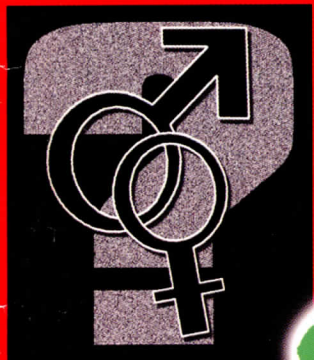


# Spark

AUTUMN  
2002

PRICE €3.50/£2.50

## resist rebel revolt



**Are the  
Sexes  
really  
Equal?**

PAGE 4

# CUBA LIVES



**More  
Sindo  
than  
sinned against** PAGE 6



PAGE 16

# CONTENTS

**LEATHNACH 2/PAGE 2:**

'British Justice' Exposed

**LEATHNACH 4/PAGE 4:**

Are the Sexes really Equal?

**LEATHNACH 6/PAGE 6:**

More Sindo than  
sinned against

**LEATHNACH 8/PAGE 8:**

Making Peace Means  
First Saying Your Sorry

**LEATHNACH 10/PAGE 10:**

Far-Right Rise on  
Back of Weak Left

**LEATHNACH 12/PAGE 12:**

7 slí éasca chun  
an Ghaeilge a mharú

**LEATHNACH 14/PAGE 14:**

Imperialism & Propaganda:  
The Example  
of the Balkans

**LEATHNACH 16/PAGE 16:**

The Invisibility of Struggle

**LEATHNACH 21/PAGE 21:**

Abstentionist blunders  
made Fianna Fáil

**LEATHNACH 25/PAGE 25:**

Hiberno European  
and proud of it?

**LEATHNACH 27/PAGE 27:**

The Unfinished Revolution

**LEATHNACH 31/PAGE 31:**

Peadar O'Donnell,  
Revolutionary Writer

Editing: Michael Pierse  
Finance Officer: Criostóir Ó Ráiligh  
Layout: *An Phoblacht/Republican News*

Articles contained in this magazine do not necessarily express the views of its editorial staff.

Ógra Shinn Féin is Ireland's fastest growing and most radical youth movement. With members throughout the 32 Counties, we are organised on a whole range of social issues, from removing the presence of British imperialism in Ireland, to tackling poverty, social exclusion and corruption.

We are a movement that stands out against the inequalities that exist in our society. We stand against discrimination, whether it be sectarian discrimination or racist discrimination against travelling people or refugees. We stand for the foundation of a society where, to quote the 1916 Proclamation, "all the children of the nation are cherished equally."

Join us in the struggle for freedom.



Ainm/Name: .....

Seoladh/Address: .....

Ríomh-phost: .....

Fón/Tel: ..... Aois/Age: .....

Send this form to: Ógra Shinn Féin, Árd Oifig, 44 Parnell Square, Dublin 1.



Get your next edition of SPARK delivered by filling in the form below and sending a cash cheque ONLY to Republican Publications, 44 Parnell Square, Dublin 1, Ireland.

**PRICES:**

	Surface	Air
Ireland	€4.50	
Britain		£3.50
Europe	€4.75	€5.75
USA & Rest of world		€6.50

Name: .....

Address: .....

E-mail: .....

Telephone: .....

Payment method: .....

Articles are welcome: They should be around either 500 or 1,000 words in length and written in a way that is amenable to young people. Suggestions for, or actual illustrations would also be of help.

# UNIONISTS, BRITAIN WITHDRAWING FROM PEACE

THE ACCELERATING withdrawal of unionism from the Peace Process continues unabated as the many factions of pro-British forces in Ireland combine under the umbrella strategy of a 'pipe bomb in the one hand and a veto in the other'.

UDA degenerates flex their muscles by attacking vulnerable nationalist enclaves, while their more intellectually inclined comrades (well, some of them are) in the UUP erode the peace by obstructing and attempting to repeal every painful bit of progress that is being made.

Speaking shortly after the loyalist murder of Catholic teenager Gerard Lawlor, in August this year, the comments of Fr Dan White, a North Belfast priest, summed up the deep frustration that now festers in the nationalist and republican community.

"Nationalist people are now becoming convinced that their opposite numbers only want peace on their own terms — that unionists can't handle equality and so there's this desperate need and wish to turn back the clock.

"All this pressure for expelling Sinn Féin from government is being seen as a determination to get back to the old days of one-party government, while nationalist people were effectively disenfranchised."

Nationalists and republicans seem to be being blamed for the nightly onslaughts by loyalists mobs on their own communities and homes, and implicated in the attacks on young people from their own communities.

Compounding this frustration is a sense of disbelief. Disbelief at British and unionist hypocrisy, and at a lying, irresponsible, compliant media. As loyalism continued its onslaught against the nationalist community throughout the summer, each of the above played its part in sustaining that onslaught.

UDA attacks in full-swing, British Secretary of State, John Reid, considered the validity of the IRA cessation. UUP representatives speak of the "tremendous dilemma" their party faces in sharing power with Sinn Féin, because of erroneous, unfounded allegations of IRA activities. The mass media is compliant, fitting the phenomenon of hundreds of loyalist attacks against nationalists

— over 90 per cent of all attacks — neatly into its generic understanding of violence in the Six Counties: "tit-for-tat".

All this adds up to more deaths, more violence and a political process that is spiralling out of control — and falling into the hands of reprobates.

Whether it be Afghanistan, Iraq, Eastern Europe, Colombia, Nicaragua, or other countries that have provided strategic battlefields for the US or Britain, imperialists have manipulated, equipped and unleashed the most barbaric and degenerate of pseudo-political indigenous forces on the world, in order to counter what they have seen as threats to their hegemonic order.

The CIA and MI5 have created monsters, propelling the most neanderthal and retrograde forces to power, and fostering regimes that have barbarised the people forced to live under their terror.

We often think of ourselves in Ireland as far removed from these regimes, but the Six Counties is no different. 'Terrorism' is the only term one can use to describe what Britain has created, and what it must now dismantle. The use of UDA terror as a counter-insurgency tactic, to do Britain's dirty work, has been the subject in recent times of well-publicised investigations into individual killings, but the effects of all this on wider society have not been adequately scrutinised. Sectarianism has festered, and is envenoming community relations in the Six-County statelet.

What makes all this far worse is that the UDA is not some marginalised, micro-organisation, as it's lack of electoral prestige might suggest, but a ballooning gang of thousands of members, directed by the Crown Forces and enabled to do what it likes by an impervious British Secretary of State.

Young people are dying. Gerard Lawlor, Chris Whitson and other youths have been killed or attacked in recent months, leaving families and whole communities devastated.

That devastation will continue unless Britain dismantles and destroys its war machinery in Ireland — and that includes the UDA.

Contact us at: Dublin (01) 8733611 or by e-mail:

[mickpierce\\_ap@hotmail.com](mailto:mickpierce_ap@hotmail.com)

Spark, 58 Parnell Square, Dublin 1, Ireland.

# 'British

**ON 12 FEBRUARY 1989** Loyalists broke into the North Belfast home of Catholic Solicitor Pat Finucane, shooting him dead while he had dinner with his wife and children. Finucane was a famed human rights lawyer, whose principled stance against British injustice made him, in the eyes of certain people, an enemy of the state.

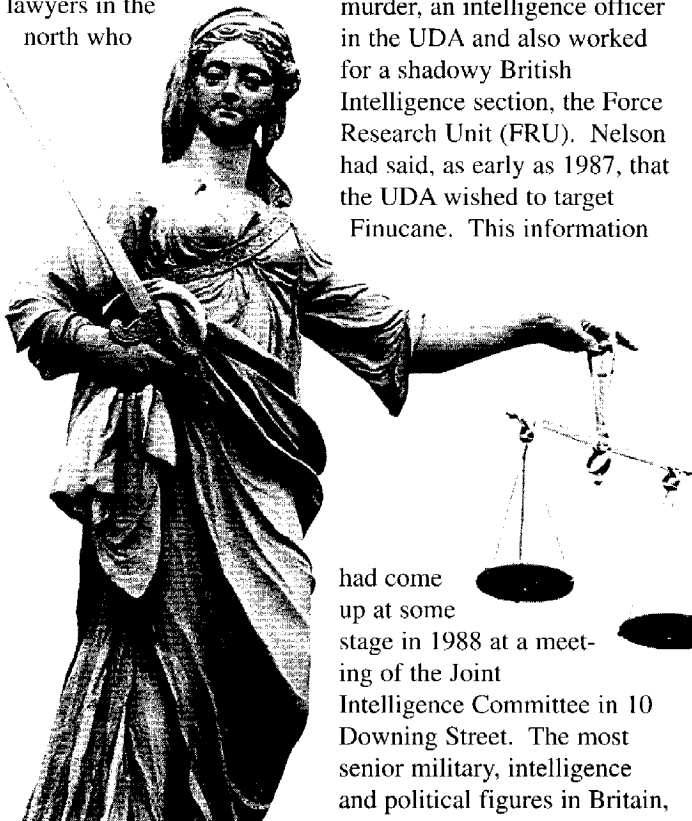
At the time, the killing aroused suspicion of collusion between the RUC, British intelligence or both with loyalist paramilitaries. Since then, the Finucane family and their supporters have campaigned vigorously but unsuccessfully for an independent international enquiry into the killing. Recent revelations have brought the murder once again to the fore and raised questions over the British Government's steadfast refusal to grant an independent enquiry.

Early suspicions of state involvement were aroused as the killing occurred only a number of weeks after the British Home secretary, Douglas Hurd announced, in Parliament, that there were lawyers in the north who

**BY CIARÁN DOHERTY**

were "unduly sympathetic" to the IRA. Finucane had made a name for himself by successfully representing numerous Republicans. His actions in standing up to the injustice of the Diplock courts earned him the ire of the British government. Interestingly, Hurd, while condemning the murder of Finucane, had previously refused to withdraw his statements or take any responsibility for what consequently happened.

However, more evidence emerged through the trial or, rather, abortive trial of double agent Brian Nelson. Nelson was, at the time of Finucane's murder, an intelligence officer in the UDA and also worked for a shadowy British Intelligence section, the Force Research Unit (FRU). Nelson had said, as early as 1987, that the UDA wished to target Finucane. This information



had come up at some stage in 1988 at a meeting of the Joint Intelligence Committee in 10 Downing Street. The most senior military, intelligence and political figures in Britain,



● **FINUCANE - considered a 'republican sympathiser'**

including then Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, would have attended. The British military, then, had been aware of plans to murder Finucane and this would account for the mysterious lack of security around the Finucane home at the time the killers struck. Following the fatal shooting, the area was quickly flooded with Crown forces, presumably to facilitate the killer's getaway.

More recent allegations have centred on UDA quartermaster William Stobie. Stobie is believed to have supplied the weapon that killed Pat Finucane and was also an informer. He was key to the

renewed Stevens investigation into the Finucane murder, he had worked with the RUC Special Branch and it was believed that he possessed information which could have dealt a serious blow to the PSNI, as it tries to establish credibility for itself. Stobie was shot dead in December 2001, allegedly by loyalists who were outraged to hear that he was an informer. However, this seems difficult to believe, as he had long before been unmasked as a police informer. In addition, it seems difficult to believe that loyalists strongly oppose British informers as the RUC Special branch set up,

# Justice

## EXPOSED



● **STOBIE** - assassinated last December



● **BARRETT** - on the run

equipped and trained the UDA. In fact, it seems that if anything there were very few in loyalist organisations, especially the UDA, who weren't informers. Crucially, Stobie gave an interview to Sunday Tribune journalist, Ed Moloney, in which he admitted to having provided the guns to



● **NELSON** - Britain's main man in the UDA

kill Finucane. In addition he claimed that he tipped off his RUC handlers about the murder a week before it happened. He also gave information as to the whereabouts of the gun after the killing. Nothing was done at the time about either of these pieces of crucial information.

The RUC, then, were quite complicit in the murder of Finucane, through their inaction both before and after the murder. However, what of the murder of Willie Stobie? If we were to believe that loyalists, presumably the UDA were responsible, we would also not be far wrong in presuming the RUC Special Branch had some part or knowledge of this also. The RUC undoubtedly know the people responsible yet no arrests or prosecutions have followed, why? It is likely that the RUC/PSNI is strongly opposed to any kind of impartial inquiry, as it will almost certainly lead to the unmasking of other informants, who have been involved in the violence of the last thirty years. In addition, it will open up the activities of both the RUC Special Branch and British Military Intelligence to public view. This could fatally damage any credibility that the so-called new policing arrangements have among nationalists and republicans.

Most of the recent attention in the ongoing Finucane saga has centred on the figure of Ken Barrett. Barrett is believed to be the man who actually pulled the trigger on Finucane. A member of the UDA and again a Special Branch informant, Barrett promptly disappeared within hours of the murder of William Stobie. In a recent Panorama documentary, Barrett claimed that the RUC was intricately involved in setting up the killing. Barrett is now, we are led to believe, in RUC/PSNI protection. It may be assumed that this is to protect him from the same people who killed

Stobie. These people, it must also be assumed, are almost certainly known to the RUC/PSNI if not actually controlled by them.

So the situation as it stands then is that we have three loyalists implicated in involvement in the Finucane killing. All three have been either RUC or British intelligence agents or informers. Hugh Orde, who will at some stage present a report on the investigation to himself, as the new head of the PSNI, now heads the Stevens inquiry. There is a widespread outcry for a fully independent investigation. This is being strongly resisted by the Crown Forces and the British Government, who are content to fudge the investigation by appointing a judge to think about having an inquiry. What is it the British forces wish to hide given how much we know already? It is speculated that Crown forces have more moles to hide in various organisations, possibly including the IRA. One of the major revelations of Brian Nelson was the murder of Francisco Notarantino, a west Belfast pensioner, whose murder was ordered by the FRU, allegedly to protect a highly placed informer in the Republican movement. It is believed that once an investigation is ordered into the Finucane case, a can of worms will be opened, over which Crown Forces will have no control. The risk is that the entire intelligence network of MI5 and PSNI/RUC special branch could become public knowledge. However, whatever the opposition of the British state, the campaign of the Finucane family for justice will continue

# Are the Sexes really Equal



**SURE we're all equal now aren't we? In fact, really there is no need to worry your pretty little head about things like that anymore. It's out of date, and who wants to be dated?**

We've person power, not man power, person-holes have replaced man-holes, we've generalised manipulate to copulate. What more do you women want for God's sake?

It's not the fashion anymore to tell blond jokes, or come to that, bird jokes, babe jokes. Any of that stuff has gone out with the last century, and women have really come on, so to speak.

OK, there aren't many women in Government, or the judiciary, or amongst CEOs ripping off ('earning' they call it) over 100,000 a year, or in wigs amongst the bar-risters or in white coats with the doctors.

## DID U KNOW?

### Some like it hot

Did u know that the difference between the present average global temperature and the last ice age was only five degrees Celsius.

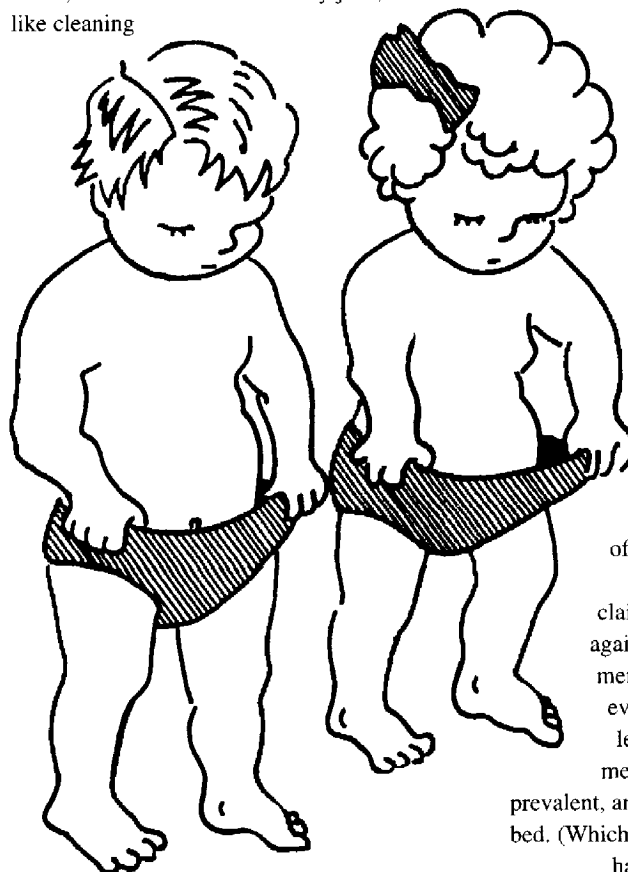
Yet the International Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) predicts an average increase in global temperature over the next 100 years of up to 5.8 degrees Celsius.

That means that what nature has taken over 10,000 years to do, humans will do in 100 years.

There are only a few parties that have women up there at the top, like Lucilita Breathnach in S.F., and Patricia McKenna in the Greens, but this is all changing - they are just the beginning.

OK, women earn less than men across the board, and do most of the manky jobs, like cleaning

and bar work, and anywhere you need a pretty face, but this is all changing. Wait for this next generation of university graduates. Women will be up there with the men - no mistake, and the last vestiges of inequality of the sexes will be a thing of the past. Satisfied, are you?



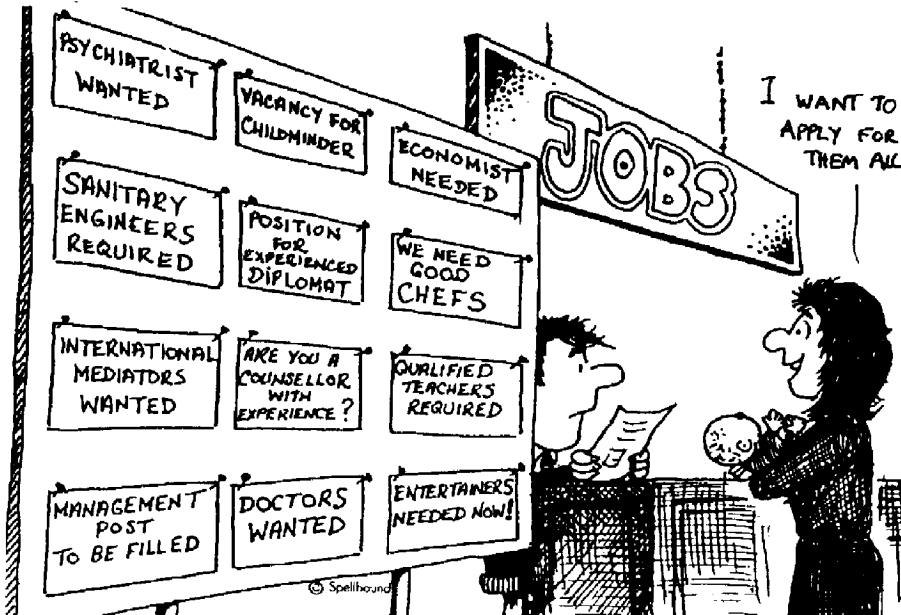
## COME BACK JOHN WAYNE

In fact, some people believe things have really gone a bit overboard - that because of these changes men have lost their role models, their identities, their very manliness. Come back John Wayne! I even heard it argued (John Waters in the Irish Times for one) that the real reason behind the appalling statistics for suicide amongst young men is that they are lost in a sea of 'woman power'.

In the battle of the sexes, some claim, the balance has tipped too far against men, and with all this talk of men abusing women, (sometimes even churchmen), of crimes of violence, (perpetrated of course by men, always men), and rape that is prevalent, and even exists within the marriage bed. (Which a judge, recently decided could happen). Whatever next?

Really things have come to a pretty pass and the balance of power needs to be right-

**OH! THAT EXPLAINS THE DIFFERENCE IN OUR WAGES "**



ed. It is time, they say, for the pendulum to swing back the other way, if men are going to be able ever again to hold their heads high and be men again. After all, they say, look at violence within relationships. Look at the figures. Lots of that violence comes from women, not men. It's all gone too far. Time to cry halt.

**REALITY**

This is the backlash, big time. No mistake. Let's get a few things straight. Certain facts spring out of history to hit the modern day misogynist up the face, and let's be aware of them.

Q. Was it men or women that had their feet broken and bound at birth?

A. It was just the girl children.

Q. Why did anyone think to do anything so disgracefully cruel?

Because it meant that when the child grew up she couldn't stray very far from the bed chamber, or her household 'duties' - she couldn't wander off to look at the world for herself.

Mao's revolution put a stop to this disgusting practice, though you may still see oldish Chinese women, crippled, unable to do more than tit tup - in considerable pain - a few yards behind their men folk.

Q. Was it women or men who, on the death of their partner, were thrown onto the funeral pyre that frazzled the body of the loved one. Do you think for one moment it was men?

A. No. It is women who are thrown onto

Mammy, What's a daddy for?



the fire on the death of their husbands, because they are of no further use, a practice which was widely pursued in India.

Take circumcision - a fairly wide practice across this strange world we live in. Men get circumcised supposedly to increase hygiene, and also allegedly to enhance their sexual pleasure. But women too are circumcised, under varying practices, all of which add up to ensuring that a women's capacity to enjoy sex - the clitoris - is cut. Circumcised women are not able to enjoy sex, because they are there for men's enjoyment. And what's more, where

all female genitalia have been cut away, as is the practice, the young girl is then

and woman.

sewn up, sometimes with thorns, so that no one may take her (virginity) - 'she' is then preserved for her husband's pleasure alone. She has a use as a sex object for a particular man, and that man only, and that purpose only.

And in case we get altogether too self righteous in the fact that we don't practice these appalling, cruel rites of 'womanhood', cast a quiet eye across (Genesis 2-4) the story of Adam and Eve, upon which our faith - the Faith of our Fathers - bases its myths of human generation. Eve you may remember was created from one of Adam's ribs, given to Adam as a 'companion'. And while you are about it, don't forget that it was Eve who succumbed to temptation, to eat of the tree of knowledge, which gave both Adam and Eve wisdom - which straightway taught them to be ashamed of their nakedness. It was this fault, of Eve, that led to the Fall of Man.

This is our myth, which, it is unlikely, for all our talk of person power, that we have quite obliterated from our collective psyche or view of man and woman, and their respective roles.

Proof of this point is to be found in no less a document than the Free State Constitution, crafted so sanctimoniously by Eamonn deValera.

**Article 41,**

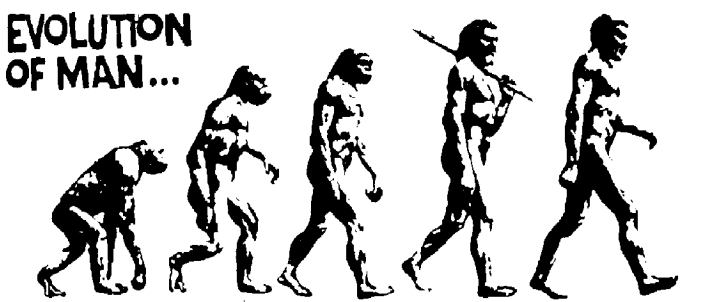
- "2.1 In particular the state recognises that by her life within the home, woman gives to the State a support without which the common good cannot be achieved.
- 2.2 The State shall, therefore, endeavour to ensure that mothers shall not be obliged by economic necessity to engage in labour to the neglect of their children in the home."

So when you are next remembering to avoid 'manpower', blond jokes, and spattering on about equal wages, or the extent of women's violence towards men, that whilst the national psyche considers woman as man's companion, there 'for his enjoyment', remember too that women, who are also human beings, are not the equal of men. This is the heart of women's inequality - the imbalance of the sexes - and only rewriting the facts of history and cultures will change it.

Women are women - not sex objects, possessions, mothers, or anything else which Mr. de Valera might have thought, whilst he mused about why his wife refused to speak to him for the main part of his married life.

■ SPARK

**EVOLUTION OF MAN...**



# Sunday Independent

## More Sindo than sinned against

This summer saw a spectacular breakthrough in the 26 Counties for Sinn Féin, and heartache for the poor old dears at the *Sunday Independent* (bless their cotton socks). **JUSTIN MORAN** adds to their misery.

**THE PEOPLE**, according to *Sunday Independent* columnist Alan Ruddock, are feckers. Considering the amount of these 'feckers' who buy the Sindo it was perhaps not the most judicious use of words. But in fairness, Alan was mired in that zen like state of incoherent rage that seems to be the hallmark of the motley collection of revisionists and hacks that makes up the Sindo's analysis team.

Ruddock was writing his few words in the aftermath of a massive increase in Sinn Féin's vote across the country, including a massive youth vote (more than every other party combined, according to the RTÉ Exit Poll) and taking five seats with clear indications of where the next five are coming from. Truly, we should be impressed at the fortitude that was necessary for Alan to pick himself up from off the floor and stumble to his keyboard, weeping gently at the tragedy.



● As Ruth Dudley Edwards, Sindo columnist and historian, might have put it, the Sindo's campaign against Sinn Féin was a 'triumph of failure'

For tragedy it was for so many people, and I'm not talking about Fine Gael here, who provided some of the most enjoyable moments of

much dirt thrown at so many people by so few.

And they did throw everything at us. Brendan O'Connor claimed

**And they'll muster all their undoubted intellectual might, all their securocrat sources, ready to confirm that the IRA is indeed planning a chemical attack on a crêche**

the election, but for the courageous men and women with an elastic interpretation of objective journalism, sent out to destroy Sinn Féin's electoral hopes. Never, in the field of Irish political conflict, was so

that a Sinn Féin candidate was a former Neo-Nazi, but declined to say who and seemed, for the election at least, to have been promoted from indifferent comedian and food columnist to some sort of

political analyst. Whatever else one can say about the Sindo they certainly have good promotion prospects. Alan Ruddock was to the fore in accusing republicans of drug-dealing and vigilantism. Drennan and O'Malley attacked up the centre using opinion polls, or laughably inaccurate election predictions, to undermine the party. O'Hanlon had a great campaign, sniping from the wings with her trademark incisive 'wit' and Dudley Edwards and The Cruiser were brought in when the intellectual heavyweights were needed. Oh, and Eoghan Harris wrote some stuff, but he seems to have calmed down a wee bit since he and the *Sunday Times* parted ways.

All in all, as formidable an array of intellectual (Brendan O'Connor excepted, obviously) and journalistic talent has rarely been pointed at a political party or movement. One mission. One goal. Stop Sinn Féin.

But in the end, they failed, failed utterly. Martin Ferris and Seán Crowe topped the poll (the latter despite Kevin Myers cunningly endorsing him).

Aengus O'Snodaigh and Arthur Morgan were comfortably elected and Caoimhghnín O'Caolain walked it in the end. Nicky Kehoe, John Dwyer, Mary Lou McDonald,



# Sinn Fein will feel the Keane edge of US fury

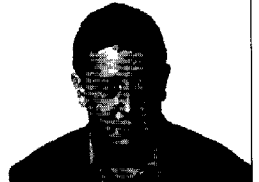


extremely well in a hard-fought game. Obviously the thought occurred that if Roy Keane had been there, the Irish side would almost certainly have won. But that point is water under the bridge. McCarthy, by attaining a draw, in those forbidding conditions, emerges as clear

worse with the largely unexpected arrival on the scene of the new president of Colomb Alvaro Uribe. Uribe, elected by decisive majority, is hated by the FARC people, who have on several occasions attempted to murder him, as they murdered his father. The Colombian court will now get on with the trials

# Five dwarves of SF take their places

The Sinn Fein front bench is hardly the radical alternative we were told about, says John Drennan



# Victim's family makes IRA murder a key issue

Dead man's son appeals to Louth voters to question SF candidates

**CULTURE OF CONSTITUENCY POLITICS:** "It's the gardai I'll be particularly sorry for if Sinn Fein poll worst, he was acting as a postman

# Gardai shiver as Shinners prosper

A waxing Sinn Fein will give our police the RUC

# We should not let Sinn Fein distort patriotism

Ruth Dudley Edwards heard Sinn Fein's loose

# Adams wears emperor's new clothes

It seems at last people are beginning to see Sinn Fein for what it is, says Alan Ruddock

But polls do indicate trends, and usually reliable ones. It is possible that Sinn Fein, after years of kid glove treatment from the main political parties out of deference to the peace process in Northern Ireland, is finally feeling the effects of a full frontal assault. Flanna Fail

transformation from terrorism to democracy, he looked like a bit of a minor drama. This was no future minister or power-broker. Just a very ordinary man with an unpleasant past.

Even the ridiculous is given credibility and the Sinn Fein game of blaming everyone else for the ills in the world, of never accepting responsibility for anything, of seeing conspiracy behind every tree, spreads its poison into the politics of this State. Before long someone will blame Irish 'surocrats' for the harassment of Sinn Fein's law-

countries, have made a for self-interest." Maybe arms has been reading well, for he told the fan that the patriot dead we

# IRA apology is just a piece of stinking

Time to reclaim the Tricolour from SF

**THE National Flag is the Tricolour of Green, White and Orange.**

**June, 2002**  
If we could always share the same dream, if every moment could be this bright and clear, then there would be no darkness beneath

the Northern conflict, the Tricolour was seen as the emblem of the Sinn Fein-IRA faction and this made the flag even more odious in unionist eyes.

Dessie Ellis, Daithí Doolan and Pearse Doherty all laid down very clear markers, and in Nicky's case especially, came tantalisingly close.

The Sindo's finest probably aren't sure why they failed. But what they failed to realise was that, from a republican perspective, this was never about winning the media war. Sinn Féin can't win the 'air-war' during an election campaign. The media, and the Sindo is just the most glaring example, is generally anti-republican and as integral a part of the establishment in Irish politics as a Fianna Fáil junior minister. Sinn Féin won this campaign on the ground. As Shane Coleman, who seemed to be showing some understanding of the party towards the end, pointed out in the Tribune, for Sinn Féin strategists the motto was 'It's the community, stupid'.

Sinn Féin candidates have spent years, decades even, building a relationship with local communities, standing with them day in and day out. The party doesn't appear during the election campaign and then disappear. It's there every day, standing with local people, demanding proper housing, fair waste management and an end to the drugs scourge.

Sinn Féin won this campaign on the ground. It won it in the streets and neighbourhoods its people are from. It won it with teams of dedicated activists - people who believe in what they're doing. The other parties, to be frank, don't.

But, the Sindo gang will be back, their wounds will be licked, their predictions of Sinn Féin's collapse, their complete failure to predict the size of the republican vote a forgotten embarrassment. They'll

keep trying though. Life would be a great deal duller without my weekly fix of patronising contempt. The ego of Sindo journalists is a marvellously resilient thing and come the Autumn, and the Nice Treaty, or the Assembly elections next year, Aengus Fanning will cry havoc, and let slip the dogs of war. And they'll muster all their undoubted intellectual might, all their securocrat sources, ready to confirm that the IRA is indeed planning a chem-

ical attack on a crèche, and they'll rail against republicans for weeks on end, in print and on television, when some RTÉ producer, desperate to make up the numbers on a panel invites them on. They'll do their utmost, bend every sinew, strain every muscle, to stop republicanism's continued growth. They'll fail of course, like they've been failing for years. But it'll be entertaining.

■ SPARK

## DID U KNOW?

Did u know that your grandchildren or great grandchildren might have to row to work? This is due to rising sea levels. In the Arctic, ice thickness has declined by over 40% and an area larger than the Netherlands is disappearing every year. Scientists predict that Arctic Sea ice could melt entirely by the end of the century. Sea levels will rise, rivers will rise, and Coastal cities such as Dublin, Sydney, New York and London will be put under threat.

# Making Peace Means First Saying You're Sorry

**JAMES RON** is an assistant professor of sociology at McGill University, Canada. His fields of research include conflict and internal war, human rights, revolutions and social movements, social theory, weak states, and humanitarianism.

As a 19-year old Israeli conscript, Ron took part in the brutality of the Israeli occupation of Lebanon. This article was written two years ago, before the current Palestinian uprising, and is reprinted with the kind permission of the author.

**IF the international community pushes Israel to acknowledge and compensate its Lebanese victims, maybe, the hostilities will finally end. I'll take a first step by apologizing for my own misdeeds.**

My first Lebanon raid was in 1986. I was a 19-year-old Israeli conscript, and my paratroop platoon was sent to a village whose name I can't recall. I provided security for two Lebanese militiamen and their Israeli handler. We broke down the door of a home, shoved the family aside, and pulled a middle-aged man outside. After blindfolding him and tying his hands behind his back, we took him to a secluded alley, forced him to his knees, and put a gun to his head, threatening to shoot if he didn't talk. A UN peacekeeper appeared and put an end to that incident, but there was more to come.

The next day we performed a mock execution on a 10-year-old Lebanese boy. We forced his family into the kitchen and dragged him to a nearby orchard. My lieutenant pressed the child's face into the dirt while I jammed my rifle against his skull.

Although the officer threatened to shoot his head off, the boy did not respond, keeping silent even after we threatened to throw him from the roof of his three-story home.

I was a recent transfer from another unit, and my colleagues were more familiar with the drill. I watched and learned as they blew off doors with explosives, poured sacks of flour onto dirt floors, scattered utensils, broke dishes, and rifled through drawers. For days we ransacked the village, searching for signs of guerrilla presence. The elderly, female, and young villagers were trapped in their homes, ordered to observe a 24-hour curfew. Their men were gathered in a central square, blindfolded, and hauled off for questioning. When another soldier and I expressed reservations, we were ridiculed by our colleagues. More often than not, however, we thought little about the villagers we were tormenting.

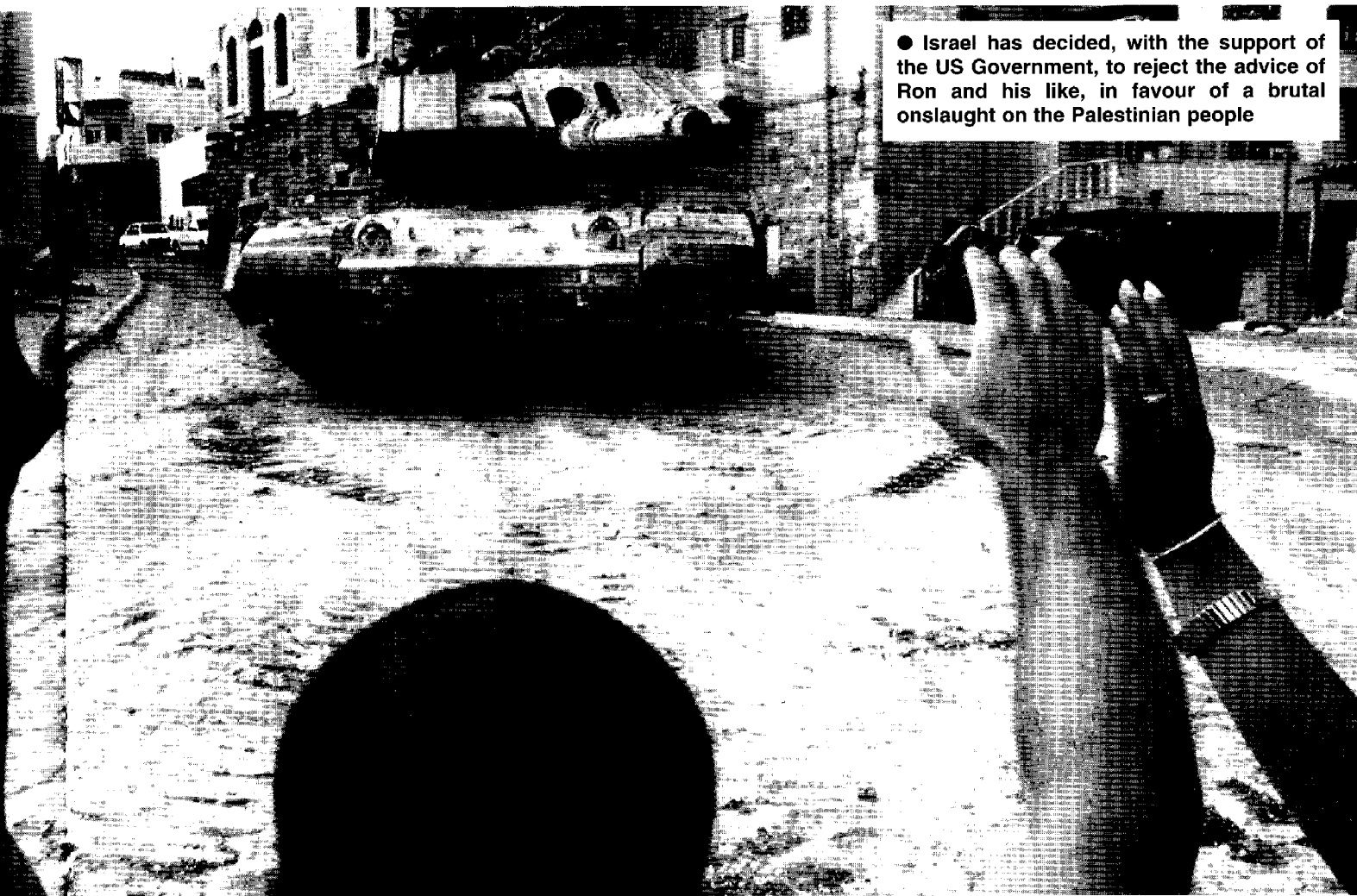
Casual brutality was not limit-



ed to lower-income recruits. Omri, child of an intelligence officer, liked to fire bursts toward villagers peeking through doorways. Rafi, son of a liberal parliamentarian, kicked a cup of hot tea into an elderly man's face. Several were from kibbutzim, others from middle-class families, and our lieutenant was devoutly religious. We were one of the standing army's elite and disciplined units.

My experience was a small part of a long-running conflict. During the 1947-49 war, more than 750,000 Palestinians lost their homes to the new Israeli state, and many fled to Lebanon. In the late 1960s, Palestinian guerrillas began raids from Lebanon, provoking powerful retaliations.

After their main Jordanian base was crushed in 1971, Lebanon became a center of guerrilla activity. Palestinian attacks killed 332 Israelis between 1967 and July 1982. In return, Israel killed 5,000-6,000 Lebanese and Palestinians. The fighting helped trigger a 15-year Lebanese civil war that claimed 75,000-120,000 lives.



● Israel has decided, with the support of the US Government, to reject the advice of Ron and his like, in favour of a brutal onslaught on the Palestinian people

During the 1970s, Israeli shelling emptied dozens of villages and drove an estimated 300,000 civilians into Beirut's slums. Northern Christian militias received Israeli arms and training, while Syria supplied Israel's opponents. In the south, Israeli-paid gunmen acted as informants, interrogators, and enforcers. Israel's strategy was to disrupt Palestinian guerrillas by punishing the surrounding Lebanese population; the result was deeply felt Lebanese anger.

Israel invaded in 1982 to end Palestinian political ambitions. Jewish nationalists were eager to annex the West Bank and Gaza, and many believed this first required smashing the Palestinians' Lebanon base. One goal of the invasion, later publicized by Israeli journalists, was to deport Palestinian refugees from Lebanon with Christian militia help. The plan later collapsed, along with Israel's other grand designs.

During the invasion's first months, Israel killed 12,000-

15,000 persons and lost 360. Although the Israeli casualties were combatants, most of their victims were civilians. Israel pounded Palestinian camps and Lebanese slums to drive the guerrillas out, turning neighborhoods into rubble.

Israel's allies doubled as death squads, massacring hundreds in Tel el-Zatar, Sabra, Shatila, el-Khiam, and elsewhere. Palestinian fighters were eventually driven from Beirut, but Israeli brutality helped create new enemies. Islamist fighters began to attack Israeli troops and fire rockets into Israel, stimulating further reprisals. When Jewish civilians were forced into shelters, journalists diligently conveyed their suf-

fering. They did not give Israel's victims equal attention, however. With television dwelling on Israeli rather than Lebanese pain, the more plentiful Israeli-induced casualties became remote statistics.

How do nations move beyond such conflicts? Recent history suggests that political deals are not enough, and that truth-telling is vital. Consider South Africa, where a commission requires former abusers to acknowledge their crimes in return for amnesty. Or consider El Salvador and Guatemala, where commissions have publicized definitive accounts of official wrong-doing, helping the political healing. The international community has advo-

cated reconciliation through truth-telling and accountability in Argentina, Congo, Cambodia, Chad, Chile, Indonesia, Rwanda, the former Yugoslavia, and now Sierra Leone. In these and other cases, war termination can be helped by official recognition of victims' pain, apologies, and compensation. Why should Lebanon be different?

If Israel wants a peaceful border, it must do more than withdraw from a mess it helped create. Palestinians and Lebanese languishing in camps and slums still harbor great bitterness toward Israel. If it wants to end this anger, Israel should recognize and compensate those it harmed. If Israel will not do so on its own, the international community should pressure it to do so. If other countries can face up to their unpleasant pasts, why not Israel?

Let me begin by asking forgiveness from the 10-year-old whose name I never knew and from the village whose name I no longer remember.

**When Jewish civilians were forced into shelters, journalists diligently conveyed their suffering. They did not give Israel's victims equal attention, however**

# Far-Right Rise on

**FOR** anyone who doubted that the far-right is on the rise, here was incontrovertible evidence. In that bastion of liberalism and enlightenment, the Republic of France, Jean-Marie Le Pen rocked the mainstream political establishment by finishing ahead of "socialist" Prime Minister Lionel Jospin, in the Presidential Election earlier this year.

■ **By Brendan Hogan**

Jacques Chirac, in the presidential run-off in May, trounced Le Pen - but that is hardly the point. The toppling of the Jospin / Chirac duopoly is the real story, and that the upset was caused by the leader of the National Front is a severe blow against French liberal democracy. This result would suggest that something is very much amiss in the Republic, mirroring the conditions that have fostered the far-right surge across Europe.

Remember Jorge Haider's Freedom Party, and the furore it caused with 23 percent of the vote in Austria a couple of years ago? Liberal and conservative commentators alike chalked it up as a frightening protest vote, but an isolated gain. Now, they share power with Haider without too much trouble.

Similarly in Italy, the reconstructed fascists of the Northern League are in coalition with the centre-right. And the new Nazi star is on the rise across most of Europe, attracting around 30% of the vote in the Netherlands, Denmark, Norway and England. We can soon add France and Portugal to that list. Almost every election across Europe can now be read as another road-sign on the far-right's journey from the political wilderness to becoming the agenda-setting opposition.

As the far-right grows, the likely reaction of the centre-left will be to blend into, and prop up, the centre-right. All in 'defence of democracy' of course. Liberal dogooders, greens and pinko-socialists will join them in this defensive. Examples of this trend are in evidence already.

In Britain the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) front organisation,

the Anti Nazi League, urged a vote for Labour in order to defeat the far-right British National Party (BNP). This wounded the SWP. In France, Jospin and the defeated leftists, albeit reluctantly, rallied behind one right-wing candidate in order to keep out an even more right-wing one. Such is the absolute pointlessness of most of

**By shoring up the right-wing establishment when it is under a significant threat, the left will effectively merge into the centre-right, and become useless as an opposition**

Europe's left. It is by suicidal manoeuvres like these that the soft left and Trotskyites alike will cede their moral right of opposition. By shoring up the right-wing establishment when it is under a significant threat, they will effectively merge into the centre-right, and become useless as an opposition.

Whatever about the ongoing success of the far-right, one theme runs consistently throughout these European elections, and that is the abject failure of the left. It does have its attributes - left-wingers



● **French extreme right leader Jean Marie Le Pen**

are very talented at fragmenting, sniping at each other over minor points of principle and adhering to ridiculous and archaic 'Workers' International' bodies (of which there are dozens). They also like

to offer as broad a choice as possible to aspiring revolutionaries. On the Useless Left in Britain, we find a myriad of groups: Socialist Workers Party, Socialist Party, Communist Party of Great Britain,

# Back of Weak Left

Revolutionary Communist Group, Socialist Labour Party, Workers Power, Sparticus League, Communist Party of Britain (Marxist-Leninist). There are dozens more. Put two Trots into a room and they'll eventually form three parties - one each, and one for the room itself.

The only left group worth a toss in England, where the BNP is on the rise, is Red Action. Allied to the militant Anti-Fascist Action, and staunch critics of the conservative left, they are building the Independent Working Class Association (IWCA) as a vehicle for pragmatic working class politics, to provide a left alternative to the disenchanted voters currently wooed by the BNP. Naturally the Trots scream 'reactionary fascist' at every pragmatic approach to socialism. Red Action and the IWCA are the only hope the British left has of fighting the BNP rise, because - let's face it - the middle-class, politically correct screeching of the SWP would be enough to turn anyone to fascism!

There is a vacuum for alternative politics throughout Europe. The centre has failed and is in a state of decay. There are vast swathes of disaffected votes there to be won. The left is increasingly an extension of the liberal political consensus, blind to reality and mired in dogma. Ironically, it is the blind racism that has been so carefully fostered by the bourgeoisie centrists to divide the populace along race - as opposed to class -

for the millions, not the millionaires

## Socialist Alliance



● Socialist Alliance: Good idea, shame about the campaign

lines, which has created the environment for the fascists to thrive. The far-right is prepared to appeal directly to the people, to place its faith in the hands of the general population, rather than the media. In other words it stands by its politics (however repugnant those politics are). The left, on the other hand, treats the people with contempt, as impressionable fools who must be guarded from racist propaganda, lest their minds be corrupted by it. They have largely proven themselves too lofty to engage in the nitty gritty of street politics.

It is instructive to compare the

political landscape in Britain and Ireland. In both cases the SWP has attempted to build a 'Socialist Alliance' (failed in Ireland, failing in England), and has attracted less than 2% of the vote. It has subsequently declared stunning successes and body blows against the establishment, where there have been only a series of crushing defeats and rebuffs. They really do have this illusion that we're on the verge of a socialist revolution, which will be led by the bleeding hearts of the SWP. In both cases the authorities, and the intelligence agencies, ignore them like the silly students and hopeless hippies they are.

In England the BNP is rising as the real alternative, the far-right opposition to a centre-left government; in Ireland Sinn Féin is rising as the real alternative, the left-wing, pro-working class opposition to a succession of centre-right administrations. In other words, where the left has shown itself to be dynamic, responsive to local communities and competent, it is

winning support. Sinn Féin is the strongest socialist force in Europe, and it didn't get there by shouting slogans from the campus roof-

They really do have this illusion that we're on the verge of a socialist revolution, which will be led by the bleeding hearts of the SWP. In both cases the authorities, and the intelligence agencies, ignore them like the silly students and hopeless hippies they are

tops, or by siding with the establishment against right-wing threats.

Unless genuine socialists across Europe start to build organic movements that belong to the people, rather than some bizarre Communist International, the far-right will continue to grow as the alternative to the central politics of global corporatism. Pundits will rush to blame apathy and irresponsible protest voting for results such as Le Pen's, and for BNP gains in the English council elections. The real blame, however, lies with the Trots.

### DID U KNOW?

#### G8 ain't so Great

Did u know that the G8 (Group of 8) are eight of the most economically and politically powerful countries on earth: The USA, Canada, Britain, Germany, Japan, Italy, France, and Russia. The EU also participates.

The G8 controls 65% of the world's wealth while containing a mere 14% of its population. In 1999 they met and agreed to wipe \$100 billion dollars off world debt, yet by the beginning of 2002 less than 3% of that sum had been eradicated.

# 7 slí éasca chun an

Dia dhaoibh, a ógra, agus fáilte romhaibh go Geiteo na Gaeilge, cúinne speisialta ina gcuireann **UNCAIL PEADAR** comhairle bhur leasa oraibh sula dtéann sibh a chodladh.

In eagrán na seachtaine seo caite, chuala sibh Scéal na dTrí Phoc Gruf agus an Ógra faoin Droichead. In eagrán eachtrúil na seachtaine seo, a pháistí, cloisfidh sibh faoi na ...

**Seacht slí éasca chun an Ghaeilge a mharú.**

(Aire, a léitheoirín óig! Ná déan iarracht é seo a dhéanamh leat féin sa bhaile. Iarr cúnaimh ar Dheaidí nó ar Mhamaí.)

## 1. Caith Fáinne na Gaeilge.

Slí an-éasca (má tá aon spás fágtha ar do chasóg). Léireoidh an Fáinne( cé chomh Gaelach is atá tú. Mura bhfuil aon Ghaeilge agat, ná bí buartha. Ní bheidh ort í a labhairt le héinne. Cuirfidh an fáinne faitíos orthu (go háirithe más foghlaimeoirí iad). Gaelachas gan allas! Gaeilge gan eolas ar an nGaeilge! Bónas breise: sílfidh gach éinne go bhfuil tú cosúil lenár gCeannaire Glórmhar (go gcuire Dia fad lena fhéasóg fhearúil). Beidh tú níos naofa, níos Gaelaí, níos dúchasaí, níos poblachtánaí agus níos ardnósaí ar fad ná na comharsana gránna sin a bhfuil an Merc nua acu.

## 2. Déan comhartha aitheantais den Ghaeilge.

(Bain úsáid as biorán (NB), ach seachain na méaracha beaga sin!)

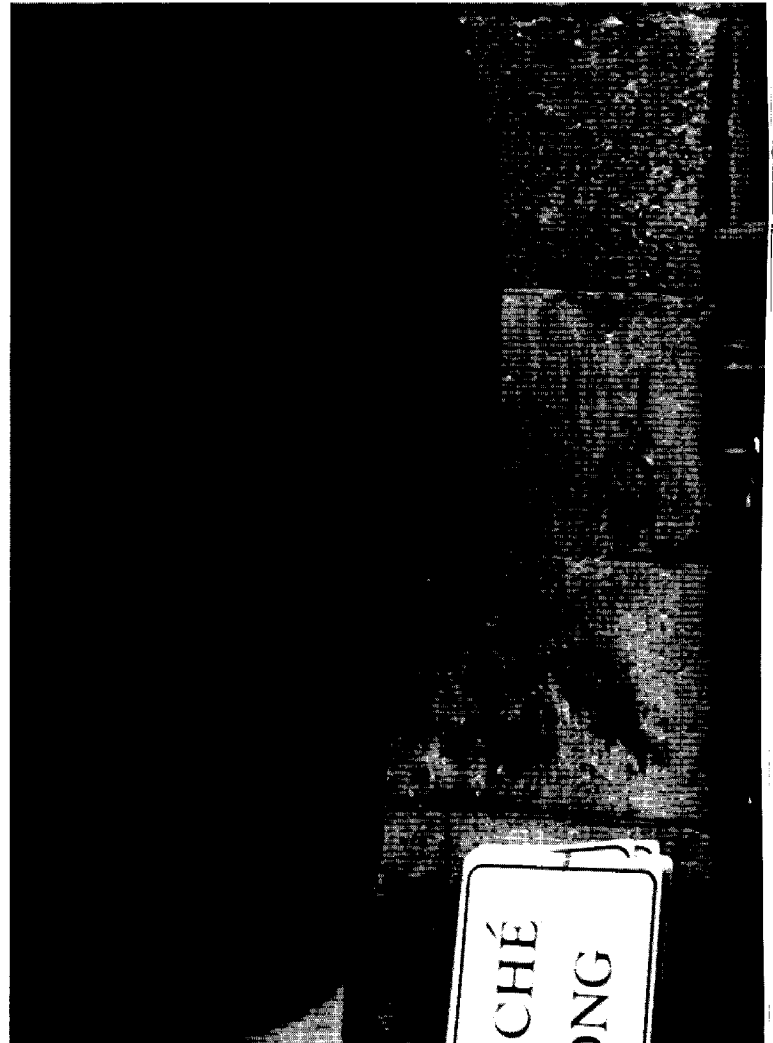
Bíodh tuiscint cheart pholaitiúil phoblachtánach agat ar cheist na Gaeilge:

(a) Níl tábhacht ar bith leis an nGaeilge inti féin mar theanga.

(b) Tá an-tábhacht leis an nGaeilge mar lipéad polaitiúil (lipéad nach bhfuil greamaitheach, ar ndóigh!).

Mar a déarfadh na daoine fásta, tá fiúntas seachtrach sa Ghaeilge ach níl aon fhiúntas inmheánach inti.

An rud is tábhachtaí faoin nGaeilge ná go léiríonn sí nach



Sasanaigh muid (cé go labhraímid Béarla an chuid is mó den am). Ná cuir aon dua ort féin. Nach bhfuil tú gróthach go leor ag cur ghluaiseacht na poblachta chun cinn (idir óg agus lánfhásta)? Ní gá an teanga a fhoghlaim. Is leor cúpla focal le muid a dhealú ó na Sasanaigh. Mar thús, cuir na nathanna seo de ghlanmheabhair:

Ba mhaith liom cúpla focal a rá as Gaeilge.

A dhaoine uaisle, fáilte romhaibh go léir.

Sinn Féin. Uimhir a haon.

Manglam Molotov.

Cé a bhris na fuinneoga sin?

Slán abhaile.

## 3. Cuir 'Báidín Fheidhlimidh' de ghlanmheabhair.

Má deir éinne leat gur náireach an mhaise duit é nach bhfuil Gaeilge líofa agat, abair leo go bhfuil curfá 'Bháidín Fheidhlimidh' ar do thoil agat agus go gcanfaidh tú é más mian leo. Mura gcuireann sé seo ó dhoras iad, abair leo gur bhreá leat bheith in ann í a labhairt agus nach ortsa atá an locht ach ar na Sasanaigh dhána sin a sciob uainn ár ndúchas álainn Gaelach, go maithe Dia dhóibh é, na diabhail lofa, agus fan go bhfeice tú, agus mar sin de.



# Ghaeilge a mharú!



## 4. Déan simpliú ar do chuid Gaeilge.

Má tharlaíonn, trí thimpiste éigin, gur scaoileadh isteach i ngluaiseacht na poblachta thú agus níos mó ná cúpla focal Gaeilge agat, ná lig do chomhphoblachtánaigh bhochta, do chomrádaithe croí, i ndearmad. (Ní orthu atá an locht ach ar na Sasanaigh). Lig do chuid Gaeilge i ndearmad. Aistrigh díreach ón mBéarla nó ní thuigfidh éinne thú. Dá ghairne do chuid Gaeilge don Bhéarla is ea is fearr. Cabhróidh an bhunriail seo leat: Agus tú ag labhairt Gaeilge, samhlaigh gur ag scríobh do Lá atá tú.

## 5. Cuir blas Ultach ar do chuid Gaeilge.

(NB. Ná cuir blas lontaobhas-Ultach ar do chuid tuairimí, mar ní daoine deasa iad sin agus ní maith linne iad. Ná glac le mílseáin uathu.)

Ní bheidh sé ró-dheacair duit blas Ultach a chur ar do chuid Gaeilge más as Cúige Uladh duit! Murab ea, agus más deisceartach thú, ní dócha go mbeidh sé ró-dheacair duit ach oiread, go háirithe más réabhlóideach óg thú a chuireann blas Ultach ar a chuid Béarla ar chúis éigin nach dtuigeann éinne ach é féin.

As seo amach, cloígh leis an bhfaiséan poblachtach. Abair 'Goidé?', 'Cad thuige?', 'Leoga.', agus 'fá dtaobh de' go rialta, agus is garr go mbeidh na cailíní go léir i ngrá leat.

## 6. Ceangail cinniúint na teanga le cinniúint ghluaiseacht na poblachta.

D'éirigh le Pádraig Mac Piarais é seo a dhéanamh sa bhliain 1915, agus má bhí sé maith go leor don Phiarsach tá sé maith go leor domsa. D'éirigh leis gluaiseacht phoblachtach a dhéanamh de Chonradh na Gaeilge, rud a dhein an mhaitheas chéanna do Chonradh na Gaeilge is a dhein Conradh 1921 do ghluaiseacht na poblachta.

Maith thú, a Phádraig! Nach bhfuil Conradh na Gaeilge ag dul ó neart go neart ó shoin i leith? Agus d'éirigh leat an ruaig a chur ar an seanleaid leadránach sin, de hÍde - air féin is ar a chuid tuairimí seafóideacha soineanta faoin nGaeilge a bheith ag tabhairt daoine ó thraidisiúin éagsúla le chéile! Agus, níos tábhachtaí fós, ar a chroiméal.

Dá mbeadh léitheoirí Gheiteo na Gaeilge (beo an t-am sin, ambaist agus leoga, is cinnte go mbeadh Uncail Peadar) ag moladh dóibh gan glacadh le mílseáin ó Dhúghlas de hÍde!

## 7. Luaigh na focail 'An Ghaeilge' agus 'Sinn Féin' san abairt chéanna.

Ní fheadar an gá é seo a dhéanamh anois, go háirithe sa tuaisceart. Cabhróidh sé go mór le haontachtaithe agus dílseoirí a chur ag labhairt Gaeilge. Feicfidh siad an solas luath nó mall, bail ó Dhia orthu. Is ar a gceannairí atá an locht.

Chomh maith leis sin, gan dabht, má shamhlaítear an teanga in intinn an phobail le páirtí polaitiúil amháin, is cinnte go rachaidh líon na gcainteoirí i méad de réir mar a théann líon na dtogthóirí a thacaíonn leis an bpáirtí sin i méad. Agus, bhuel, errr, nach bhfuil ag éirí THAR CIONN le Sinn Féin sna botháin vótála? Cén páirtí ab fhearr mar leathbhádóir do ghluaiseacht na Gaeilge?

Agus má théann an t-árthach uile go tóin poill? Bhuel, beimid in ann a rá gur ar son na cúise a tharla, agus ní bheidh buairt ar éinne.

■ SPARK



## Sa chéad eagrán eachtrúil eile de Gheiteo na Gaeilge:

**FÍORSCÉAL:** Ní minic a thuigtear go bhfuil beirt deartháireacha ag Cinderella freisin. Ach cé hiad? Labhraíonn Uncail Peadar le beirt de Theachtaí nua-thofa Shinn Féin.

# Imperialism &

# THE EXAMPLE OF THE BALKANS

## ■ Tadhg Ó Sé

**IMPERIALISM and propaganda (lies for short) have always been complimentary and ravishing bedfellows. History is full of such examples where a large and powerful state or institution, or both, invariably seek to justify invasion, extermination, enslavement, robbery, humiliation, etc, by the use of their monopolising hold on the dominant means of communication i.e. propagating their subjective version of events, almost always at the expense of the truth. This is done by the tools of demonisation, marginalisation, distortion, disinformation and outright lies, particularly against those who have the audacity to oppose them. Where have we seen that before? Hmmm!**

Before Julius Caesar invaded Gaul, the Celtic Helvetii tribe (consisting of 400,000 people) embarked on a migration to greener pastures in Gaul. They studiously avoided crossing the frontier of the Roman Empire and negotiated their passage with tribes whose territories they passed through. Caesar, in need of a military cam-

paign to facilitate political manoeuvrings back in Rome, determined that this migration constituted an invasion imperilling their shining beacon of civilisation. Caesars legions crossed the frontier, invading Gaul, set to work

The distortions created by the Western media in the coverage of these wars immediately demonised the Serbs and portrayed the Muslims of Bosnia, the Croats and the Albanians as helpless victims of aggressive Serbian expansion

upon them, and the 50,000 or so survivors were sold into slavery. This event passed into posterity and history as a minor episode of Rome's grand civilising mission.

Another 'grand civilising mission'

was conducted by the English Crown on Ireland from 1171 onwards, sanctioned and blessed by none other than the pope in Rome! The chief propagandist of that invasion, Giraldus Cambrensis, who wrote the most extensive history of it, recorded a highly biased version of these events and also set the tone for future English racist attitudes towards the Irish. 831 years later, it looks like this grand civilising mission is in imminent collapse (not a moment too soon), although at an appalling political, economic, psychological, historical and cultural cost!

Needless to say that propaganda was a vital adjunct to this imperial adventure, so much so that it continued into our own time in subtler and more refined forms, such as Section 31 and the major attempt made by revisionists to alter Irish peoples' historical consciousness in a pro-British context. The fact that pro-imperialist elements have almost total control over the broadcast and print media, not only in Ireland, but elsewhere, can only confirm this point.

If anyone thought that grand civilising missions were a thing of the past, one only has to look at the economic, military and cultural imperialism of the United States and the European Union's attempt to emulate this. This can be borne out when, in 1991, the EU commissioner, Jacques Delor,



# Propaganda:



**Roman Imperialist find Asterix the Gaul a bit hard to handle!**

explicitly stated that the purpose of a European Army was to "fight resource wars of the twenty-first century", presumably beyond its frontier. But aside from the need of empires to control economic resources beyond their borders, there is also the need to take political control and the use of propaganda is indispensable. A good recent example of this can be seen in the Balkans.

The series of civil wars following the breakup of Yugoslavia, were not solely fuelled by ethnic rivalries, but

by direct Western (American and European) intervention. The distortions created by the Western media in the coverage of these wars immediately demonised the Serbs and portrayed the Muslims of Bosnia, the Croats and the Albanians as helpless victims of aggressive Serbian expansion. The truth, however, was far more complex, as traditionally, the Serbs were thorns in the sides of successive empires, be they Ottoman, Habsburgs, Germans or Nazis.

Following the communist collapse

in the early nineties, the Serbs were the only Eastern Europeans who voted to maintain their socialist system, while all others were lured by the prospect of western prosperity (which has still proved elusive). It is no secret that the West German government put vast sums of money into sponsoring ethnic secessionist groups in former Yugoslavia - extreme right-wing Slovenian nationalists and neo-nazis, Croatian neo-Ustashe (fascist) elements, Bosnian Islamic fundamentalists such as Izetbegovic, and Albanian Kosovan separatists such as the KLA (whose primary activity was and is drugs and the trafficking of women for enforced prostitution in Western Europe).

That the Germans were heavily involved in this disintegration very strongly implies that they were not establishing, but re-establishing their traditional sphere of influence that had been scuppered by Tito's communist partisans in 1945. Germany's pre-1945 role in the Balkans need not be elaborated here, but is it not a bitter irony that their view and outlook on the Yugoslav crisis would prevail among

the Western Powers in the 1990s?

It is not the purpose of this article to exonerate the role of the Serbs in war crimes that were surely committed by all parties concerned. But the Serbs most implicated in war crimes were essentially extreme right-wing nationalist opponents of Milosevic and his Socialist government, the same people whom a western-backed coup swept into power in October 2000, culminating in the fall of the last self-declared socialist regime in Europe.

# The Invisibility

**THERE is no economic crisis, no crisis of capital, no crisis of parliamentary politics - and if there is a problem, our bureaucrats, politicians, statespeople, scientists and technocrats will fix it. There is nothing to worry about. So rest easy. The bombers have gone to kill the nasty babies to make the world safe for our children to grow up in. And democracy will ensure that fascism and totalitarianism never return to our societies.**

This is now a refrain of the world we live in, a world where one billion people (one in six of the global population) do not know where their next meal is coming from, where poverty affects one in three of the global population, where homelessness, alienation, unemployment, illiteracy, ill-health, crime, racism, sectarianism and death are daily companions - and where one in six are over-nourished, 300,000 alone dying every year from obesity in the USA.

It is a world where, in 50 years, the global population has doubled, the global economy has nearly quintupled, demand for grain has tripled, seafood consumption has more than quadrupled, water use has tripled, demand for beef and mutton has tripled, firewood demand has tripled, demand for lumber has doubled, paper use has increased six-fold, and fossil fuel use has nearly quadrupled.

It is a world where the killing, buying and selling of wildlife (animals, plants and their derivatives) is worth \$100 billion, where the felling of trees is worth \$40 billion, and where fisheries are worth \$12 billion.

It is a world where synthetic chemicals are threatening the fertility, intelligence and survival of humanity by mimicking the hormones that regulate our development. This hormonal damage, many scientists insist, is the cause of the 50 per cent drop in the human male sperm count since 1940, the two-fold increase in breast cancer among women since 1960, the three-fold increase in testicular cancer and two-fold increase in prostate cancer since the 1940s, the phenomenal rise in endometriosis (a disease virtually unknown outside the 20th century - which now affects five million American women) and the



increasing number of children born with abnormalities.

It is a world where, in 1998, drought devastated 54 countries while 45 countries suffered from floods - natural disasters which are increasing year by year.

It is a world where it has become a crime to protest about the dehumanization of society, where it has become a joke to claim that another world is possible and where the voices of millions of people have no resonance. In

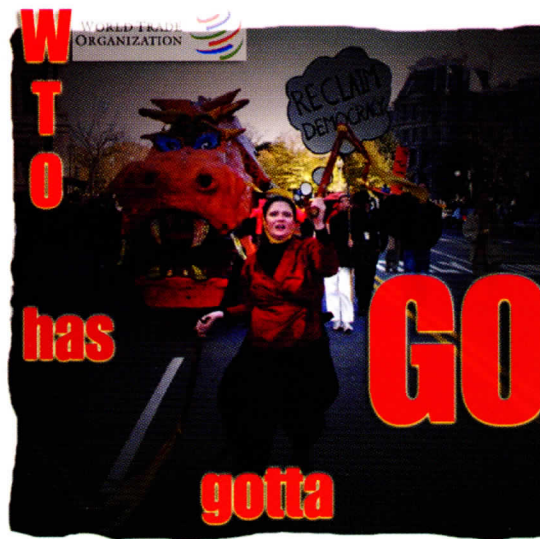
Argentina, Spain, India, Italy, USA, France, Australia, Indonesia, Greece and South Korea millions of people have taken to the streets to voice their dissent - and it seems we don't know who they are or what they want.

## DIVERSE IDEOLOGIES

Journalists and politicians tell us they are anarchists and communists and hippies, members of the anti-globalization movement, wasters who dream of utopias of the mind.

# of Struggle

**Environmentalist and social activist ROBERT ALLEN explains how recent mass demonstrations against the ill-effects of globalisation represent a "struggle against invisibility".**



What is this anti-globalization movement, you ask. It is a movement, some argue, that grew out of the eco-defense and Do It Yourself movements, which itself grew out of the failure of the environmental, peace and social justice movements. Others will tell you that the 'No Global' movement has grown out of the failure of communism, Marxism, socialism and trade unionism, of the failure of class struggle. Others will say it was a natural progression from the diverse and disparate anti-imperialist

movements in the struggle for self-determination in the denuded jungles of central and south America and in the delta regions of India's urban slums.

It would be fairer to say that these protests represent a movement of diverse ideologies. It's certainly not a movement of any particular group of people. The reality, anyone who takes the time to seek out its roots will find, is that this movement grew from all our struggles and by its very definition is a global struggle

against power and labor.

When the People's Global Action collective was founded in 1998, the term anti-globalization was hardly known. It did not describe or define the people who actively oppose capitalism and the globalization of labor and power. No affirmation was given to their struggles.

And while the French pour onto the streets in their millions to protest against a political system that can place a fascist leader on the throne of power, or the Argentinean people can

**Journalists and politicians tell us they are anarchists and communists and hippies, members of the anti-globalization movement, wasters who dream of utopias of the mind**

overthrow successive governments because the leaders have abused their power, the voices that we hear are not those of the people, they are the voices of the bourgeois intelligentsia who proclaim themselves the leaders of a disparate movement that has no leaders. So it is no wonder the anti-globalization movement has a bad name.

It is being badly called by people who do not understand the impetuosity behind the protests, demonstrations, occupations, vigils and insubordinate actions, people who tell us it is a movement without a plan or a strategy, people who are looking after their own selfish interests.

The reality is that this is not an anti-globalization movement at all, it is, in the words of John Holloway, author of *Change the World Without Taking Power*, a "movement against invisibility" - a movement that we are all part of because we are all involved in many different struggles "visible in so far as they are considered to impinge upon power politics".

## FIGHTING INVISIBILITY

According to Holloway "all rebellious movements are movements against invisibility" and this is a struggle of non-identity, of the invisible, "of those without voice and without



face". At a simple level it is about our own dignity and the "refusal to accept humiliation, oppression, exploitation, dehumanization".

This is what we appear to do everyday, whether we are bosses or workers or idle. "It is hard to believe that anyone is so at home with the world that they do not feel revulsion at the hunger, violence and inequality that surrounds them," writes Holloway. "It is much more likely that the revulsion or dissonance is consciously or unconsciously suppressed either in the interests of a quiet life or, much more simply, because pretending not to see or feel the horrors of the world carries direct material benefits."

Living, as we all do, in capitalist society means "that our existence is torn by the antagonism between subordination and insubordination" yet we are told that only the youth, the dispossessed and the violent are actively challenging the power of capital and the power of the state.

Holloway, a 54 year old, Dublin-born, lecturer in sociology at Puebla University in Mexico, equates our dignity with our challenges against power, which he describes

as anti-power and argues that it is this basic human emotion which is driving the protests so glibly dismissed by those who would put labels on every protest movement that comes along.

"Anti-power does not exist only in the overt, visible struggles of those who are insubordinate. It exists also ... in the everyday frustrations of all of us, the everyday struggle to maintain our dignity in the face of power, the everyday struggle to retain or regain control over our lives. Anti-power is in the dignity of everyday existence. Anti-power is in the relationships we form all the time, relations of love, friendship, comradeship, community, co-operation. Obviously such relations are traversed by power because of the nature of the society in which we live, yet the element of love, friendship, comradeship lies in the constant struggle which we wage against power, to establish those relations on a basis of mutual recognition, the mutual recognition of one another's dignity," he writes.

"Dignity (anti-power) exists wherever humans live. In all that live everyday, illness, the educational system, sex, children, friendship, poverty, whatever, there is a

struggle to do things with dignity, to do things right. Of course our ideas of what is right are permeated by power, but the permeation is contradictory."

This can be seen as the negativity that exists in our lives, in our societies, in the world - and it would appear we are powerless and cannot change it. Holloway argues that it is the very horror of the world that obliges us to learn to hope - and to find ways in which we can change the world without taking power.

#### THE MISERY OF CAPITALISM

Capitalism is not a new invention, it has been around a long time and it has its roots in the feudal systems that allowed the powerful to gain control of land. Jean Jacques Rousseau said, "from the moment one man needed the help of another, as soon as they observed that it was useful for a single person to have provisions for two, equality disappeared, property was introduced, labor became necessary; and vast forests were changed into smiling fields which had to be watered with the sweat of men, and in which slavery and misery were soon seen to germinate and grow with the crops."

This is a poetical view of the beginnings of our misery, yet thousands of years later the twin pillars of power and money still tower over all of our societies and over our lives. In the modern world, this misery is defined by the laws that allow those who can exploit both labor and natural resources to control society. This is what is being challenged, and far from being a utopia that is an impossible dream, people are screaming 'ya basta' - enough is enough.

Immediately a brave new world is being drawn. Most of us do not see this new world because it does not figure in the images, stories, songs and artistry of our immediate environment. We will not find it on tv, film, newspaper, magazine, book or CD, because the people who are creating this new world are doing it away from the glare of a media that is

**According to Holloway  
"all rebellious  
movements are  
movements against  
invisibility" and this is a  
struggle of non-identity,  
of the invisible, "of those  
without voice and  
without face"**

blind to the reality around it. We do not live in a world of warp-drive spaceships but we do live in a world where disaffected teenagers mow down their schoolmates. We do not live in a world which shows the bloody aftermath of a smart bomb strike, but we do live in a world that shows a Hollywood hero escape unscathed from a cartoon-like hail of hi-tech bullets.

The reality of the new world is boring by comparison, yet it is much tougher and much harder to endure than any fictional or contrived media fest. All over the world capitalism and exploitation are being turned upside down by imaginative communities who are building new futures through mutual aid, co-operation, sharing, self-respect and dignity.

To glibly dismiss this diverse movement as youthful adventurism engaged in summit-hopping protests and the squatting of empty, deserted and condemned property is to look for the soundbite that can dismiss the dreams and hopes of millions of people.

### OUR DREAM

But what are these dreams? What do 'anti-globalisation' activists want? The answer is simply the establishment of free societies based on the co-operative organization of production (food, medicine, clothes, tools, energy, utilities - all the necessities needed to live life), education, health and leisure by autonomous



associations or affinity groups working at a bioregional (or local) level.

While all the attention is centered on protests and on the lifestyles of the people involved in these movements, the focus is being diverted away from the debate and development of the brave new world people desire. The issue is centered on the questions of "Land and Liberty", both of which are denied to the majority of people.

John Holloway has studied the Zapatista revolution of the Chiapas region in Mexico and is well placed to show that far from being terrorists, these indigenous peoples have proved that self-organization is not a hippy dream and that autonomous assemblies do not need advanced capitalism and bureaucratic democracy. The secret to their success is the way they use their imaginations. In much the same way that it was language and our ability to imagine that created civilization and the kind of societies which now alienate most people, the Zapatistas changed the symbols that defined their lives.

"The Zapatistas have tried to move away from what they see as the tired language of revolution and to develop a new language of revolt," says Holloway. "It is not just a question of inventing a new language, because the old concepts (surplus value, exploitation,

capital and so on) tell us a lot about what it is that we are revolting against and what are the possibilities of change. It is very important not to lose those concepts, but they must be re-thought and re-phrased all the time. The role of imagination, storytelling and so on is very important: not so much as a way of getting a serious message across in popular form, but above all because the language of revolt is basically different from the language of domination. Domination is serious and boring, revolt has to be fun."

### THE POWER OF CULTURE

Symbolism plays a huge part in how we see our societies. When Roberto Benigni wrote his Oscar winning film *La Vita e Bella* (*Life is Beautiful*), he literally inverted the horrors of the holocaust to create a story of love and joy for life. He took very seriously the words of the title song: "smile without a reason why; love as if you were a child; smile no matter what they tell you, don't listen to a word they tell you 'cause life is beautiful that way'".

The Nazis played classical music to drown out the screams of their victims. Benigni turned this into a symbolic retort by broadcasting Hoffenbach's *Barcarolle* in a gesture designed to engender hope. Does this mean that Roberto Benigni is a paid-up member of the anti-

globalization crew?

John Zerzan, the Eugene-based anarchist whose writings are said to have inspired the anti-WTO protests in Seattle in 1999, would probably say he isn't because he uses symbolic culture, one of the harbingers of civilization, which many in the anti-globalization movement apparently want to destroy. If Benigni felt a need to debate such an argument

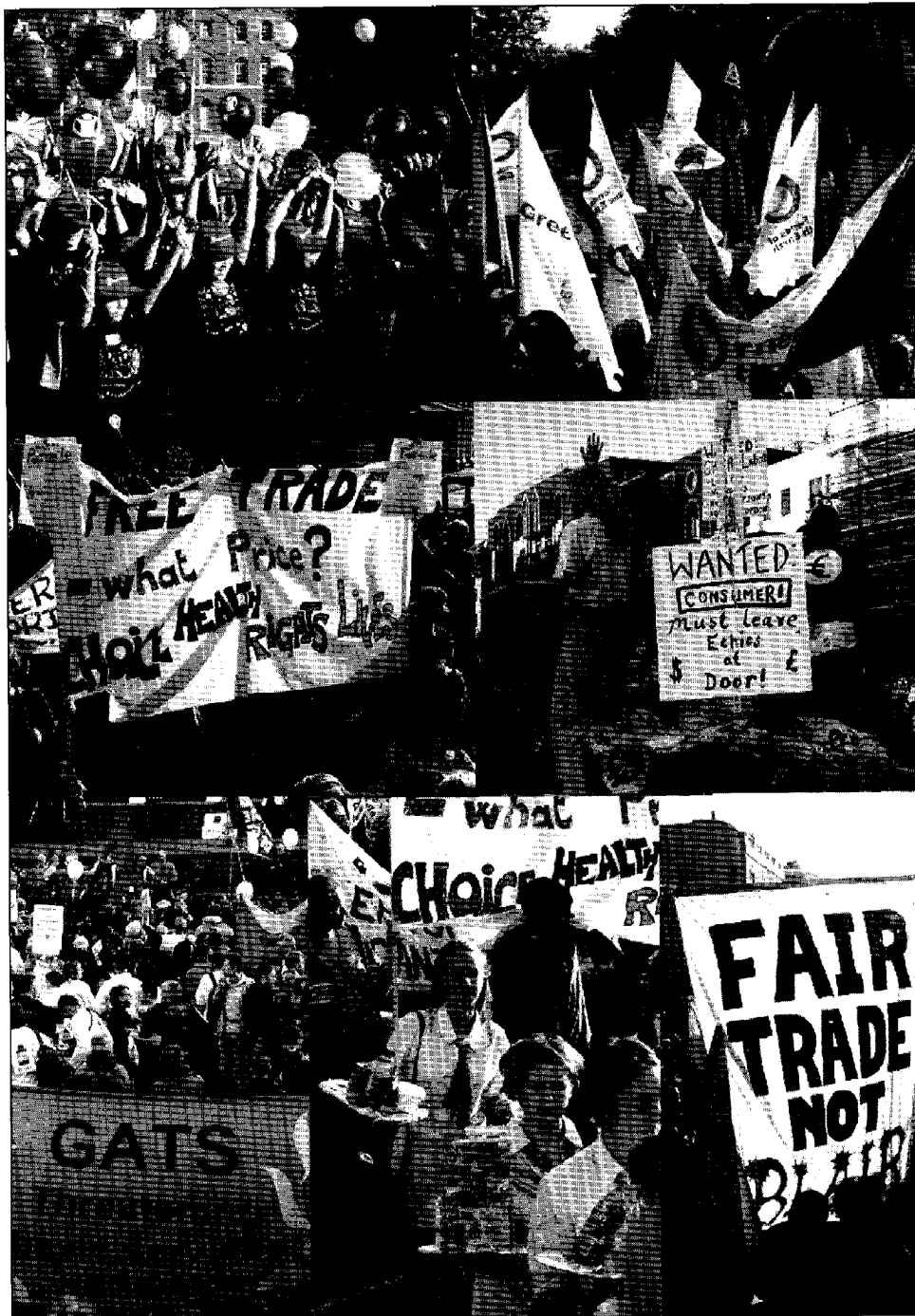
**the issue is not how the intelligentsia can educate the "masses" (whoever they are), but how the "masses" can educate the intelligentsia**

he might counter using Zerzan's own words: "The magnitude of symbolization testifies to how much has been repressed; buried, but possibly still recoverable."

Such a debate is only relevant to those who understand exactly what it is we have lost, what millions of people in struggle are trying to recover, using their imaginations, and why their desires appear so difficult to understand.

Holloway insists that "all struggles are struggles against invisibility and inaudibility" and the task facing the movement is to find ways of developing "new forms of communicating and expressing our thoughts. But these will only really come to life if seen as part of a wider struggle". At the moment that is the problem facing a movement that sometimes does more talking than listening. The Zapatista model may not suit everyone but there is much to learn from their methods. "The Zapatistas say that they stopped being an orthodox left group and became what they are today when they stopped making speeches and learned to listen," says Holloway.

"In other words, the issue is not how the intelligentsia can educate the "masses" (whoever they are), but how the "masses" can



educate the intelligentsia." Holloway wonders if this is "an impossible task?"

**ANOTHER WORLD IS POSSIBLE**

Despite the denial that exists among autocrats, bureaucrats, industrialists, journalists, politicians, scientists and statespeople, the cry "another world is possible" is turning into a deafening scream. It was loud and clear at the Barcelona EU summit when half a million autonomous people cried enough is enough.

Holloway articulates this scream as a "refusal to accept ... the inevitability of increasing inequality, misery, exploitation and violence". This is a scream "of horror and hope" which he describes as a two-dimensional reality. "The challenge is rather to unite pessimism and optimism, horror and hope, in a theoretical understanding of the two-

dimensionality of the world," he says. "Optimism not just of the spirit but of the intellect is the aim. It is the very horror of the world that obliges us to learn to hope."

Zerzan is less hopeful in his analysis. His book 'Running on Emptiness: The Pathology of Civilization' is not for the squeamish, but he is aware that change is coming. "Representation in the political sector is met with skepticism and apathy similar to that evinced by representation in general," he says. "Has there ever been so much incessant yammer about democracy, and less real interest in it?"

This is the question being asked by millions. The only power is no power, and John Holloway and John Zerzan are not the only people to have realized this. The real question is: What happens next?

**DID U KNOW?**

Did u know that the highest entry-level basic wage for a Nike factory worker in Indonesia is less than Euro 40 per month. That works out at a measly Euro 0.17c per hour.

Compare this to the Euro100 plus you might pay for a pair of Nike runners.

And compare it to the Millions and millions of Euro that Nike pay Tiger Woods, Michael Jordan, Eric Cantona and the like.

By purchasing Nike products we are helping keep people in slavery. Just don't do it.

# Abstentionist blunders made Fianna Fáil


**FIANNA FÁIL**  
 THE REPUBLICAN PARTY

*Any revolutionary movement that chooses self-imposed isolation is signing its own death warrant, **THE COVEY** argues - republicans in the past, and some in the present, have paid for their isolation.*

**WHENEVER** the Republican Movement takes a major policy initiative, especially if it involves issues which are regarded as particularly sensitive, comparisons are invariably made to groups and parties which have engaged in major policy shifts in the past. Thus, when Sinn Féin made the historic decision in 1986 to take any seats it won in Leinster House, opponents were quick to mention the Officials after 1969, Clann na Poblachta in the 1940s and of course Fianna Fáil, which was founded following a split over abstentionism in 1926. According to the critics, recognition of the Free State Parliament was the first step on the slippery slope to ultimate renunciation of the revolutionary aims of the movement.

Of course, Republicans would reject this. Electoral policy is something subject to the overall strategic aims of the movement. Contesting elections and taking seats does not indicate acceptance of partition or the manner in which either of the Irish states are administered. On the contrary, the building of electoral strength - an essential part of which is usually participating in the assembly one is elected to - is a means to an end. And that end, the establishment of a 32 County Republic, remains unaltered. It must, however, be recognised that many who took a similar step in the past, also began by believing this but ended up working the system and accepting the British

imposed partition of Ireland. It may be instructive, therefore, to inquire as to why this was the case. And surely the best example to be studied is Fianna Fáil, the largest and most successful of those parties which emerged from the Republican Movement.

One of the leading figures behind the proposals and internal change which led to the split in Sinn Féin was Seán Lemass. Lemass was a highly respected IRA Volunteer who had fought in Dublin during the Tan War and Civil War. Indeed he only left the Army at the time of the split and brought many other Volunteers with him into the Fianna Fáil party. When he was released from prison after the end of the

Civil War, Lemass had thrown himself into the work of reorganising both the Army and Sinn Féin with a view to mounting a credible Republican challenge to the reactionary Cumann na nGaedhael government. He soon grew impatient, however, with the inertia of the movement and its failure to capitalise on widespread social and political discontent.

Lemass began to encourage Volunteers to join Sinn Féin and to push aside those he regarded as dead weight within the party. He wrote organisational notes for An Phoblacht which began publication in June 1925 and used those articles to pinpoint what he regarded as the main problems holding back the movement. In one of these he declared "We will not be able to achieve a revolution in Ireland by the methods of a mutual benefit society" (An Phoblacht, 9/10/1925). He almost welcomed the prospect of a split as a chance to rid Sinn Féin of dead wood (An Phoblacht, 23/10/1925), and after the Ard Fheis he ridiculed his opponents whom he characterised as sitting by the road debating "'de jure' this and a 'de facto' that but the reality we want is always in the distance - and we

cannot get there unless we move" (An Phoblacht, 22/1/1926).

There was no simple left/right divide between those who took sides for or against taking seats in 1926. Many who argued in favour of dropping abstentionism did so on the basis that a republican party elected to power in the Free State could implement policies that favoured the workers and small farmers. It could also undermine the legal bases of the Treaty. Mary McSwiney, who was one of the main opponents of the new departure, proposed a social and economic programme that was far from radical. On the other hand, there were supporters of abstentionism who argued for a left wing social policy based on Connolly (An Phoblacht, 5/3/1926). It is interesting to note that while the IRA still forbade its Volunteers to participate in Leinster House, it had signalled its frustration with the lack of progress being made by Sinn Féin by severing its formal links to the party at the 1925 Army Convention. The IRA had attempted to establish Saor Éire as a radical political organisation, but this did not get off the ground.

It quickly became apparent



● Seán Lemass

that Fianna Fáil was going to win the battle for the hearts and minds of republican Ireland. Organisers like Lemass and Boland toured the country using IRA contacts to build the new party. Cumainn

were being established at the rate of as many as 38 in one week in September 1926 (An Phoblacht, 1/10/1926). Sinn Féin meanwhile had shrunk to just 163 cumainn within a month of the split and was

reduced to complaining about Fianna Fáil poaching its members (An Phoblacht, 7/5/1926). While the new party addressed meetings, alongside the IRA, on unemployment and prisoners, Sinn Féin was organising

'Gypsy Teas' for its members in South Dublin (An Phoblacht, 18/6/1926).

It is not hard to discover, therefore, why Fianna Fáil won over a quarter of the vote and 44 seats in the June 1927 election, while Sinn Féin was reduced to just seven. Despite the alarm caused by the killing of Kevin O'Higgins, the snap election of September 1927 saw Fianna Fáil rise to 35% and 57 seats. Sinn Féin did not contest on that occasion,

***We cannot unravel the mysteries of a bye-gone era, nor can we apply what we think happened in the past in a mechanical fashion to the problems of today. What we can do is be aware of where mistakes were made, and the kind of thinking which led to those political errors.***

because it refused to give the undertaking required under the new electoral act that all candidates had to agree to take their seat if successful. Up to this point, Fianna Fáil policy was only to enter Leinster House when there were enough seats to elect a republican government that would be mandated to overturn the Treaty. It did not go unnoticed by many in the new party that its vote had risen dramatically following the decision to enter Leinster House.

By 1932 Fianna Fáil was in power. The IRA, which was in





● DeValera took power off the back of the Republican Movement, only to imprison and execute those who had made him Taoiseach

it's most left wing stage of development, allowed its members to canvass and vote for De Valera's party, and it welcomed the Fianna Fáil victory as the opportunity to undo the Treaty and push forward to the Republic. At first it appeared that Fianna Fáil would do just that. All republican prisoners were released, the government began to do away with the more obnoxious aspects of the Treaty settlement, and was even prepared to meet with the IRA to discuss possible co-operation. This situation soon changed. Despite sharing the common enemy of the Blueshirts, relations between the Army and Fianna Fáil soon deteriorated to the extent that by the late 30s the government was prepared to use the most stringent measures in an attempt to destroy the IRA.

That, however, does not concern us here. What is more interesting is to try and discover how the political basis for that conflict was laid in the first years of Fianna Fáil power.

What had occurred by 1934 was that the Republican Movement as it had been constituted at the end of the Civil War had been sundered into four main groups. There was Fianna Fáil, pursuing an apparently left wing anti-imperialist policy in government; there was the IRA still organised militarily but committed to a left wing political programme; Sinn Féin was still wedded to the legitimacy of the 2nd Dáil and increasingly remote from any involvement in day to day struggles; and finally the Republican Congress which had split from the IRA because

it's leaders felt that the IRA was not sufficiently committed to revolutionary socialist goals. And even the Congress split almost immediately over the prioritising of national and social goals! Would it not have been preferable had these disparate groups - who all shared an opposition to the Treaty - stayed together until that primary issue had been resolved? And would such an alliance have been able to stay united for sufficiently long to attain this goal?

That is probably merely idle speculation. We can never find the answers to such historical puzzles. What is clear, however, is that the disintegration of the Republican Movement of 1922/3 did allow the most constitutionally moderate section led by De Valera to move Fianna Fáil away from any

notion of uprooting imperialism in Ireland, in either its political or economic manifestations. There were people in Fianna Fáil who remained committed for some time to revolutionary objectives but they were isolated in a party which, once it was seen to be 'a safe pair of hands', was embraced by conservative and business elements who ensured that the party became what it is today. De Valera had accomplished what he was so often to do; isolating those to his left and to his right, and commanding the middle ground, albeit with suitable nods in the direction of the Republic.

In the end it was state repression which almost destroyed our movement in the 1940s. But if republicans are to be honest, the basis for this had been laid in the political

## Leathnach 24

isolation which was to a large extent due to the strategic errors of the 1930s. The politics of the IRA in the mid 1930s were on paper the most radical of any period. Yet the Army had no real strategy for implementing them. It shifted between external support and co-operation with Fianna Fáil, to attempting to organise a new party under Army control. Meanwhile, De Valera's party had real power. And while it certainly did not use that power to bring about republican objectives in full, it did use it to a significant extent to both loosen the ties to Britain, and improve the conditions of ordinary people. The great imponderable is; how much more radical would a republican government have been had the IRA and socialist republicans actually been part of such a government in the 1930s?

Of course all of this is academic. We cannot unravel the mysteries of a bye-gone era, nor can we apply what we think happened in the past in a mechanical fashion to the problems of today. What we can do is be aware of where mistakes were made, and the kind of thinking which led to those political errors. One such surely is that any revolutionary movement that chooses self-imposed isolation is signing its own death warrant. The IRA in the early 1930s was a mass movement with huge popular support. But because it lacked a coherent strategy to turn that support to real revolutionary and/or political advantage it very quickly found itself in the position it did at the end of the decade. It could have taken part of the power in 1932. After all, what was the difference in principle between working for the election of Fianna Fáil but staying aloof from actual participation, and reaping the political benefits of that victory which wouldn't have taken place had it not been for the IRA? Instead of hoping that Fianna Fáil would implement republi-



● The energy and good-will towards republicans that was garnered during the revolutionary times of the early 20th Century was wasted on Fianna Fáil

can policy, republicans ought to have gone into power and ensured that they did. Instead, De Valera used the IRA to win power and again to help smash

the Blueshirts. Then, when there was no longer an immediate threat from the IRA or from the Blueshirts, he turned on the IRA. By that stage there

was no group sufficiently powerful to hold Fianna Fáil to its promises nor to provide a credible alternative.

■ SPARK

*I wish they all could be Hiberno-European girls*

# Hiberno European and proud of it?

BY ROBBIE  
MacGABHANN

**KISS ME I'm European. Doesn't quite work does it? We have the EU passports, the currency, an army, too many laws to mention, a flag and even an anthem though the powers that be can't agree on words. We just don't seem to have a sense of common identity in Western Europe, even though the last 50 years have seen unparalleled integration in the region.**

Why is it that we can seemingly talk with ease and understanding about being Irish Americans but when was the last time you met a Hiberno-European. Ok I made that up, but we have to start somewhere.

If you are worrying that yet again the bad Irish are out of step with the rest of Europe, don't. We are not and we won't have the opinion writers of the Times and Indo sharpening their spell checkers seeking new ways to belittle us for not being open to the wider European experience.

In this case we are not backward paddies, or even if we are so are a lot of the other 370 million EU citizens who just don't get up in the morning and say 'go EU go'. So why? Is it possible to



● **What a Hiberno-European might look like**

really develop an EU identity? One way of answering this question is ask ourselves how did we develop a sense of being Irish. How do you define being Irish?

This is a loaded question for many reasons. One being that the wider outside world and media when talking about Ireland use terms like

Irish republicans and Irish nationalists in a negative abusive way, but we rarely hear about British nationalism, which is essentially an expression of English imperialism, and then we have unionist culture, that defines itself often solely in opposition to what it is not.

Irishness too can suffer

from this disease of definition by opposition. One common example is our attempts to explain just how different we are from the Brits. Yes, I know we are, but sometimes in the cold wet daylight you realise that it just doesn't really matter.

Perhaps the best definition of Irishness is that if you want to be Irish you are. If you imagine yourself Irish you are.

David Trimble's criticism of the 26 Counties as a backward, sectarian, mono ethnic society came as a surprise to many of us in the cappuccino republic. We saw his fuming as being directed at an Ireland of the past now discarded, and we as new butterflies looked upon our unionist cousins as still being stuck in the caterpillar stage.

So how do unionists see themselves? Trimble's Nobel prize winning speech was a fascinating insight and he gave definitions of not just Irish republicanism, (we are dangerous nazi fascists, just like Plato) but his own tradition of being Ulster British. Trimble said, "The tradition from which I come, but by which I am not confined, produced the first vernacular bible in the language of the common people and contributed much to the scientific language of the enlightenment". Are you surprised at the Enlightenment ethos of the Ulster Unionists, judging books by covers and all that? It is interesting in terms of

## Leathnach 26

how they see themselves comfortable in the knowledge of a cultural superiority to the Irish. Here again we spot ourselves in dangerous territory. Dangerous because why is it that so many modern expressions of nationality and culture are based on the principle of exclusion.

This is and should be an anathema to Irish republicans. We are socialist repub-

***Our Irish nationalism is not rooted in the green fields, the Guinness or the Barry's tea. It is rooted in the people who said and are still saying 'no more' to injustice, exploitation***

licans because no other philosophy offers the individual as much freedom within a collective process of empowerment and emancipation.

So why do we need to describe ourselves as Irish. Yes we have a language, a literature, a music, a way of just being. But try to set limits on any of this and you are fooling yourself. Who knows what effect the Roma gypsies' accordion music you can hear nearly every day on Dublin streets will have on "traditional" music in years to come. How or why would you even undertake the task of deciding what was Irish or not in terms of music or language, so why do we think we can do it with people?

It is amazing that 26-County High Court judges or the Dublin Government see



● David Trimble - 'Enlightenment' for slow learners

themselves as being competent to sit Solomon like in judgment over who is or isn't Irish.

What we do have in being Irish is a shared experience in what should not be, whether it is in terms of the British and unionist oppression of our communities, or Christian bigotry and sectarianism whether it was in the unionist Stormont state or in the Catholic schools of the 26 Counties, who spent decades distilling a tortured fake idea of correct catholic rural Irishness.

What we have in being nationalist is a tradition in anti-imperialism, anti-capitalism and the exploitation it wreaked on our society.

We have a revolutionary nationalism in that it was and is a rebellion against inequality, whether it is in how the British state, or subsequently the Irish statelets controlled the access to resources, rewarding the loyal and the obedient and punishing those who demanded justice.

Republicans ended up demanding national rights again and again because none of the different rulers of our island were willing to

guarantee civil rights for all the citizens of the island. 'Tories out north and south' has the same resonance today as it did 30 odd years ago.

It is for this reason that the equality elements in the Good Friday Agreement now finding their way into legislation in the both the Six and 26 Counties provides such a potent vehicle for challenging the vested interests of the political and economic establishments on the island. Maybe our nationalism is a political tactic of struggle and our republicanism is the core ideology that will provide a long-term solution for living on this island?

Brian Harvey, who published a report on corruption and inequality in the 26 Counties for the Rowntree Trust earlier this year, wrote that the new Human Rights Commission was the "single most important element" of the Agreement.

When it comes to analyzing republicanism and nationalism in Ireland, it makes sense to articulate an Irishness that is based on the idea of complete inclusiveness and can incorporate all

who come to our island as well as the millions abroad who have an identity with it and a struggle for a better way of life for all. Isn't that why many of them had to leave the geographical Ireland?

It is not rooted in the green fields, the Guinness or the Barry's tea. It is rooted in the people who said and are still saying 'no more' to injustice, exploitation. No to corruption, cronyism, clientelism and yes to freedom and empowerment for our communities.

So back to Europe and why we just won't articulate an EUness. The answer is to be found in the same reason republicans reject the illegitimacy of the British institutions and laws as well as some of the 26-County ones. The EU has yet to convince of us of its legitimacy in terms of our rights as citizens. It is good for business, for bureaucracies, for the political establishments who will prop each other up, but is it good for us? This is the central test of the EU's legitimacy and it is failing badly.

For now the Hiberno-Europeans are but a mirage.

# THE UNFINISHED REVOLUTION

BELOW IS THE EDITED TEXT OF A SPEECH GIVEN BY FIDEL CASTRO, PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF CUBA, AT THE EXTRAORDINARY SESSION OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY OF PEOPLE'S POWER, HAVANA INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE CENTER, 26 JUNE, 2002.

**Comrades,**

Everything has been said and much better than I could say it. The best I can do is to make a summary and go over some points.

Around the time when he assumed office, we wanted to avoid any rhetorical exchanges with the new President of the United States. Even though we didn't have the slightest doubt about his Cuba policy, we didn't see the point in casting the first stone. We would be patient.

A group from the extreme right had taken power in the United States and we knew about the agreements and commitments it had made before the elections with groups from the Miami Mob to destroy the Cuban Revolution - these did not exclude assassinating me. Fate added the peculiar circumstance that it was those groups that, using electoral fraud, were decisive in getting Bush elected president.

## **BUSH GETS OFF TO A BAD START**

In the first stage of his presidency there were the normal anti-Cuban manoeuvres in Geneva. Nothing new, only that the methods of pressuring the delegations at the Commission on Human Rights were more brutal than usual.

Almost all the first year went by without anything particularly new happening: the most noteworthy events in our bilateral relations were the traditional rhetorical attacks on Cuba.

In the international arena, the decision to build a nuclear anti-missile shield, the contempt shown for the commitments entered into at Kyoto and the announcement of huge military expenditures to develop new sophisticated weapons when the Cold War no longer even existed gave the world an early warning signal of the way of thinking,



the style and the methods of the hegemonic superpower's new administration.

The international economy began to show worrying symptoms all over the place: all the indices and forecasts were pessimistic. The world was entering an uncertain and distressing recession. The prices of primary products, which are what the overwhelming majority of Third World countries make their living from, were at rock bottom while neo-liberal globalization, forced privatization, the foreign debt and the price of petroleum were sky-high.

## **SEPTEMBER 11th**

The tragic, absurd and unjustifiable events of 11 September took place in the midst of this situation. The world gave its unanimous help and solidarity to the U.S. people. Whatever errors and inconsistencies there may have been in the foreign policy of that country's administrations, nobody remained unmoved in face of the terrible massacre of thousands of innocent Americans, both the U.S. native-born and those coming from the widest variety of countries.

It was the moment for the super-powerful nation to examine its conscience, and not to stir up, multiply and capitalize on the ridiculous hatreds accumulated over decades. It should have kept calm, and the rest of the world should have been brave. The first depended on the U.S. leaders, the second on elementary common sense and dignity.

Such virtues, however, are not abundant. Neither one nor the other did as they should. The most powerful declared a world coup d'état on September 20, nine days after the condemnable terrorist act when, on the warpath, it declared that every country had to decide whether it was

its ally or its enemy. The United Nations lost what little authority was bestowed on it by a Charter rendered invalid by that most undemocratic of instruments: the veto. The other 184 states, which usually spend time voting for conventions that are almost always well meaning but never implemented, this time lost even their right to speak.

Since then, only the shocking sound of irrationality, of threats and weapons has been heard.

The economic crises with their aftermath of poverty and hunger are multiplying; selfishness is growing stronger, solidarity is growing weaker; diseases, worse at times than war itself, threaten to wipe out entire regions. Economic science finds itself up against problems that it had never even imagined, tied as it is to concepts and categories that, like a heavy burden, drag it down into a sea of uncertainty and helplessness.

It is what they have learned in the great and prestigious universities of the economic and social system that today has become an anachronistic world empire. Politics has ceased to offer the illusion of a noble, useful art, an illusion that it always dreamed of using to justify itself, only to become a futile and discredited entertainment.

This is a huge but not insuperable tragedy. The fact that the system is unsustainable will lead human kind to look for solutions.

### A RISEN PEOPLE

Coming back down to earth, in the limited area of the planet which our country occupies, we Cubans have the right to enjoy the modest privilege of a duty done. We are the offspring of major events and historical currents that have developed over many centuries. A little over a century ago this was a colonial, slave-based society where there were strong annexationist and anti-independence feelings among the richest strata of the native born whites. Then, a titanic 30-year struggle by the growing patriotic sector led them close to achieving their goal when the US troops intervened in that nation forged by the tenacity and heroism of its best sons, which were thus betrayed and sold out, pushed and pulled by infinitely superior forces, until today, when we have a small independent and absolutely free country that stands tall before the most powerful imperial force that has existed, the same which is no friend of peace nor of the rights of other peoples.

There was no record in any book of such a special case. The ideas, the feelings and the strengths that have brought us where we are today, that keep us and will keep us here, rose up from the deep abyss of the past.

### BUSH NAILS HIS COLOURS TO THE MAST

Dangerous things started happening last May after the embarrassing maneuvers in Geneva, where the U.S. government managed to win a Pyrrhic victory by the smallest possible margin after using brutal pressure.

On May 6, the United States accused us of doing research into biological weapons; on May 20, Bush's speeches in Washington and Miami; on May 21, they once again included Cuba on their list of countries which sponsor terrorism; on June 1, Bush's incredible statements in West Point.

On May 20, the president of the United States dedicated an entire day to Cuba and the Revolution. What a great honour! He remembers us, therefore we are!

I don't know when it is that the U.S. President writes his



speeches, or if he assigns this task to one of his closest advisors, or if they are a hybrid of the two. Whatever the circumstances, arrogance, demagoguery and lies are usually an inseparable part of those speeches. He gave two speeches on that day, one in the White House and the other in Miami. He was disparaging, insulting, and showed little respect for his adversary.

The most significant part was not the offense and insults. Those who lack valid arguments have no choice but to resort to lies and adjectives. What must be considered as fundamental are his macabre intentions, his reckless plans and his mistaken ideas.

A staggering example of falsehood and disrespect for international public opinion took place when, in his White House speech, Mr. Bush calmly announced that the United States and its friends and allies won the freedom of countries like South Africa.

The whole world knows, and future generations should also know, that the end of apartheid was decided in Cuito Cuanavale and in south east Angola by more than 40,000 Cuban troops who fought there together with Angolan and Namibian soldiers. The U.S. administrations armed Savimbi, who planted millions of landmines and killed hundreds of thousands of civilians. Those administrations kept a conspiratorial silence over South Africa's possession of seven nuclear weapons in the hope that they would be used against the Cuban troops.

"One hundred years ago", Bush said in Miami, "a proud island people declared independence and put Cuba on a

democratic course. We are here today to celebrate this important anniversary”.

As far as he is concerned the Platt Amendment never existed, nor did the deceit, the betrayal, the right to intervention and the violation of Cuban sovereignty that it meant. History didn't even exist.

He spoke of a “Peter Pan”, today one of his ministers. But he didn't say that 14,000 Cuban children were clandestinely taken out of Cuba in that monstrous operation that bore the name of Peter Pan and that was organized by US authorities around a cynical and repulsive lie.

He went right on to relate the melodramatic tale of a Cuban boy who arrived in the United States in 1995 when he was ten years old, who will be graduating within a few weeks from a Miami senior high school and who will be the first person to have graduated from that high school to attend Harvard. He didn't have and couldn't have the minimal honesty needed to admit that only a child from Cuba - the only country in the hemisphere where all children attend school from kindergarten on and where one hundred per cent of students graduate from sixth grade with twice the average level in language and mathematics as in other countries in the Americas according to an UNESCO survey - could go to Harvard after only a few years study. This was not the case of an immigrant from another Latin American country, educated in a public school, nor a Native American or an African American.

He immediately added that no one had given anything to anybody in Cuba; “They had brought Cuba's workers, farmers and families nothing - nothing but isolation and misery”, he said.

He didn't even try to explain why then, after four decades of U.S. aggression, terrorism, blockade and economic war - and a good measure of political conscience, education, heroism and popular support was needed to withstand all that - they have not been able to destroy or weaken a Revolution which has done nothing for the people.

Mr. Bush added, among other nonsense, that when every other nation in the hemisphere has chosen the path to democracy, I chose, “to jail, to torture and exile Cuban people for speaking their minds”. This slanderous reference to the use of torture in our country was made by none other than the head of State whose government trained tens of thousands of Latin Americans in special schools, the same who, in almost all of the countries in our hemisphere, were responsible for hundreds of thousands of cases of torture, disappearance and death. Our security forces never received training from such experienced

teachers. If Mr Bush were able to point to a single case of torture in Cuba over the more than four decades of Revolution we would be prepared to erect a solid gold statue in honor of his memory as the least dishonest of all the liars in the world, even if we had to melt down our numismatic museum's collection.

#### AMERICAN HYPOCRISY

Those who know our country and its long and hazardous history in depth know that the Revolution's ethical principles, which explain its amazing strength and capacity for endurance, are far from being Mr Bush's principles.

In what seemed to be a flight of delirious fancy, Bush

admitted he was astounded to have read - nobody knows where he read it - that in this day and age the Cuban regime forbids the sale of computers to the public. He treats us as if we were a rich and developed country. Nevertheless, it hasn't occurred to anyone to tell him that currently Cuba is the only country in this hemisphere including, possibly, the United States where one-hundred percent of schools and educational centers, from kindergarten to the highest university level, have computer laboratories and professors in spite of the cruel, ironclad economic and technological blockade imposed on our country to prevent any progress in any field whatsoever.

Mr. Bush could be justifiably astounded if he were capable of thinking that our country is possibly the only one on earth that is striving for a general comprehensive education where, in a few years time, those who have only a first degree will be considered functionally illiterate.

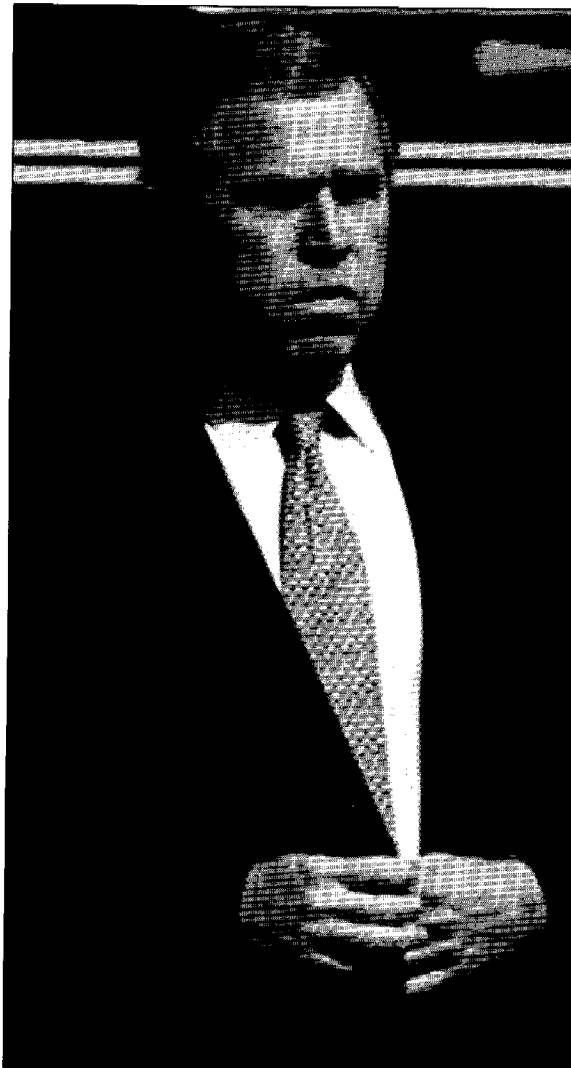
Then, we shall be able to compete with people in the United States and other developed countries not only in our ability to communicate via the Internet, in several languages, but also in educa-

tional and cultural levels. He would be better spending his time preparing the children and young people in his country for this not too distant future and most of all protecting them from the destructive and alienating effects of commercial and consumerist advertising.

Something even more shameful and unacceptable: Mr. Bush said that “if Cuba also begins to adopt meaningful market based reforms” - that is capitalism - “then, and only then, I will work with the United States Congress to ease the ban on trade and travel between our two countries.”

“We will continue to prohibit US financing for Cuban purchases of US agricultural goods, because this would just be a foreign aid program in disguise, which would benefit the current regime.

“If Mr. Castro refuses our offer, he will be protecting his



## Leathnach 30

cronies at the expense of his people. And eventually, despite all his tools of oppression, Fidel Castro will need to answer to his people." This is exactly what I am doing, Mr. Bush: responding to the people, accounting for my life and revolutionary conduct in order to prepare the reply with their help that we must give to the demands and threats which you had and have no right to make of a people that has the dignity and decorum the Cuban people has.

President Bush, either out of naiveté or insolent temerity, announced that he will "offer scholarships in the United States for Cuban students and professionals who try to build independent civil institutions in Cuba, and scholarships for family members of political prisoners."

In Cuba our adolescents and young people are the beneficiaries of almost half a million scholarships for all types of instruction. These scholarships are awarded according to academic achievement or according to the student's needs, depending on the institutions involved. No child or young person is discriminated against. The idea that such awards could be given for political reasons is insulting and inadmissible.

Additionally, Cuba grants every year thousands of scholarships to young foreigners who are not discriminated against on ethnic or ideological grounds. It would be preferable if Mr. Bush were to grant these scholarships to young African or Native American students or to young people of Latin American descent who are unable to study in the United States.

The U.S. government is also making a mistake if it expects that people who work as hired hands of a foreign power will go unpunished - that is an offense punished harshly by US law - nor should he think that those who visit Cuba under some disguise or other to bring in money and to conspire openly against the Revolution will find things easy; nor that officials of his Interest Section have any right to run all over the country as they please on the pretext of monitoring the situation of illegal immigrants who are returned to Cuba, or to organize rings of conspirators, breaking the rules that govern the conduct of diplomats.

We are not willing to allow our sovereignty to be violated or to allow the norms that govern diplomatic behavior to be flouted in a humiliating manner. Smuggling goods in the diplomatic pouches is also inadmissible.

### AMERICA CONTINUES TO ATTACK

We are not the ones attacking, being hostile to or blockading the United States. We are not demanding that its constitution and political and economic system be changed. We show the strictest respect for the rights of other countries. Our rights must also be respected.

We have given more than enough proof of a sincere spirit of cooperation in matters of common interest. We



proposed three draft bilateral agreements to fight against narcotics traffic, trafficking in persons and terrorism.

Another example: when the Guantánamo Naval Base was illegally turned into a camp for foreign prisoners, we offered our help and took the necessary measures in that uneven, mountainous territory to avoid accidents which could affect both US military personnel and the prisoners.

In his speech Mr. Bush mentioned political prisoners in Cuba but he made absolutely no mention of the Cuban heroes imprisoned by the empire and unjustly given sentences of years upon years in jail and several terms of life imprisonment. Thus, they speak of spies there and of

political prisoners here; we speak of political prisoners there and counterrevolutionary prisoners and spies here.

Finally, a point that we cannot overlook: the slur and insult when he said in Miami that "trade with Cuba would do nothing more than line the pockets of Fidel Castro and his cronies".

Mr. Bush, I am absolutely not like those corrupt characters that you honor with your friendship in this world, or like those who, following capitalist and neo-liberal recipes, seized the State and transferred billions of dollars abroad, a large part of them laundered by famous and influential U.S. banks. Fond as you are of large fortunes, being a millionaire yourself and the son of a millionaire, you will perhaps never be able to understand that there are people who cannot be bribed and who are indifferent to money.

I was not born completely poor. My father owned thousands of acres of land. When the Revolution triumphed, this land was handed over to workers and farmers. I take pride in saying that I do not have a single dollar. All my fortune, Mr. Bush, would fit it your shirt pocket. If one day I should need to store it somewhere well protected from preemptive and surprise attacks, I will ask you to lend it to me, and if that is too much, I will donate my fortune to you as a down payment on the rent.

President Bush, there are in your country millions of scientists, intellectuals and professionals in the most diverse areas who know the difference between right and wrong, who are aware of the history and terrible realities in today's world, who have their opinions and who are opinion-makers. There is also the rest of the world that will not forget easily the tragedies to which your ideas and concepts may lead.

It is not my purpose to offend you personally, but I can tell you this because I have the modest possibility of meditating with objectivity and because, together with our valiant and heroic people, I lost long ago any notion of fear.

**LONG LIVE SOCIALISM!**



# Peadar O'Donnell, REVOLUTIONARY WRITER

BY MÍCHEÁL MacDONNCHA

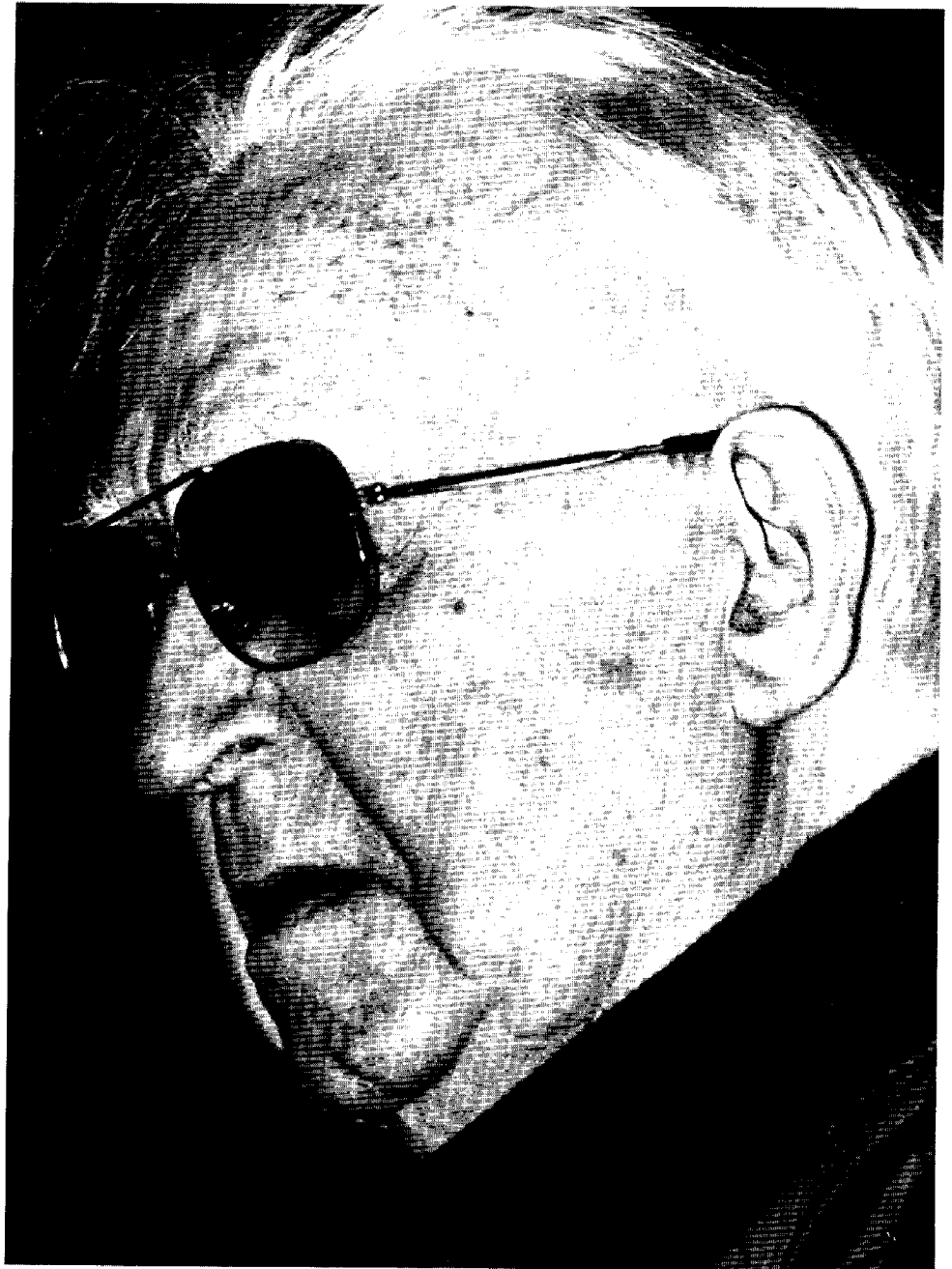
**ANYONE** who wants to understand the political development of the Free State from 1922 onwards and the historical role of the Republican Movement in the 26 Counties needs to read the writings and study the life of Peadar O'Donnell. The Donegal writer and revolutionary was both an important chronicler of turbulent times and a maker of history in his own right.

In the early hours of the morning of 8 December 1922, O'Donnell's close friend and fellow republican prisoner in Mountjoy, Liam Mellows, was roused from his bed by Free State soldiers. He was executed in the jail yard with Joe McKelvey, Dick Barrett and Rory O'Connor. There was no trial or court martial and the Free State government openly admitted that the shooting was a reprisal for the killing of Seán Hales TD in which the four IRA prisoners had no hand, act or part.

The execution of his friends, particularly Mellows, had a profound effect on O'Donnell. This is described superbly in his book *The Gates Flew Open*, which must rank as one of the finest pieces of prison literature in the world. It is essential reading for an understanding of the Civil War and its aftermath. It is a badly needed antidote to much of what has been written in recent years about that period. The cult of Michael Collins has obscured the reality of the Treaty and the Civil War.

O'Donnell wrote of Collins:

"He failed to recognise that the military occupation was merely to make the exploitation possible and so he guaranteed



to safeguard the exploiting interests if the soldiers were withdrawn, without recognising that he was thus making himself a bailiff for the Conquest... He had emerged from the Tan struggle with the outlook of a 'Fenian Home Ruler' and the code of a tinker swapping donkeys at a fair; he was

suspicious of what he was getting but contented himself that what he was giving was not an honest beast."

Peadar O'Donnell was better placed than most to discern the class element in the Civil War. Before he went full-time for the IRA, O'Donnell had worked as a

Transport Union organiser in Ulster. He was a follower of James Connolly and had organised a number of strikes. Coming from impoverished rural Donegal, he also understood the continuing dynamic of the land issue.

By and large, the prosperous middle classes, who had been represented by John Redmond and his party who were swept aside by Sinn Féin in 1918 and who played little or no part in the Tan War, backed the Treaty and the Free State. O'Donnell saw this more clearly than most, as did Liam Mellows, who wrote that the "men of property" had never been with the Republic. It was an informal alliance of big farmers, the urban middle class and the Catholic Hierarchy who backed the Free State government in the Civil War. This government executed more republican prisoners in the 1922-23 period than the British did between 1916 and 1921.

In *The Gates Flew Open*, O'Donnell exposes the depth of anger felt by republicans against the Catholic Hierarchy who abused their position of power to excommunicate republicans. Scenes where priests turned the funerals of republicans away from the doors of their churches left an indelible impression on that generation.

It was in the period after the Civil War that O'Donnell had his greatest political influence. He was a key figure in the IRA from 1924 until 1934. He was editor of *An Phoblacht*. It was largely through his agitation that the Land Annuities became a major political issue. These were pay-

ments to the British government from Irish farmers arising out of the settlements with landlords in the aftermath of the Land War of the 1880s. A major campaign developed urging the withholding of the Annuities. At first de Valera steered clear but when

***In the period after the Civil War O'Donnell had his greatest political influence. He was a key figure in the IRA from 1924 until 1934. He was editor of An Phoblacht. It was largely through his agitation that the Land Annuities became a major political issue***

he saw it gaining popularity he came on board.

There is a story of a politician in the French Revolution who said "there go my people I must find out where they are going so I can lead them". That has been the motto of populist politicians ever since and Dev was the populist politician par excellence. Taking up the Land Annuities issue he ran with it and used it to build Fianna Fáil. It was a sign of things to come.

Peadar O'Donnell and other socialist republicans were attempting to turn the IRA further to the left and to build a

broadly based Republican Movement with a strong political organisation. They met with little success and their efforts led ultimately to a split in the Movement as they formed a new group, Republican Congress, which itself split soon afterwards. Meanwhile, Dev was making all the political gains while the IRA and the socialists became more isolated.

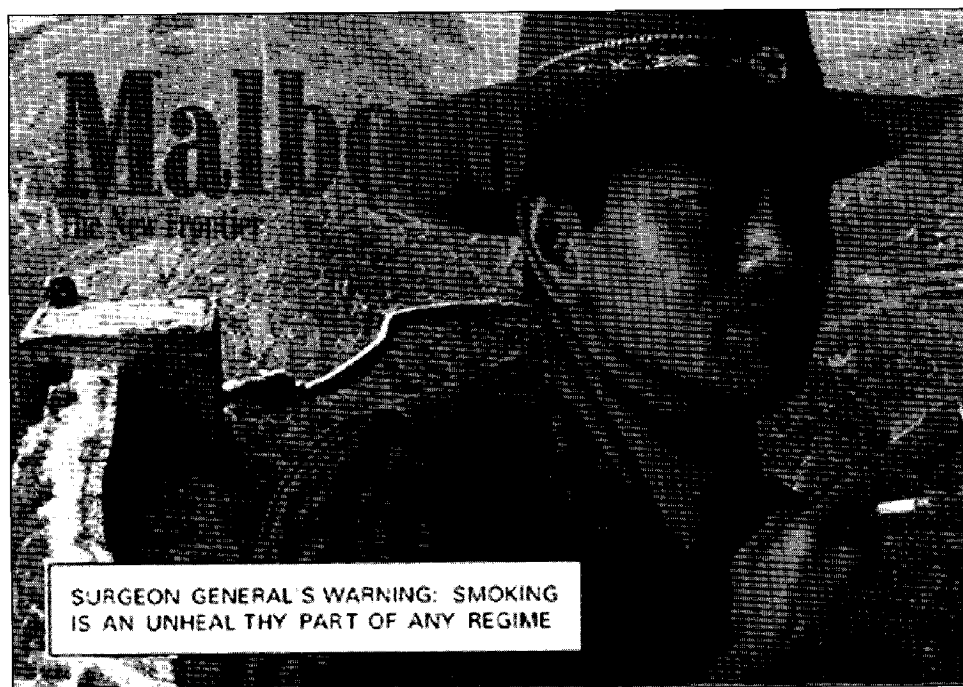
O'Donnell's aim was to build what would now be called a grassroots movement that would fight against both British imperialism and capitalism. Such a movement would unite rank and file Fianna Fáilers, IRA people and trade unionists. But de Valera had already won over the majority of republicans with a programme that sought the dismantling of the Treaty and social reforms. He turned a blind eye while militant republicans combated the threat of the fascist Blueshirts and then, when that threat was removed, he turned on the IRA.

From then on, O'Donnell's political influence and activity declined. He organised support for the Republic in the Spanish Civil War and remained vocal on many issues but the movement he had hoped to build was no longer even a possibility. The dominance of Dev and Fianna Fáil, the anti-socialist campaigning of the ever more powerful Catholic hierarchy and divisions within republicanism and the left ensured that conservatism would win out. O'Donnell himself seems to have been at a personal disadvantage also. He was by all accounts a dynamic agitator, able to motivate and spread ideas, but he did not have the capacity to work with others in the hard daily grind of organisation. He had a reputation for taking issues up with enthusiasm and then losing interest.

There is a stark contrast between O'Donnell's early turbulent days and his later life. His work was as a novelist and magazine editor and social commentator. In the '60s he protested against the Vietnam War and, two years before his death, against the 1984 visit to Ireland of US President Ronald Reagan. There is, curiously, little recorded of his views on the struggle for freedom since 1969.

It is as a key witness and analyst of the Civil War, as a talented writer, and as a strong voice for the oppressed in Ireland and internationally that O'Donnell will be remembered in the long run.

■ SPARK



# Sinn Féin Book Shop



*New Flags, New T-Shirts, New Badges + Celtic turf craft, Books, Magazines, CD's and other Republican Memorabilia*



**44 PARNELL SQUARE, DUBLIN 1  
OPEN 11-5 MON-SAT**

[www.sinnfeinbookshop.com](http://www.sinnfeinbookshop.com)

## **New resist revolt rebel T-Shirts**

2 sided design, available in **red**, **dark blue** and **bottle green**



**Sizes  
S-XL**

Ireland €12  
+ Postage (€2.50)  
England, Scotland, Wales  
£9 + Postage (£2.50)  
Europe €12 + Postage (€4)  
Outside Europe €12  
+ Postage (€5)

**Post cash cheque only  
to Spark:**

**58 Cearnóg Pharnell,  
Baile Átha Cliath 1, Éire  
or 58 Parnell Square,  
Dublin 1, Ireland**

THE FREE WORLD



**Title:** Spark, Autumn 2002

**Organisation:** Ógra Shinn Féin

**Date:** 2002

Downloaded from the Irish Left Archive.

Visit [www.leftarchive.ie](http://www.leftarchive.ie)

*The Irish Left Archive is provided as a non-commercial historical resource, open to all, and has reproduced this document as an accessible digital reference. Copyright remains with its original authors. If used on other sites, we would appreciate a link back and reference to the Irish Left Archive, in addition to the original creators. For re-publication, commercial, or other uses, please contact the original owners. If documents provided to the Irish Left Archive have been created for or added to other online archives, please inform us so sources can be credited.*