

An Phoblacht

REPUBLICAN NEWS



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U.D.R. MORALE CRUMBLES!

SO MUCH FOR THE MYTH that the British army is in the North protecting the nationalist population! *"Who's going to defend us",* demanded loyalist MP, Reverend Robert Bradford, *"when the British army is taken out to fight the Russians?"* Bradford also called, on Tuesday, for the official introduction of Brit firing squads and the re-introduction of internment.

Speaking after an IRA land-mine ambush in South Down which destroyed two armoured jeeps, killed three UDR soldiers and injured four others, Bradford said morale in the loyalist UDR was at an all-time low, that recruitment had been hit and consequently some areas in the North are very sparsely patrolled.

"The UDR," he said, *"want to shoot and encounter the enemy.... saboteurs, spies, bombers and planners should be shot... that's what war is all about."*

Last August Bradford achieved notoriety when he said that the British army in an attempt to capture IRA volunteers should have stormed Casement Stadium, where thousands of people attended a 'Brits Out' rally.

Bradford's bitterness was matched by his colleague Harold McCusker's eloquence on the Official Unionist picket line at Stormont on Monday who gave the impression that 2,001 Official Unionists had been killed in the last ten years. McCusker attacked Paisley for talking while they were demanding action and Paisley himself showed that he felt a slight pinch when he issued a statement assuring loyalists that the DUP 'would not sell out'.

Commenting on the UDR losses direct-ruler Atkins also gave the impression that the IRA had killed 2,001 loyal British subjects in the last ten years. He completely ignored deaths, such as the first four violent deaths of the year by Brits and loyalists, the battering to death of young Alex Reid (see page 5), and the fact that it is the British presence which is the source of all violence, and which necessitated the launching of Republican armed struggle.

The IRA answered back and

commented on the Atkins conference:

"It is ridiculous that the force that has caused so much division should now present itself as a healer, when the military repression, and torture of POWs in the H-Blocks continues unabated. It is also hypocritical of Atkins to attempt to unload responsibility for 2,000 deaths on the IRA. It is the British government which is the real cause of violence in Ireland and which chooses to forget its crimes against the Irish people."

The fracture in enemy morale runs through more than the UDR and thanks are owed to the colonial Northern Ireland Office for causing an additional crisis, this time within the para-military 'civilian searchers'. The NIO decision to take the British army off Belfast's city centre 'security gates' (as part of the 'normalisation' farce) shocked the 'civilian searchers' and not surprisingly, was seen by them as a blunder. They are threatening to go on strike and that's even before the IRA takes advantage of their isolation!

And last Tuesday a demoralised soldier of the Green Howards Regiment was convicted in a military court for deserting from his regiment last May after a 'tour of duty' in the North. His lawyer claimed that during the four-months he lived a 'nightmare existence' and became a 'nervous wreck'. He felt 'suicidal' after being fired on and could take no more.

One armchair general who will not be coming back to Ireland is Timothy Creasey. He has deserted to the relative safety of the post of 'Commander of Land Forces U.K.' and will be wearing a permanent flak jacket the rest of his life along with Airey sorry, Roy Mason and Kenneth Newman.

We Republicans have more staying power than any of them!



Last Sunday's successful IRA land-mine ambush of a UDR land-rover clearly evoked echoes of Narrow Water and was the biggest single blow to the Ulster Defence Regiment since its formation in 1970. SEE WAR NEWS PAGE 3.

NAZI CHAIRMAN

WHILST THE FLIGHT of Republican prisoners incarcerated in Northern jails is worsened, by loyalist warders, that of those in English jails is often worsened by fascist warders.

Evidence of organised fascist influence on warders has been uncovered by an English anti-fascist publication which has revealed (with documentary evidence) that the chairman of the Prison Officers Association at Manchester Strangeways (a 'local' prison, which sometimes holds Republican POWs) is a Nazi activist. This fascist, Brian Baldwin, has in the last five years variously been a prominent member of the National Front, the British National Party, the British Movement, the League of St. George, and the para-military Column 88 and Unit 88 (named after 'Hell Hitler' — 'H' being the 8th letter of the alphabet).

Baldwin's cover was broken after a lengthy interview with him as a warders' representative, was published on November 15th, in the magazine 'Manchester Evening News' which amiably referred to him as 'a burly imposing figure', gave no hint of his nazism, and in fact ludicrously used his 'reasonable' views to prove that 'the stereo-typed extreme right-winger' amongst warders 'is in a very small minority'.

House arrest

SCORES of heavily-armed Brits and RUC men held more than a score of Belfast families under house arrest for several hours last Friday evening. The Brits' jackboot behaviour in Unity Flats began shortly after 8 o'clock when they took up positions outside first-floor homes in a block of flats in Unity Place. Whilst the Brits raided these homes no-one was permitted to set foot on the balcony, and those who tried to do so were threatened at gun-point.

Adams released

AFTER BEING DETAINED by the RUC at Castlereagh for nearly seventy-two hours under Section 11 of the Emergency Provisions Act, Gerry Adams, Vice-President of Sinn Féin and a member of the National H-Block Committee, was released last Saturday afternoon without charge.

Adams, who was arrested ten days ago in a house in Belfast's Andersonstown under the glare of TV cameras, has been dubbed by sections of the media as 'the IRA's master-mind'. Last time, in 1978, that the RUC tried to frame him on an IRA membership charge, Adams was held for seven months on remand before the case against him was dismissed. Commenting on his arrest Adams pointed out 'My arrest only got the coverage it did because I am a public figure. Scores of young people are arrested every day and taken away for interrogation — I urge the media to take a greater interest in such acts of continual harassment.'

Scrubs picket

AN EIGHTY-STRONG protest meeting and six-hour picket was held at the main gates of Wormwood Scrubs prison, West London, on Christmas Eve. Leaflets protesting against ill-treatment of Republican prisoners were handed out to visitors and passers-by.

Speakers were from Sinn Féin (Kevin Colfer), An Cumann Cabhrach (Michael Holden), Troops Out Movement (Alan Woods), RCG, RCT and the Women and Ireland group. Members of Sinn Féin (London and Home Counties) and of these groups (plus SWP) supported the protest. All the speakers called for an end to brutality against Republican prisoners in the H-blocks and England, and called for the withdrawal of British troops from Ireland.

Crumlin confinement

A BAN on the one hour's exercise period which Republican remand prisoners normally get on alternate days, was implemented by warders in Crumlin Road jail's 'A' wing on December 28th and for several subsequent days. The warders refused to supervise the prisoners out-of-doors, because of the cold weather, meant that the men were confined to their cells — given that they refused to use the indoor canteen on the grounds that the warders' action was unjustified.

Saracens collide

TWO BRITISH ARMY SARACENS collided in West Belfast on Wednesday 2nd January, injuring seven of the occupants. One of the saracens was being stoned by youngsters when it went out of control and crashed into another saracen at the New Barnsley and Springfield Road junction. Seven Brits were taken to Musgrave Park Hospital but only two were detained overnight.

Provisional ban

THE BAN which keeps Republicans off radio and television in the Free State is due for renewal on January 17th. To continue this censorship the Haughey government will have to make a further statutory order under Section 31 of the Broadcasting Authority Act 1960. Several local councils including Cavan, Clones, Kerry, Leitrim and Galway have demanded changes in the Act, following motions proposed by Sinn Féin councillors.

In November the councillors requested a meeting with the RTE Authority to discuss the ban but were refused. But the correspondence between RTE and Sinn Féin Director of Publicity, Sean O'Bradaigh, who acted on behalf of the councillors, has uncovered an anomaly in the ban. According to a letter from RTE the government order directs them to 'refrain from broadcasting any matter which is an interview, or report of an interview, with a spokesman or with spokesmen for the organisation styling itself Provisional Sinn Féin'.

In his reply O'Bradaigh points out that Sinn Féin does not and never has styled itself Provisional Sinn Féin. He stated that in the Constitution and rules, on headed note paper and press releases the name of the organisation is Sinn Féin, and claimed that the ban could therefore not be applied as it had been. RTE have so far been unable to answer the point.



STORMONT TALKS STUTTER ON

BY
PETER
ARNLI

THE ATKINS' 'DEVOLUTION' CONFERENCE at Stormont ran straight into problems on its first day last Monday. The disagreements between John Hume (SDLP) and Ian Paisley (DUP) were over an SDLP proposal for not just the recital of their policies, but over their insistence that discussions be allowed.

Just before Christmas, Hume, whose party until then were boycotting the conference, said that direct-ruler Atkins had agreed upon a formula which would allow discussion of SDLP proposals on 'power-sharing' and the 'Irish dimension'.

However, for Atkins to have publicly admitted this would have resulted in Paisley's withdrawal, and so instead each of the participating parties out of self-interest and under the glare of exceptionally sound media interrogation desisted from further public debate which had only exposed their various contradictions. The SDLP claim of an assurance from Atkins created difficulties when the conference began, until suddenly Paisley on Tuesday intimated that he would agree to a revised agenda.

PAISLEY

Paisley's interest from the start is in obtaining a local election at which he is confident of wiping out the Official Unionists (who picketed Stormont on Monday). Paisley's record shows that he will not surrender an inch. Yet the paradox is, that while his uncharacteristic behaviour is winning him praise, ('Paisley the rescuer' said the Irish Press), supreme confidence literally pours out of him and he

will certainly not fall foul of extreme loyalist opinion (which he helped create) by giving concessions to the SDLP. On Tuesday he told Atkins that a future 'devolved government' must be by 'majority rule' and he completely ruled out 'artificial and spurious devices' (power-sharing) to thwart an 'elected majority'.

SDLP

SDLP interests lie in participating in any political dialogue which raises their flagging fortunes (otherwise the initiative for making changes lies completely with the republicans). But it is not just as simple as that, otherwise they would completely capitulate. As it is the SDLP realise the politically frustrated mood of the nationalist people under pressure from the Brits and loyalists, and of this the SDLP have to take reasonably protective account.

With this background it would appear that the difficulties which emerged on Monday and Tuesday may be significant (even though arrangements were made on Wednesday that the conference would continue on Monday week) and may not just be a show of self-assertion by Hume demonstrating SDLP muscle to the party's grass-roots.

However, the British government does not seem particularly perturbed with the lack of progress and this strongly suggests that Thatcher has plans for 'devolved' government (or perhaps 'devolved' administrative powers) one way or the other.

The Brits, of course, have a counter-insurgency interest in 'Ulsterising' (with SDLP participation) the management of the departments presently controlled by direct-rulers, which if a success would under-cut Irish-American and Free State criticisms.

So depending on the Republican assault against crown forces, which could force Paisley to withdraw in a protest over 'security', or media exposure and nationalist awareness of SDLP capitulation, which could cause them to pull out, the talks may stutter along until Easter.

O'BRADAIGH

Commenting on the conference the president of Sinn Féin, Ruairi O'Bradaigh, said that it would not succeed whether in the long term or the short term.

'The same elements, with one exception which met for months on end in the 1975-76 convention, without agreement, meet again five years later with less prospects of settlement.'

'The missing ingredients which are essential to success are: (a) A British declaration of intent to withdraw from Ireland, (b) an acknowledgement by the British government of the right of the whole of the Irish people to decide their own future and (c) a general amnesty for all political prisoners'.

Prisoner's Condition Drastically Deteriorates

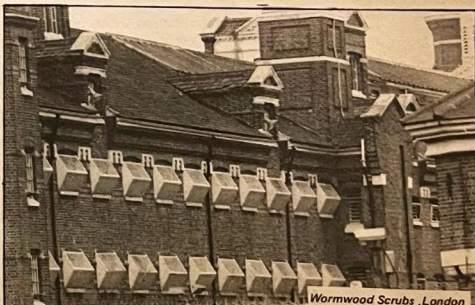
FIFTY-FOUR-YEAR-OLD Belfast man Patrick Conlon who has been in jail in England for the past five years is seriously ill in a civilian hospital in Hammersmith, London. Patrick Conlon suffers from acute tuberculosis and the years in jail with the accompanying medical neglect have brought him close to death.

Fearing for his survival and seeking to avoid the embarrassment of another Irish prisoner dying in an English jail, the prison authorities at Wormwood Scrubs had him removed to an outside hospital on New Year's Day.

Patrick Conlon's physical condition has drastically deteriorated over the last few months following a five-week hunger strike he staged in November and December in protest at the prison regime's refusal to give him parole to visit his family.

When he was first sentenced he weighed almost ten stone. Today he weighs a mere five stone. English catholic cardinal, Basil Hume, and Lord Longford have both unsuccessfully petitioned the British Home Office to release him on humanitarian grounds.

If the Brits' treatment of Sean



Wormwood Scrubs, London

O'Connell whom they transferred to an outside hospital just before he died of cancer in 1977 is anything to go by then Conlon's release is extremely unlikely.

Patrick Conlon was sentenced in March '75 to twelve years for possession of explosives after a three-month show trial at the Old Bailey. He was arrested in November 1974 after being in England for only a few hours, whilst he was on his way to visit his son Gerard who had been arrested in Belfast and brought to London, a few days

previously. (His son Gerard — also innocent — was subsequently sentenced to thirty years imprisonment for bombings later claimed by the Balcombe Street men.)

At no time during Patrick Conlon's trial did police produce evidence (not even a 'confession') apart from dubious forensic reports of swab tests of Conlon's hands which allegedly showed he handled explosives. Patrick Conlon firmly protested his innocence and still does.



The three dead UDR men were in the first land-rover in a two-vehicle patrol travelling at about 50 m.p.h. when IRA volunteers detonated a 1,000 lb. culvert bomb which blew their land-rover to bits. The second land-rover was unable to stop in time and drove into the crater.

volunteers returned safely to base. Over a mile away in Dungannon, a British army patrol, thinking it was under attack, panicked, fired a shot and placed a pub under martial law.

SUNDAY 6th JANUARY

Castlewellan

Three full-time UDR men were killed when a massive IRA land-mine exploded under their land-rover at Burren Bridge, a mile outside Castlewellan, County Down at 8.30 p.m.

The three UDR men, all privates, were in the first land-rover in a two-vehicle patrol travelling at about 50 m.p.h. on the main Newry to Rathfriland road, when IRA Volunteers detonated a 1,000 lb. culvert bomb which blew their land-rover to bits.

The second land-rover although not badly damaged by the blast was unable to stop in time and drove into the crater injuring the four men on board — they were later said to be not serious.

The patrol belonged to the 3rd Battalion of the UDR which is based in Ballykinlar, County Down.

The blast which was heard for miles around, left a crater forty feet across and twelve feet deep, and debris was flung up to four hundred yards away. The explosion also shattered the main water supply pipe from Loughislandreavey reservoir: a vast column of water shot into the air and the crater quickly filled with water, submerging the wrecked second land-rover and the remnants of the first — a twisted chassis and two front wheels.

An eye-witness, Bill Hamilton, a photographer with the *Down Recorder*, later said that the 'scene resembled an earth quake' and that 'The crater extended from one grass verge on the road to the other. I'd say a double-decker bus would have fitted easily into it ... One of the soldiers at the scene told me that the explosion caused a bigger crater than the bomb at Warrenpoint. The scene reminded me of something from a war film.'

BIGGEST BLOW

LAST SUNDAY'S successful IRA land-mine ambush of a UDR land-rover clearly evoked echoes of Narrow Water and was the biggest single blow to the Ulster Defence Regiment since its formation in 1970. The killing of three UDR members near Castlewellan, County Down, in an area not usually noted for IRA operations, brought the UDR's total death toll past the hundred mark to 101, and was the first time the IRA had killed as many as three UDR men in one operation.

The UDR, based on the supposedly disbanded loyalist paramilitary 'B' Specials is infamous as a sectarian regiment of the British army, whose main claim to fame is its massacre of the Miami Showband. One of the UDR men killed last Sunday was one of the few Catholics in the force.

WEDNESDAY 2nd JANUARY

Crossmaglen

A 300 lb. land-mine was planted on a road at Drumackavell near Crossmaglen, South Armagh. The massive bomb was dug into a bank at the side of the road but was spotted, and eventually defused, by the military.

Kingsmill

A former member of the UDR was shot dead by the IRA at Kingsmill, South Armagh. Armed Volunteers shot him dead at Drumnahunchion Road during the evening.

The IRA later claimed that the former UDR man was still working under-cover for the British military in an intelligence-gathering capacity. The IRA also reminded all members of the UDR who leave the force to inform them, so that they will no longer be targets.

Castledawson

During the evening IRA Volunteers planted a bomb at a commercial target in Castledawson, County Derry: a shop in Main Street, which

was slightly damaged by the ensuing explosion.

THURSDAY 3rd JANUARY

Newtownbutler

An RUC Reservist was shot dead by the IRA in Newtownbutler, County Fermanagh. He was ambushed by three armed Volunteers in Main Street at about 12.30 p.m. The active service unit returned safely to base. The IRA later pointed out that members of the RUC will continue to pay a heavy price for acting in the service of the British crown.

FRIDAY 4th JANUARY

Belfast

The IRA lured an RUC mobile patrol into an ambush through a telephone call claiming that a house had been broken into in a street off the Antrim Road in Belfast. After the RUC arrived in Castledon Gardens at about 4.30 p.m., an IRA Volunteer opened fire from a nearby derelict house, firing fifteen high-velocity shots. One bullet grazed the cheek of an RUC man

and several others struck their land-rover.

A successful bomb attack against a commercial target was launched in the centre of Belfast shortly before 7 p.m.

Despite a heavy Brit presence, two armed IRA Volunteers, a man and a woman, entered Littlewoods pools office in a business complex in Upper Donegall Street and placed a large package containing a bomb on a desk in the office. The volunteers shouted a warning, before making good their escape, and all civilians were cleared from the building. Shortly afterwards three bombs exploded within three minutes causing a fierce fire.

It took firemen several hours before they could bring the fire

under control and the surrounding area was sealed off by the Brits for five hours. When the British army eventually entered the building shortly before 10 p.m. they discovered further bombs which they defused. The fire extensively damaged the office; others, including Marshall's newsagents next door, suffered serious smoke and water damage.

Carland

During the evening an active service unit of the IRA's Tyrone Brigade ambushed a UDR patrol on the main road between Dungannon and Cookstown near the Carland Bridge. Twenty shots were fired at the patrol but the IRA claimed no hits. The UDR returned fire in an indiscriminate fashion but the

WAR NEWS

All the operations referred to here were claimed in supplied statements by the Irish Republican Army.

Tara Mines Strike

BY CATHAL McCORMACK

THREE-HUNDRED-AND-FIFTY mine workers at Tara Mines in Navan, Co. Meath have been on unofficial strike since the week before Christmas in protest at the unfair dismissal of a shop steward.

The dismissal contravenes an agreement between the company and the Irish Transport and General Workers Union (ITGWU) which clearly stipulates that dismissal may only take place after four disciplinary stages. The shop steward, Peter Duffy, was sacked after only his second warning.

Because of the unprecedented nature of the sacking the men took immediate strike action, and the management indicated to ITGWU officials that Duffy would get his job back on a return to work. But subsequently stated that they would merely suspend Duffy's dismissal for two weeks pending an internal inquiry. This was rejected by the mine workers.

Since then both the ITGWU and management are insisting that there must be a return to work before further negotiations take place. But this would involve a possible four-month delay under the cumbersome procedures laid down by the 'national understanding', and would,

even then, provide no guarantee of re-instatement.

The men are reluctant to accept this as the company has a long history of foot-trailing in labour relations and they fear this breathing space would be used only to defuse the present militant mood.

There is a strong feeling at the mine that Peter Duffy was victimised because he was one of the most militant objectors to the company's mismanagement. And, in fact every elected ITGWU representative has signed a petition demanding a public inquiry into the appalling state of industrial relations at Tara Mines.

Two of the most contentious issues at the mines have been the management's reluctance to co-operate with workers on safety standards, and their failure to replace the incomprehensible bonus system.

The mine workers are entitled to elect two of their number as safety inspectors, but management has on

three occasions raised spurious objections to the elected men, thus stalling their official appointment.

Two months ago the safety committee resigned over a serious breach of safety regulations involving a supervisor, after he was defended by management.

The management's reluctance to take union advice on safety matters was highlighted when for six months they ignored union warnings about a certain work practice technically known as rock bolting from the bottom of the scoop. It was only abolished after a man was killed doing the job.

Since April 1976 there have been various forms of industrial action because of a complicated bonus system to which the men have objected. Despite the fact that on two occasions this action has forced the company to admit the unsuitability of the system it has not yet been replaced.

Indeed the strike at Tara, like most other unofficial strikes, is the culmination of the workers utter frustration at mismanagement. It is also a result of a breakdown of confidence in the official union procedures.



GARDA COVER UP KILLING?

BY PAUL ROONEY

A MAJOR CONTROVERSY has arisen in Dun Laoghaire over the death of local Sallynoggin man Denis Mooney on the night of Sunday 23rd December. Last Saturday one-hundred-and-fifty people marched through the centre of Dun Laoghaire demanding a public inquiry into his death.

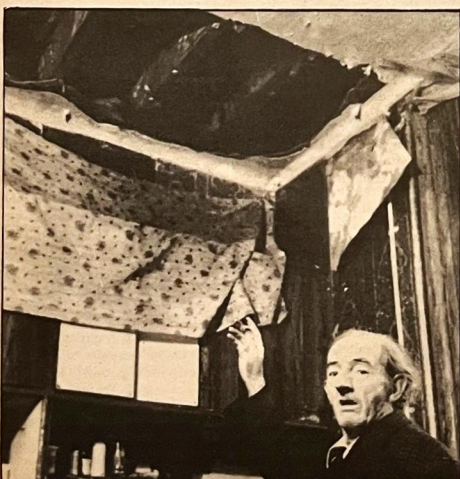
According to the occupants of Mooney's car, when gardai arrived at the scene of the accident in Sallynoggin they waved on one of the cars involved and Mooney, who was a passenger in the other car, protested at this.

He was then struck on the head by one of the gardai and fell to the ground. A post mortem found that he died of a fractured skull. Denis Mooney's sister and her husband, James Dodd, who intervened, claim that they were also struck by a torch-wielding garda.

It was then two hours before Denis Mooney's body was taken to the local St. Michael's hospital in Dun Laoghaire.

Friends and relatives of the dead man have formed a 'Campaign for Justice' to bring out the facts of his death. As well as last Saturday's march they have picketed Cabinteely Garda Station, and on St. Stephen's Day disrupted a race at Leopardstown to draw attention to the case.

Spokesman for the campaign, Joe Kavanagh, says that only an independent inquiry can establish the facts surrounding the case. So far the gardai have taken no action. Supporters of the campaign are determined to continue their protests to a satisfactory conclusion.



Number 8, Gardiner Street in the Dublin inner-city area where Dublin Corporation have deliberately neglected repair work in order to force families to leave the area.

Deliberate Neglect

BY MICK SWEENEY

THE APPALLING CONDITIONS of housing in the Dublin inner-city area, particularly the Sean McDermott Street area, were underlined over the Christmas period when heavy rain caused ceilings to collapse and extensive flooding in bedrooms and kitchens of a number of homes. And a local priest caused dismay in the area by condemning the militancy of those attempting to solve the problems.

Mick Raftery, of the recently formed Dublin Housing Action Committee, has placed the blame for this latest hardship squarely on Dublin Corporation. He says that they have deliberately neglected repair work in order to force families to leave the district, which the Corporation has zoned mainly for offices and city-centre car parks.

Raftery has also taken issue with local priest Fr. Peter Lemass over a sermon preached by him on New Year's Day to an audience including Free State president Patrick Hillery, Fianna Fail's new premier

Charlie Haughey and Dublin's Lord Mayor Bill Cummiskey.

Although graphically describing the injustices suffered by the inner city people, including unemployment, bad housing, illiteracy, vandalism and overcrowding, and supporting the right of the people to remain in an area where they had lived for years, Fr. Lemass went on to condemn those who see the solution as getting people on the streets and organising protests.

"To import theories from Latin America and apply them as a sacred package to the Dublin scene, is to

exploit people, to use them as theory fodder", he said disparagingly. He also condemned trade unions for "obstructing efforts to find work for local people".

Raftery states that Fr. Lemass, who is respected in the community, is damaging the cause which he professes to espouse by these statements which only soothe the establishment conscience and confuse the basic issues involved. He said that it is very fashionable to denounce trade unionists and those who take militant action to demand their rights.

"People in the area", says Raftery, "are amongst the most deprived in the country, and only direct action by themselves and concerned people can force the government and the corporation to face up to their responsibilities".

BATTERED TO DEATH

BY PETER HAYES

A MOB OF DRUNKEN LOYALISTS, fuelled with sectarian hatred, appear to have been responsible for the gruesome murder in Belfast last Friday of an Ardoyne man, twenty-year-old Alex Reid.

This latest killing is particularly sinister in that the victim was not shot like those Catholics slaughtered in the latter half of last year, but battered to death with bricks. The circumstances surrounding the killing are all the more tragic because the victim, his senses dulled by alcohol, unnecessarily risked a dangerous taxi-ride along the Shankill Road to his Jamaica Street home — a fatal mistake.

Alex Reid and a friend spent most of Thursday, a week ago, drinking in Belfast's city centre. Late that evening they foolishly decided to take a Shankill Road black taxi, which passes through this notorious loyalist area, before it emerges on to the Silverstream Road, which runs past Ardoyne.

But their taxi-ride home went tragically wrong.

On the Shankill Road,

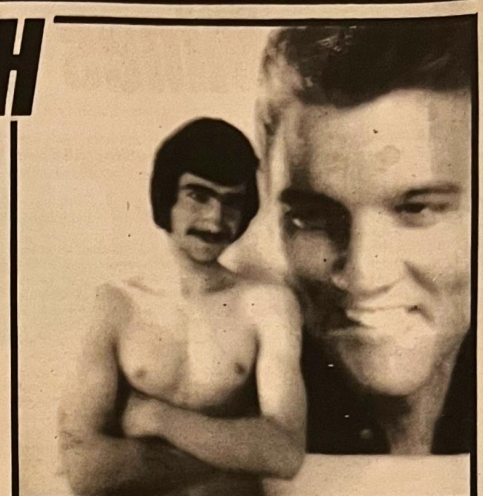
probably adjacent to Berlin Street, close to where the dead man's body was found, and close to a UVF drinking club, the taxi was halted by another passenger who had deduced from the conversation of Alex Reid and his friend that they were Ardoyne men.

This passenger disembarked, told the taxi driver to wait and disappeared into the darkened streets. He quickly emerged with a group of men,

presumably from the Berlin Street drinking club, who trailed the two Ardoyne men from the back of the taxi.

Alex Reid's companion denied to their captors that he was a Catholic and used his knowledge of Carrickfergus, County Antrim, to quickly convince them that he was a Protestant. He escaped with a punch on the face and a stern message: 'Stop knocking about with Fenians'. The loyalists with their prey firmly in their grasp sunk into the darkness.

Alex Reid's body was later discovered in a derelict garage lying face down in a pool of blood amongst bricks and



The late Alex Reid, who was battered to death by a loyalist mob one week ago, pictured recently in front of a poster of pop idol Elvis Presley

broken glass only twenty yards from the Shankill Road. His head was so severely battered that his older brother Martin, could only identify him by a tattoo on his arm.

Evidence suggests that he was brought to the point of death elsewhere but finally killed where he was found.

The group nature of the killing, with possible ritualistic implications that the victim was first deliberately reduced to a sub-human state, stirs horrific memories of the Shankill butchers reign of terror.

The fervour of the killing would have been all the more intense because loyalists regard Ardoyne as a Republican hot-bed. This killing, like all loyalist killings, is designed to strike terror into the hearts of the nationalist people.

In a strong statement Belfast Sinn Féin have condemned this latest sectarian slaughter and have stressed again the need for the nationalist people to continually be on their guard against pro-British assassins.



Last Monday's funeral of Alex Reid in Ardoyne, Belfast.

DESPITE THE PROVEN PARITY of Strand Road RUC Barracks with Castlereagh as a torture centre, twenty-six-year-old Derry man Tony Devine, of Knockalla Park, Shantallow, was transported the ninety miles to Castlereagh to undergo a week's interrogation there during December.

At Castlereagh, he was subjected to saturation interrogation for six days, in clear contradiction to the Bennett recommendations. Each interrogation session lasted between four and five hours, the only interruptions being for meals and for sleep, when Tony was returned to his cell just before midnight each night. To increase his isolation, care was taken to ensure that Tony neither saw nor heard any other person for those six days, apart from RUC men and when he heard the sounds of thumps, screaming and shouts from the next room.

For each session, Tony was taken to a special interrogation chamber, with fittings for TV cameras — but no cameras! RUC interrogators were sarcastic: 'This is all on film and then the video cassette will be sent to the Incident Centre.'

LESSON

A useful lesson for potential RUC interrogation victims can be drawn from how Tony Devine successfully resisted a variety of RUC efforts to make him sign a false statement. From the start he totally resisted being drawn into any conversation with them.

Their initial response was an attempt to disorder him, trying to convince him he was wrong about his right to silence, that such rights do not exist, and above all that he must answer certain questions. But Tony refused to break his silence and his refusal to speak infuriated his interrogators. Verbal threats and abuse were directed towards his family and himself.

In a vain effort to get some response other than silence, the RUC tried to taunt him into retaliation and even produced obscene drawings, supposedly of him.

Some of their tactics in retrospect seem

Silence in Castlereagh

BY TERESA O'DWYER



childish, but in the isolation of Castlereagh were more disturbing. The first night, just before he was taken back to his cell, two interrogators came into the interrogation cell and whispered something to another RUC man. One looked very grim and turned to Tony: 'We just received a phone call from Derry; you're not to be released under any circumstances.'

The intention of course was to 'soften up' their captive overnight by making him lie awake wondering what could have been received. It was the old tactic of making the captive think that his interrogators already have 'proof' without the victim's statement. In fact this is never the case: so long as they interrogate someone, they still need a statement.

CAUTION

Wisely, Tony turned their own tactics back on them, de-fusing the interrogations:

when he was formally cautioned about incriminating himself at the beginning of each session, he replied, 'Thanks, I'll take your advice,' and remained silent.

Tony now recalls: 'This worked like a charm. When I finally did get a solicitor, he confirmed this was the best tactic, in fact he told me to insist that they caution me at each and every session. This worked well, too. I kept responding to their initial questioning by telling them I would answer only if they put the question in writing and only after my solicitor had advised me and in his presence.'

Of course, this, they never did.

Their repeated attempts to exploit the normal human need to communicate failed: Tony successfully resisted attempts to converse with him about politics — where another person might break their silence, failing to see the RUC's major problem is

to break one's silence about anything, then talk flows easier and can be controlled and directed.

At one stage the RUC even brought in crosswords from newspapers and sat there asking each other clues, hoping a bored Tony would become interested and break his silence. But Tony kept in mind that the RUC's only aim is to get a statement, not enlighten themselves about politics, nor relieve their boredom. Every aspect of interrogation is planned, no matter how haphazard or spontaneous it may appear.

His interrogators threatened to 'spread the word' that he gave information and told him 'mass arrests' would follow his release. They tried to convince him he would go to jail anyway without making a statement: 'you're going to be sent up the line for ten or fifteen years.'

On another occasion, his continued silence so infuriated one RUC man that he put the bit of gum he'd been chewing over the peephole in the cell door, and tried to taunt Tony into hitting him. Finally the other interrogator smeared his chewing gum in Tony's face!

COMPLAINTS

Tony made a series of formal complaints against the RUC.

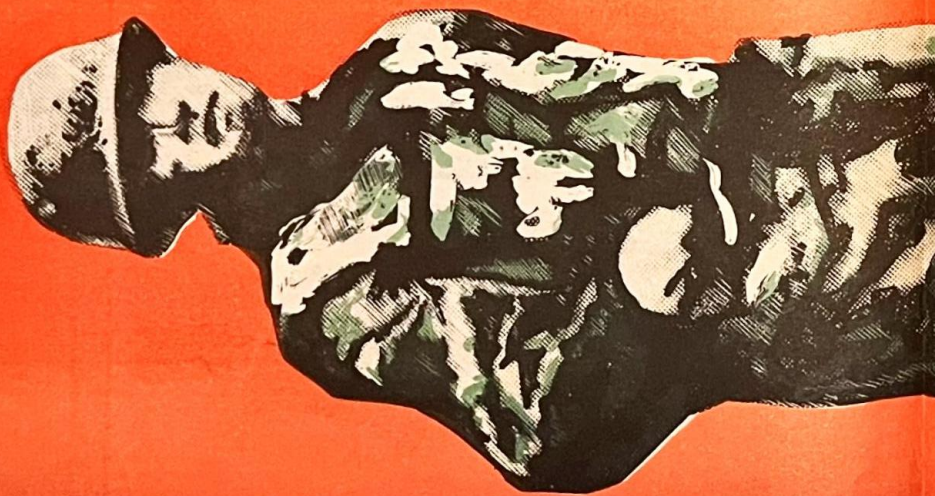
This required persistence: in the first two days, he asked twelve times to make a complaint, and saw nobody. Finally, while being taken between his cell and the interrogation room, he spotted an Inspector and demanded he take the complaint. He detailed every complaint and after each session asked again to make a complaint.

Tony succeeded in the main objective of any person under interrogation: he refused to make any statement, verbal or written, and thus maintained his freedom.

If his interrogators were denied the satisfaction of seeing him sent to jail, they doubtless gloated if they knew he not only lost a full week's wages, but was refused supplementary benefit to make it up, which was a blow to his family just before Christmas.

He now points out 'I paid £80 for my week's stay at Castlereagh.'

BLOODY SUNDAY MARCH





BRITTS OUT!

8th Annual Commemoration

BLOODY SUNDAY

DERRY

SUNDAY 27th JANUARY

Assemble: 2.30p.m. Creggan Shops

MARCH AND RALLY

Prominent Republican Speakers

BLANKET-MEN DEFIANT

BY PETER STEELE

THE FIRST BLANKET MAN to be released from the H-blocks this year, 33-year-old Belfast-man Jimmy Duffy, warns that 'This must be the year of decision in the H-blocks'. He states, however, that there are no plans as yet by the men, who are as defiant as ever, to step up their protest, but stresses the need for continued and stepped-up protests on the streets.

Jimmy Duffy was released last Friday morning after spending thirty-three months 'on the blanket' — the first half of this time he spent as a short-term prisoner in Crumlin Road jail.

Jimmy Duffy was rail-roaded to jail, he believes, because of his republican beliefs — he was previously interned for two years. In September '76 British soldiers attacked people in the Sloan's club on Belfast's Whiterock Road, firing plastic bullets inside the club. Jimmy Duffy was one of those arrested. He was charged with maliciously wounding a British soldier, the charge was not 'descheduled' as it sometimes is, and he was Diplocked away by an Orange judge purely on the word of a Brit who identified him as his assailant.

Jimmy Duffy confirms the depressing picture of deprivation and ill-treatment inflicted on the



Blanket-man Jimmy Duffy, who successfully defied 'criminalisation'

H-block prisoners. He, himself, is living proof of the semi-starvation diet the men endure.

Three years ago he weighed 12 stone 7lbs, today he weighs 9 stone 5lbs. On his release the suit he wore in court hung on him like a potato sack tied in the middle.

Although not a victim of the worst of the warders' brutality himself, he cites the example of a recent assault by a senior warder which left Ciaran McGillicuddy (Strabane) badly bruised and Liam

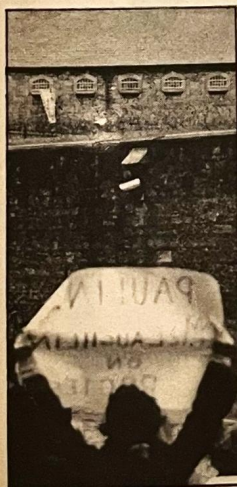
Berkery (Belfast) with a black eye. Jimmy Duffy describes his release as the most 'enjoyable experience' he has ever had although he expects re-adjustment to life outside to be a slow process.

After his successful defiance of Britain's 'criminalisation' plans he is pictured here shouldered aloft by (from left to right) former blanket men Ned Brown, Kieran Nugent, Fra McCann and Ned Flynn, and by Gerry Brannigan (H-Block Information Centre) behind them.

Armagh eleven 'on the march'

BY SEAMUS BOYLE

WHEN ORANGE MAGISTRATE Basil McIvor enters Armagh city court in early April, to hear for the third time the case against the Armagh Eleven, he will probably be addressing an empty room but for officials and RUC men. The eleven defendants, mostly members of the Belfast Women Against Imperialism group, and including playwright Margaretta D'Arcy, have threatened to boycott the third hearing after the case was adjourned for a second time ten days ago, on Wednesday 2nd January. The first hearing lasted a day on October 31st.



The women face a total of twenty-three charges of assaulting the RUC on International Women's Day, March 8th, last year, when the RUC attacked a peaceful picket protesting outside Armagh women's prison for political status for Republican prisoners.

The RUC and crown prosecution appear to be deliberately engaging in delaying tactics — the incident happened nine months ago and the case is not complicated — in order to divide and demoralise the defendants. But this tactic has backfired in that it has given time for a support campaign to develop, and the women have used the ensuing publicity to highlight Republican prisoners' plight.

Ten days ago fifty feminist supporters from as far away as Dublin and England attended the court appearance (simultaneously a fifteen-strong picket handed out leaflets outside the British Airways office in Dublin's Grafton Street) testifying that the Armagh Eleven

ARMAGH PRISON: outside solidarity acknowledged by those inside

have become a rallying point for resistance.

The women have conducted their court appearances in a militant way. Dressed in T-shirts imprinted with the feminist symbol and political status slogans, they have defied the magistrate by refusing to stand for his entrance, singing feminist songs, shouting political status slogans, and challenging his right to be addressed as 'Your Worship', preferring 'Mr. McIvor'.

Ten days ago when it was announced that their case was being adjourned on the grounds of the sudden illness of the crown barrister, the women and their supporters staged a fifteen-minute courtroom sit-in, forcing magistrate McIvor and his entourage to retreat to the sounds of 'the Women's Army is Marching' and political status slogans.

The women then marched to the prison at the opposite end of the Mall from the courthouse. There they took up a position which gave them a clear view of a cell block over the cell wall. For about half-an-hour they shouted political slogans, sang and exchanged greetings with prisoners, who waved from their cell windows.

There will be a repeat of this solidarity action outside the prison this coming International Women's Day, March 8th. The protest, organised by Women Against Imperialism is obviously worthy of support, and not only from women.



PROGRAMME OF MARCHES

THE BELFAST New Year's Day march was just the first of a series of nationwide protests, stated Father Piaras O'Duill chairman of the recently-formed National H-block Committee at a well-attended press conference in Belfast's Europa hotel on Thursday 3rd January.

Four members of the committee (pictured from left to right: Sean Murphy, Leo Wilson, Father Piaras O'Duill and Pat Finucane) answered a wide range of questions about the committee explaining that it is a broad-based committee committed to peaceful protest and is in no way a Republican front. Father Piaras O'Duill warned that unless the prisoners felt something was being done about conditions they might decide to step up their action.

The following is the programme of future marches:—

February 17th	: Coalisland	April 20th	: Derry
March 2nd	: Dublin	May 11th	: Armagh
March 23rd	: Newry	May 25th	: Belfast

LIMERICK

The Limerick trades council has decided to accept a representative from the Limerick H-block Committee to address them on the plight of the blanket men. And the Students Union of the National Institute for Higher Education in Limerick has passed a resolution of support for the Limerick H-Block Committee.

MEATH

The Meath Prisoners Action Committee, which supports the National H-Block Committee, has requested the Meath County Council and Navan Urban District Council to receive delegations to discuss the H-blocks.

MAGAZINE POSTER

A NEW MAGAZINE-POSTER on H-block has recently been produced in England by the Troops Out Movement (Central London branch). It featured prominently when protesters carried copies of it on the Smash H-Block march in Belfast on January 1st. The reverse side of the poster, which folds into an eight-page leaflet, contains three main articles.

One outlines British strategy against freedom movements in previous anti-colonial struggles where the patriots were also dubbed as 'criminals'.

"On Tuesday 3rd March 1959, 85 African political detainees were marched out of Hola Detention Camp in the Coast province of Kenya. The men regarded themselves as political prisoners and, although prepared to undertake domestic duties such as collecting firewood, they refused to carry out work for the British administration. Soon 11 detainees were dead and 22 seriously injured as prison warders using batons attempted to force them to work."

A second article 'outlines the conveyor belt to the H-blocks and includes a poem entitled 'The year of the child' which starts 'The year of the child is

THE H BLOCKS: THE NEW INTERNMENT



seventy-nine. But what of the child of sixty-nine. Where is he now ten years on, in a British prison with a blanket on"

The third article is *An H-Block Mother Speaks*. This magazine-poster is published by Information on Ireland, 1 North End Road, London W14, from whom individual and bulk copies are available to help to publicise the H-blocks.

There is one-third discount on orders of fifteen or more. One copy costs 10p plus 10p p&p. 15 copies cost £1 plus 50p p&p (plus £1 p&p outside Ireland and Britain).

National H-Block committee petition

"The moral law, guardian of rights, protector of the dignity of man, cannot be set aside by any person or group, or by the state itself, for any cause, not even for security or the interests of law and order."

Pope John Paul II, Drogheda, September 29th 1979.

The National H-Block Committee has launched a nationwide petition. Please complete, and sign, the form below and send it to 16 St. Agnes Drive, Andersonstown, Belfast.

Name
Address

I am of the opinion that only the granting of the following five basic demands will bring a satisfactory conclusion of the H-block issue:

- (1) The right not to wear prison uniform.
- (2) The right not to do prison work.
- (3) Freedom of association amongst political prisoners.
- (4) The right to organise recreational facilities and educational facilities, to have one weekly visit, to receive and send out one letter per week, to receive one parcel per week.
- (5) Restoration of full remission.

Signature

ATKINS' PAPER MODELS

BY PETER DOWLING

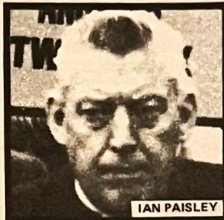
THE WORKING PAPER for the Atkins conference, which began on Monday, is worthy of examination as useful background to the Stormont discussions.

The paper, *The Government of Northern Ireland: A Working Paper for a Conference*, complains that 'direct rule' is 'not satisfactory' and the British government is therefore seeking a 'transfer of responsibility' to locally elected representatives of 'some of the powers of government'.

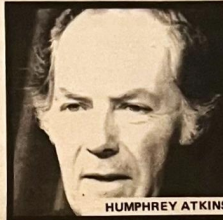
The Brits are pursuing 'devolved government' as part of their 'Ulsterisation' of the war because 'direct rule' is an embarrassingly obvious form of imperial rule. They hope to under-cut support for the Republican struggle both in Ireland and abroad - especially in America - through this 'initiative' which is a seriously intended move to return some power into loyal - Protestant and Catholic - hands.

involve the SDLP it must include some crumbs of comfort, in the form of some limited 'power-sharing'.

The Brits are searching for a magical formula that does not look like 'power-sharing' to loyalists, but does do so to nationalists. This is the task that they have set Paisley and Hume, both of whom badly want the conference to succeed for their own reasons. Paisley wants to be 'Ulster Prime Minister' and (correctly) considers that he can devastate the Official Unionists at the polls. Hume wants whatever is going - be it only Leader of the (permanent) Opposition.



IAN PAISLEY



HUMPHREY ATKINS



JOHN HUME

In those areas of government involving the taking of decisions" (in a word 'power-sharing'); certain biasing procedures, such as 'weighted' votes giving the 'minority' some kind of a veto; the right of appeal to the British government against 'assembly' decisions; and statutory safeguards such as a Bill of Rights. (No wonder the Sticks are so excited about this conference!)

REFERENDUM

"It will be the Government's aim, in discussion and negotiation with the political parties in Northern



Ireland at the Conference, to secure the highest level of agreement possible in providing the answers to these questions, so that the Government can then take the decisions on which to base legislation for a transfer to the people of Northern Ireland of greater responsibility for the conduct of their affairs."

So having listened to what the representatives of the 'natives' have to say, the British will paternally draw up Westminster legislation handing over as much power as they think 'good for them' within a six-county context tied to Britain.

If the parties fail to agree some observers believe that Britain will seek to impose a 'governmental framework' with minority safeguards and will appeal for approval over the heads of the 'obstinate' politicians through the mechanism of a referendum.

MODEL A

There are six models, denoted A to F, in the paper, illustrating the "variety of regional bodies that might be created". "They show some (but certainly not all) of the ways in which the many elements might be combined..."

('Assembly' is used to denote a body exercising law-making powers, whereas 'council' is used to denote a body with only administrative powers.)

Model A: "This model illustrates a structure similar to that of Westminster (or the former Stormont Parliament) but without an upper chamber."

It is a one-chamber assembly with law-making and administrative powers, with, as at Westminster "a system of select committees to scrutinise Government Departments policies and actions". "The range of matters to be devolved (or 'transferred') would be similar to that transferred in 1973".

It would mean a Stormont-type one-party regime but with only Sunningdale-type powers - that is no responsibility for "defence, foreign affairs, management of the economy, elections, court administration, law and order."

"However, certain matters initially reserved to Westminster might be transferred at a later date."

Various of the 'devices' already described - such as 'weighted' votes, 'weighted' committees or 'statutory safeguards' "could be built into the arrangements to enable the representatives of the minority community to exercise a greater or lesser influence on the decision-taking process". (The 'greater or lesser' is so vague, with so many 'mights' throughout the paper that a massive Orange plot could be squeezed through the loopholes provided in supposed 'minority' safeguards.)

This model appears to be the one Paisley will go for - Stormont, regrettably without 'law-and-order' responsibilities - if the 'power-sharing' aspect is not too obvious; and is also what the SDLP will go for as long as it includes some 'power-sharing' aspect. Whether they will be able to get away with forging an agreement, given popular nationalist/loyalist polarisation is a different question.

MODEL B

Model B: "This model illustrates a system of devolved government where there is an upper chamber through which the representatives of the minority community might exert influence on the decision-taking process."

It is exactly similar to Model A with the addition of a 'senate' with perhaps equal 'minority' participation with blocking powers. The advantage of this model for all parties is that there would be more well-paid jobs all round, but if its only publicly announced purpose was to give nationalists a veto then how would Paisley sell it to his base?



MODEL C

Model C: "The system illustrated in this model applies a structure of executive committees, familiar in local government throughout the United Kingdom, to the exercise of full devolved powers."

It is similar to the 'Model A' assembly, with law-making and

administrative powers, but without a cabinet and instead having 'government ministers' acting as chairmen of committees in charge of departments. The particular 'device' to protect 'minority interests' in this model might be some 'minority' chairmanships, 'weighted' committee representation, or 'weighted' votes.

This model is apparently favoured by the Alliance Party, but not by the SDLP given their negative experiences in chairmanships of local council committees where they have no majority on the committees.

MODEL D

Model D: "This model sets out a system of executive government operating on lines similar to those of local government throughout Great Britain. The functions (both the range of subjects and the extent of powers) to be transferred would however be wider than those given to any local authority in Great Britain."

It is similar to Model C except that, rather than being an assembly, it would be a council with committees, with no law-making powers.

MODEL E

Model E: This model - an amazing hotch potch of 'parliament' and 'local council' - is the same as 'Model D', being a council with committees, with no law-making powers, but there would be a 'cabinet' with the committees having an advisory role. Its non-legislative function renders it, like 'Model D', of no interest to any of the participating parties, and both models would mean a continuation of 'direct rule'.

MODEL F

Model F: "This model illustrates a system of government in which one or a number of local councils exercise powers similar to those of local authorities in Great Britain."

This non-law-making council (or councils) with committees would be "responsible for those services currently the responsibility of English local authorities (i.e. principally education, housing, planning, roads, social services)".

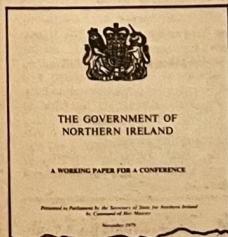
This model, which is in effect local government reform, would mean the insertion into 'direct rule' of an upper tier of local councils, or a regional council. It is apparently the option that the non-conference-participating Official Unionist Party leadership (Molynaux and Powell) favour. They are gambling that when the conference fails, the Tories will implement this, (the 'secret desire' of both parties) and fulfill the Official Unionists' integrationist line.

TRANSFER

"The Conference will be concerned essentially with a transfer of powers within the United Kingdom. Its task will be to establish the highest level of agreement on how to do this."

The conference, according to the paper, will not be concerned with Irish unity (although Atkins as a 'sop' is permitting the SDLP to mention it): confederation between the six-counties and twenty-six; six-county independence; nor a return either to Stormont or to the Sunningdale power-sharing executive.

The Brit 'objective' is "the transfer of as wide a range of powers as can be agreed", but there are "certain principles which must be observed". These include "reasonable and appropriate arrangements to take account of the interests of the minority", which will have to be acceptable to both sides of the community. And not only responsibility for 'defence and foreign affairs', but also responsibility for 'law and order', will remain with Westminster.



LIMITATIONS

The limitations on the scope of the conference are clearly stated: to accommodate the loyalists the conference will "not be concerned with the constitutional status of the Province" and to accommodate the SDLP, 'minority interests' will be 'taken into account'.

The British know that to successfully involve unionist and loyalist politicians in any new 'devolved government', the new set-up must not be seen by the loyalist people as a stepping stone to a united Ireland and must not blatantly involve 'power-sharing'. However to

INSTITUTIONS

Under the three headings *Institutional Framework*, *Powers to be exercised*, and *the Role of the Minority*, a number of questions for discussion are set out as a framework, or agenda, for the conference. (This sequence is so that controversial questions will be reached last, thus optimising the chances of agreement.)

Under 'Institutional Framework' the conference will consider:

Should there be one elected body or more? What should be the method of election? (This question is posed to the annoyance of the SDLP, for since 1973 all six-county elections have been by proportional representation.) Should there be one chamber or two (an 'assembly' plus a 'senate')? Should there be a 'cabinet' (as at Westminster) or a system of committees (as in local government)?

POWERS

Under 'Powers to be exercised' the conference will consider two main aspects:

Should the range or number of functions transferred (e.g. industrial development, education) be on the 1973 Sunningdale scale or more limited? And what should be the extent of the powers transferred?

To the latter question there are three broad answers: the transfer of all law-making and of just administrative powers (with all law-making staying at Westminster); and the transfer of only those limited administrative powers normally exercised by local authorities in Britain.

MINORITY

Under 'the Role of the Minority' the conference will consider 'a wide range of devices', "available to help to protect the position of the minority within different systems of government". ('Devices' which, of course, however good they look on paper, will in practice prove of negligible impact.)

The 'devices' include: the obvious "possibility of various kinds (and degrees) of direct participation by minority representatives

duirt siad

"Michael Collins, the canonised patron saint of our present 'Law and Order' party is clearly established as a more ruthless 'Godfather' than any current struggle in the six-counties has produced. The full list of spies, convicted by the same process as in our own time, were all to be 'executed' at 9 a.m. on Sunday morning".

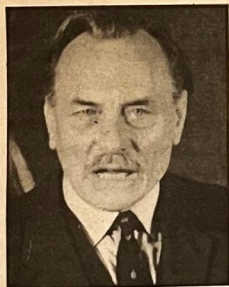
Caoimhín Ó Beolain (Kevin Boland), former Fianna Fáil cabinet minister, in a Hibernia review of Todd Andrews' book "Dublin Made Me".

"A country whose capital can be the scene of fourteen callous and cowardly murders, on one Sunday morning, has reached the nadir of moral and political degradation".

Irish Times, November 1920 (and with few changes, August, 1979).

"After he had read the flood of unctuous hypocrisy in the British and West-British papers he 'felt sorry we had missed Captain Nobel'. The selectivity of Church, State and Fourth Estate in denunciation of the 'gunmen, terrorists, extremists, murderers, assassins, butchers, thugs', while the primary excesses of 'respectable legal authority' are ignored, still produces this natural reaction".

Kevin Boland again, on Todd Andrews and on ruling class hypocrisy.



"That leaves one source, the source from which an endless stream of hostility to the union of Great Britain and Northern Ireland has flowed for years. I refer to that nest of vipers, that nursery of traitors, which is known as the British Foreign Office."

Official Unionist Enoch Powell's paranoid view of the source of the Atkins conference which he views as a trap to weaken the union.

"If ever I become President of Ireland, the White House will be moved to Sligo."

New Fianna Fáil Minister for Agriculture, Ray McSharry, in an over-optimistic mood.

"While there are superficial differences between the Orange Order and the Ku Klux Klan, their essential aims are the same: to maintain a policy of discrimination by all means possible, including murder." Hibernia writer David Greene.

CÓIR NÓ EAGÓIR

Tá Cathal Ó Dálaigh, Easpag Ard Agha agus Cluain Mhic Nois ag scríobh mar gheall ar chúrsaí an Tuaiscirt le deich mbliana anuas. Is fiú mar sin súil a chaitheamh siar ar a chuid scríbhinní sula bhféachfaimid ar an gcaint is déanaí uaidh.

Deineann sé iarracht i gcónaí idirtheallú a dhéanamh idir Óglaigh an lae inniu agus Óglaigh 1916-21. Deir sé go bhfuair Óglaigh 1916-21 distíneacht ó thorthaí thoghcháirín 1918. Ní hamháin sin ach tá sé de nós aige tagairt a dhéanamh don treimhse sin mar "a glorious chapter in our history".

Teoiric spéisúil is ea é gur féidir iad-distíneacht d'fháil. De réir an teoiric sin má éiríonn le Gluaiseacht na Poblachta móramh a fháil i dtoghcháin amach anseo beidh gach a dheimhniú sin don thuairim a an easpag.

NEAMHSPEÁCH

Ach ní ghlacann Gluaiseacht na Poblachta gur gá tógcháin chun troid i gcoinne an-téagóir. Ní raibh an distíneacht sin ag na Gaeil i 1798 nó am ar bith a éiríodar amach i gcoinne Rialtas Shasana ó sin go 1916.

Má tá orainn brath ar dhlistíneacht ó thoghcháin nó an distíneacht sin fós ag leanúint ó Chéad Dáil Éireann a leag amach Bóthar na Saoirse dúinn. Bhí an Dáil sin ag iarraidh Éire neamhspeach a chur ar bun. Bhí teachtáil ann ó Thuaidh is Theas, Soir is Siar. Ní raibh sé teor-

annta do Sé Chontae Fíchead.

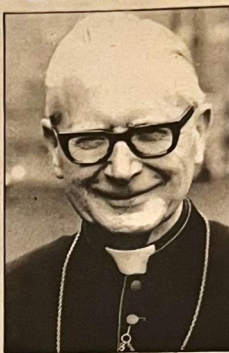
Seanhórt eile atá aige nach Cogadh Cóir é an cogadh atá ar siúl ag Óglaigh na hÉireann..... "does not fulfill the conditions necessary for a war to be justifiable under Catholic morality". Sé teagasc an tEaglais Chaitlicigh gur gá (i) staid éagóireach nach féidir a fhulaingt (ii) feidhm bainte as gach modh eile (iii) seans maith go n-éireoidh leis an gogadh.

AG FULAINGT

O chuireadh Stát Thuaisceart Éireann ar bun tá an mionlach ag fulaingt. Is eol dúinn ar fad anois conas mar a baineadh úsáid as an t-idirtheallú chun a gcearta a baint des na Náisiúnaíthe.

Thaispeán feachtas Cumann Cearta Sibhialta Thuaisceart Éireann nach féidir a bheith ag súil le cearta agus saoirse gan dul i muinín an ghunna.

Tá seans an-mhaith go n-éireoidh leis an gogadh. Cheana féin adhmaifonn Arm na Breataine nach féidir leo bua mífleata a bhuachaint ar Ghluaiseacht na Poblachta. Le himeacht aimsire tá na hÓglaigh ag dul ó neart go neart. Níl mórán as na nua san Ráiteas



Cathal Ó Dálaigh

is déanaí ón t-Easpag ach is fiú féachaint ar na pointíní sin.

(i) go bhfuil duine ar bith a ghlacann leis an teoiric gur Cogadh Cóir atá ar siúl ag Óglaigh na hÉireann ag dul i gcoinne teagasc an Phápa.

FREGRA

Ar ndóigh bé an t-Easpag O Dálaigh a bhí mar chomhairleoir ag an bPápa. Ní dúirt an Pápa nach raibh Cogadh Cóir ar siúl.

D'iarr an Pápa ar 'the men of violence' stad. D'fheagair Óglaigh na hÉireann le ráiteas..... "One should not talk about 'men of

violence' and ignore the 33,000 strong armed forces in the Six-Counties, their repressive laws, the army forts occupying areas, the proven cases of torture, and of course, the situation in the H-Blocks"

(ii) Tá port nua aige nár chuala mé cheana..... "I go further and contend that the I.R.A. movement, at this beginning of 1980, is a quite different reality even from that of 1970". Dar leis ta an Ghluaiseacht anois "alien to Irish tradition and to Irish values".

Tá Gluaiseacht na Poblachta ag fás agus ag forbairt an-tam ar fad. Faisceadh Gluaiseacht na Poblachta as muintir na hÉireann. Ní fhéad-fadh Gluaiseacht na Poblachta a bheith beo gan tacaíocht ó mhuintir na hÉireann.

Tá an blas céanna óna chuid cainte "alien to the Irish tradition" agus atá ag an bhfeachtas ag Rialtas Shasana gur Marsaigh iad Gluaiseacht na Poblachta. Ar ndóigh tá traidisiún fada aige féin dearcadh na Sasanach a léiriú.

Mar shampla ag caint dó faoi William Whitelaw dúirt sé "The obviously sincere commitment of the British Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, Mr. William Whitelaw to achieving a just political solution....." Dob é Whitelaw a bhí i gceannas nuair a tharla Domhnach na Fola in nDoire agus a dúirt gur "fine soldiers" iad na paratrúpaí.

Níl mórán measa tuillte ag O Dálaigh agus ní fiú mórán a thuairim. Leanann sé i traidisiún fada na n-easpagáil sé sin, iad siúd atá ag troid ar son saoirse na hÉireann a chineadh.

Leanfaidh an cogadh go dtí go mbeidh saoirse againn.

BY DAMIEN O'ROURKE

THIS YEAR'S Sinn Féin Ard Fheis, which is to take place in Dublin on the weekend January 19th/20th could be one of the most interesting in recent years.

Much attention will centre on several resolutions regarding the organisation's Éire Nua policy, comprising social and economic policies as well as suggested governmental structures, which in the past year have been the object of detailed reappraisal within the movement.

EIRE NUA

The Ard-Chomhairle has put forward a resolution that "the present Éire Nua policy and governmental structures be retained, promoted and publicised during the coming year..... with any amendments as may be passed by this Ard Fheis". But in another resolution they are also presenting for acceptance by the Ard Fheis an eight page policy document which they say will update Éire Nua, and also recognise that previous policy documents also need updating.

A number of resolutions have been submitted which appear to want the Éire Nua policy left untouched, in particular the governmental structures suggested in it. But there are also proposals for revising the policy, which was first adopted nine years ago, and one from Leinster Comhairle Cuige calls for Éire Nua to be updated and made "an attractive Social and Economic document for the problems facing the people of Ireland in the 80s".

Other resolutions call for time to study new proposals followed by an extraordinary Ard Fheis.

INTERESTING

Going through the clar there are many resolutions that could lead to interesting discussion. From Antrim there is a call to form a National

ARD FHEIS PREVIEW



Sinn Féin Ard Fheis, October '78

Popular Front on a broad platform to demand a British withdrawal, perhaps inspired by the recently formed broadly based National H-Block Committee.

The Casement/Nolan campaign in Dublin suggests that "no landlord or speculator should be a member of Sinn Féin and any such person who is a member already should be expelled forthwith" — a resolution which should prove difficult to argue against.

There are a number of resolutions proposing changes in the method of electing the Ard-Chomhairle, which should cause some lively discussion.

Motions on organisation include proposals for the appointment of a national organiser and many calls for the devolution of power down through the organisation along the

lines of decentralised government proposals. And an important motion from the Padraig O'Pearail cumann in Wexford calls for the organisation of training courses for all cumann officers.

The RTE ban on Sinn Féin is also for discussion and suggestions for action to combat it should be of interest. Comhairle Atha Cliath is suggesting the withholding of licence fees.

ELECTIONS

On elections, Comhairle Cuige Uladh and several six-county cumanninn want a uniform policy on local elections throughout the thirty-two counties, whilst the Harry Young cumann, Sligo, propose that Sinn Féin should contest the next twenty-six county

general election and take seats in Leinster House for 'tactical reasons'.

This year's clar has only two resolutions on prisoners which should not be interpreted as ignoring the issue but rather a healthy sign that interest is being channelled through the Sinn Féin POW department — which this year organised a national prisoners conference and of course helped establish the recently formed National H-Block Committee. In previous years the Sunday afternoon of the Ard Fheis has been taken up by countless long, and understandably, emotional speeches, which are essentially heard only by the converted.

On Culture and Education resolutions call for increased promotion of the Irish language and a new internal education programme.

Discrimination against women is also the subject of proposals and there is a call for a Sinn Féin policy to be formulated on women's rights. There are also resolutions calling for more attention to be directed to youth.

The need for more Sinn Féin involvement in community issues is stressed by resolutions on social and economic issues.

The Ard Fheis is asked to express solidarity with the Patriotic Front in Zimbabwe and other oppressed peoples struggling against colonial forces.

The annual Ard Fheis inevitably includes some back-slapping and self congratulation in a jamboree atmosphere. But certainly the last gathering also included much encouraging and serious debate which it is hoped will be repeated.

SINN FEIN ARD FHEIS

Saturday 19th January
10.30 a.m. to 7.00 p.m.
Stardust Ballroom, Kilmore Road
Artane, Dublin
A Cumann Cabhrach function will be held at this venue from 8 p.m. to midnight

Sunday 20th January
10.00 a.m. to 6.00 p.m.
Liberty Hall, Eden Quay,
Dublin

Sean South and Fergal O'Hanlon Commemorations

BY BRENDAN MCCABE

OVER TWO HUNDRED PEOPLE attended the annual Sean South commemoration in Limerick last Sunday. Sean South became a national martyr overnight when he was killed in action, with Fergal O'Hanlon, in a famous attack on Brookborough RUC barracks in County Fermanagh, in 1957 during the I.R.A.'s border campaign.

The march was led by a colour party of local republicans and the Cork volunteer pipe band. It wound its way through the city to St. Laurence cemetery where Sean lies buried alongside other Limerick patriots in the Republican plot.

Padraig O Maolcathaigh chaired the commemoration and a wreath was laid by Jack Keogh on behalf of the Republican Movement. The main speaker was Eamon MacThomais, former editor of *An Phoblacht* and a comrade of Sean South. His presence was a welcome surprise to many in the crowd, and he spoke of personal reminiscences of his comrade.

He gave the oration in Irish as a tribute to Sean who only spoke English when he couldn't avoid it.

He said that he had been reluctant to speak at the commemoration since it reminded him of the first sorrowful commemoration of Sean in 1958 inside the Curragh.

Eamon remembered the first time he had met Sean at a training camp in the 1950s. Sean soon stood out in the camp as a character and impressed his comrades by the depth of his integrity and his willingness to take on any task, no matter how menial.

He recollected the time, whilst

preparing for the border campaign that he was in the house of a republican woman, Mrs. Boyce. They were waiting to take in volunteers and when Sean came up the road Mrs. Boyce at first refused to believe Sean was a volunteer as he was so respectable and distinguished looking!

Eamon recalled that after a raid one night, the column which he and Sean were in were completely disorientated. Surrounded by RUC and 'B' Specials they didn't know which direction to take. To everyone's surprise Sean produced a compass and the men were able to take the correct bearings to get back to base.

Eamon also remembered Sean's deep religious convictions and that one night while on active service Eamon was angry to be woken up by Sean who was saying his prayers.

Two of the main planks of Sean's philosophy of national freedom were cultural and economic independence, and Eamon pointed out that not much had changed — that foreign speculators still owned most of the property of the Irish people.

Eamon ended his speech by quoting the words of P.S. O'Hegarty who tragically joined the Free Staters and eventually forgot what he had said:

"We scorn and spit on the Empire, an Empire built on blood and desolation..... We repudiate all



Part of last Sunday's colour party in Limerick

bargains or treaties concerning the rights of this nation. Concessions be damned, we want our country".

Fergal O'Hanlon

The twenty-third anniversary of the deaths of Sean South and Fergal O'Hanlon was commemorated in Monaghan by a short simple ceremony at the Fergal O'Hanlon memorial on the Clones Road on New Year's Day.

A wreath was laid by Brendan Toal, chairman of the Fergal O'Hanlon Sinn Féin cumann, and Padraigin Murphy, sister of Fergal, said a decade of the rosary. There

was a guard of honour of Na Fianna with tri-colour at attention.

In a short oration in Irish and English, Padraig O'Baioil, stated that Volunteers O'Hanlon and South sacrificed their lives attempting to smash the evil of British oppression which for centuries has blighted the aspirations of Irish men and women for freedom. Their unselfish devotion to a glorious ideal is paralleled today by the heroic endurance of the H-block 'blanket men'.

In conclusion, Vincent Conlon thanked all who contributed to the ceremony and all those who assembled on a cold afternoon to honour one of Monaghan's noblest sons.



FERGAL O'HANLON



SEAN SOUTH

AFGHANISTAN: WAR AND REVOLUTION

BY CIARAN DOWD

SHORTLY AFTER CHRISTMAS the Russians invaded Afghanistan, and now the so-called Cold War seems to be hotting up again.

To understand current events there one must get behind the superficial comments of the mass media, and examine Afghanistan's recent political history.

Afghanistan's exposed position in Central Asia has made it the subject of countless invasions in the past. Prominent amongst the imperialist conquerors were the British.

BRITISH

During the first Afghan War (1839-42), the British forces burnt whole villages and massacred their inhabitants, but the fierce Afghan warriors managed to wipe out the invading force of 4,000 Brits and their 12,000 camp followers.

Thirty years later the Brits again invaded the country, and in spite of fierce resistance managed

to gain control of part of the country. The border with British India drawn by the invaders known as the Durand Line cut right through the territory of one of the Afghan tribes, the Pushtoons. This Brit inspired border has created serious problems amongst the various peoples of Asia to this day.

Finally, taking advantage of World War 1 the Afghans managed to regain full sovereignty of their country in 1919.

The nationalist forces in Afghanistan were not led by republicans however, but by a powerful royal family, which kept the country in social and economic backwardness until recent years. The king was



Russian tank in Kabul, capital of Afghanistan, and, inset, Babrak Karmal, the new Afghan leader. The Russian action tramples over Afghanistan's right to national self-determination, as much as British invasions in the past century.

finally overthrown in 1973 by reformist military officers who built up the Daoud dictatorship which was itself overthrown in April 1978.

POPULAR

At first it seemed like just another military coup, but its first measures indicated that it was a real popular uprising. The Democratic Republic of Afghanistan soon passed a radical land reform, which would benefit the country's poor peasants. Measures were also taken to tackle some of the major social problems — the position of women, of the different nationalities, and of the nomads. The equal rights of women was established as a principle and as a first measure arranged marriages were banned.

The government stressed the need for a democratic solution in Baluchistan (the Baluchis are spread between Afghanistan, Iran, and Pakistan) and Pushtoonistan, the 'national question' created by the Brits. The limitations of the new regime was that its popular support was mainly based in the cities.

The forces of counter-revolution soon gathered strength in the

countryside (where 80% of the people live), rallied by the landowners, tribal chiefs and religious leaders. They formed a Party of Islam, which fomented tribal rebellions, and exploited religious mysticism amongst the peasants.

Soon the new regime had a civil war on its hands, using napalm and Russian tanks and rockets against the rebels.

SOVIET

Finally, the Soviet Union decided to send troops in to remove President Amin, and replaced him with Babrak Karmal. It would appear that Amin himself requested Soviet 'assistance', but nevertheless this action tramples over Afghanistan's right to national self-determination, as much as British invasions in the past century.

Politically speaking the new regime will probably advance the social revolution more cautiously, educating the backward rural population so as to cut across reactionary propaganda. However, a genuine revolution can only work through mass popular support and cannot be imposed by foreign troops.

Furthermore, the Soviet 'model' of socialism is hardly an inspiration for the Afghans, who genuinely thought in 1978 they had won a new democratic socialist society.

INTERNATIONAL

In international terms, the move is a disaster as it will give the green light to those imperialists in the United States, who although still suffering from their defeat in Vietnam, favour American imperialism playing a more interventionist role in different parts of the globe.

The reactionary religious leaders of the tribal based opposition to the revolution in Afghanistan will play on this aspect, and probably receive increased imperialist support. These forces which before had no social or political programme, can now pose as nationalist fighters.

As Che Guevara always said 'Either socialist revolution or caricature of revolution'. The failure of the revolution in Afghanistan and its transformation into the frontline of a new 'Cold War', shows how true that statement still is.



NEW YEAR'S GREETINGS

BOYLE, Sean. New Year greetings, Sean. From your mum, dad, brothers and sisters, Loughliffe.

CONNOLLY, Sean. McERLAIN, Sean. (H4-block). New Year greetings to you both. "They may lock you away, deny you your rights, but Ireland's true sons continue to fight". We are proud of you. Love from Eileen and Geraldine xxx.

McKEEFEY, Patsy. DILLON, Eddie. BRADLEY, Roger. (Long Kesh). **MOONEY, John.** (Magilligan). New Year greetings from the Seamus McCusker Sinn Féin cumann, Swatragh. God bless you and all your comrades.

NEW YEAR greetings to all the Armagh Republican prisoners on the blanket protest. Onwards to victory for the oppressed. From the Armagh Relatives Action Committee.

GET WELL

An Phoblacht/Republican News and the Belfast Republican press extend greetings to Thomas Maguire and hope he will soon be out of hospital.

NORTHERN RELIEF FUND

Required very urgently:- Beds and bedding, household furniture and kitchen utensils. All enquiries to 5, Blessington Street, Dublin. Phone 308783, Monday to Friday 4 p.m. to 6 p.m. Transport provided for collection within reasonable distance.

SINN FEIN NATIONAL FINANCE COMMITTEE

£1,000 MONSTER DRAW
All cash and counterfoils should be returned to 44, Parnell Square Dublin, or, at the latest, be handed in at the Ard Fheis.
Extra pounds of tickets are still available.

Solidarity Greetings

McARTNEY, Raymond. (H5-block). Congratulations, Raymond on completing one year on the blanket. "You're not say, your friends and loved ones are blanket around you boys, your victory is on the way". God bless you and all your brothers, sisters, sister-in-law, nieces and nephews.

McARTNEY, Raymond. (H5-block). Congratulations, Raymond on completing one year on the blanket. "It is not they who can inflict the most, but those who can endure the most who will ultimately triumph". Victory to the blanketmen! Love from Anne-Marie and Maria.

McDERMOTT, Eamonn. (H5-block). Congratulations, Eamonn on completing one year on the blanket. "They took you to a prison cell, cold and damp inside. They handed you a blanket which you've worn with pride". Victory to the blanketmen! All the best Maria and Anne-Marie.

FAILTE ABHAILE
Welcome Home Mick Quinlan!
Thursday 24th January
8 p.m. West County Hotel
CHAPELIZOD
DUBLIN

Taille 75p
Organised by James Connolly Sinn Féin cumann, Ballyfermot.

The Number Five Club
Blessington Street
DUBLIN
Open Sunday nights only
doors close at 10 p.m.
Proceeds to An Cumann Cabhrach.

TRALEE SOCIAL
Saturday 2nd February
Hotel Manhattan
There will also be a 31 card drive here
on March 16th
Organised by
Trá Láinn Féin Comhairle Ceantair

H-Block Appeal Fund

The H-block appeal fund thanks the O'Donovan Rossa GAA club, Belfast, for their generous donation of £600 and the St. Pauls GFC, Belfast, for their generous donation of £500.
All donations, which will be acknowledged, should be sent to H-block appeal fund, 85b Falls Road, Belfast.

BIRTHDAY GREETINGS

McILHONE, Seamus. Happy 21st birthday, Seamus. We wish you all you would wish for yourself. From dad, brother Gerard and uncle John.

McQUILLAN, Joseph. (H3-block). Best wishes, Joe on your 21st birthday. We're always thinking of you and your brave comrades locked away in that hell hole of Long Kesh. Love from your brothers Owen and Bernard. Also from your sister, Kay.

McQUILLAN, Joseph. (H3-block). Best wishes, Joe on your 21st birthday. Your fight is our fight. God bless you all. All my prayers are for you. From brother Jim. **McQUILLAN, Joseph.** (H4-block). Best wishes, Joseph on your 21st birthday. "Though prison bars divide us and we are far apart, they have you in their keeping, we have you in our hearts". From mum and dad.

McQUILLAN, Joseph. (H4-block). Best wishes, Joe on your 21st birthday. Wishing the gift of freedom was ours to give you. From Peter, Marion, Karen, Siobhan, Damien and Paul.

HARLOW IRISH NIGHT

A PRE-CHRISTMAS 'Irish night' with traditional music, organised by the Harlow, Essex, branch of the Troops Out Movement, raised £180 for Republican prisoners, which has been sent to Green Cross in Belfast. For details of any future events in Harlow, phone Tony, Harlow 413463.

SOCIAL NIGHT
Saturday 26th January
9 p.m. Bush Hotel
Shepard's Bush Green
LONDON
Táille £1.
Organised by Sinn Féin.

IN MEMORIAM

BLEAKLEY, Rosemary. (4th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Rosemary Bleakley, Cumann na mBan, killed January 13th 1976. Always remembered by friends and comrades in Belfast Brigade.

BLEAKLEY, Rosemary. (4th Anniversary). Died on active service, January 13th 1976. Always remembered by her friends Mary and Martin.

LIGGETT, Francis. (7th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Francis Liggett, killed by British forces 18th January 1973 while on active service. Always remembered by his friends and comrades in Belfast Brigade.

GREENE, John Francis. (5th Anniversary). The Republican Movement, North Armagh, remember with pride their comrade, Volunteer John Greene, 2nd Battalion, North Armagh, Oglagh na hEireann. Brutally murdered by pro-British elements at Mullyash, Co. Monaghan, on 10th January, 1975. "Lay him away on the hillside, along with the brave and the bold, inscribe his name on the roll of fame in letters of purest gold".

O'NEILL, Danny. (8th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Danny O'Neill, killed while on active service 7th January, 1972, by British crown forces. His comrades shall ensure that his dream of a Socialist Republic will become a reality. Always remembered by his comrades, Sean and Pat.

O'NEILL, Danny. (8th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Danny O'Neill, killed 7th January, 1972. A Mhuine na nGael déan lúir gúí ar a shann uasal, Always remembered by his friends and comrades in the Belfast Brigade.

SLOAN, Michael. (8th Anniversary). In proud memory of my friend, Michael who was killed in action, St. Patrick of Ireland pray for him. Always remembered by his friend Eugene Murphy. Also remembered by Martin Walsh (H-block) and the Parker, Stone and Mulvanna families.

SLOAN, Michael. (8th Anniversary). In loving memory of my beloved son, Michael, killed while on active service. Mary Queen of Ireland pray for him. Always remembered by his mother, father, brothers and sisters. Also brother Eugene (Portlaoise).

SLOAN, Michael. (8th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Michael Sloan, Na Flanna Eireann, died as a result of an accidental shooting while on active service 11th January 1972. Always remembered by his friends and comrades in Belfast Brigade.

TYRONE P.D.F.
Annual Christmas Draw
1st: J. McGurk, Drogheda
2nd: D. McCann, Tara
3rd: J. Keeney, Tallaght
Sellers of winning tickets:
V. Walker and T. Lewiston, Tallaght.

WEST LIMERICK
AN CUMANN CABHRACH
Annual Christmas Draw
1st (Rocking chair): 80
2nd (Leather wallet): 1791
3rd (Painted handkerchief): 1682

Bloody Sunday

DERRY OVERNIGHT ACCOMMODATION

THOSE ATTENDING the annual Bloody Sunday commemoration in Derry on Sunday 27th January, who require overnight accommodation, please contact, in advance, the Secretary, Derry Sinn Féin, c/o 224, Lacky Road, Brandywell, Derry. Telephone 67749.

BLOODY SUNDAY BUSES FROM BELFAST
Buses leave Dunville Park at 12 noon Sunday January 27th.
Tickets £2 from Art Shop, 85b Falls Road or Belfast Sinn Féin

JOIN SINN FEIN

Anyone interested in joining Sinn Féin should contact their local Cumann; head office at 44, Parnell Square, Dublin; 85b Falls Road, Belfast; or 15 Cable Street, Derry.

I am interested in becoming a member of Sinn Féin

NAME

ADDRESS

BLOODY SUNDAY COMMEMORATION MARCH BIRMINGHAM

Sunday 27th January
Assemble 2 p.m.
Sparkhill Park, Stratford Road
Organised by Sinn Féin

Coaches leave London at 10 a.m. from York Way, Kings Cross and Kilburn Square.

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