.

The offer was declined.



WHEN a BBC Radio Wales presenter, Mike Flynn, phoned the Royal Air Force base at St Altham, South Glamorgan, after hearing explosions near his home he



was told that war had broken out.

It was, of course, a war game and an RAF spokesperson later explained that Mr Flynn had been mistaken for a person pretending to be a member of the public but who was, in fact, part of the war game.

The RAF said that such members of the public were known by the British military as "insects".



RIALTO CHURCH, Dublin South-Central, last Sunday.



● Dick Spring - almost clapped out

A canvasser for the Labour Party's Frank Cluskey handed a leaflet to a Sinn Fein supporter. Not one mention of the Labour Party on it.

"Why isn't the Labour Party's name on it," enquires our Rialto republican, anticipating the answer.

"Sure why would we mention the Labour Party? That would only lose us votes."



LURGAN RUC MAN Moffett was raking it in at Leopardstown races the other Sunday.

Not only did his horse, Hawthorn Hill, romp home by 15 lengths in the Knocksinna Amateur Flat Race for a plate of £2,500, but Moffett, who was at the meeting in person, had £200 on the nose at odds of seven to one. One to watch for!

Judgement was clouded with drink and his emotional state."



THE SON of British army Captain Matthew Terry, Royal Regiment of Wales, has been charged with his father's murder at Sennelager, near Paderborn, West Germany, in December.

Matthew Terry (19) is being held in British army custody until his trial as "all British army of the Rhine dependants are subject to military law".



IF VOTERS in Dublin West were unsure about the frightening future that the Fine Gael/Progressive Democrats junta has in store for us then Fine Gael Minister Jim Mitchell's loudspeaker cars certainly told them.

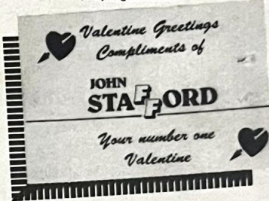
In between the exhortations to vote

TRUST HOUSE FORTE, the anti-union, British-based hotel chain which has refused to negotiate with Dublin's Shelbourne Hotel staff since they were forced to strike on October 4th for pay parity with other city hotels, has really been forced down-market and is now trying to get the catering contract for the Royal Marine Commando Training Centre, Lymington, Devon.

The Egon Ronay organisation says that British army food isn't bad, but Trust House Forte's efforts are somewhat less than mouth-watering:

"I'd rather have army food in a motorway service station than Trust House Forte's food in the army any day."

No wonder Prince Edward lost his stomach for playing soldiers.



WHO LOVES YA, John Stafford?

Certainly not the voters who received this Valentine's Day greetings card attached to a red rose (plastic) from the Dublin Central Fianna Fail undertaker.

THE FLYING COLUMN

for Jim 'Section 31' Mitchell was music from... Dire Straits.
Need I say more?



SINN FEIN workers in Dublin North-East anxious to quiz Charlie Haughey on his attitude to Section 31, were pleasantly surprised to hear one of the Fianna Fail supporters' selection of music. Blaring from Fianna Failer Adam Farrelly's Merc were the strains of *The Flag of Sinn Fein*.

Let's wait and see if the same air is heard on RTE when the Soldiers of Destiny are calling the shots.

GET FIT (no, not Gerry Fitt!) is the message being drummed into the British army's puddingheads in the North as a new low-fat diet is introduced.

A British army spokesperson told the *Huddersfield Examiner*:

"Soldiers in Northern Ireland are in the forefront of a culinary revolution in army catering."

The well-known guerrilla warfare expert, Bobby Trapp, speaking from a derelict house somewhere in the Six Counties, told *The Flying Column*:

"British soldiers in the North of Ireland are certainly in the forefront of a revolution, and although I wouldn't regard it as very healthy for them, myself, Mark Eleven Mortar, RPG Seven and our colleagues will do our best to keep them on their toes in 1987 to prepare them for the big one - the long jump back across the Irish Sea."



ANYONE can make a mistake.

A little birdie tells me that the Workers' Party boss, Tomas Mac Giolla, was up in the Belfast Sticks' Springfield Road hide-out in the past couple of weeks.

Mac Giolla, who is known by some of his party colleagues by the less-than-respectful nickname of 'Turkey-neck', was sitting with a henchman when two local Sticks walked in.

One of the recent arrivals was a fairly new recruit but used to engaging in a bit of friendly slugging with the henchman. When his companion nodded in Mac Giolla's direction and said, "There's old Turkey-neck," he misunderstood and thought he was referring to the henchman. He then began laughingly calling over towards MacGiolla, "Hey, Turkey-neck! How's it going?"

He was swiftly taken on a guided tour of the rear of the premises and severely chastised for his unfortunate error.

Sticks and stones may break your bones... but names will never hurt you?

