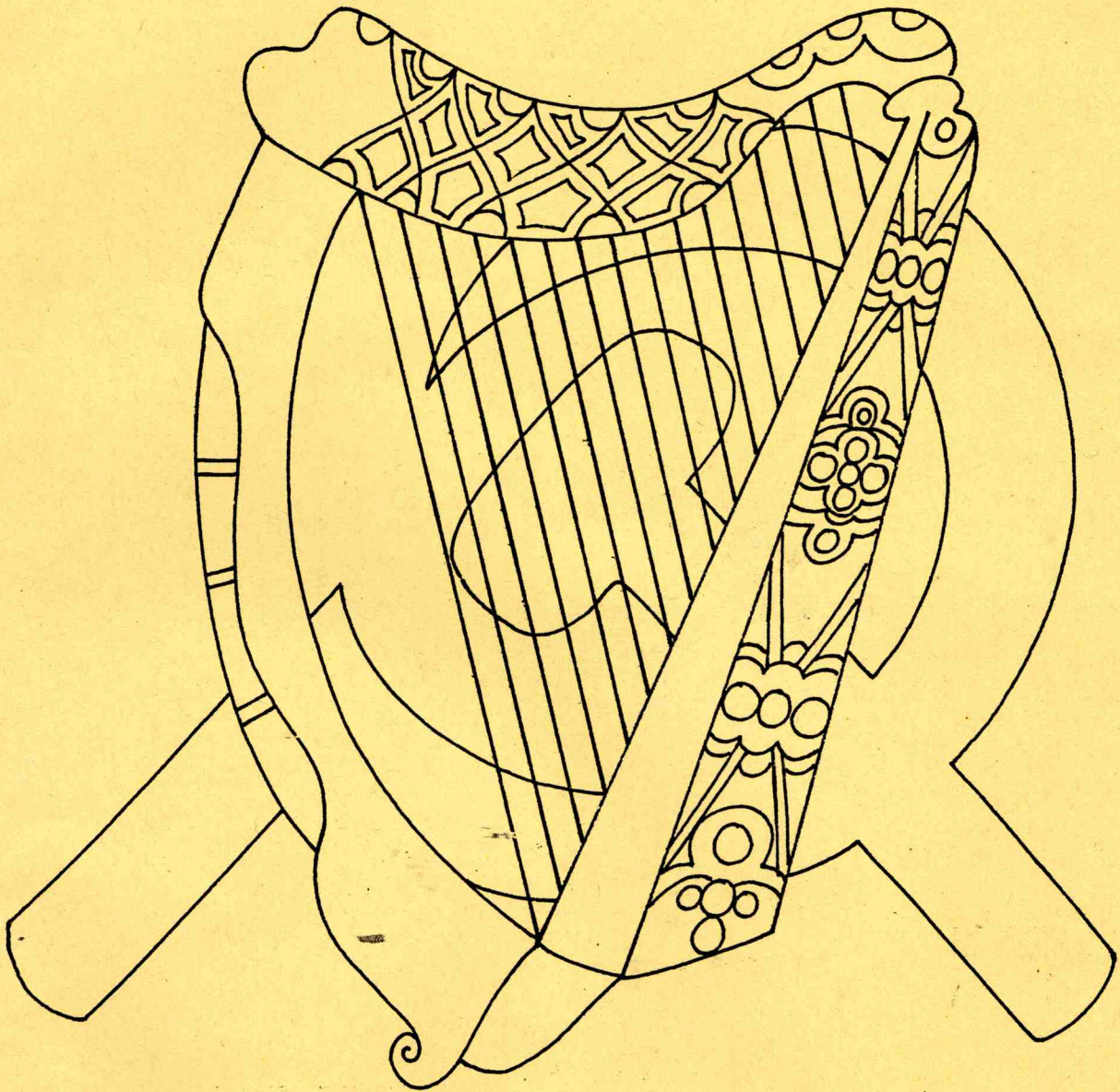


Resistance

50p

Issue No. 3: 1986



P & P Irish Republican Support Group (C.P.G.B.)

EDITORIAL

Since our last copy of Resistance we have seen the 'historic' signing of the Anglo-Irish (Hillsboro) agreement.

This agreement has been initiated by the British oppressors with the help of their Irish puppet collaborationists as a frantic attempt to halt the strengthening and growing popularity of the Republican movement. Realising that Sinn Fein can count on at least 43% of the nationalist vote and faced with the ineffectual confused babbling of the SDLP, the British government had to find some way of destroying Sinn Fein's rising support.

In fact so important was this priority that by introducing the Hillsboro agreement, Westminster was even prepared to risk a serious break with their traditional 'loyalist' allies as a necessary expense in providing the SDLP with much needed political crutches. In an attempt to pacify the Unionists, it was pointed out that, by signing the agreement, Dublin had in fact (for the first time) recognised the legitimacy of the partitioned North as well as accepting new cross border co-operation on security matters. To the Unionists this was not enough, the deal to them was no less than a blatant act of treachery.

Its an ill wind that blows nobody good.....as the SDLP would say. 'The fact that Dublin was offered even a consultative role in the North is a positive step towards an united Ireland, it shows the amount of progress that (reasonable and constitutional) nationalists could achieve if we are prepared to lay down the armalite and take up the ballot box. By accepting the will of the majority in a democratic way we can then.....waffle, waffle, grovel, waffle.'

It is falling into the trap of opportunism, when we accept petty attempts at reform and allow them to distract from what is really needed.....a complete withdrawal of British interests (political and military) from Northern Ireland and the removal of the border. Off course Britain prefers to deal with the slaves who accepts a 'reasonable' attitude towards their chains, and prefers to destroy the uncontrollable slave who will stop at nothing short of liberty.

We see whose interests those constitutional nationalists side with, when we take into consideration that in the recent elections the SDLP (following in the traditions of Labour reformism) refused an electoral pact with Sinn Fein, preferring to split the nationalist vote. For this they are responsible in assisting the Unionists to return to Westminster. Is this really the actions of a party working for an United Ireland?'

On 30th Jan. 1972, a march supported by virtually every civil rights organisation in N. Ireland took place. 15,000 people marched through Derry demanding their right to peaceful protest. Just after 3.30pm in the Bogside area the marchers began listening to their speakers; the usual taunts and jeers were directed at the 'security forces', a few stones and bottles were thrown at the British Army by groups of youths.

Without warning, members of the British First Parachute Regiment, aimed their rifles slowly and methodically; whilst the marchers, facing them, continued to shout at the troops.

Suddenly the army began shooting, using live ammunition they singled out targets, aimed and fired.

When the gunfire stopped, 13 marchers were dead (one died later in hospital) and 29 were seriously wounded.

EDITORIAL (contd.)

On Sunday 2nd. Feb., a march in London marks the 14th anniversary of Bloody Sunday—a march which is supported by a whole variety of organisations on the left (including the Communist Campaign Group), but not the Communist Party (Great Britain). Like last year and the years before the Communist Party has chosen to ignore the march. Like many Communists, I will be embarrassed and ashamed at the attitude of my Party on Ireland in general and on this march in particular. One of the crimes of the Communist Party at present is a representation of the crime of the British people regarding Ireland; political ignorance combined with apathy. Finally we note with interest the increased reportage that events connected with Ireland has received in the Morning Star. Although we still have profound differences with the Star on Ireland, their recent coverage is a step forward. However if the Morning Star is to avoid joining the Communist Party in its isolated backwater, then one of the things it must do is to spell out to its readers that the full responsibility for the present situation in Ireland rests squarely at the feet of British Imperialism

The right of Irish people to carry resistance to oppression by any means they see fit must be clearly recognised. A fact, however inconvenient for the British Left, from which there is no escape.

BY-ELECTION RESULTS

In the 4 constituencies that Sinn Fein contested the results were:

MID ULSTER;

Rev. R.T.W. McCrea (DUP)	23,693
D.G. Morrison (SF)	13,998
A. Colton (SDLP)	13,021
T.A. Owens (WP)	691
DUP Majority	9,697

FERRANAGH-SOUTH TYRONE

K. Maginnis (OUP)	27,857
O.G. Carron (SF)	15,278
J.A. Currie (SDLP)	12,001
D.A. Kettyles (WP)	864
OUP Majority	12,579

HERBY & ARRAGE

S. Mallon (SDLP)	22,694
J.F. Nicholson (OUP)	20,111
J. McAllister (SF)	6,609
P. McCyster (WP)	505
SDLP Majority	2,533

DOWN SOUTH

J.E. Powell (OUP)	24,963
E.K. McGrady (SDLP)	23,121
H.F. McDowell (SF)	2,936
S.D. Magee (WP)	522
OUP Majority	1,842

These figures (with others) show particularly the demise of the so-called Workers Party. Their pathetic vote has proved that this rightward shifting grouping of social democrats are a complete irrelevance in the 6 counties.

BY-ELECTION RESULTS (contd.)

BELFAST NORTH

A.C. Walker (OUP)	21,649
P. Maguire (Alliance)	5,072
S. Lynch (WP)	3,563
OUP Majority	16,577

BELFAST EAST

P.D. Robinson (DUP)	27,607
G.J. Napier (Alliance)	5,917
B.J. Cullen (WP)	578
DUP Majority	21,690

BELFAST SOUTH

Rev. W.H. Smyth (OUP)	21,711
D.S. Cook (Alliance)	7,635
G. Carr (WP)	1,109
OUP Majority	14,136

ANTRIM SOUTH

C. Forsythe (OUP)	30,087
P. Barry (AIA)	1,879
OUP Majority	28,217

ANTRIM NORTH

Rev. I.F.K. Paisley (DUP)	33,937
P. Barry (AIA)	913
DUP Majority	33,024

ANTRIM EAST

R. Beggs (OUP)	30,386
S. Neeson (Alliance)	5,405
OUP Majority	24,981

DERRY EAST

W. Ross (OUP)	30,922
P. Barry (AIA)	2,001
OUP Majority	28,921

LAGAN VALLEY

J.D. Hollyneaux (OUP)	32,514
J.T. Lowry (WP)	3,328
OUP Majority	29,186

UPPER BAIN

J.M. McCusker (OUP)	28,311
T. French (WP)	6,978
OUP Majority	22,333

STRANGFORD

D. Taylor (OUP)	32,627
P. Barry (AIA)	1,993
OUP Majority	30,634

DOWN NORTH

J.F. Kilfedder (POP.U.)	30,793
J.U. Cushnahan (Alliance)	3,066
POP. U. Majority	22,727

THE CONNOLLY ASSOCIATION

The Connolly Association got a mention in the national media recently, the Guardian no less.

One of its members from 1953 to 1973 was Dr. Maire O' Shea. Although the C.A. (Connolly Association) has continued a lobby on the PTA, since its introduction in 1972, it has played no part at all in the campaigns for O' Sheas release. In fact the C.A. has developed the art of fence sitting to a fine degree, with the exception of the PTA lobby, I challenge anyone to point out one major political campaign in recent years in which the C.A. has played any significant role.

Historically, we are told, its great days of action were in the 1950s and early 1960s when it was able to mobilise among the large numbers of Irish immigrants in Britain. Its demise can be dated from the late 1960s, from 1968 in fact and from the well known events which occurred in the 6 counties then. It appears to have floundered on these events and was unable to attract into its membership the vast numbers of young people who then became active on the Irish issue or any of the new political groups that emerged. It responded to criticisms of its political naivety with a certain smugness that the 'C.A. had got it all right'.

But what does the C.A. think of the present situation in the North? What is its attitude to Sinn Fein, the Provisionals etc? Rumour has it that in its early days the C.A. was very chummy chummy with Sir Gerry Fitt and the SDLP. Now, if at all, does the SDLP fit in now?

Within the membership of the Connolly Association there exists widely differing political views from abortion and the Catholic church to the Communist and Labour Parties and their internal problems. The leadership, quite rightly in my view, has attempted to steer a unified course. But what of the widely differing views on the present situation in the 6 counties? Surely in this case the leadership be able to give a clear and concise summation of the C.A.s line. In fact this line is very difficult to ascertain. The Connolly Association has become, for a number of years now, all things to all people. Of course at a number of meetings I've attended I've often heard Desmond Greaves (the main political thinker in the C.A.s leadership) state 'the problem is not the IRA, sort out the politics and the IRA will have nothing to IRA about. True, I say, but what exactly are the politics the C.A. talks about?

In November 1984, an article appeared in the editorial of the "Irish Democrat" (the C.A.s paper) entitled "a look at recent events" which does answer some (not all) of these questions. This editorial covered a number of points under the headlines..."the armalite and the ballot paper", "H block martyrs" and "politics and physical force".

Its ultimate conclusion is that the armed struggle will fail, as the British, for strategic reasons, will continue to hold on to the North whatever the price..... "is it realistic to think that the bombs and bullets of the IRA will get them out of a country which is strategically important to them?"
Furthermore....

"there can be little doubt that if the IRA were not engaged in its armed struggle the British would be even more complacent about its grip on the 6 counties than it currently is."

The way forward, according to the C.A., is to give priority to the political campaign, alliances should be made with the SDLP and the 'constitutional nationalists' that support them. Changes in British policy will come about through a mass political movement of Irish people, North and South, which must be reflected in the Dublin governments backing of a mass popular movement in Britain itself to push for withdrawal. The solution the, according to the Connolly Association is to..... "abandon the weapon of steel and take up the weapons of reason".

THE CONNOLLY ASSOCIATION (contd.)

Herein lies the reason for the ineffectiveness of the Connolly Association and why the events of the late 1960s in the North of Ireland led to its eventual demise. The "abandonment of the weapons of steel" and the end to the death and imprisonment of young Irish men and women are events all of us would like to see. BUT the war is not of Ireland's making and the responsibility for it must be laid at the door of British Imperialism. The current response of Republicans in the 6 counties is the right one. The British would give the people of the North of Ireland an easier time if the armalite was abandoned. They would hand Northern Ireland back to, as they see it, the rightful custodians---the Unionists, who would maintain the state by their rules, the rules of 1968. With the hands of the puppet master unsoiled the British presence in Ireland would remain.

The armalite has worked, it has kept the situation in the 6 counties at the forefront of British politics. Over the past 15 years events such as the Hunger Strikes have put to the forefront of world opinion the question Britain has unsuccessfully tried to avoid....

What right has Britain in Ireland?

As an adversary the British are strong, they have confounded their own population with stories of sectarianism (a western form of tribalism). Finally they have silenced their media and seen their 'principled' system of justice undermined. They've even had the sacred corridors of Westminster infected with an M.P. dying on hunger strike.

The policy of the armalite and the ballot box has put an end to the notion that there is no support for the Provisionals and Sinn Fein in the North. The political slithering with the current Anglo-Irish agreement reveals the significance of Sinn Fein and its policy as the British and Irish governments seek to minimise the Republican impact. The abandonment of the gun would be what the British would hope for. They want the 6 counties back in the area of an internal domestic dispute. If this can be incorporated by the annexation of the Republic as well, through NATO and the EEC, then we can go back to being one big happy (pre-partition) United Kingdom. If it happens to be in a new guise, then so much the better. Lastly in comparison to the forms of struggle adopted in Zimbabwe, Vietnam and Cuba; I can only say that Fidel Castro marched into Havana with gun in hand. He did not lay down his weapons until he was sitting in the presidential palace with the doors firmly secured.

Virginia Wentworth.

Which Road ?

Dear Comrades,

Back in October 1985 The Leninist reviewed the first publication to come from the Irish Republican Support Group (C.P.G.B.). Our review welcomed your healthy positions in Ireland; A principled communist position, vis a vis the liberation movement in Ireland. At the same time we maintained that its stated aim of taking "the arguments in support of the liberation movement into the heart of the Party" rested on "where it stands in the inner-Party battle". In other words we said "Will it be for the Party or against it? "

In November's edition of The Leninist we published a letter from comrade Chester T Allright, a leading writer in Resistance "Whilst appreciating the integrity" of our "Leninist politics" comrade Allright nonetheless questioned the review in effect because we insisted that clarity on the inner-Party struggle is essential.

With your publication of Resistance No. 2 we can see how you are fulfilling your aim of taking Ireland to the "Heart of the Party". Admittedly your articles on the Easter 1916 Rising, the PTA and the Catholic Church are positive. Despite this your editorial shows that our comradely warning about the danger of Resistance not standing on a clear pro-Party platform in respect to the Communist Party itself has not been heeded.

In the unattributed editorial we find the Morning Star which has always opposed the IRA's armed struggle, given fawning "constructive" advice. In contrast to this 7 Days and the Communist Party are rudely and casually dismissed as "going nowhere fast". It is not our intention to defend the theory or practice of Eurocommunism but we will defend our Party against liquidationism-especially if this is dressed up in calls for solidarity with Ireland. For communists commitment to their Party is no academic matter. There can be no principled unity around solidarity with Ireland's liberation struggle without a principled position on the Party.

It is all very well for comrade Allright to protest, as he did in his letter to The Leninist, that those around the IRSG (CPGB) "all have different views on the correct methods of inner-Party struggle". If this is the case, as we know it is, why publish an editorial which attacks the Communist Party as a whole (not just its leadership). Why publish an editorial which boot-lickingly praises the Morning Star for merely carrying a mundane interview by Roger Trask with comrade Jimmy Stewart of the CPI. After all Marxism Today has published articles on Ireland and even an interview with Danny Morrison. Did the Stewart interview in any way what-so-ever represent a shift from the Morning Star's thoroughly opportunist history of attacking the liberation struggle in Ireland? If we are to be honest it must be admitted that the answer is no. So why the praise when it is so undeserved?

The Morning Star and the Communist Campaign Group that backs it are moving away from Communist Party politics. This is a fact. Far from moving to the left this heterogeneous group is already visibly decaying under the weight of its own apathy. It is moreover, because of its adherence to reformist, committed to a road which ends in the mire of Labourism. Those that support a principled communist position on Ireland cannot be oblivious to this.

If the comrades around the IRSG(CPGB) are serious about their perspective of taking "the arguments in support of the liberation movement into the heart of the Party" then they must oppose those who cynically engineering a split from our Party. If the IRSG(CPGB) take the CPGB in their minds seriously - as indeed they should - they must take a firm and undeviating stand in defending the Party.

It might be objected that our Party leadership has an awful record on Ireland. This is true. But then so has the Morning Star. It would be foolish to say the least for communists to believe in any strategy for revolution based on Tony Chater's thoroughly reformist Morning Star. Marxism-Leninism tells us that our task must be to reforge the Communist Party not desert it.

In reforging our Party winning it to principled position on Ireland will undoubtedly be a central question. Because of this we must not allow the fight for solidarity with Ireland to provide a cover for those who wish to side with elements actively working for a split from our Party or even as an excuse to cop out by taking a supposedly neutral stance on the inner-Party struggle. The IRSG (CPGB) is at a crossroads. You must now definitely and finally choose whether you are for the Party or against it.

Jack Conrad (for The Leninist).

IRISH P.O.W.s

At the end of October, the "World in Action" television programme gave some publicity to the claims to innocence from the Irish men convicted of the Birmingham pub bombings.

After the programme the liberal sections of the establishment dutifully made their half-hearted cries for a re-trial or the release of the prisoners. The six men are Patrick Joseph Hill, John Walker, Robert Gerrard Hunter, Noel Richard, Richard McIlkenny, Hugh Callaghan and William Power. All were found guilty and sentenced during the wave of anti-Irish hysteria which was sweeping the country at the time. The evidence brought against the six could never lead to convictions even under 'normal' conditions. The forcibly obtained statements (following intimidation and beatings) were contradictory. The World in Action programme didn't even have to produce any new evidence. In court Dr. Harwood of Winsor Green prison, Birmingham, actually testified that the six had been beaten whilst in police custody. Presumably realising what verdict was required, the trial judge informed Dr. Harwood that he was a disgrace to his profession and a perjurer. As well as documented evidence proving that the men had been beaten whilst in custody, the forensic tests which provided crucial evidence at the trial had been discredited several years ago. Of course it was pretty obvious from the start that the state, using any methods that were necessary, was determined to make these men an example to all who oppose British rule in Ireland. In fact when the men took civil action against the police, Lord Denning who dismissed the case had said:

"If these six men win, it will mean that the police are guilty of perjury, that they are guilty of violence and threats, that the confessions were involuntary and improperly admitted as evidence and that the convictions were erroneous."

Denning, no doubt, realised that had the men won their case, then questions about the whole basis for Britain's presence in Ireland and the methods it uses to maintain that presence would arise. The IRA have always stated that the six were not members of its organisation and were not responsible for the bombing and in fact were totally innocent. Roy Jenkins may be calling for a retrial now, but people should remember that his party was in government when the men were imprisoned and still support the war against the Irish people.

Since 1968, many Irishmen and women have been incarcerated in British prisons. The majority of the British Left (including the Communist Party) have seen fit simply to ignore their plight. Between November 1974 and March 1976, 18 innocent people have been jailed on bombing charges. In March 1976, 4 members of the Maguire family were arrested and imprisoned for "making bombs". Again the forensic evidence was open to question, but, still maintaining their innocence they were all convicted. Since then, a campaign to get their sentences overturned has succeeded in gaining the release of Ann and Patrick Maguire.

Four young people have been imprisoned because they had been convicted for the Guildford bombing in October 1974. They were convicted solely on statements they had made against each other.

Judith Ward was sentenced to 30 years following the 1962 coach bombing after signing a statement admitting that she planted the bomb even though at the time, she was working in a circus hundreds of miles away.

Many young Irishmen and women continue to rot in British prisons to-day, forgotten by the British working class movement. Irish political prisoners are being subjected to beatings and long periods of solitary confinement. To disrupt contact with families and friends, prisoners are often moved at short notice, sometimes the day before visits are due.

IRISH P.O.W.s (contd.)

Inside British prisons, Irish political prisoners take an active part in resisting the brutal system. 5 Irish prisoners have died because of their opposition to British imperialism.

In June 1974, Michael Gaughan died after being force-fed; Frank Stagg died on hunger strike in December 1975; Noel Jenkinson (an ex Communist Party member) died in October 1976 as the result of beatings received while in gaol; Sean O' Conaill suffered from cancer and was refused any medical treatment, he died in October 1977 and in January 1980, Giuseppe Conlon died after suffering from TB and receiving minimal medical treatment.

Since 1968 Communist Party Congresses have virtually ignored the issue of Ireland and its political prisoners. Sinn Fein and its supporters have been agitating around five demands to highlight the plight of the P.O.W.s. The demands are.....

1. Repatriation, on demand, to gaols in Ireland.
2. Release of all prisoners framed by the police.
3. An end to solitary confinement and special control units.
4. Release of Patrick Hackett on medical grounds.
5. Abolition of the Prevention of Terrorism Act.

These demands should be fought for both within and outside the Party, so that they become an essential part of our programme. Work around Irish prisoners should become a major part of any party's Irish solidarity work. The Party press should be forced to give coverage to the issue of the prisoners and their families.

As Communists we should present clear parallels between the imprisoned miners, black political prisoners and our Irish comrades. All were motivated by a desire to struggle for their class against the British state.

Their actions are political not criminal. As revolutionaries we have a duty to stand by them.

T. O' Leary

Letters, Articles, Comments or Donations can be sent to.....

IRSC/RESISTANCE
Community Press
Box 13
2a St. Pauls Road
London W1

All Charges Dropped !

IRELAND'S WAR DEFENCE CAMPAIGN.

PRESS RELEASE.

On Saturday 24 August 1985, 77 year old Mr. James Maley of Glasgow was arrested on an Irish solidarity march in the West of Scotland. He was subsequently charged under Section 2 of the Prevention of Terrorism Act, charged also with a Breach of the Peace, held over the weekend in police custody and appeared at Hamilton Sheriff Court on Monday 26 August. At his court appearance he pled not guilty to all charges and was to return for trial on 17 February, 1986.

DEFENCE CAMPAIGN.

The GLASGOW IRISH FREEDOM ACTION COMMITTEE, of which he is a member, immediately mounted a campaign to have the charges against Mr. James Maley dropped and also in defence of the democratic right to free speech on Ireland. Within weeks of his arrest worldwide outrage and condemnation of this shameful act by the police and courts began to flood in (see attached list).

DEFENCE CAMPAIGN SUCCESSFUL.

In a letter dated 14 November 1985 (copy enclosed) Mr. James Maley was informed by the Procurator Fiscal's Office in Hamilton that all the charges against him had been dropped.

The support for Mr. James Maley has forced the police and courts to back down and the GLASGOW IRISH FREEDOM ACTION COMMITTEE and its newspaper IRELAND'S WAR regard this as a victory for democratic rights. The defence of Mr. James Maley has destroyed yet another example of police and court attempts to censor the views of those who demand the immediate withdrawal of all British forces from Ireland and the right of Ireland to be united, free and its people to live in peace.

LEGAL ACTION AGAINST THE POLICE BEING CONSIDERED.

The GLASGOW IRISH FREEDOM ACTION COMMITTEE is now considering taking legal action against the police. Mr. James Maley was wrongfully arrested and wrongfully held in police custody for almost 48 hours in conditions hardly suitable for a 77 year old man.

The police also lied to JOAN MAYNARD MP, Mr. James Maley's family and his lawyer when they informed them that the PTA charge had been dropped.

Also Mr. James Maley's elderly wife, who does not keep the best of health, was extremely distressed over this whole affair - distress caused solely by the actions of the police and courts.

Those responsible for this despicable and repressive behaviour must be brought to task. The GLASGOW IRISH FREEDOM ACTION COMMITTEE will do all in its power to ensure this happens.

Address for correspondence: FOOTPRINT (IWDC), PO BOX 219, GLASGOW
G31 4DZ.

Telephone number: 041-554 4228.

BIG BETTY WILLIAMS last week flew into Belfast from her home in Florida where she has been living since having brought peace to Ireland a decade ago after eight centuries of bitter unrest.

Betty, according to her own account, was always in the right place at the right time and once told aghast reporters how she rushed through gunfire to whisper an act of contrition into the ear of a wounded soldier in Belfast's Chapel Lane. The soldier, who was Church of England, died. Betty, who had really been in Marks & Spencers when the soldier had been shot, copyrighted the story in the sure knowledge that the real Samaritan (from Belfast's Iveagh area) would never break cover.

In August, Belfast IRA Volunteers Danny Lennon and John Chillingworth were moving a broken Armalite rifle in a car through Andersonstown when they were pursued by British soldiers. Without any provocation, the Brits opened fire. Danny, who was driving the car, was killed instantly and his comrade was seriously wounded.

The soldiers continued shooting and the car, now out of control, mounted the footpath at Finaghy Road North and crashed into Mrs Annie Maguire who was going to the shops with her children, Joanna, John and Andrew, who all died of their injuries. The results of the post-mortem on the children was never published.

Out of this incident the so-called 'Peace People' were founded, a largely anti-republican, pro-establishment movement which completely ignored the actual circumstances of the children's deaths. Betty, who threw off her apron in favour of a fur coat and foreign travel, *Irish Press* journalist Ciaran McKeown and Mairead Corrigan, the children's aunt, became the leaders of the movement, carrying banners down the Shankill Road which read "Falls says sorry". The 'peace' movement

eventually collapsed over the following two years due to internal contradictions and Betty and Mairead personally pocketing the £80,000 they received along with the Nobel Peace Prize.

Betty got divorced, got a spanking new American husband and headed for high life in sunny Florida until Yorkshire Television invited her back for a re-union on the tenth anniversary of the founding of the movement.

"I want to hold Mairead in my arms - and tell her I love her," she said when she touched down on Irish soil, and headed for Chapel Lane, never knowing her luck.

"I don't want to see Betty," replied Mairead, who married her brother-in-law, Mr Jim Maguire, after his wife Mrs Annie Maguire, the children's mother, tragically took her own life.

"I don't want to be part of any superficial reconciliation," said 'Gandhi' McKeown, now a computer operator.

Ten years ago this trio attempted to destroy the struggle for freedom. Have a good look at them now.

This is the IRA's last card.
- Mrs Thatcher in 1981.

I can give you a categorical assurance that the Provisional IRA campaign will not be allowed to succeed.

- Mrs Thatcher in 1986.

The only thing this agreement is about is security, which is already costing the Irish taxpayer more than £350 million per year. When will they realise the problem is a political one?

- Paschal O'Hare, who resigned from the SDLP in protest at the Hillsborough House agreement.

