

# anspréach

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Independent non-profit Socialist Republican magazine



## A COLD HOUSE FOR GAEILGEOIRÍ

OLLSCOIL NA BANRÍONA AGUS AN GHAEILGE

### DEATH ON THE ROCK

Operation Flavius

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A Call to the Future

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The Typist with a  
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### SOCIALISM & NATIONALISM

James Connolly

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**An Spréach** is an independent Socialist Republican magazine formed by a collective of political activists across Ireland. It aims to bring you, the reader, a broad swathe of opinion from within the Irish Socialist Republican political sphere, including, but not exclusive to, the fight for national liberation and socialism in Ireland and internationally.

The views expressed herein, do not necessarily represent the publication and are purely those of the author. We welcome contributions from all political activists, including opinion pieces, letters, historical analyses and other relevant material. The editor reserves the right to exclude or omit any articles that may be deemed defamatory or abusive.

Full and real names must be provided, even in instances where a pseudonym is used, including contact details. Please bear in mind that you may be asked to shorten material if necessary, and where we may be required to edit a piece to fit within these pages, all efforts will be made to retain its balance and opinion, without bias.

**An Spréach** is a not-for-profit magazine which only aims to fund its running costs, including print and associated platforms.

Is iris poblachtach sóisialta í **An Spréach** curtha le chéile ag roinnt gníomhaithe polaitiúla. An aidhm atá leis ná tuilleadh léargais agus dearchtaí ón phobal poblachtach sóisialta a chur i do láthair mar léitheoir, ábhar nach mbaineann amháin leis an troid shaortha shóisialta náisiúnta in Éirinn agus idirnáisiúnta.

Ní hionann na dearcaidh luaite anseo agus dearcadh an fhoilseacháin ach is iad dearcaidh de chuid an údair iad. Cuirfear fáilte roimh gach gníomhaí polaitiúil ábhar a chur ar fáil, ailt tuairimíochta, litreacha, anailís stairiúil agus gach aon ábhar cuí san áireamh. Tá sé de cheart ag an eagarthóir alt clúmhillteach nó ionsaitheach a fhágáil ar lár.

Caithfear ainmneacha iomlána agus fíor ainmneacha a bheith ar fáil, go fiú nuair a úsáidtear ainm cleite, sonraí teagmhála ábhartha san áireamh. Ná déantar dearmad, tá seans ann go n-iarrfar ort eagar a chur ar do shaothar sa dóigh is go bhféadaimis an spás leathanaigh a líonadh mar is ceart. Tá seans ann ar a bharr sin go ndéanfar coiriú ar pháosa le seo a eascú ach déanfar achan iarrachta an cothromas agus dearcaidh an pháosa sin a thabhairt, gan claonadh.

Is iris neamhbhrabúis í **An Spréach** a sholáthraíonn airgead maidir le costais reatha amháin, costais clódóireachta agus tairisí atá bainteach léi.



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# DEATH ON THE ROCK

**I**n November 1987, several known IRA members were detected travelling from Belfast to Spain under false identities. MI5 and Spanish authorities believed that an IRA active service unit was operating from the Costa del Sol and suspected members of the unit were placed under surveillance.

*“the IRA was planning to ambush British soldiers with a car-bomb as they assembled for the ceremony in a nearby car park.”*

After a known IRA member was sighted at the changing of the guard ceremony at ‘the Convent’ in Gibraltar, which houses the governor’s residence, the British and local authorities began to suspect that the IRA was planning to ambush British soldiers with a car-bomb as they assembled for the ceremony in a nearby car park.

The three IRA volunteers suspected to carry out the operation —Seán Savage, Daniel McCann, and Mairéad Farrell— travelled to Málaga, just 90 miles from Gibraltar. Their activities were monitored and by early March a dedicated team from the SAS was despatched to Gibraltar at

the behest of British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher.

On March 6th 1988 Savage entered Gibraltar undetected in a white Renault 5 at 12:45. An MI5 officer recognised and stalked him until he parked the vehicle in the car park used as an assembly area for the changing of the guard. At 14:30, McCann and Farrell were observed crossing the frontier from Spain and were also followed. They met Savage in the car park at around 14:50 and a few minutes later the three began walking through the town. After the three left the car park, a bomb-disposal officer was ordered to examine Savage’s car; and reported that the vehicle should be treated as a ‘suspected’ car-bomb.

This soldier’s suspicion was conveyed as certainty to others who were ordered into positions to intercept Savage, McCann, and Farrell as they walked north towards the Spanish border.

The bomb-disposal officers’ information convinced the Gibraltar Police Commissioner, who was controlling the operation, to order the arrest of the three suspects. To that end, he signed over control of the operation to the senior SAS officer, at 15:40.

Two minutes after receiving control, the SAS were ordered to apprehend the IRA operatives, by which time they were walking north on Winston Churchill Avenue towards the airport and border.

As the soldiers approached, the volunteers may have realised that they were being followed. Savage split from the group and began heading south, brushing against one soldier as he did so. Others continued approaching McCann and Farrell.

After handing control over to the SAS, the police began organising transport to detain and deliver the three volunteers in. A patrol car containing Inspector Luis Revagliatte and three other officers, apparently on routine patrol and with no knowledge of Operation Flavius, was ordered to return to police headquarters as a matter of urgency. The vehicle was stuck in heavy traffic travelling north on Smith Dorrien Avenue, close to the roundabout where it meets Winston Churchill Avenue. The official account states that at this point, Revagliatte’s driver activated the siren on the police car in order to shorten the journey back to headquarters, intending to approach the roundabout from the wrong side of the road and turn the vehicle around. The siren apparently startled McCann and Farrell, just as Soldiers “A” and “B” were about to challenge them outside the Shell petrol station on Winston Churchill Avenue.

“Soldier A” stated at the inquest that Farrell looked back at him and appeared to realise who “A” was. “A” testified that he was drawing his pistol and intended to shout a challenge to her, but “events overtook the warning”: that McCann’s right arm “moved aggressively across the front of his body”, leading “A” to believe that



McCann was reaching for a remote detonator. “A” shot McCann once in the back; “A” went on to tell the inquest that he believed Farrell then reached for her handbag, and that he believed Farrell may also have been reaching for a remote detonator. “A” also shot Farrell once in the back, before returning to McCann—he shot McCann a further three times (once in the back and twice in the head). “Soldier B” testified that he reached similar conclusions to “A”, and shot Farrell twice, then McCann once or twice, then returned to Farrell, shooting her a further three times.

Soldiers “C” and “D” testified at the inquest that they were moving to apprehend Savage, who was by now 300 feet (91 metres) south of the petrol station, as gunfire began behind them. “Soldier C” testified that Savage turned around while simultaneously reaching towards his jacket pocket at the same time as “C” shouted “Stop!”; “C” stated that he believed Savage was reaching for a remote detonator, at which point he opened fire. “Soldier C” and “D” shot Savage eight-teen times collectively.

All three IRA volunteers died. None possessed weapons or detonators.

Immediately after the soldiers donned berets to identify themselves. Gibraltar Police arrived at the scene almost immediately. At 16:05, only 25 minutes after assuming control, the SAS handed control of the operation back to Gibraltar Police.

Shortly after the shootings, soldiers and police evacuated buildings surrounding the Convent. Bomb-disposal experts got to work; four hours later, the authorities announced that a car bomb had been defused – despite never finding one. When the bodies were searched, a set of car keys was found on Farrell which—two days after the shootings—led them to a red Ford Fiesta in Marbella, Spain (50 miles from Gibraltar). The car contained a large quantity of Semtex, 200 rounds of ammunition, four detonators and two timers.

*“McCann and Farrell had been shot at point blank range with no warning, predominantly from behind.”*

The subsequent inquest and other independent investigations revealed a medley of evidence contradicting the official British state and media narrative. Soldier G was not an explosives expert, the weight of the car showed no evidence of containing explosives, his only suspicion was that the aerial on Savages car looked ‘too new’. Coroners and eye-witnesses testified that McCann and Farrell had been shot at point blank range with no warning, predominantly from behind. No possible detonators, if possessed, were even capable of triggering a bomb due to distance and building congestion. Savage had been shot repeatedly as he lay on the ground. •





# 'JEREMY SAID RELAX. ENGLAND LOST ITS SHIT'

By Pádraig Ó Meiscill

**O**N THE night of the British general election, I was stood in a bar in east London waiting for a friend.

The beer was cheap, the low stools upholstered in velvet red with here and there an old cigarette burn in them exposing custard-yellow foam, the bar staff dressed in their own t-shirts and jeans with not a striped tie or logoed apron in sight. Whereas The Astronomer, Dirty Dicks and The Woodins Shades sank under the weight of City office workers – of both the lower and fair-to-middling sort – clad in Rudolph and Santa Claus and Elf jumpers, with sprinkles of what may have been fake snow over many of them, their tables reserved and their seats hard and modern, The Pride of Spitalfields consisted mostly of young people in hoodies and older people in big winter coats. There wasn't much of a sense of anticipation anywhere about what the election results would bring, but when the time for the exit poll arrived at 10pm most people were taking their phones from their pockets and off the beer soaked tables and scrolling hesitantly for the word.

*“Dark mutterings wafted off the groups scattered around the large living room-like space as the news was digested along with the lager and the whiskey.”*

There was an audible intake of sour breath in Spitalfields when the poll had been

glimpsed – a majority more massive than anyone dared fear for the Tories, and not just any Tories, the Tories of the bumbling, fumbling sub-Churchillian knock-off version of that vicious, demented clown in the White House. Dark mutterings wafted off the groups scattered around the large living room-like space as the news was digested along with the lager and the whiskey. One woman became in turns tearful at the prospect of eviction now there was no chance of private rental regulation and irate at a male friend who insisted none of it mattered because “they're all bastards anyway”.

Some people treated it all as a sick joke; twisted, dark, tragic but funny all the same. A band of three Labour activists, identifiable by the red-and-yellow stickers on the lapels of their coats and fresh from cajoling the last stragglers into the polling booths, were visibly upset. My attempt at conversation, or commiseration, with them was met with suspicion, as if I was but the beginning of the millions who would now be intent on taking the piss out of them. Even when I convinced them of my sincerity, they were less than forthcoming, “We're fucked, aren't we?” was the lengthiest analysis I could get. They seemed intent on nothing now but staring morosely into their pints.

There was a net full of multi-coloured balloons pinned to the ceiling of the pub's big room, perhaps for Christmas or the New Year or for an election victory, a sea-change in societal priorities towards the common good, that wouldn't now be coming. Not for a long time. Boris Johnston is indeed an asocial

menace; an unemptied colostomy bag leaking cancerous bile, rescued from the bottom of a yellow hospital bin by the poisonous sharp object known as Dominic Cummings; a deformed creature who somehow escaped the dark lagoon that is the depraved imaginarium of British conservatism; but he is not without political self-awareness and neither are the dangerous men and women who have facilitated his meteoric rise from inherited privilege to inherited power. If he was, the question would need to be asked why the targets of his slurs down the decades have been invariably only those so unlikely to vote for him, buy his publications or have the power to topple him that their reactions made no difference in the final equation of his opening his mouth or putting pen to paper. He has defiled the people of Liverpool, Muslim women, the entire continent of Africa and recited racist poetry to Britain's former colonial subjects on the Indian subcontinent, but the Anglo-Saxon white working class escaped his slurs – at least in public. It is almost as if he knew that, one day, he might need to use them as a coat-stand or a hat-rack. Or as the proletarian prop to his reactionary government.

Meanwhile, the Labour Party's much prayed for return to respectability looks and sounds an awful lot like Rebecca Long-Bailey – a woman who gave Jeremy Corbyn 10-out-of-10 for his management of the election – pledging that she would be prepared to press the button that incinerates some city in Russia/China/Iran (the unspoken rule being if demanded/allowed to by the United States), if only



she is permitted to sleep in the king-size bed at number 10 for a few years.

Labour's defining losses in the British general election were in the north of England. The figures are neat: in the north-east, Labour lost seven seats while the Tories gained seven; in the English north-west, Labour lost 12 members of parliament and the Tories gained 12. In terms of actual votes transferred, the correlation wasn't as simple or demoralising, but the shift was enough to make the difference. This is before you take into account those who deserted Labour – or who Labour deserted, depending on the inflection you place on the argument – to vote for the even further-to-the-right Brexit party. In 2016, 58 per cent of those who voted in the Brexit referendum in the English north-east supported leaving the European Union; in the north-west, the majority in favour of Brexit was 53.7 per cent. Labour's famed Red Wall collapsed in South Yorkshire, Durham, Nottinghamshire, Northumberland, Derbyshire and the West Midlands. Seats held by Labour since the First World War went to the Conservatives.

But while the Labour leadership's decision to overrule

Jeremy Corbyn's 'respect the result of the referendum' line was largely to blame for these hammer blows, things are never so simple. Yes, many working class communities were understandably angry at the sneering disregard for their exercise in democracy in 2016, but Liverpool and Manchester, cities with large Irish and other immigrant populations, voted by large majorities to remain. Greater London with both its 21st century melting pot of exploited multi-cultural workers and its iniquitous den of international capital in the form of the City voted by 59.9 per cent to remain. Both in Liverpool and London, Labour's vote held up and, here at least, the Tories failed to capture a single seat. But for those working class communities of the English midlands and the north who did switch their allegiances, how have they been repaid thus far?

*“The fact that they have used the vehicle of a charlatan like Johnston to deliver that verdict may yet go down as one of the greatest*

*acts of collective self-harm committed by a people anywhere.”*

In constituencies like Blyth Valley on the north-east coast, the unemployed, those on zero-hours contracts and minimum wage and benefits booted out their Labour MPs and turned to the Tories to get Brexit done. Meanwhile, just down the road from Blyth, Eton-educated member of the board at grand old Sunderland football club Charlie Methven was declaring that people from the north-east don't understand business, and depending on which element of the profit making machinery he was referring to, Methven may or may not have been right. However, the poor of the English north-east most certainly do understand that business-as-usual economics and politics isn't and hasn't been working for them. The fact that they have used the vehicle of a charlatan like Johnston to deliver that verdict may yet go down as one of the greatest acts of collective self-harm committed by a people anywhere.

On January 25, a grand total of six weeks after the election, the

London Independent reported that formerly Labour-held constituencies such as Workington, Stoke-on-Trent, Grimsby, West Bromwich, Sedgefield, Bishop Auckland and Redcar which had switched their allegiances to the Conservative party were facing fresh cuts to public services as funds were being switched to the wealthy shires of southern England.

“Hundreds of millions of pounds will be diverted because of a new formula which significantly downgrades the importance of deprivation in assessing need,” writes the paper's deputy political editor Rob Merrick. The ending of freedom of movement for certain classes of citizen – members of EU states with the exception of the Irish - cannot be seen as anything other than a regressive step, but it should be understood in the context of refugees drowning off the coast of Dover while Britain was still very much a member of the EU. Britain is essentially building its own fortress within Fortress Europe – like a panic room inside a mansion for when Boris comes around for dinner fresh from snorting several lines of coke off a prostitute's backside. The denial of freedom of movement to human beings – as opposed to money, which

must slosh unimpeded this way and that indefinitely – was undoubtedly a factor in the 2016 referendum result. Even Jeremy Corbyn, in his more respectable moments, had given qualified assent to this xenophobic false flag.

The former senior British diplomat Craig Murray has a fairly succinct view of the situation: “Deregulation will worsen conditions for those fortunate enough to have employment, as will further benefits squeezes. Immigration will not in practice reduce; what will reduce are the rights and conditions for the immigrants... There is zero chance the Conservatives will employ a sizeable number of extra nurses: they just will not be prepared to put in the money. They will employ more policemen. In a couple of years time they will need them for widespread riots.”

Labour under Corbyn was in an impossible position. Campaigning to leave the European Union on a left-wing platform was never a serious proposition and never gained traction even among the socialist Momentum campaign group because to do so, and even come close to winning the argument, would have meant the end of the party. This is, after all, the party of the Euro Commissioner Peter Mandelson and the party which acted as a vanguard force for the immolation of Iraq. It supported decade-long sanctions which softened the Iraqi population up via the death of as many as a million of their children. It gleefully participated in the dismemberment of Yugoslavia and helped impose the latest act of violent tragedy upon the people of Afghanistan. And while the efforts of Corbyn, John McDonnell et al. to resuscitate it as a force for radical social democracy were laudable – like a whirlwind trip down a memory lane

filled with free health care, education and milk for kids, the Beatles on the television and the working men down pit (minus the decapitation of suspected Malay insurgents by Royal Marines) – the patient ultimately died on the operating table. As to what avatar the mad scientists in the backrooms of party, business and media come up with next, the jury is still out. That it will be happy to countenance a nuclear apocalypse is the only thing that seems settled.

The fact is that the Blairites and the trend in Labour which implemented Britain’s disastrous criminalisation strategy in Ireland, among innumerable other foreign misadventures, happily connived at the humiliation of their leftist party colleagues at the polls. Witness, for example, Jess Philips, a leading Labour critic of Corbyn caught on camera on election night in a state of hilarious rapture before she realised that Channel 4’s Krishan Guru-Murthy was standing by to ask her how upset she was.

“I didn’t realise we were live... it feels like a kick in the stomach,” said Philips as she hastily donned her mourning visage. You don’t need to be upset for us, insisted Guru-Murthy, but Philips, even more vigorously, did insist. Thankfully, I haven’t been asked to come up with a solution to this shit storm of reaction and bitter disappointment, merely to paint a picture of the inferno-like scene as it stands and to do so as a foreigner coming from the outside looking in.

***“No sane people demands that any leader of theirs is either an actual or, at least, a potential***

***mass murderer.”***

The very baseline of what is required, though, for all of us, regardless of nationality, and what Corbyn had the courage to go some way towards advocating, is a radical pause. We need to stop to take account of who we think we are and what we have really all become. No sane people demands that any leader of theirs is either an actual or, at least, a potential mass murderer. How can we otherwise wonder that the doomsday clock of the international science elite is now placed at 100 seconds to human midnight if the cardinal stipulation for a world leader is that you are prepared to hasten the end through nuclear war? That the powerful mock schoolchildren for daring to highlight actually existing environmental catastrophe and remain in their positions of power afterwards is a sign of a collective sickness more vile and more deadly than any coronavirus.

In recent years we, as a society, have finally engaged with the reality of individual mental health crises – millions of them all playing themselves out in banal, harrowing detail in the old housing estates and the new atomised flat complexes, the hospital wards and prison cells – while ignoring the fact that we are in the grip of a collective madness that is ultimately at the heart of all these isolated human tragedies. In what sane society does someone on benefits or the minimum wage vote for the party of Universal Credit, the bedroom tax and private school pig-head fuckers? The answer is none. No sane society does such things. We need to face up to the fact that we don’t live in a sane society, we are in the grip of a pathological nightmare, of which we first need to stop and take stock of, talk openly about and only then decide

what it is we are going to do about it.

The author Marilynne Robinson, both a brilliant investigator of the long-term affect that acts of mass violence has on a community in her novel *Gilead* and a fawning advocate for the killer-drone freak Barack Obama during his time in power, once demanded of me when I questioned the United States’ insatiable lust for bombing the Middle East, what was to be done instead. My answer of “Nothing” seemed genuinely not to have occurred to her.

**“Only then will long-term, humane alternatives begin to become clear and appear viable.”**

Only when ‘we’ stop the bombing (and we Irish are very much made complicit through the ongoing use of Shannon airport as a mid-Atlantic refuelling depot for the Middle East-bound forces of the United States), the military interventions, the replenishment of nuclear weapons stocks, the constant exhausting drive for economic growth, the burning of our habitat, the hunt for scapegoats and the punishment of the poor, only when this happens and we allow ourselves to breathe freely and rest will the grip of this madness which is afflicting us begin to loosen itself. Only then will long-term, humane alternatives begin to become clear and appear viable. The story of the British general election in the final analysis is that Jeremy Corbyn presented a modest proposal for human survival and renewal and he was defeated by those in his own ranks who believed it really wasn’t modest enough after all. •





# A VERY REAL GAME OF THRONES

By Seán Ó Meiscill

**T**his is not an article about boxsets of medieval, mythical dynasties. It is however about a real game of thrones; real empires, 'noble' families, murder, the plunder of nations and real death & destruction.

HBO's award winning television series was largely made in the north east of Ireland. It used some of our regions most iconic landscapes as backdrops to their film sets. It also used local and regional actors and has brought millions upon millions of pounds of revenue into the local economy. Despite having not watched a single episode I understand that many millions of people have enjoyed the production and the north of Ireland's tourism industry has reaped the rewards.

A stone's throw away from the main hub of production for the TV series lies what many people now see as another regional landmark, the cranes of Samson and Goliath. These cranes belong to Harland and Wolff, the historic ship building company which built the vessel that was the centrepiece of a major Hollywood movie. Hollywood glitz and glamour aside there is a deep, horrible history to the company of H&W. A history that the political, business and privileged classes don't want told.

Belfast, Waterford, Cobh and Dublin to an extent were a hub of shipping and importation in Ireland from across Europe and beyond for many centuries. Since plantation times, amongst other colonial endeavours, the shipping port of Belfast has been seen as an asset to invaders of the island of Ireland and it is no coincidence that settlers built communities around the mouth of the river Farset which flows down from the mountains and hills surrounding

the city out to the sea at Belfast lough.

For generations the docklands of Belfast have been a strategic jewel in the crown. Plantation communities land-grabbed nearest the waters edge around Belfast from north Down up to south Antrim, and that action was very deliberate. As the unionist state grew it coveted the port of Belfast. Large industry was strategically based there, in and around and amongst these settler communities. Harland and Wolff continued the trend when it started trading on the docklands of Dargan Island (named after the Irish railway engineer but later renamed Queens Island after a royal visit) by Edward James Harland, 1st Baronet, a British shipbuilder and conservative, unionist politician and Gustav Wilhelm Wolff, a German-British politician.

As a company H&W was an employer of people largely from the settler communities around the docks - protestant people, loyalists. The vast employment created was largely protestant - jobs for protestant people, run, organised and controlled by members of the Orange institutions and their ilk. As a working class nationalist born into a catholic family in an Irish republican area I should never have had the audacity to try and get employment in a part of Belfast that was not considered by some to be my part of town, but I did, and I faced the same sectarian abuse many before me faced, not to the same extent but death threats, verbal insults, etcetera; put on my lunch and being told not to come back on Monday were very common.

The above was accepted as the norm, being a taig, a fenian bastard and one of the great unwashed. I have no complaints as that's how it was at the time, albeit just twenty years ago. I also know that others who worked on Queens Island from a nationalist background faced a fate much worse than

I ever did. During my time in Shorts Bombardier I was asked to rivet the stringers of the Apache helicopter. I refused. It was a warcraft that I would not help build. I did not do so on a point of principle and was disciplined, which later helped the company's case in giving me redundancy after 9/11. Money I gladly accepted. I retrained and got other employment.

Across the quay at Harland and Wolff the shipbuilding industry was also rapidly declining by the late 90's. H&W was heavily subsidised, just like Bombardier. It was protestant jobs for protestant people after all and financially backed by the unionist government and their unionist state - wages subsidised ahead of nurses, teachers, care assistants, health workers et al. Fast forward to the modern day H&W which, given their legacy being a hotbed of hatred, should have been closed and condemned to the past. Instead it has been given a morphine cash injection in the form of the awarding of British royal navy contracts.

In my opinion 'Queens Island' should be repurposed for social housing thereby creating positive employment. The possibility of setting Belfast up as a production hub of television entertainment should be looked at to continue the positive growth it has seen in movie production. Why can we in Belfast and Ireland not be Europe's production specialists? I hope that those who called for 120 jobs to be saved at H&W campaign for countless lives to be saved around the world when the Type 31 Frigates warcraft carrying Sea Ceptor missile systems are operational. These British warships will be crafted by Irishmen to destroy small nations across the globe in more colonial and imperialist wars and keep the balance in a game of thrones. •

# SOCIALISM & NATIONALISM

By James Connolly

From *Shan Van Vocht* - January 1897

In Ireland at the present time there are at work a variety of agencies seeking to preserve the national sentiment in the hearts of the people.

These agencies, whether Irish Language movements, Literary Societies or Commemoration Committees, are undoubtedly doing a work of lasting benefit to this country in helping to save from extinction the precious racial and national history, language and characteristics of our people.

Nevertheless, there is a danger that by too strict an adherence to their present methods of propaganda, and consequent neglect of vital living issues, they may only succeed in stereotyping our historical studies into a worship of the past, or crystallising nationalism into a tradition – glorious and heroic indeed, but still only a tradition.

Now traditions may, and frequently do, provide materials for a glorious martyrdom, but can never be strong enough to ride the storm of a successful revolution.

If the national movement of our day is not merely to re-enact the old sad tragedies of our past history, it must show itself capable of rising to the exigencies of the moment.

It must demonstrate to the people of Ireland that our nationalism is not merely a morbid idealising of the past, but is also capable of formulating a distinct and definite answer to the problems of the present and a political and economic creed

capable of adjustment to the wants of the future.

This concrete political and social ideal will best be supplied, I believe, by the frank acceptance on the part of all earnest nationalists of the Republic as their goal.

Not a Republic, as in France, where a capitalist monarchy with an elective head parodies the constitutional abortions of England, and in open alliance with the Muscovite despotism brazenly flaunts its apostasy to the traditions of the Revolution.

Not a Republic as in the United States, where the power of the purse has established a new tyranny under the forms of freedom; where, one hundred years after the feet of the last British red-coat polluted the streets of Boston, British landlords and financiers impose upon American citizens a servitude compared with which the tax of pre-Revolution days was a mere trifle.

***“at all times holding forth promise of freedom and plenteousness as the reward of their efforts on its behalf.”***

No! the Republic I would wish our fellow-countrymen to set before them as their ideal should be of such a character that the mere mention of its name would at all times serve as a beacon-light to the oppressed of every land, at all times holding forth promise of freedom and plenteousness as the reward of their efforts on its behalf.

To the tenant farmer, ground between landlordism on the one

hand and American competition on the other, as between the upper and the nether millstone; to the wage-workers in the towns, suffering from the exactions of the slave-driving capitalist to the agricultural labourer, toiling away his life for a wage barely sufficient to keep body and soul together; in fact to every one of the toiling millions upon whose misery the outwardly-splendid fabric of our modern civilisation is reared, the Irish Republic might be made a word to conjure with – a rallying point for the disaffected, a haven for the oppressed, a point of departure for the Socialist, enthusiastic in the cause of human freedom.

This linking together of our national aspirations with the hopes of the men and women who have raised the standard of revolt against that system of capitalism and landlordism, of which the British Empire is the most aggressive type and resolute defender, should not, in any sense, import an element of discord into the ranks of earnest nationalists, and would serve to place us in touch with fresh reservoirs of moral and physical strength sufficient to lift the cause of Ireland to a more commanding position than it has occupied since the day of Benburb.

It may be pleaded that the ideal of a Socialist Republic, implying, as it does, a complete political and economic revolution would be sure to alienate all our middle-class and aristocratic supporters, who would dread the loss of their property and privileges.

What does this objection mean? That we must conciliate the privileged classes in Ireland!

But you can only disarm their hostility by assuring them that in a free Ireland their ‘privileges’ will not be interfered with. That is to say, you must guarantee that when Ireland is free of foreign domination, the green-coated Irish soldiers will guard the fraudulent gains of capitalist and landlord from ‘the thin hands of the poor’ just as remorselessly and just as effectually as the scarlet-coated emissaries of England do today.

On no other basis will the classes unite with you. Do you expect the masses to fight for this ideal?

When you talk of freeing Ireland, do you only mean the chemical elements which compose the soil of Ireland? Or is it the Irish people you mean? If the latter, from what do you propose to free them? From the rule of England?

But all systems of political administration or governmental machinery are but the reflex of the economic forms which underlie them.

***“English rule is found to be the most suitable form of government by which the spoliation can be protected, and an English army the most pliant tool with which to execute judicial murder”***

English rule in England is but the symbol of the fact that English conquerors in the past forced upon this country a property system founded upon spoliation, fraud and murder:



that, as the present-day exercise of the 'rights of property' so originated involves the continual practice of legalised spoliation and fraud, English rule is found to be the most suitable form of government by which the spoliation can be protected, and an English army the most pliant tool with which to execute judicial murder when the fears of the propertied classes demand it.

***“landlord tyranny, capitalist fraud and unclean usury; baneful fruits of the Norman Conquest”***

The Socialist who would destroy, root and branch, the whole brutally materialistic system of civilisation, which like the English language we have adopted as our own, is, I hold, a far more deadly foe to English rule and tutelage, than the superficial thinker who imagines it possible to reconcile Irish freedom with those insidious but disastrous forms of economic subjection – landlord

tyranny, capitalist fraud and unclean usury; baneful fruits of the Norman Conquest, the unholy trinity, of which Strongbow and Diarmuid MacMurchadha – Norman thief and Irish traitor – were the fitting precursors and apostles.

If you remove the English army to-morrow and hoist the green flag over Dublin Castle, unless you set about the organisation of the Socialist Republic your efforts would be in vain.

England would still rule you. She would rule you through her capitalists, through her landlords, through her financiers, through the whole array of commercial and individualist institutions she has planted in this country and watered with the tears of our mothers and the blood of our martyrs.

England would still rule you to your ruin, even while your lips offered hypocritical homage at the shrine of that Freedom whose cause you had betrayed.

Nationalism without Socialism – without a reorganisation of society on the basis of a

broader and more developed form of that common property which underlay the social structure of Ancient Erin - is only national recreancy.

It would be tantamount to a public declaration that our oppressors had so far succeeded in inoculating us with their perverted conceptions of justice and morality that we had finally decided to accept those conceptions as our own, and no longer needed an alien army to force them upon us.

As a Socialist I am prepared to do all one man can do to achieve for our motherland her rightful heritage – independence; but if you ask me to abate one jot or tittle of the claims of social justice, in order to conciliate the privileged classes, then I must decline.

Such action would be neither honourable nor feasible. Let us never forget that he never reaches Heaven who marches thither in the company of the Devil. Let us openly proclaim our faith: the logic of events is with us. •



# A COLD HOUSE FOR GAEILGEOIRÍ

As Eoghan Ó Garmaile

**T**á bliain chinniúnach romhainn anseo in Ollscoil na Bannríona ó thaobh cearta teanga de, go háirithe i leith chomharthaíocht dhátheangach. Ach ní gan dua a tharla seo. D’ainneoin gur tháinig dlús lenár bhfeachtas sa Chumann Gaelach le cúpla bliain anuas, is féidir a rá gur thosaigh sé nuair a baineadh síos an chomharthaíocht dhátheangach a bhí ann i bhfoirgneamh Aontas na Mac Léinn in 1997.

Mhaígh an Fair Employment Commission nach raibh an chomharthaíocht “oiriúnach le timpeallacht oibre neodrach” ach bhain an Ollscoil na comharthaí síos fiú sular chuir an FEC brú orthu. Chuaigh cathaoirleach an FEC ag an am, Bob Cooper, níos faide arís le rá gur chruthaigh na comharthaí Gaeilge “chill factor” do Phrotastúnaigh san Ollscoil, agus ní raibh siad úsáideach óir níor chuir siad an teanga chun cinn. Leoga, thug na haontachtaithe lántacaíocht don chinneadh. D’fhógair an UUP gur bhagairt ab iad na comharthaí ó mhic léinn san Ollscoil a bhí báúil don Phoblachtachas, agus chuir Peter Weir in iúl don phobal gur “eiseamláir an tseicteachais agus impiriúlachas cultúrtha” í iarpholasaí na hOllscoile ar chomharthaíocht dhátheangach. Ar ndóigh, níor thug siad fianaise ar bith leis na ráitis seo a chosaint. Ag an am, ní hiad na haontachtaithe antoisceacha amháin a bhí ag labhairt go poiblí faoi, óir thug an páirtí Alliance, Aontas Mac Léinn na hÉireann agus an Community Relations Council fáilte roimh an chinneadh.

Áfach, níor chuir muid an feachtas ar son comharthaíocht dhátheangach faoi lánseol go dtí deireadh na bliana 2017. D’éirigh Gaeilgeoirí na hOllscoile níos gníomhaí agus feargaí de réir mar a d’éirigh achan Gael óg sna sé chontae níos gníomhaí agus feargaí ag an am: idirdhealú na Gaeilge sa chóras oideachais agus feachtas an Dream Dearg.

Bhí slua againn go fóill ar an mheánscoil nuair a tharla an t-idirdhealú seo agus ghlac muid páirt sna hagóidí in éadan an DUP nuair a ghearr siad an scéim spáranachtaí Líofa in 2016 agus nuair a ghearr an Education Authority na seirbhísí óga Gaeilge in iarthar Bhéal Feirste. Chonacthas dúinn an t-idirdhealú a bhí á dhéanamh ar an Ghaeilge sa chóras oideachais, ach níos tábhachtaí arís, nuair a tugadh an t-airgead sin ar ais do na seirbhísí Gaeilge, chonacthas dúinn cumhacht na hagóide.

Mar sin de, thosaigh an coiste nua sa bhliain acadúil 2017/18 le brí úr a chur san feachtas, le hagóid ag geataí na hOllscoile ag éileamh “Aitheantas Anois”. Scríobh siad litir chuig an Leas-Seansailéir ag an am ag iarraidh cruinniú leis faoi cheist na Gaeilge san Ollscoil, agus gur cheart do na comharthaí a bheith curtha in airde arís. Bhí éileamh nua acu, áfach, chun comharthaíocht a chur in airde chan amháin i bhfoirgneamh an Aontais arís, ach fud fad champas na hOllscoile. D’fhreagair an Leas-Seansailéir le tagairt ar pháirt 3.1 dá bpolasaí Chomhionannais ‘s Éagsúlachta a dhearbhaigh nach gcuirfidís comharthaí in airde a raibh “corraitheach, ionsaitheach nó bagrach”. Bhain sé úsáid as an téarmaíocht chéanna ar úsáid siad i 1997, ach an t-am seo bhí an Cumann Gaelach eagraithe, agus thapaigh muid agóid a eagrú i mí Feabhra 2018. Bhí i bhfad níos mó daoine ag an léirisiú seo ná an chéad agóid, agus bhí tuairisciú níos cuimsithe ag na meáin ar an eachtra. Le linn cúpla lá den stóirm pholaitiúil a chruthaigh muid, ghabh an Leas-Seansailéir a leithscéal agus bhunaigh uasaicme na hOllscoile grúpa oibre chun ceist na Gaeilge a phlé, go háirithe i leith an pholasaí Chomhionannais ‘s Éagsúlachta a bhí as dáta. Bhí sé thar am gur mhothaigh reachtairí na hOllscoile seo, atá ag saothrú na céadta mílte punt in aghaidh na bliana, na fadhbanna atá ag croílár na hOllscoile agus an Stáit seo.

Ag an am céanna, bhrúigh an Cumann Gaelach i dtreo teactic eile chun ceist na Gaeilge a bhrú ar

an Ollscoil: dlúthpháirtíocht i dtoghcháin an Aontais. Rith ball an choiste Liam Ó hEidhin do Leas-Uachtarán Chomhionannais ‘s Éagsúlachta, leis an sprioc chun “an pobal Gaelach a thabhairt isteach chuig croí an Aontais”. D’ainneoin gur chaill muid an toghchán, le thart faoi 100 vóta amháin, bhí an bua againn lenár sprioc. Ní pearsantacht Liam Uí hEidhin a chur muid chun tosaigh san feachtasaíocht, ach mana simplí: cearta teanga, comharthaíocht dhátheangach, agus an Ghaeilge. Bhrúigh seo ceist na Gaeilge ar thábla an Aontais, agus gheall an cúigear buaiteoirí go dtabharfaidís lántacaíocht don Ghaeilge, feachtas an Chumainn Ghaelaigh san áireamh.

Lena chois sin, bhí feachtas eile ar siúl againn, le cuidiú ó chomhairleoirí san Aontas, chun rún le Oifigeach Páirtaimseartha na Gaeilge a chur i bhfeidhm den chéad uair san Ollscoil. Theip ar an rún seo an chéad uair ach arís bhí an Cumann Gaelach níos eagraithe an t-am seo, agus d’fhreastail slua ar an chruinniú agus labhair muid ar son an rúin mall i 2018. I ndiaidh an bhua tháinig an reifreann, agus arís bhí muid ag feachtasaíocht leis an mhana simplí céanna: cearta teanga, comharthaíocht dhátheangach, agus an Ghaeilge. Bhí 76% den vóta caite ar son Oifigeach Páirtaimseartha na Gaeilge a chur i bhfeidhm. Nuair a rith Aodhán Ó Baoill don ról i dtoghchán an Aontais 2019, arís níor chuir muid a phearsantacht chun cinn, ach an mana simplí céanna, agus níor chaith an méid sin mic léinn vóta ar son oifigeach páirtaimseartha i stair na hOllscoile.

Nuair a tháinig muid chuig deireadh na bliana acadúla 2018/2019, bhí an grúpa oibre a chuir an Ollscoil le chéile réidh réamhthaispeáint an pholasaí Chomhionannais, Éagsúlachta ‘s Ionchuímsitheachta nua a léiriú don phobal. D’athraigh siad páirt 3.1 den pholasaí ó 2008, leoga, ach athrú focail amháin a bhí i gceist óir níor luaigh siad an Ghaeilge. Mar sin de, le linn an phróisis chomhairliúcháin don pholasáí úr a mhair dhá sheachtain, chur muid aighneacht cuimsithe chuig



an Ollscoil ag éileamh go gcuirfidís an Ghaeilge agus comharthaíocht dhátheangach isteach sa pholasaí, ní amháin le go mbeadh muid ábalta na comharthaí a chur in airde ach go mbeadh cosaint acu sa todhchaí nach raibh ann in 1997. Bhí tuilleadh brú de dhíth, áfach, agus mar sin de, shiúil muid thart an champas arís ag feachtasaíocht, agus déan tomhas ar an mana a d'úsáid muid. D'éirigh linn 1,000 síniú a fháil ar son ár n-aighneachta, ó idir mhic léinn agus oibríthe, ag éileamh comharthaíocht dhátheangach. Ba phrácás iomlán é an próiseas seo don Ollscoil, agus léirigh siad arís a neamhábaltacht chun plé le cearta, d'ainneoin tuarastal s'acu 's fiacha móra s'againne. Chuir siad síneadh ama leis an phróiseas comhairliúcháin, le torthaí an phróisis geallta roimh dheireadh na bliana.

Is fianaise í ár bhfeachtas go raibh an Ghaeilge ann ar an oileán seo i dtólamh, agus léirítear seo nuair a chrítear an talamh le mana simplí ar nós 'cearta teanga', go bhfuil agus go mbeidh tacaíocht ann don Ghaeilge go deo. Ba phróiseas fada é athshlánú na Gaeilge agus síleann institiúidí ar nós Ollscoil na Banríona gurbh fhéidir leo ruaig a chur ar na glúnta is gníomhaí agus is feargaí den Ollscoil le síneadh ama. Ach an rud nach dtuigeann Ollscoil na Banríona ná de réir mar a leanantar ar aghaidh leis an idirdhealú ar an Ghaeilge sa chóras oideachais, más rud é gurb an DUP, EA nó Ollscoil eile in Éirinn, éiríonn na Gaeil óga ní ba chomhfhiosraí ar an idirdhealú ina n-éadan,

agus nuair a dhéanann cuid acu an cinneadh freastal ar Ollscoil na Banríona, beidh glúin níos gníomhaí agus níos feargaí ann ná mar a bhí muidne. •









## FRED HAMPTON

**F**red Hampton was born in Chicago on 30th August 1948 and grew up in the city's Maywood area. A bright pupil, Hampton graduated from Proviso East High School in 1966 before going on to study law.

While a student Hampton became active in the civil rights movement in the US. He joined the 'National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People' (NAACP) and was appointed leader of the Youth Council of the organization's local branch.

It was in October of 1966 that Huey Newton, along with Bobby Seale, formed the Black Panther Party in Oakland, California. Initially formed to protect local communities from police brutality and racism, the Black Panthers eventually developed into an organisation seeking revolution and the emancipation of the black community. The group also ran medical clinics and provided free food to school children. Other important members included Stokely Carmichael, H. Rap Brown, Bobby Hutton and Eldridge Cleaver.

Hampton founded the Chicago chapter of the Black Panther Party in November 1968. He immediately established a community service program. This included the provision of free breakfasts for schoolchildren and a medical

clinic that did not charge patients for treatment. Hampton also taught political education classes and instigated a community control of police project.

One of Hampton's greatest achievements was to persuade Chicago's most powerful street gangs to stop fighting against each other. In May 1969 Hampton held a press conference where he announced a nonaggression pact between the gangs and the formation of what he called a "rainbow coalition" (a multiracial alliance of black, Puerto Rican, and poor youths).

Later that year Hampton was arrested and charged with stealing \$71 worth of sweets, which he then allegedly gave away to local children. Hampton was initially convicted of the crime but the decision was eventually overturned.

The activities of the Black Panthers in Chicago came to the attention of J. Edgar Hoover of the US 'Federal Bureau of Investigation'. Hoover described the Panthers as "the greatest threat to the internal security of the country" and urged the Chicago police to launch an all-out assault on the organization. In 1969 the Panther party headquarters on West Monroe Street was raided three times and over 100 members were arrested.

In the early hours of the 4th December, 1969, the Panther headquarters was raided by the police for the fourth time. The police later claimed that the Panthers opened fire and a shoot-out took place. During the next ten minutes Fred Hampton and Mark Clark were killed. Witnesses claimed that Hampton was wounded in the shoulder and then executed by a shot to the head.

The panthers left alive, including Deborah Johnson, Hampton's girlfriend, who was eight months pregnant at the time, were arrested and charged with attempting to murder the police. Afterwards, ballistic evidence revealed that only one bullet had been fired by the Panthers whereas nearly a hundred came from police guns.

After the resignation of President Richard Nixon, the Senate Intelligence Committee conducted a wide-ranging investigation of America's intelligence services. Frank Church of Idaho, the chairman of the committee, revealed in April, 1976 that William O'Neal, Hampton's bodyguard, was a FBI agent-provocateur who, days before the raid, had delivered an apartment floor-plan to the Bureau with an "X" marking Hampton's bed. Ballistic evidence showed that most bullets during the raid were aimed at Hampton's bedroom. •





*Fred Hampton, speaking in 1968:*

"A lot of people get the word revolution mixed up and they think revolution's a bad word. Revolution is nothing but like having a sore on your body and then you put something on that sore to cure that infection. I'm telling you that we're living in a sick society. We're involved in a society that produces criminals, thieves and robbers and rapers. Whenever you are in a society like that, that is a sick society.

We're gonna organize and dedicate ourselves to revolutionary political power and teach ourselves the specific needs of resisting the power structure, arm ourselves, and we're gonna fight reactionary pigs with international proletarian revolution. That's what it has to be.

We have to understand very clearly that there's a man in our community called a capitalist. Sometimes he's Black and sometimes he's white. But that man has to be driven out of our community because anybody who comes into the community to make profit off of people by exploiting them can be defined as a capitalist."



*Fred Hampton, speaking in 1968:*

"Any program that's brought into our community should be analyzed by the people of that community. It should be analyzed to see that it meets the relevant needs of that community.

That's what the Breakfast for Children Program is. A lot of people think it's charity. But what does it do? It takes people from a stage, to a stage to another stage. Any program that's revolutionary is an advancing program. Revolution is change.

We say that the Breakfast for Children Program is a socialistic

program. It teaches the people basically that - by practice. We thought up and let them practice that theory and inspect that theory. What's more important?

And a woman said, "I don't know if I like communism, and I don't know if I like socialism. But I know that the Breakfast for Children Program feeds my kids. And if you put your hands on that Breakfast for Children Program . . ."



*Fred Hampton, speech (1968)*

"You know, a lot of people have hang-ups with the Party because the Party talks about a class struggle. We say primarily that the priority of this struggle is class. That Marx and Lenin and Che Guevara and Mao Tse-tung and anybody else that has ever said or knew or practiced anything about revolution always said that a revolution is a class struggle. It was one class - the oppressed, and that other class - the oppressor.

We never negated the fact that there was racism in America, but we said that the by-product, what comes off of capitalism, that happens to be racism. That capitalism comes first and next is racism. That when they brought slaves over here, it was to make money. So first the idea came that we want to make money, then the slaves came in order to make that money. That means, through historical fact, that racism had to come from capitalism. It had to be capitalism first and racism was a byproduct of that."

*Others speaking about Hampton:*



*Akua Njere (Deborah Johnson) was carrying Fred Hampton's child when he was killed on 4th December, 1969. She was interviewed about her involvement with the Black*

*Hampton's child when he was killed on 4th December, 1969. She was interviewed about her involvement with the Black*

*Panthers by the Burning Spear magazine in June, 1990:*

"I saw Fred Hampton on TV. It was a Ronnie Barrett talk show. Fred Hampton and some other Panthers were on the television show and Fred Hampton had taken it over. He decided what questions he would answer, how the interview would go, everything.

I sat there watching this brother. I sat on the edge of my seat because he went straight through the Party's 10 point program and platform, saying what our needs are and what our demands were. The thing that really impressed me about him was his sincerity, his dedication to his beliefs. In that interview I believed what the brother was saying, his honesty.

I knew that this was not a person who had read a lot of books, who had been involved in just developing a lot of theory. He was a brother who was involved in social practice. He stood on what his beliefs were and he would live, fight and die for those beliefs.

It was like Fred Hampton was sitting in my living room talking to me. I talked to some other people and they got the same feeling. It was that kind of charisma that came across. You didn't have to be face to face.

Fred Hampton and a number of Panthers came over to speak at the college that I was attending. I tried to get some people to go with me, but they wouldn't. I was late getting there and the room was packed. So I got up to the front, right in Fred's face and he was talking. I was sitting there on the edge of my seat.

He did a long discussion about how people are being brutalized in the community, how African people are starving, our children are going to school hungry and are expected to learn, and we needed medical attention, and the government was murdering us at every turn.

Everything he said was true and he wasn't just talking, he was documenting, he was bringing us to the realization that everything he said was true.

Fred Hampton knew that he could organize anybody. He talked to the brothers and sisters on the street. He talked to those in the classroom. He talked to those in the factories. He talked to those who were in business. He went to the churches. He organized and attempted to work with every element of our communities."



*Noam Chomsky, writing in 'COINTELPRO: The FBI's Secret War on Political Freedom' (1975)*

"Perhaps the most shocking story concerns the assassination of Fred Hampton and Mark Clark by Chicago police directed by the state's attorney's office in December 1969, in a pre-dawn raid on a Chicago apartment. Hampton, one of the most promising leaders of the Black Panther Party - particularly dangerous because of his opposition to violent acts or rhetoric and his success in community organizing - was killed in bed, perhaps drugged. Depositions in a civil suit in Chicago reveal that the chief of Panther security and Hampton's personal bodyguard, William O'Neal, was an FBI infiltrator. O'Neal gave his FBI 'contracting agent' Roy Mitchell, a detailed floor-plan of the apartment, which Mitchell turned over to the state's attorney's office shortly before the attack, along with "information" - of dubious veracity - that there were two illegal shotguns in the apartment. The availability of the floor-plan presumably explains why "all the police gunfire went to the inside corners of the apartment, rather than toward the entrances. Agent Mitchell was named by the Chicago Tribune as head of the Chicago's COINTELPRO directed against the Black Panthers and other Black

# JAN - MAR 1970

The seventh in our series of '50', chronicling history from five decades ago. This issue deals with the period of January to March 1970, and continues coverage of the mounting conflict in Ireland, the fight for civil rights in the US and topics relevant to international Socialism, and the imperialist intervention in Vietnam.

1st January - The Ulster Defence Regiment (UDR) came into existence but was to become operational on 1 April 1970.

5th January - 23,000 Belgian mine workers strike over pay and health conditions.

10th January - huge anti-apartheid demonstrations take place as Ireland play South Africa in rugby union.

11th January - Sinn Féin held its Ard Fheis in Dublin at which the party split between those who were in favour of ending the policy of abstentionism - of not taking any seats won in the parliaments of Dublin, Belfast, and London - and those where against. A majority of delegates (although not the constitutional two-thirds requirement) were in favour of ending the abstentionist policy. Those opposed to the move split to form Provisional Sinn Féin. This mirrored the split that had occurred on 28 December 1969 when the Irish Republican Army (IRA) fractured into the Provisional IRA and the Official IRA.

14th January - RUC officers began to patrol the Falls Road area of Belfast for the first time since August 1969.

15th January - Muammar Gaddafi is proclaimed premier of Libya.

19th January - University of California, Los Angeles fires Angela Davis due to her Communist Party membership; after a court ruled this illegal, the university fired her again, this time for her use of inflammatory language.

11th February - John Lennon paid £1,344 in fines for 96 people who had been arrested for protesting at the South African rugby team playing in Scotland.

18th February - A jury finds the Chicago Seven defendants not guilty of conspiring to incite a riot, in charges stemming from the violence at the 1968 Democratic National Convention. Five of the defendants are found guilty on the lesser charge of crossing state lines to incite a riot.

18th February - the Ulster Volunteer Force detonated a bomb at a 240-foot radio mast on Mongary Hill, near Raphoe, in County Donegal. The explosion put the transmitter out of action. The mast had allowed Radio Éireann programmes to be delivered to many homes across the occupied six counties.

19th February - USSR launches Sputnik 52 & Molniya 1-13 communications satellite.

27th February - First National Women's Liberation Conference held, at Ruskin College, Oxford.

1st March - Rhodesia severs its last tie with the United Kingdom, declaring itself a republic.

5th March - the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty goes into effect after ratification by 43 nations. The purpose of the treaty was to prevent the further spread and creation of nuclear weapons, to work towards complete disarmament, and for nations to cooperate with each other in the safe development and use of nuclear energy.

6th March - A bomb being constructed by members of 'the Weathermen' (a radical left militant organization officially known as the Weather Underground) that was intended to be planted at a military dance in New Jersey, explodes, killing three members of the organization.

17th March - The United States Army charges 14 officers with suppressing information related to the My Lai Massacre, none were ever convicted however.

18th March - Five Unionist Members of Parliament (MPs), including William Craig and Harry West, were expelled from the Unionist

Parliamentary Party.

26th March - The Police (Northern Ireland) Act became law. The act provided for the disarmament of the Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC) and the establishment of an RUC reserve force.

29th March - Irish language pirate radio station Saor Raidió Chonamara begins broadcasting.

30th March - USSR wins its 8th straight world hockey championship.

31st March - There were riots in the Springfield Road area of Belfast following an Orange parade. The British Army used 'snatch squads' to make arrests of Catholic youths. The confrontations were intense with 38 soldiers injured together with an unknown number of civilians. The Army used CS gas for the first time in large quantities.

31st March - Japan Airlines Flight 351, carrying 131 passengers and 7 crew from Tokyo to Fukuoka, is hijacked by 9 members of the Japanese Red Army using samurai swords and pipe bombs. All passengers and crew are eventually freed, with the hijackers escaping to North Korea with Japan's Vice Minister for Transport.

# NOTES FOR REVOLUTIONARIES

“Ni bhfuair faic (We got nothing) ... there is going to be another hunger strike... I will lead it, and I will die.”

– *Bobby Sands*

“After we are gone, what will you say you were doing? Will you say you were with us in our struggle or were you conforming to the very system that drove us to our deaths?”

– *Patsy O’Hara*

“The day has passed for patching up the capitalist system; it must go”

– *James Connolly*

“I have learned that a woman can be a fighter, a freedom fighter, a political activist, and that she can fall in love and be loved. She can be married, have children, be a mother. Revolution must mean life also; every aspect of life.”

– *Leila Khaled*

“Capital is dead labour, that, vampire-like, only lives by sucking living labour, and lives the more, the more labour it sucks.”

– *Karl Marx*

“Is í an Ghaeilge athghabháil na hÉireann, agus is í athghabháil na hÉireann slánú na Gaeilge.”

– *Máirtín Ó Cadhain*

“We have not come here to do the work of political parties, but we have come here in the cause of labour, in its own defence, to demand its own rights”

– *Eleanor Marx*

“It is in that English Parliament the chains for Ireland are forged, and any Irish patriot who goes into that forge to free Ireland will soon find himself welded into the agency of his country’s subjection to England”

– *Jeremiah O’Donovan Rossa*

“Hope will never be silent”

– *Harvey Milk*

“Yes

I am a communist and I consider it to be one of the greatest honors. Because we are struggle for the total liberation of the human race”

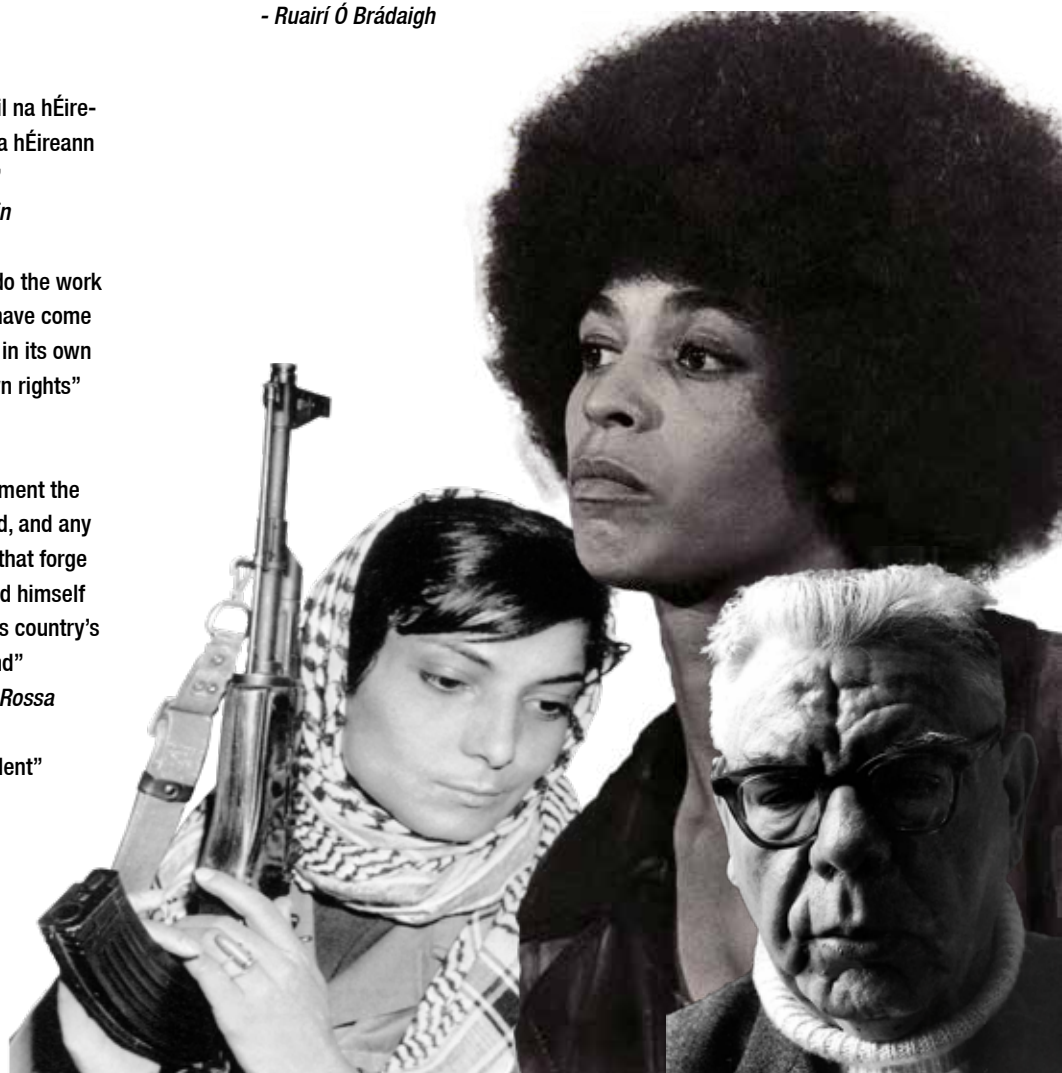
– *Angela Davis*

“To imagine we can establish a republic solely by constitutional means is utter folly. The lesson of history shows that in the final analysis, the robber baron must be disestablished by the same methods that he used to enrich himself and retain his ill gotten gains”

– *Seamus Costello*

“We were the indomitable Irish who started all of this off, when they controlled a quarter of the world. And now our question isn’t finished and all these people have passed us”

– *Ruairí Ó Brádaigh*





Rugadh agus tógadh mé anseo ar an Srath Bán, suas i mBarr a' Bhaile. Is í an Ghaeilge príomh-theanga teach s'againne. Labharainn muid i nGaeilge, ceolainn muid i nGaeilge, agus troidimid i nGaeilge. Ach nuair a bhfágann muid ár nGaeiltacht beag bídeach, caithfidh muid troid dár gceart le saol trí Ghaeilge a bheidh againn.

*I grew up here in Strabane, in the Head of the Town. The main language in our house is Irish. We speak Irish, we sing in Irish, we fight in Irish. But when we leave our wee tiny Gaeltacht, we have to fight for our right to live our lives through our first and native language.*

Gealladh Acht Teanga i gComhaontú Chill Rímhinn i 2006, ach i ndiaidh choir a bheith 14 bliana, níl ceann againn go fóill. Ach tá glúin nua Ghael réibhlóideach ag eagrú leis na chearta a baineamh dóibh a ghlacadh ar ais. Idir daltaí Ghaelscoile ag iarraidh a dteanga a fheiceáil agus iad ag dul ag snámh, agus mac léinn ollscoile ag feachtasáocht ar son comharthaí dátheangach ar á gcampasanna, tá Gaeilgeoirí óga ag tógadh an sochaí atá rompu.

*An Irish Language Act was promised in the St. Andrew's Agreement in 2006, but nearly 14 years later, neither Stormont nor the British Government have delivered. But Ireland has seen a new generation of young Gaeilgeoirí*

*galvanised and organised to claim back the rights that were taken from them. Whether it's Gaelscoil pupils asking to see their language at the swimming pool, or university students campaigning for bilingual signage on their campuses, young Gaeilgeoirí are building the society they want to see.*

Ní hé gur feachtas sna sé chontae amháin atá i gceist, áfach. Is troid é seo atá ag tarlú ó bun go barr na tíre. Tchionn muid gearradh siar ar seirbhísí poiblí cosúil le hoifig poist i gceantracha Ghaeltachta, córás Ghaeilge briste sa chóras oideachas, ionsaithe déanta ar an chóras Ghaelscolaíochta agus coirruithe curtha i bhfeidhm ar seirbhísí óige Ghaeilge.

*But the campaign for rights amongst Irish speakers is, and always has been an All-Ireland struggle. Across the country, services like post offices are being cut in Gaeltacht areas, the Irish language system in our education system is broken, Gaeilscoileanna have been under attack and youth services have lost funding and resources.*

Cruthaíonn, Gaeilscoileanna agus seirbhísí óige Gaeilgeoirí. Is trí ionsaithe ar na seirbhísí á dtéann ár dteanga, ár n-oidhreacht agus ár gcultúr i léig. Is é ár ndualgas Gaeilscoileanna, seirbhísí óige agus na seirbhísí lá-go-lá a chosaint agus

a fhorbairt. Is é dualgas achan duine atá anseo inniu cearta teanga a chosaint mar gur ionann cearta teanga agus cearta daonna!

*Gaeilscoileanna and Irish language youth services are how we create Gaeilgeoirí. Attacks on these services are how the governments diminish our language, our heritage and our culture. We have a duty to defend and develop Gaeilscoileanna, youth services and the day-to-day services that allow us to live our lives through Irish. Everyone here has a duty to defend Irish speakers' rights now, and as we move towards a united Ireland, because language rights are human rights.*

Ní féidir a shéanadh go léiríonn na hionsaithe seo ar ár dteanga agus ár bpobail gur theip ar an críochdheighilt in Éirinn, ar muintir na hÉireann. Dhiúltaigh rialtas na Breataine agus aontachtóireact polaitiúil ár gcearta, a gheall siad, le beagnach ceithre bliain déag. Ach anois, tchionn muid deireadh críochdheighilt na hÉireann, deireadh leis an Ríocht Aontaithe agus deireadh leis an Stát Oráiste. Tá Éire Aontaithe ag teacht.

*It is undeniable that the attacks on our language and our community is just one example how partition has failed the people of this island. The British government and*



*political unionism have taken my language and claimed it as something it is not; a political entity. They refuse to give us back our rights, that they took, that they promised almost 14 years ago. And now, through no fault but their own, partition is done, the United Kingdom is done and the Orange State is done. A United Ireland is coming.*

**Agus muid ag amharc i dtreo Éire Aontaithe, caithfidh muid troid ar son an Éire atá uainn, d'achan duine sa tír. Troidimis in éadan achan cinéal ciníochas, le ciníochas córásach san áireamh cosúil leis an chóras soláthar díreach.**

*But as we look towards a united Ireland, we need to fight for the kind of Ireland we want to live in, that everyone wants to live in. We must fight racism in all its forms; including the systemic racist policies of the Home Office now and the inhumane Direct Provision system.*

**Troidimis ar son rochtain cosc breithe atá saor, sabháilte, dleathach agus áitiúil ó bun go barr na tíre agus ar son fíor comhionannas na mban.**

*We must fight for free safe legal and local abortion access across this island and for the true equality of women.*

**Troidimis ar son córás sláinte níos fearr**

**do dhaoine Tras agus neamh-dhénártha, agus troidimis in éadan homafóibe agus trasfóibe.**

*We must fight for improved trans and non-binary healthcare, and fight homophobia and transphobia in all its forms.*

**Troidimis ar son córás leasa agus sláinte a tugann aire ceart dár chlann 's chairde níos sine, tinn agus míchumasaithe.**

*We must fight for a welfare and healthcare system that looks after our older people, our sick and our disabled family and friends.*

**Troidimis ar son pobail tuatha**

*We must fight for rural communities with poor infrastructure and access to services*

**Troidimis in éadan tiarnaí talún atá ag baint tairbhe as an lucht oibre, agus troidimis ar son níos mó tithe sóisialta!**

*We must fight against corrupt landlords who exploit the working class and fight for more social housing across the island.*

**Troidimis ar son an domhan, ar son athrú córás in áit athrú aeráide.**

*We must take action on climate change now*

*and ensure that we leave a clean, healthy environment for future generations of Irish people.*

**Agus troidimis ar son Acht Teanga, ar son cosaint, léargas agus ionadaíocht ár dteanga dhúcháis.**

*And we must fight for a radical Irish Language Act, and the protection, visibility and representation of our native tongue.*

**Is muidne, an lucht oibre, an dream is mó in Éirinn agus caithfidh muid Éire nua a chruthú dúinn féin, chan do lucht an airgid mhór.**

*We, the working-class people, make us the vast majority of this country and it is up to us to build an Ireland for the vast majority, not the billionaires, the bankers or the big businesses.*

*Only we can win this. And as great Irish trade union leaders, James Connolly and Jim Larkin have said before us; "The great only appear great because we are on our knees ... Éirimis, Let us rise!"*

*Speech given by independent Republican Grian Ní Dhaimhín at the March for Irish Unity on 24th November 2019: •*

# THE OTHER BLOODY SUNDAY

Russia 1905

By David Swanson

**T**his issue will rightfully be dominated by the commemoration of fourteen innocent civilians who lost their lives amidst the terror inflicted by colonial troops in Derry. The incidents of January 1972 remain etched in the memory of the city and the island, serving a fatal reminder of just how far a colonial order in London will go to maintain hegemonic order over the indigenous Irish in their homes and communities.

The Irish Bloody Sunday is propped up by endless comparable accounts throughout republican history, but it is important to note that imperialists throughout the world maintain similar strategies to subjugate populations to the whims of a ruling class, even within their own domestic boundaries. This is particularly relevant when analysing the events within Russia in January 1905; a Tsarist autocracy hell-bent on stubbing out resistance to its rule ruthlessly turned on a national Russian population collectively fighting for political and economic reform, a massacre that has also been dubbed with the infamously renowned title of Bloody Sunday.

**“it is important to note that imperialists throughout the world maintain similar strategies to subjugate populations to the whims of a ruling class,”**

The heavily financed defeat in the Crimea against British imperial efforts three decades before had forced the Tsarist autocracy to concede limited economic reforms to an aspiring bourgeois national class, producing a new sense (however limited) of industrialisation throughout the country. As an urban population began to hold an ever more efficient role in na-

tional economic production by the early 1890's, class-inspired tensions began to flair amidst the appetite for political reform, with industrial action and a new sense of worker organisation an ever present threat for a Tsarist ruling-class to contend with.

A climate of rising unpopularity forced the Romanov dynasty to gamble; Nicholas II and his close array of advisors remained adamant that further imperial expansion in Manchuria at the expense of the Japanese could refuel popular sentiment for their rule, and prompt a 'one-nation' ethos that could inspire class reconciliation in the interests of Tsarist prosperity. Their bungling efforts produced nothing short of a national crisis; with Russian fiscal and military endeavours so heavily focused on the war with the Japanese in mainland China, rising food shortages across national boundaries ensured an ever-increasing acceleration of popular discontent towards the Tsarist regime that threatened to permanently expose the frailties of the state.

Future legitimacy of the Romanov empire seemed bound to a successful culmination of the Russo-Japanese War, with rising protests ever eager to strike a fatal blow into what Vladimir Lenin described as the 'rotten core' of a fortress that had once been seen as impenetrable. Indeed, even though the Russian Social Democratic and Labour Party (RSDLP) that Lenin represented had split into two factions of Bolshevik and Menshevik amidst theoretical differences in 1903, rising membership of the party ensured that many remained hopeful that calamities at Port Harbour and beyond could determine real change for working people at home.

The pendulum swung towards revolutionary ambition in the early days of 1905, with the Japanese landing several crucial victories against Tsarist forces, most notably at the Battle of Mukden, where Russian troops had significantly outnumbered Japanese state forces and still been dealt a crushing

defeat. Amidst the debacle of family members being slaughtered at the front and an ever-increasing food crisis, Russian workers voted with their feet; a wave of strikes erupted across many industrial heartlands in protest to the war, most prominently amongst those producing vital weaponry in the military factories necessary to maintain the imperial presence in Manchuria. With Tsarist war efforts now bereft of supplies and lacking support within working-class communities across national boundaries, protest and organisation gathered momentum. Indeed, by January 8th workers had effectively





boosted already impressive numbers, but with this swelling of countryside influence came more conservative approaches; an industrial class enthused by Marxist doctrine had to contend with a rising religious influence amongst the protest that advocated a mere checking and balancing of Tsarist ruling class authority rather than expropriating it.

The growing sway of Orthodox priests and large rural numbers still influenced by Tsarist traditions in spite of the national situation ensured that the protest itself became more conciliatory than originally planned, with a petition drawn up to the 'tsar-father' written in trust that he would listen and grant further concessions to working people throughout Russia. For those who had brought major cities to a skidding halt in the early part of 1905 it was a pill worth swallowing for the sake of action, and a huge number successfully planned routes throughout major urban housing networks intent upon speaking their collective mind.

What followed would be nothing short of ruling class murder; even with the large contingent of rural voices chanting 'God Save The Tsar' and singing religious hymns, the protest was met by roadblocks constructed by Tsarist forces and a volley of bullets intent upon crushing dissent by any means necessary. The shooting of innocent, unarmed civilians in cold blood pierced the winter air, killing over 200 people and wounding over 800 amidst the terror and panic of the altercation. Workers, wives, children, priests and bystanders were subjected to the very real punishment that a ruling class will inflict upon those who dare to step out of line and refuse to bend towards the submission of capital.

**“Just like the events within Derry in 1972, ruling class murder upon a peaceful, con-**

**servative-minded demonstration had evidenced just how far the capitalist class will go to cement their hegemonic order over the wills and demands of ordinary people.”**

The event cemented the dissatisfaction of an already incensed population beyond measure, with even many rural peasantry shaking off their conservative affiliations to push politically leftwards. Applications to join both the Bolshevik and Menshevik wings of the RSDLP began to accelerate beyond what could be feasibly catered for, with now Bolshevik front-runner Vladimir Lenin describing it as the radicalisation of a generation. Even as the Tsar hurried to proclaim a Consultative Duma (Parliament) in the aftermath, further strikes across industrial hubs and railway networks gained momentum as workers retaliated, looting firearms shops to protect themselves from any further onslaught of Tsarist forces.

Just like the events within Derry in 1972, ruling class murder upon a peaceful, conservative-minded demonstration had evidenced just how far the capitalist class will go to cement their hegemonic order over the wills and demands of ordinary people. We must remain firmly aware in contemporary times that the ruling class of all countries, including our own, remain unconcerned about the democratic wishes of ordinary people if it conflicts with their aims.

Just as the Bolsheviks rose to power in subsequent years through collective energy and organisation, we too must unite as workers to demand a rewritten society that favours us rather than our oppressors. Workers of the world, unite. •

awareness began to spread amongst industrial workers that the opportunity for change and further concessions from a Tsarist ruling class could be lost to the pages of history without a lasting mobilising effort on government office. The dialectic of contradictory forces had reached the critical point of conflict upon Russia's shores; industrial concessions made by Tsarist offices in the wake of the Crimean defeat had spawned and produced a proletarian undercurrent that now had the desire and organisation to challenge for a society built upon their own economic interests and social customs. Workers from St. Petersburg to Moscow had built the battleships and armoured weaponry that were being sunk and destroyed by the Japanese in the Tsushima Strait and beyond, and were now willing to construct their own theatre of hostilities against a Tsarist ruling class at home.

The culmination of protests and strike action became organised into a single demonstration on January 9th, mobilising thousands of workers to march upon the Winter Palace as a collective effort of objection to the conduct of Tsarist officials and Nicholas II himself. Accentuated involvement from a rural peasantry

stopped the spread of right-wing newspapers across the capital and sufficiently sabotaged electricity supplies to many Tsarist government and military buildings across other major cities. Tempers had reached fever pitch, and a growing



# LAST WORDS TO THE NATION

Salvador Allende

*This speech was delivered at 9:10 am on September 11, 1973, in the midst on an ultimately successful US-sponsored coup d'etat against the democratically-elected government of Chile. Barricaded inside La Moneda, the presidential palace, President Allende gave his life defending Chilean democracy. Translation by Yoshie Furuhashi. Translation first appeared in MRzine.*

My friends,

Surely this will be the last opportunity for me to address you. The Air Force has bombed the towers of Radio Portales and Radio Corporación.

My words do not have bitterness but disappointment. May they be a moral punishment for those who have betrayed their oath: soldiers of Chile, titular commanders in chief, Admiral Merino, who has designated himself Commander of the Navy, and Mr. Mendoza, the despicable general who only yesterday pledged his fidelity and loyalty to the Government, and who also has appointed himself Chief of the Carabineros [national police].

Given these facts, the only thing left for me is to say to workers: I am not going to resign!

Placed in a historic transition, I will pay for loyalty to the people with my life. And I say to them that I am certain that the seed which we have planted in the good conscience of thousands and thousands of Chileans will not be shriveled forever.

They have strength and will be able to dominate us, but social processes can be arrested neither by crime nor force. History is ours, and people make history.

Workers of my country: I want to thank you for the loyalty that you always had, the confidence that you deposited in a man who was only an interpreter of great yearnings for justice, who gave his word that he would respect the Constitution and the law and did just that. At this definitive moment, the last moment when I can address you, I wish you to take advantage of the lesson: foreign capital, imperialism, together with the reaction, created the climate in which the Armed Forces broke their tradition, the tradition taught by General Schneider and reaffirmed by Commander Araya, victims of the same social sector which will today be in their homes hoping, with

foreign assistance, to retake power to continue defending their profits and their privileges.

I address, above all, the modest woman of our land, the campesina who believed in us, the worker who labored more, the mother who knew our concern for children. I address professionals of Chile, patriotic professionals, those who days ago continued working against the sedition sponsored by professional associations, class-based associations that also defended the advantages which a capitalist society grants to a few.

I address the youth, those who sang and gave us their joy and their spirit of struggle. I address the man of Chile, the worker, the farmer, the intellectual, those who will be persecuted, because in our country fascism has been already present for many hours -- in terrorist attacks, blowing up the bridges, cutting the railroad tracks, destroying the oil and gas pipelines, in the face of the silence of those who had the obligation to protect them. They were committed. History will judge them.

Surely Radio Magallanes will be silenced, and the calm metal instrument of my voice will no longer reach you. It does not matter. You will continue hearing it. I will always be next to you. At least my memory will be that of a man of dignity who was loyal to [inaudible] the workers.

The people must defend themselves, but they must not sacrifice themselves. The people must not let themselves be destroyed or riddled with bullets, but they cannot be humiliated either.

Workers of my country, I have faith in Chile and its destiny. Other men will overcome this dark and bitter moment when treason seeks to prevail. Go forward knowing that, sooner rather than later, the great avenues will open again where free men will walk to build a better society.

Long live Chile! Long live the people! Long live the workers!

These are my last words, and I am certain that my sacrifice will not be in vain, I am certain that, at the very least, it will be a moral lesson that will punish felony, cowardice, and treason.

Santiago de Chile,  
11 September 1973 •



# WINIFRED CARNEY

## The Typist with the Webley

By Martine Jackson

*Speech delivered by Martine Jackson at the 2019 Winifred Carney Commemoration in Milltown Cemetery, Belfast, organised by Lasair Dhearg.*

### Failte a chairde

We stand here today to commemorate Winifred Carney – a feminist, a socialist, and most of all: a Republican. Born on the 4th December 1887 into a middle class Catholic and Protestant family in Bangor, County Down. The family moved to Falls Road in Belfast, where Carney would be raised by her single mother, and would be educated at the Christian Brothers School in Donegall Street, not far from here.

Carney enrolled at Hughes Commercial Academy in 1910, where she qualified as a secretary and shorthand typist, one of the first women in Belfast to do so. The following year Winifred Carney alongside Delia Larkin founded the Irish Textile Workers' Union in Belfast, a sister body to Connolly and Larkins Irish Transport and General Workers' Union. By 1912 she would come to lead the I.T.W.U as its secretary, and work to win women into the ranks of the union.

It was in this position that Carney finally met James Connolly.

Carney would become Connolly's friend and confidant as they worked together to improve the conditions for female labourers in Belfast, organising for rights and suffrage among female factory labourers. Together they co-wrote the Manifesto to the Linen Slaves of Belfast. She was instrumental in fundraising for the striking workers of the 1913 Dublin Lock-out, and in 1914 would be one of ten founding members of Cumann na mBan within which she gained reputation as a proficient sharpshooter and first aider.

By 1916, as the Easter Rising was being prepared, Winnie, now aged 29, was Connolly's personal secretary and held the rank of Adjutant in the Irish Citizen Army. It has been said that she was the only person from whom Connolly had no secrets.

When Liam Mellows escaped from detention in England and was smuggled back to Ireland to lead the Rising in the West of Ireland, it was Winnie who accompanied him on the trip from Belfast to Dublin. On Easter Saturday night,

Winnie stayed all night at Liberty Hall preparing mobilisation orders and officers' commissions for the ICA. When she reported in again at 8am on Easter Monday, her first job was to type out the mobilisation orders for the four city battalions of what was now the unified Army of the Irish Republic. At noon, the ICA formed in ranks outside Liberty Hall. Carney's place was at the front with James Connolly when it marched off. She was the only woman who took part in the initial occupation of the GPO.

Present during Pearse's proclamation of an Irish Republic, she would enter the GPO armed with a typewriter under one arm, and a Webley revolver in her hand. After Connolly became wounded, she refused to leave his side. When Pearse ordered that all women and wounded should leave – she refused. Carney, alongside Elizabeth O'Farrell and Julia Grenan, left the GPO with the rest of the rebels when the building became engulfed in flames. Having retreated to a new headquarters in nearby Moore Street, when the time came to surrender, they filed out behind a white flag. Connolly had suggested to Winnie that she remove her military belt so that she could not easily be identified as a combatant; Carney's response was to write her name on the belt and continue wearing it.

Following the rising she was interned within both Kilmainham Gaol and Mountjoy prison, before being deported to Aylesbury prison in England alongside Helena Molony and other female Republicans. Whilst Countess Markievicz was held as a convicted prisoner, Carney and others held internee status. In an effort to join Markievicz, Carney and her fellow internees requested to be treated as criminals and forgo all its benefits in order to end the Countess's isolation. Their request was denied. Carney was eventually released Christmas eve 1916.

After her release from prison on 24 December 1916, Winnie found it hard to settle into routine trade union affairs although she continued to work for the ITGWU in both Belfast and Dublin. Throughout her life, she refused to romanticise the Rising or trade on her relationship with Connolly. She remained committed to her principles and always argued that the Rising had been the right thing to do under the circumstances. In 1918 general election, Carney stood unsuccessfully for Sinn Fein on a Socialist Republican platform in east Belfast. She was one of only 2

female candidates in the entire election. During the War for Independence, Carney was Secretary of the Irish Republican Prisoners Dependents' Fund, a role she would continue to perform during the Irish Civil War. After the Anglo-Irish Treaty, Carney sided with the Anti-Treaty forces and was arrested several times. In July 1922, her home in Carlisle Circus was raided by the B-Specials, who seized books which allegedly demonstrated "her connection with Bolshevism" and documents proving her role within the IRA.

Carney was imprisoned in Armagh jail wherein she immediately initiated protest against her internment without trial and criminal status. She was finally released on the grounds of ill-health.

Following the Civil War Carney was an outspoken critic of Éamon de Valera and his governments. She remained active within revolutionary socialist and republican groups across Belfast which faced attacks from both unionist gangs like the 'Dawson Bates Drumming clubs' and the might of the Catholic Church. It was within this period of agitation that she would meet her future partner William McBride, an ex-Ulster volunteer and Orangeman, with whom she would spend the rest of her life organising with.

Winifred Carney died November 1943. In her lifetime, she had served as secretary of a pioneering trade union, participated in the Easter Rising, become the first woman to stand in a parliamentary election in Belfast and had been imprisoned on multiple occasions for her socialist and republican beliefs. At the time of her passing, she was remembered in the pages of Labour newspaper 'The Torch' as someone who was "deep and loyal in her friendships and in her allegiances, political as well as personal."

For Republicans who remember her today let her life remind us that our struggle must be TRULY Republican. Concerned not with unification, but with liberation. With the liberation of women. With the liberation of our class. With the liberation of the entire Island from all alien occupations – British and European. Imperialism: whether red, white and blue, or blue & gold stands to inhibit the socialist Republican objective: "the right of the people of Ireland to the ownership of Ireland and to the unfettered control of Irish destinies". •

PEACE OR  
PACIFICATION?NORTHERN IRELAND AFTER  
THE DEFEAT OF THE IRA**Book Review**LIAM Ó RUAIRC: PEACE OR  
PACIFICATION? NORTHERN IRELAND  
AFTER THE DEFEAT OF THE IRA

By Mark Hayes

Liam O'Ruairc's book is written from an explicitly Republican perspective but he is anxious to reiterate that it is a particular version of that ideology. O'Ruairc's Republicanism is based on the universalist principles of the radical enlightenment rather than the particularism of romantic Irish nationalism. The creed of Republicanism, according to O'Ruairc, is about challenging injustice and securing genuine social emancipation - the defeat of Unionism is, in this context, a precondition for this and not an end in itself. The assumption is that without national self-determination any such liberation is practically impossible. O'Ruairc reminds us that Unionists, who articulated a supremacist ideology, relied on special powers and electoral gerrymandering to secure their grotesque sectarian statelet and he makes the pertinent subsidiary observations that resistance to that state began as a "war" of liberation and that applying labels like "terrorist" make absolutely no sense in the context of "Northern Ireland".

However, the central theme of the book is that the so-called "peace process" which ended with the Good Friday Agreement, constituted a catastrophic defeat for the IRA and national liberation. In short the Good Friday Agreement (GFA) meant accepting the legitimacy of the NI state, indeed (as

Tony Blair noted at the time) it gave the Unionists practically everything they ever wanted. O'Ruairc goes on to explain, with some dexterity, the constructive ambiguity that underpinned the "peace process", and maintains that it was in fact a "process of pacification" that was constructed on the back of a Republican surrender. As he says, "the process that the Provisional Republican Movement joined was pre-programmed to deliver a partitionist settlement". The political parameters had already been set by the Downing Street Declaration, the Framework Documents and the Mitchell Principles and Adams effectively confirmed this by stating that the aim was to "re-negotiate" the Union. In fact O'Ruairc notes that Sinn Fein contributed very little to the process and, as one Irish official put it, they sat "in the dunces corner". Any "gains" Sinn Fein secured were therefore at the margins (e.g. in relation to prisoners and the so-called "equality" agenda). Here O'Ruairc reinforces the observation (made by others) that the "peace process" may have included Republicans (or more correctly, people who referred to themselves as such) but it excluded Republicanism. Of course, the GFA was described as "Sunningdale for slow learners" by Seamus Mallon but, as O'Ruairc points out, the actual terms were significantly worse than that offered in 1973, and he refers to the Agreement as the "Republican Versailles". In fact a more apt comparator might be the Bolshevik capitulation at Brest-Litovsk, but O'Ruairc is undoubtedly correct to point out that Sinn Fein's "realism" meant accepting all of the major preconditions set by Britain. In the

end Martin McGuinness bent the knee to Royalty and MI5 now controls "security" in the north. Any Republican seeing this as a "success" needs to be sectioned.

*"surrendering arms is in breach of General Order No.11 of the IRA constitution which deemed it an act of treason punishable by death."*

O'Ruairc also focuses, quite correctly, on the politically significant fact that the IRA gave up its weapons. In effect this act retrospectively criminalized the armed resistance against the British state. He argues that "there has never been a situation in the world where an 'undefeated army' has willingly and unilaterally handed over its weapons to its enemy. The only situation where that applies is when an army has been defeated and is forced to hand over arms as an act of surrender". In fact O'Ruairc actually quotes Danny Morrison, who has persistently claimed that the IRA was "undefeated", and proves emphatically that Morrison was "demonstrably wrong" (it wouldn't be the only time Morrison had mangled the truth would it?). O'Ruairc makes the interesting observation that surrendering arms is in breach of General Order No.11 of the IRA constitution which deemed it an act of treason punishable by death. And to rub salt into that wound O'Ruairc quotes internal documentation



from the British Army in 2007 which says that their campaign was brought to a “successful conclusion”. The author of the report was General Mike Jackson – the significance of this will not be lost on Republicans. O’Ruairc also makes the point that “dissident” Republicans are not capable of waging a sustained campaign, so any actions are purely “symbolic” rather than possessing “strategic” value. Brexit, he argues, is unlikely to alter this situation.

### *“peace has, in effect, been ‘privatized’”*

O’Ruairc’s text also deals decisively with the so-called “peace dividend” of the GFA. The material benefits have, he argues, been meagre and based on a British subsidy that conceals the economic fragility of a “province” subservient to neo-liberal orthodoxy. This subordination was symbolically represented by the images of McGuinness and Paisley opening the Nasdaq Stock Market on Wall Street in 2007. Both Sinn Fein and the Unionists accept unconditionally the neo-liberal principles of privatization, private finance initiatives, a reduction in tax rates for corporations

and cuts in public services. As O’Ruairc says “peace has, in effect, been ‘privatized’”. The new Catholic middle classes may have benefitted from this process, but those that bore the brunt of the struggle have gained nothing but more economic insecurity and social inequality. Moreover, genuine social, economic and political aspirations have been transformed into matters of cultural identity and “parity of esteem”. In this O’Ruairc is, to coin a phrase, right on the money.

However, given the focus is the actual “peace process”, the book doesn’t really examine in detail the forces that drove the Republicans down the dead end of compromise with its bitterest political enemies. There are some references to the international geo-political context, but there is no doubt that the “dirty war” conducted by the British secret services, which led to the infiltration of the IRA and the manipulation of Loyalist paramilitaries, created the context for Provisional capitulation. Indeed, in many ways the hidden hand in the peace process narrative is the secret state – for example, any really comprehensive account of the abject failure of Provisional Republicanism

needs to take into account the impact of the Force Research Unit, the SAS and Scappaticci. Once the British secret services had completed their malevolent machinations, the political task of manipulating the likes of Adams and McGuinness was made far easier. Of course there is absolutely no shame in losing, and Republicans have a long history of honorable failure - but the insidious way in which the whole process was kept secret from Republicans and then spun as “a new phase of struggle” raises serious questions about the integrity of those who led the movement in this period. This point is thrown into much sharper relief by the fact that internal critics of “the process” were often intimidated, disparaged and marginalized.

### *“In many ways Liam O’Ruairc’s book makes uncomfortable reading for committed republicans.”*

As O’Ruairc says, what exists now is a “negative peace” in the sense of not having open conflict but no genuine reconciliation either. In many ways Liam O’Ruairc’s book

makes uncomfortable reading for committed republicans. He has called time of death on the Provisional version of Republicanism and the corpse has been described in relentless detail. The fact that some people refuse to acknowledge this fact does not invalidate the reality of its sad demise. As Mark Twain once remarked – no amount of evidence will ever persuade an idiot! It is time to move forward and leave the necrophiliacs in Sinn Fein to pursue the political path it has chosen for itself – the dead end of pragmatic constitutionalism. Liam O’Ruairc actually refers to Provisional Sinn Fein as “counter-revolutionary” and it is difficult to disagree with this conclusion because the really serious questions, such as how to evade ecological disaster and eliminate social injustice by replacing “vulture capitalism” with a more rational and egalitarian method of distributing resources, are now being asked outside the party. Republicans need to find a way of engaging with the people who are asking such questions, and only O’Ruairc’s version of the ideology is capable of doing this effectively. That is now the key task, and maybe it is a useful topic for O’Ruairc’s next book. I hope so. •



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