

An Phoblacht

REPUBLICAN NEWS



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Legal changes in right to silence

'MAGICAL' MOVE DOOMED

MORE repressive legislation is on the cards North and South from the British and the Free Staters, who are considering changes in the law in the six and twenty-six counties, respectively. Changes which they vainly hope will lead to the jailing of a decisive number of Republican activists — the 'hard-core' in the words of a former Brit officer on television on Tuesday.

The key change, being projected in the North by British army chiefs and in the South by Fianna Fail Minister for Justice Gerry Collins, is to limit the interrogation victim's legal right to silence.

The enemy war-machine on both sides of the border faces a crisis.

In the North the Castlereagh conveyor-belt to H-Block has been seriously weakened by the Amnesty-Bennett-Irwin revelations of RUC torture, despite the special non-jury courts.

And in the South the rubber-stamping of Republicans to Portlaoise jail on the word of a Garda Chief Superintendent (swearing to a defendant's IRA membership) has proved increasingly inadequate, again despite the special non-jury courts.

So the British and their Free State colleagues are faced with a problem: how to jail Republicans more efficiently. But they are also faced with the political necessity of observing legal niceties, given that internment North or South would be an emotive step, probably causing the perpetrators more bother than good.



(Notice how the law, supposedly impartial and above sectional interest, is to be cynically used, and casually changed as required, in classical Kitson counter-insurgency fashion in the interests of the ruling elite, North and South.)

Speculation on changes in the law in the South was boosted ten days ago when Fianna Fail Minister Collins revealed that he is preparing a package of tough laws which he expects to have before Leinster House before the end of March. He said that the Garda Commissioner had made 'certain recommendations' on changes that are needed and judging by what is known of

the Commissioner's views these recommendations certainly include as well as restrictions on the right to bail and an extension of the present forty-eight-hour interrogation period, limitations on the interrogation victim's right to silence.

On Tuesday the loyalist Belfast 'News Letter' put 'the case for a review of a detained person's traditional right of silence' and stated that: "Hints have already been given that the Irish Republic has the matter under consideration as part of new and more stringent measures against the Provisional IRA and it would be anomalous if

nothing were done along similar lines here."

On BBC TV's *Spotlight* programme the same evening, precisely the same message was repeated by former British army officers whose views, the programme's presenter claimed are representative of 'many other senior officers'. But, the presenter went on: "Army officers want far more than an end to the right to silence — last August's Warrenpoint massacre in which more soldiers died than in any other attack since the Korean war was the final straw in convincing them that changes were needed. For them the right to

silence is one element in what should be a general change of emphasis in the law."

This legal change on 'silence' is projected as over-night miraculously transforming the war situation and reversing the IRA's post-cellular-reorganisation resurgence.

The Brits and their collaborators appear to have learnt nothing from the spectacular failures of their previous wonder-cures designed to repress Republican resistance. This 'magical move', like all their previous ones is doomed to failure as long as the Irish Republican Army continues to remain the people's army which it is today.

COLLINS NEW PACKAGE OF REPRESSION

THE ANNOUNCEMENT last week by Free State Minister for Justice, Gerry Collins, that he will be introducing a new package of repressive legislation is completely in the Fianna Fail tradition.

In 1939 they introduced the Offences Against the State Act; they strengthened it the following year; under it they interned sentenced and hung republicans in the forties; interned them again in the fifties; introduced military tribunals in the sixties (during Charlie Haughey's term as their Minister for Justice); and in 1972 they strengthened it again to jail republicans on the mere word of a garda superintendent.

Fine Gael and Labour have of course also played their part when the opportunity arose. In 1976 they brought in the draconian Criminal Law Act, the Criminal Law (Jurisdiction) Act and the Emergency Powers Act to keep the Free State among the leading states of the world in terms of repressive legislation on the statute books.

This type of legislation is always aimed primarily at republicans but the effects are soon felt by others.

EXTENT

Collins has not revealed the extent of his plans, but he did let it be known that he intends to concede garda demands for an end to the right to bail, an end to the right to remain silent and power to hold persons for longer than forty-eight hours without charge.

The strategy in this is obvious, with no right to bail 'suspects' could be jailed for anything up to two years before being brought to trial because of the present backlog in the courts, at which stage they could be found 'not guilty' or the charges could even be dropped — a disguised method of internment without trial already in use in the North.

The power to hold without charge for more than forty-eight hours is equally valuable to the state. During the life-span of the 1976 Emergency Powers, garda regularly beat victims in the initial questioning period and by the time a victim appeared in court, seven days later, bruising and other evidence of this were fading.

With no bail this would mean that people injured in this way could be kept from independent medical examination.

SILENT

The right to remain silent has always been portrayed as the refuge of the 'guilty', who by keeping their mouth shut can walk away from any charge. But of course, if forced to talk, anyone unskilled to sophisticated garda interrogation methods and intimid-

BY KEVIN BURKE

ated by their surroundings could quite easily be tricked into making incriminating statements although quite innocent and this even without the use of physical abuse.

The Offences Against the State Act already eroded this right — under section 52 anyone arrested under the Act is required to answer questions about their own movements and give all information about others in relation to offences within the range of the act. Failure to do so can lead to a six-month prison sentence; the new legislation will most likely allow the silence of an accused to be used as evidence of his guilt on whatever charge he is being tried.

ANXIETY

The anxiety of the gardai for this kind of legislation is easily explained. Their record in 'solving crime' has always been pathetic and according to the O'Brien Report (from the committee set up by the Coalition government, after Amnesty's torture allegations, "to recommend certain safeguards for persons in custody"):



Gerry Collins

"80% of serious crimes, in respect of which convictions are obtained, are solved by confessions i.e. as the end-product of questioning sessions — indicates a high degree of reliance on self-incrimination, and an inability or reluctance to secure evidence by scientific methods of criminal investigation and by persevering police enquiries." (paragraph 38).

The recent attempts by the gardai at 'detective work' in the Scully kidnapping case

held them up for even more public ridicule, and they are more than ever anxious for increased powers to 'obtain' confessions without being too concerned about the actual innocence or guilt of their selected victim.

The evidence of Amnesty International and others about the brutal methods of gardai (in particular the 'Heavy Gang') and the more recent admissions in the *Garda Review* about the recruitment of social misfits into the force, along with the restrained recommendations for safeguards in the O'Brien report have all been ignored by Collins (who, when in opposition, was calling for a public enquiry into the gardai's use of torture).

In a statement, issued in Dublin, Sinn Féin say that they view the new legislation with alarm and will oppose it in every way. They call on other organisations to do likewise and warn that "if these new measures ever come about they will of course be used to bolster British rule in the six-counties and to repress and harass people engaged in defending the welfare of the under-privileged sections of our society."

The bail restrictions will require a change in the Free State constitution by referendum, which should provide a focus for a campaign to arouse public opposition to this whole new package of repression.

Beware of Big Buzby

LAST WEEK a furore was caused in English establishment circles when journalist Duncan Campbell revealed in the *New Statesman* the location of the main post office telephone tapping centre.

Under the title 'Big Buzby is watching you' Campbell wrote: "Britain's national telephone tapping service appears to operate from a building concealed behind the Industrial Tribunal's Central Office at 93 Ebury Bridge Road, SW1, just opposite Chelsea barracks. This is the organisation which is known in police lore as 'Tinkerbell'. Here thousands of telephone lines up and down the country are monitored every year, and the results supplied to the spy 'customers' — chiefly MI5, Scotland Yard's Special Branch, and the CII squad."

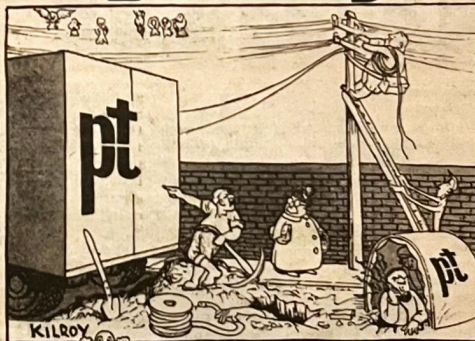
The article went on to state that "Military intelligence appears to be the only agency still running a separate centre" and that "The army now runs a listening post, comparable to the Chelsea installation, on the top floor of Churchill House, a Post Office building in Belfast." (Interestingly when Frank Doherty of the *Irish Press* re-

peated this latter information on Radio Ulster on Monday morning the British army were concerned enough to ring the BBC during the programme to deny it.)

The morning after the *New Statesman* went to press, the *Guardian* in its editorial revealed: "Certainly everyone in Northern Ireland assumes the telephone is bugged, but it is still unpleasant for the *Guardian* correspondent there when details of a private conversation are repeated in jest by a Stormont official at a dinner party."

The correspondent was revealed to be Anne McHardy. Interviewed on TV she pointed out that she didn't mind the Brits tapping conversations between journalists like herself and 'terrorists' but to record, and repeat, a conversation with her husband was a bit much.

And the *Sunday World* revealed that the drunken official involved was the late Thomas (Tommy)



"Of course we're phoningtapping. What do you think those letters stand for?"

Roberts, then head of the British Government Information Service in the North.

Of course the Brits have not had it all their own way. In 1975 the IRA let it be known that they had listened into conversations on

Lisburn British army HQ phones, and gave details!

Following the revelation that the British government were conducting extensive telephone tapping from a London Post Office block, details were revealed of similar

widespread tapping of political activists, trade unionists, journalists and others in the Free State.

According to the No 4 branch of the Irish Post Office Engineers Union (IPOEU) the tapping is carried out by three members of the Post and Telegraph's own engineering staff on behalf of Dublin Castle Special Branch who then monitor the taps. The technicians involved are apparently two inspectors (members of the Post Office Management Staff Association) and one senior engineer (a member of the Association of Technical Engineers).

To get a tap placed, a court order is supposed to be obtained, but IPOEU members say that there are far more being placed than court orders obtained, and indeed far more randomly than may be thought.

It is relatively easy to place a tap on a line and impossible for the phone user to detect. In Dublin tapping lines are directed through the Shipquay Street exchange to nearby Dublin Castle. A large amount of tapping is for 'low-level' intelligence gathering so that thousands of people can be under surveillance at any one time. A far more sinister situation than perhaps realised until now.



The funeral of loyalist assassination victim, William McAteer in Belfast this week.

SECTARIAN SHOOTINGS—BELFAST

LOYALIST ASSASSINS returned to the streets of Belfast last weekend after an absence of nearly one month and claimed the life of another Catholic, while a second narrowly escaped a separate murder bid. The attacks took place within two days and within a distance of less than two miles.

The first and fatal, shooting occurred shortly before seven o'clock on Saturday night on the Ormeau Road in an area nicknamed locally as 'Murder Mile' following several killings on this stretch of road between 1973 and 1976.

The victim was lorry-driver William McAteer, a forty-year-old father of five children aged between eighteen months and seventeen years. He was walking with another man from the same area, from his home in Rutland Street to a neighbour's house in nearby Rugby Avenue when the assassins struck. Seconds before the killers opened fire both men saw them and attempted to flee, but the assassins' bullets cut down William McAteer from close range, hitting him several times and he died almost immediately.

For the thirty-year-old man who survived the gun attack this is the second time he has narrowly escaped death at the hands of a loyalist gang. Some years ago whilst out walking with his girl friend, not far from Saturday night's attack, a fusillade of gunfire missed him and killed his girl friend.

SHORT STRAND

The second, and unsuccessful, murder-bid occurred shortly after midnight on Sunday when a man from the Short Strand area was returning there after leaving some friends to the city centre. As he turned onto the Short Strand another car approached and as the car sped past him in the direction of the loyalist Ravenhill area at least one shot was fired, which embedded itself in the bonnet of his car.

Ironically the man had been giving some friends a lift in to the city centre as a safety measure against sectarian attack, following the killing some months ago of Mark McGrann, a New Lodge Road man, as he walked home over the Albert Bridge late at night.

Once again these attacks are a stark reminder to the nationalist people, especially of Belfast, to be always on your guard.

UDR IN THE FIRING LINE

WAR NEWS

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

Those state-sanctioned armed sectarian thugs, the British army's Ulster Defence Regiment, were not only very much in the firing line last week but also their rampant demoralisation showed through in dramatic fashion on several occasions. The IRA shot one dead, shot and seriously injured another, and two shot themselves dead in separate incidents.

And whilst the Unionist-dominated Belfast city council decided on Monday to honour the UDR's sectarian crimes by granting them 'the freedom of the city' the Belfast Telegraph bemoaned that the regiment was 'not acceptable' in all areas of the city and the 10th battalion's commanding officer, Lieutenant-Colonel Tony Ward criticised employers who are so opposed to their employees membership of the regiment, that some keep their membership secret.

The Lieutenant-Colonel also amazingly revealed the UDR's recruitment difficulties whilst addressing the Belfast Rotary Club. He admitted that "Currently the majority of my platoons are without platoon commanders and this places an intolerable strain on the men." He wondered aloud "if patriotism amongst the younger generations is dead" — the IRA can perhaps give him the best answer to that question.

The first UDR man to die during the week was a twenty-four-year-old full-time UDR private, who shot himself in the head at his Castleberg home in County Tyrone on Sunday evening. He died in the Tyrone County Hospital, Omagh on Monday evening.

Just how jumpy UDR men are these days, was also revealed on Monday by a part-time UDR man from Holywood. When starting his ten-year-old car, which he had 'repaired' the previous day, there was a small fuel explosion in the engine, which led to a small fire in the vehicle. The UDR man immediately called out not only the fire brigade, but also the RUC and the Brits, who carried out a controlled explosion on the vehicle before declaring it 'safe'.

Then on Tuesday evening yet another UDR man shot himself dead. This time the dead man was a full-time lance-corporal, and he was shot in the regiment's Antrim headquarters, after an apparently 'accidental discharge'.

Being in the UDR is obviously a suicidal occupation in more ways than one.

THURSDAY 31ST JANUARY Belfast

Three armed IRA Volunteers entered C.A. Gowdy's furniture and drapery store on East Belfast's Woodstock Road, shortly before 11 o'clock in the morning, planted two bombs on the premises and shouted a warning to the store's staff. Shortly afterwards a double-bomb explosion rocked the premises and started a fierce fire which gutted the building — the store had only recently been renovated. There were no civilian casualties

and the IRA's active service unit returned safely to base, another commercial bombing mission successfully accomplished.

FRIDAY 1ST FEBRUARY Belfast

Twenty City buses were destroyed in a daring and well-executed bomb attack on the Falls Road bus depot in West Belfast.

At about 6 p.m. a dozen armed IRA Volunteers entered the rear of the depot — its front entrance is only twenty yards from Andersonstown barracks — and planted twenty bombs in buses around the depot. Twenty minutes later the first of the bombs exploded, and as the Falls, Glen and Andersonstown Roads were sealed-off by the military, thirty-five firemen fought the blaze — but to little avail. Between one-quarter and one-half of a million pounds worth of damage was done — there were no civilian casualties.

Typically the attack was viciously condemned by Sticky Republican Clubs man Brian Brennan, who unashamedly personally broadcast his pro-Brit propaganda on Downtown Radio.

SATURDAY 2ND FEBRUARY Lisnaskea

A member of the UDR was ambushed by the IRA at 7.15 p.m. when he drove into the driveway of his house at Holybrook, near Lisnaskea. IRA Volunteers sprayed his car with about twenty shots seriously injuring him, before making good their escape in a commandeered car.

SUNDAY 3RD FEBRUARY Derry

The IRA launched an attack on

commercial premises in Derry during the late evening.

Two bombs were planted at McGonagle's builders yard at Strand Road. A telephone warning ensured that there were no civilian casualties but an RUC man was injured by one of the explosions at 11.30 p.m.

MONDAY 4TH FEBRUARY Belfast

Shortly after 10 a.m. three armed IRA Volunteers, two men and a woman, entered the Belfast auctioneer's salesrooms, Kennedy and Wolfenden in Victoria Street. They planted three bombs, shouted a warning and made good their escape in a commandeered car.

The area quickly cleared of civilians and the ensuing three explosions in quick succession fifteen minutes later started a fierce fire which engulfed the salesrooms in flames. Damage to the building, especially the ground floor was extensive and one estimate later put the damage to stock at approaching half-a-million pounds — compensation for which will, of course have to be paid by the British government.

TUESDAY 5TH FEBRUARY

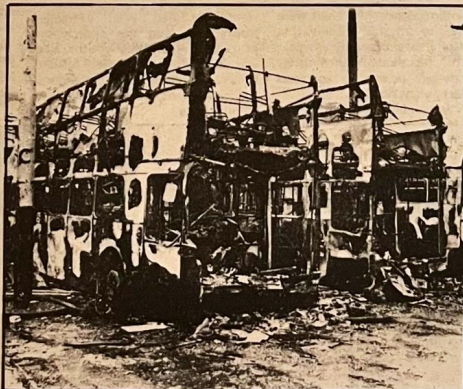
South Fermanagh

A UDR man was shot dead by IRA Volunteers in South Fermanagh during the evening. He was ambushed at his farm at Edenmore, on the road to Kinawley. Brits/RUC refused to approach his body until daylight the next day for fear of booby-trap bombs in the vicinity.

Derry

Within a few weeks of the IRA causing extensive damage to the Head Post Office in Derry, they tried to burn down the temporary substitute office.

During the evening Volunteers planted two bombs at the offices in Water Street, but unfortunately when the bombs exploded they only caused a small fire and the ensuing damage was not severe. A telephone warning ensured that there were no civilian casualties.



On Friday twenty City buses were destroyed in a daring and well-executed bomb attack on the Falls Road bus depot in West Belfast.

BRIT KILLED IN KESH

A BRITISH SOLDIER was killed in Long Kesh prison camp on Sunday. He died after hitting his head when he tripped and fell from a Saracen armoured vehicle. The dead Brit was one of hundreds guarding the camp which has claimed the lives of several Republican prisoners. He was serving with the Royal Engineers attached to the Air Defence Regiment whose task it is to prevent the IRA from air-lifting their captured Volunteers to safety. He had only been in the North for one month.

Moves against Mason

YORKSHIRE MINERS have strengthened their grip on Barnsley Constituency Labour Party, increasing speculation that their militant president, Arthur Scargill, plans to move against the town's Labour MP — the infamous and much-hated former Northern direct-ruler Roy L! need a twenty-four-hour-a-day police guard! Mason.

The miners have formed a Labour party branch at their regional headquarters in Barnsley to enable them to nominate further delegates to the party's management committee, and to achieve a majority on the town's party executive. The first head to fall is expected to be that of local party chairman, Councillor Ronnie Fisher, a Mason-man, but other Masonic holders of the key posts are expected to follow him and be replaced by miners' nominees. Pressure will then be exerted on Roy Mason, who is sponsored by the miners' union, which could result in his downfall from this safe Labour Westminster seat after more than twenty-five years.

Mass absence protest

REPUBLICAN REMAND PRISONERS in Belfast's Crumlin Road jail staged away from Mass on Sunday 28th January in protest over the Catholic church's 'political handling' of the funeral of premature bomb explosion victim, IRA Volunteer Dee Delaney. The prisoners stated that the refusal to allow Dee Delaney's remains into three Falls Road churches was 'unchristian' and "the cold uncharitable pressure put on the widow and family at such a sad time, an indication of the extent to which the Catholic church upholds the status quo along with the British administration." The prisoners added that their protest was a measure of their 'revulsion' with the action of the clergy.

Paisley 'impressive'

A MEMBER of a Young Fianna Fail fact-finding group from Dublin who visited the North last weekend apparently found Orange King Paisley "a very impressive man who would compel you to sit back and listen to him." She, and the other six members of the group, attended a service at Paisley's Free Presbyterian church in the loyalist Ravenhill Road, Belfast. She naively said of his sermon: "It was not in any way political or bigoted. We could not read any implications of politics or bigotry into anything he said."

Paisley, of course, hardly openly raves about hell-fire and damnation for 'taigs' every night of the week especially when he knows he is under inspection. But it is his politically opportunistic bigotry which has helped to create the monster of loyalist killer-gangs who over the weekend shot dead one Catholic and narrowly missed killing another. Both sectarian attacks took place within two miles of the Ravenhill Road church.

Naas resolution

NAAS Urban District Council in County Kildare have passed a motion of strong support for the prisoners demanding the rer ation of political status. The resolution proposed by independent councillor Evelyn Bracken, at the council's January meeting, extended best wishes to the men on the blanket in the H-Blocks, to the Crumlin Road jail prisoners and to the women in Armagh jail. The council expressed the hope that last Christmas would be the last that any Irish person would have to spend under such terrible conditions.

Clare H-Block committee

A SUCCESSFUL one-hundred-strong meeting was held in Ennis, County Clare last Friday evening to establish a local H-Block committee. The meeting was attended by two former blanket-men — who received a standing ovation — and by members of the Limerick H-Block committee, including Gordon Hayes, a member of the National H-Block Committee. A County Clare committee was elected including Clare county councillor P. J. Burke.

Divis ban

THE SDLP AND THE STICKS banded together to condemn as 'criminal' and 'short-sighted', respectively, the actions of residents in West Belfast's Divis Flats last Friday when workmen from the Housing Executive were prevented from carrying out repairs to the complex.

The Divis protestors — whose campaign for the short-term demolition of the flats has been spearheaded by the Divis Demolition Committee — had originally insisted that major structural repairs to the complex would not be allowed, but minor routine repairs could continue. (Major repairs, the residents feel could only indefinitely stall the desperately-needed total demolition of the flats). But, when on television housing chief John Gorman — in a calculated attempt to split the protestors — arrogantly cast doubt on the support of the Divis Demolition Committee amongst residents, the people hit back angrily by banning all repairs for a token one-day period.

Provocative picket

THE BRITISH FASCIST GROUP, the National Front, which took a leading part in the counter-demonstration to the Bloody Sunday march in Birmingham two weeks ago, is intending to move their anti-Irish antics nearer home in a fortnight's time. On Sunday 24th February they intend to hold their first ever demonstration in Belfast when they will attempt to picket the American consulate in Queen Street, in protest at the American government's RUC arms ban. Ironically the RUC may yet feel it was to ban this provocative picket.

Then on Saturday 15th March the National Front, together with loyalist organisations in Scotland, have called a march through Glasgow city centre around the slogan 'Smash the IRA'. This march is an attempt by the fascists to foster the division of Scots along sectarian lines. Just as they seek, as their main campaign in England, to make black people a scapegoat for all Britain's social and economic ills, the National Front wish to whip up a hate campaign against Irish people, against Catholics in the West of Scotland, and also against the growing number of people who question the presence of British troops in Ireland.

ATKINS' STORMONT CONFERENCE

ACRIMONY OUTSIDE

CIVIL-ENOUGH INSIDE

BY PETER DOWLING

THE LACK OF CONFIDENCE that Brit premier Margaret Thatcher places in Northern direct-ruler Atkins has been publicly exposed by the disclosure that after each week's Stormont conference sessions he has to report personally back to her on the week's proceedings.

Also, in order to keep things moving — just about — Atkins has been instructed by the Tory leader to add on three additional sessions to the two planned for the remainder of this month.

Meanwhile the conference potters leisurely along, having had sessions on Monday and Tuesday of last week, and the conference is not scheduled to sit again until next Monday week.

GAME

The 'game' the various participants are playing is now clear for all, who want to, to see.

Both the SDLP and Paisley are engaging in a blatant charade of play-acting. Behind closed doors they are seeking some form of compromise to facilitate the formation of a new Stormont assembly of which Paisley would be premier and from which the SDLP would gather up prestigious and financial crumbs of comfort. Sessions are described as proceeding in a 'civil-enough manner'.

Meanwhile outside the confines of the conference, and for the dual purpose of maintaining their respective electoral bases and strengthening their respective bargaining positions both the SDLP and DUP are going at it hammer and tongues creating what commentators have called an 'atmosphere of acrimony'.

Simultaneously however both

parties are being particularly careful not to reveal precisely what is going on behind closed doors at Stormont or to say anything which will really upset the discussions. (Journalists are conveniently rigidly segregated in one corner of Stormont's first floor, well away from the conference quarters.)

The SDLP are very keen collaborators, (especially when they get the whiff of a bit of easy money as they have through the generous expenses granted them to attend this

conference), and so to safeguard their electoral base, and to placate the nationalist mid-Ulster faction of the party, last week they unveiled a document on 'law and order' which slammed Brit repression in the six-counties. In reality this report was nothing more than a hypocritical smoke-screen to cover their collaboration at Stormont.

PAISLEY

Paisley, also, of course has had to cover his tracks and to prove to his supporters that he is maintaining his staunch loyalist bigotry.

Last weekend he slammed the SDLP's convenient 'law and order' report as 'vicious' and 'vindictive' and went on to state that the DUP is 'very effectively' safeguarding the interests of 'the Ulster people' and "the proof of it is the spleen that has been poured out against me personally and against the DUP generally by the SDLP."

Further, to cover his back against 'sell-out' charges, Paisley missed the bulk of the SDLP's presentation of their 'power-sharing' proposals last week. On Monday he went to see Brit GOC General Lawson and asked him to continue the SAS 'shoot-to-kill' policy against Republicans and on Tuesday he had to attend an amazingly convenient long-standing ecclesiastical engagement in Scotland.



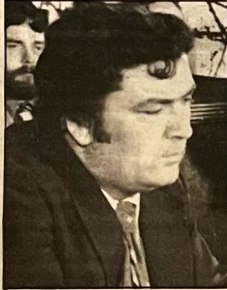
Paisley in action during the abortive loyalist stoppage in 1977 — last week he missed the bulk of the SDLP's presentation of their 'power-sharing' proposals in order to cover his back against 'sell-out' charges.

The ring-master, Atkins, has a circular agenda which means that if no agreement is reached on any specific point — and after eleven sessions nothing significant appears to have been agreed — then the conference participants simply move on to the next point, until they eventually come back to the original unresolved point(s).

This means that in theory at least, the conference could go on forever especially given the chance of John Hume and Ian Paisley finding some formula which both simultaneously accepts and rejects 'power-sharing at cabinet level' and an 'institutionalised Irish dimension'.

However, Atkins, who is intent on getting as much agreement as he can out of the conference and who is using the parallel 'cross-border dimension' 'side-show' as a safety-valve to guarantee the SDLP's participation in the primary conference, is expected to draw the proceedings to a conclusion at around Easter time.

Unless Hume and Paisley have by then come up with something starting the British government are then expected to pass Westminster legislation reforming Northern local government — perhaps introducing an upper tier Assembly for which it will ask for popular approval by means of a six-county referendum.



SDLP LEADER JOHN HUME

MIND-BENDING HYPOCRISY

BY SEAN DELANEY

"**STARTLING STATISTICS on law and order**" and "**a mind-bending account**" were the words with which Belfast Irish News political correspondent Tom Samways welcomed last week's report submitted by the SDLP to Humphrey Atkins 'parallel conference' at Stormont. Yet the only surprise to most people will be, just where have the SDLP been burying their heads over the past few years?

The report sets out to catalogue statistics of arrests, charges, refusal of bail, convictions (and the basis on which these are obtained), and goes on to a wide-ranging appraisal of the British legal apparatus in the North, including an 'analysis' of the blanket protest in the H-Blocks. By drawing comparisons, population-wise, with what would happen if the same situation existed in Britain, the SDLP report attempts an examination of the 'extreme powers' given to the British Army, RUC, and Diplock Courts.

CATALOGUED

Yet, in what has ludicrously been described by the 'Irish News' as an 'in-depth survey', the vast bulk (that is, the factually correct bits) of the information has for years been catalogued by a whole

range of genuinely concerned people such as the Association for Legal Justice, and by Republicans themselves. Indeed, there is nothing new in the statistics 'revealed' by the SDLP, or in one of their main 'discoveries': that government by consensus doesn't exist in the occupied six counties!

Last week's report must be seen in the light of the SDLP attempting to extricate themselves, in the eyes of the nationalist people, from a sorry state of blatant collaboration. (Perhaps also, they are seriously building a platform from which to challenge Gerry Fitt at the next Westminster elections.)

The report, as the SDLP well know, will have no impact on the British whatsoever, for if anyone is aware of their statistics of repression, they are!

But the report is a scandalous and hypocritical attempt to show to nationalist voters that the SDLP are genuinely concerned and involved in highlighting the repressive regime in the six-counties, and that they possess bargaining power with the British government. (Yet where has been their active protest against the barbaric conditions of the H-Blocks, or of Castlereagh?)

PARALLEL

Even the report itself contains some misleading statistics. The statistics used to draw a stark parallel with a similar situation in Britain are based on the total one-and-a-half million population of the six-counties, ignoring the fact that the vast majority of Brit oppression is directed towards nationalists. A situation, which if honestly faced by the SDLP, would paint a picture roughly three times more grim than does their report! In acknowledging the responsibility of the British government for the draconian legislation and repression in the six-counties the SDLP conveniently ignores the crucial fact, that it is precisely as a result of these 'abuses' that Britain maintains her present grip on the six-counties.

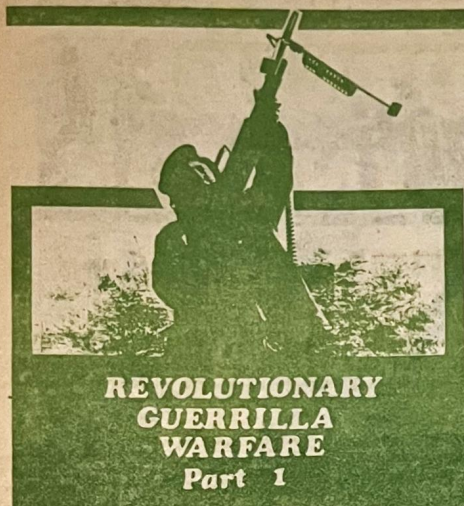
The SDLP have obviously pro-



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duced this report to pave their way to increased collaboration with the British in setting up a 'reformed' Stormont structure, using a supposed new-found concern with British legal and military 'excesses'

as a disguise for this craven collaboration with the very people responsible for this brutality, torture and murder.



EVERY STRUGGLE for national liberation and socialism has involved armed struggle. In a series of four articles, Ciaran Dowd looks at four successful cases of revolutionary guerrilla warfare — China, Vietnam, Cuba and Nicaragua — from which Irish Republicans can learn and draw inspiration for our own struggle, whilst, of course, remembering that there is no revolutionary blueprint and each country has its own particular history. The first part of the series is on China — 'Without water the fish will die.'

BY CIARAN DOWD

GUERRILLA is a Spanish word meaning 'little war', a strategy first used by the Spanish people to resist Napoleon's armies. This first 'people's war' was conducted with a high degree of local and regional autonomy — operations were so dispersed that this disoriented and confused the French army, forcing it to fight everywhere at once without a well-marked front line.

Since those days, the methods of revolutionary guerrilla warfare have been refined and tested in many situations. China's revolutionary war for national liberation developed the art of people's war greatly, and also its leaders have left very valuable writings on the subject.

Towards the end of 1934, the Chinese revolutionary movement led by Mao was decisively defeated by Chiang-Kai-Shek and they were forced to start the Long March (of 6,000 miles) to the west of the country where they established a new base. During World War II the nature of the revolution changed as they had to face up to a massive invasion by Japan.

By 1945, the anti-Japanese war had ended, and by 1949 the Red Army had defeated Chiang-Kai-Shek (with whom they had allied against the Japanese threat), who then fled to Taiwan.

It is certainly worth considering some of the main principles which emerge from this long and heroic struggle by the Chinese revolutionaries.

EXPRESSION

First of all there is the familiar expression — 'the people are water, the Red Army are fish; without water the fish will die' — which is talking about the need to always maintain popular support for the people's army.

Further, 'When the Red Army fights, it fights not merely for the sake of fighting but exclusively to agitate among the masses, to organise them, to arm them, and to help them establish political power'.

In practice, this meant conducting a large scale agrarian reform in the liber-

ated areas established after the Long March. These areas became an operations base, solidly behind the Red Army, where the peasants, with their own land to till had got a personal stake in the victory of the revolution. Everywhere the Red Army went, it organised people in neighbourhood committees, discussed political ideas and gained solid support from the people.

That is why Mao says that it would be wrong 'to regard the task of the Red Army as similar to that of

the White Army — merely fighting'.

LIBERATED

But, if they were careful to maintain popular support at all times, they also recognised the absolutely vital power of armed strength. Here again there is the popular expression: 'political power grows out of the barrel of a gun'.

This meant for example that it was the Red Army which built up a powerful party organisation in the liberated areas. They created the schools and hospitals improving education, medical facilities and so on.

It is not some sort of 'militarism', but healthy political realism that leads Mao to say that 'Whoever wants to seize and hold on to political power must have a strong army'.

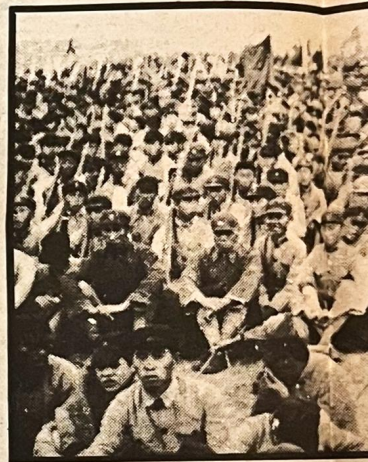
This expression, and the 'barrel of a gun' one have sometimes been seized upon to claim that the Chinese revolutionaries were blood-thirsty monsters. But nothing could be further from the truth.

As Mao goes on to say — 'As advocates of the abolition of war, we do not desire war; but war can only be abolished through war — in order to get rid of the gun, we must first grip it in hand'.

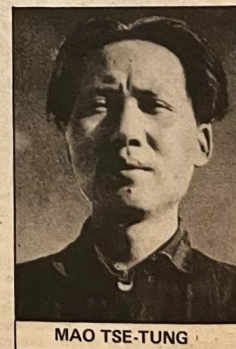
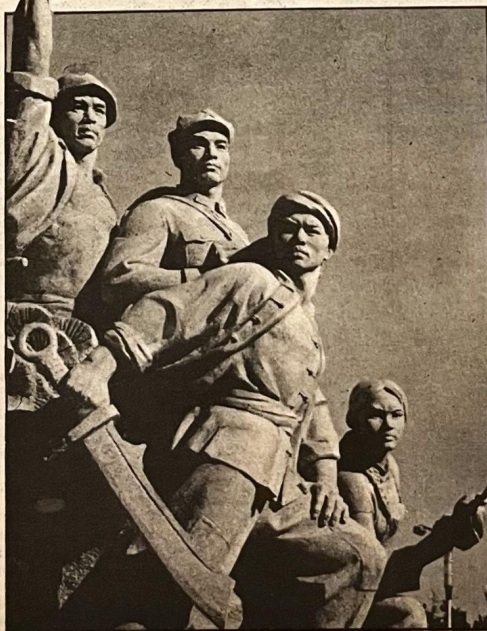
TACTICAL

Now, what are the main tactical implications of China's guerrilla warfare against the Japanese invasion and the local reactionary forces. The essence of guerrilla ('little war') strategy is putting the enemy, who is in a strong overall position strategically, into a weak position when confronted.

CHINA 'Without water the fish will die'



A Red Army mass meeting where a similar situation. At their feet can be seen grass.



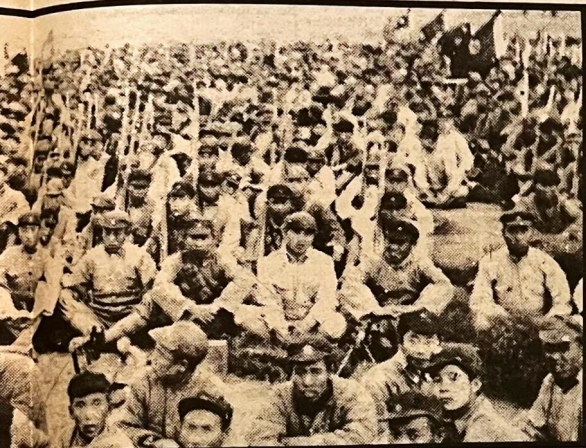
MAO TSE-TUNG

against ten', but were a small force with the resources of the tactical was — 'pit ten against one'.

The other main employed was the cities from the side. Given the largely rural, the build up political strength in side which would surround the cities by the enemy. the assumption protracted war that time was on the people.

However, it closely tied up rural conditions not necessarily highly urban so the majority of the main economic activities. Mao

VA: water will die'



where the soldiers gathered to hear weekly lectures on the political green grass hats for camouflage against air raids.

ten', because they small force compar- th the immense es of the enemy. But tical watchword it ten against one'. ENCIRCLE

other main strategy ed was to encircle es from the country- ven that China was ural, the aim was to political and milit- ngth in the country- ch would gradually d the cities still held nemy. This was on mption of a long, ed war which meant e was on the side of ble.

ver, it is a strategy ed up with China's ondition and would ssarily apply in a rban society, where ority of the people e main centres of ic activity are in the Mao himself says

that 'it is impossible to conceive of a protracted guerrilla war carried out by the peasants in the countryside against the cities in a country such as England or America.'

HUMAN

Finally, there was the constant stress by the Chinese revolutionaries on 'the human factor'. It means basically that victory or defeat in war is due not only to the objective balance of forces, but also there is a subjective element. That is, the 'human quality' of the revolutionary forces compared with the mercenaries who fight for imperialism.

The anti-Japanese War was waged to drive out an imperialist power and to transform the old China into a new China. The people throughout China had to be mobilised and their conscious political

activity developed before this objective could be achieved.

Last but not least, though it might sound trite, the Chinese say that 'we must not fear the enemy'.

'We must know that, although the circumstances and duration of the war are cruel and protracted, this is nothing compared to what would happen if the war were lost. However cruel the war may be, we must absolutely and firmly endure until the struggle is won'.



Next week:
VIETNAM -
'Only strike
to win'.

AN BARR BUA

Tragoidi Chiarrai



Cuid a h-aon

SEAN CLARACH

I measc na ndaoine ar labhair Breandán Feirtéar leo, le linn a thurais ar Mheiriceá anuraidh, bhí Mícheál Ó Cinnéide, Leaschonsal rialtas Bhaile Átha Cliath i Nua-Eabhrac. Mac é an Mícheál seo le Caoimhín Ó Cinnéide, muinteoir scoile i gCorca Dhuibhne agus duine a sheas go tréan le páirtí na Léinte Gorma riamh.

B'Fhéidir go gceapfadh duine réasúnta ar bith go bhfuil sé deacair teacht ar an gceinál seo duine i gCiarraí, ag cur san áireamh an stair thragóideach a bhaineann leis an gcontae ó rinneadh iarracht i 1922-1923 an Saorstáit a shá siar ar phobal dílis na Poblachta. Cheapfaí ach go háirithe nach mbeadh an cineál le fáil i measc muinteoirí nó aicme ar bith daoine a thuigeann an stair, an seanchas nó an béaloideas féin.

Maireann náire Thragóidí Chiarraí beo i gcónaí in Intinn daoine... Ach má maireann, maireann an meon eile chomh maith, i gCorca Dhuibhne féin. Corca Dhuibhne na Gaeilge. Corca Dhuibhne Thomáis Ághas. An Chorca Dhuibhne a raibh aithne ag Deasún Mac Gearailt (athair Gharret) uirthi, ag tús an chéid, nuair a d'éagraigh sé féin agus Earnán de Bhlaghd óige an cheantair, agus ghlac isteach in Oglagh na hÉireann iad.

PORT NUA

Sheas Ciarraí an fód in aghaidh na Black and Tans. Rinne ógánaigh Chiarraí a gcuide agus chabhraigh leis an Sasanaigh a thabhairt go dtí an bórd margála. Tá a fhios againn cad a tharla ina dhiaidh sin...mar a chuir rialtas an tSaorstáit gailgíní na gceathracha agus dríodar Arim Shasana isteach faoi airm, faoi éide agus faoi thuasastal leis an bPoblacht a mhair beo i gcoirthe na ndaoine i gCiarraí a chloí.

Ná bac go raibh port nua ar fad á cheol anois ag Mac Gearailt agus de Bhlaghd agus an chuid eile acu. Ná bac go raibh orthu anois fir óga Chiarraí a chur chun báis, tar éis trialach nó gan triail ar bith, go hoifigiúil nó go neamh-oifigiúil chun a bpíosa beag cumhachta a choinneáil... B'é rud ba thragóidí ar fad ar ndóigh, anuas ar an tubaist a bhain de chúis na Poblachta go mb'éigean daoine a chaitheamh, a chéasadh agus a shéideadh san aer go barbartha mar nach raibh siad sásta éirí as an troid a mhúin Mac Gearailt agus de Bhlaghd an chuid eile acu dóibh cúlpa bliain roimhe sin.

Níor thuig na fir óga seo cein fáth a gcaithfí éirí as cath agus as cogadh mas fíor go raibh an ceart acu nuair a chuaigh siad i mbun troda in aghaidh na nGall an chéad lá. Má bhí athrú ar an saol, níor léir dóibh é.

[Caitheadh nach raibh i gceist ach athrú point ag na hiar-cheannairí a bhí acu. Is anamh a athraíonn Ciarraíoch a phort...

LEANÚNACHAS

Agus bíodh a fhios againn freisin, ar ndoigh, nuair a lean Éamon de Valera, Tom McEllistrum (athair an té nár chuala tada i dTrá Lí, agus atá sásta gaisce a dhéanamh as eachtraí troda a athar nuair a fheileann an cás), 'Chubb' O'Connor agus an chuid eile acu isteach i dTeach Laighean ar ball, gur fhan daoine áirithe i gCiarraí dílis. Arís, níor léir dóibh go raibh aon athrú ar an mbunséal — fiú má bhí deich mbliana eile imithe thart.

Is fíor go ndúirt Dev ar ndóigh, agus vótáí á mealladh aige ag an am, i dTeach Laighean féin, "go raibh daoine lasmuigh den Teach seo ar féidir leo an leanúnachas céanna a éileamh ó bhunaitheoirí na Poblachta agus éilimid féin." Ní raibh sé ceart áfach Níorbh féidir le Dev agus a lucht leanúna an rud céanna a éileamh, tar éis go glacadh le Teach Laighean. Thuig sé áfach go raibh an leanúnachas seo ag baint leis an dream a tháinig sé féin, agus go mbeadh air tuilleadh a mhealladh ar bhóthar na haimhleasa má bhí faoi chumhacht a bhaint amach.

NÁIRE

Bhain sé cumhacht amach... i 1932. Bhí an t.I.R.A. faoi chosc aige taobh istigh de chúig bliana. Cúig bliana eile agus bhí lámha de Valera agus a lucht leanúna i bhFianna Fáil i mbun cumhachta i gcónaí, ach, bhí fuil lucht na Poblachta, idir dhaoine a caitheadh ag baint míleata agus daoine a cailleadh ar stailc ocrais, ar a lámha acu....

Ní gá an stair a ríomh do mhuintir Chiarraí ach go háirithe. Agus cé go bhfuil a fhios ag an ngnáthphobal sa chontae sin nach bhfuil aon difríocht i ndeireadh an lae idir lucht an tSaorstáit a gineadh i 1922 agus an lucht Saorstáit a gineadh i 1926, is feara d'éirigh le Fianna Fáil i gcaitheamh na mblianta ó shin i leith a chur abhaile ar dhaoine simplí go raibh siad, ar chuma éigin, níos dílse d'aisling na Poblachta agus iarracht na saoirse ó Shasana. Sin é an fáth go bhfuil líon na ndaoine atá sásta seasamh go hoscailte le Fine Gael i gCiarraí lag go leor i gcónaí. Ní léann an náire — go háirithe i dtuaisceart Chiarraí, áit nach bhfuil aon TD acu faoi láthair. Ach mas féidir léamh idir na línte, ba léir ó chaint Uí Chinnéide i Nua-Eabhrac, caint a chraol an Feirtéarach ar Radio na Gaeltachta mar chuid dá chúntas ar thuras chun na Stát, nach fada eile go mbeidh sé níos deacra fós an 'difríocht' idir an dá dhream a mhíniú go soiléir.



'Saighdiuirí' an t-Saor Stáit faoi airm agus faoi éide na Sasanaigh.

Postmhála



All letters should be addressed to the Editor —
An Phoblacht/Republican News, 170a Falls Rd.,
Belfast or 44 Parnell Square, Dublin

BESERK BRIT DRIVING

Dear Editor,

I have noticed a number of times in *APRN* that you refer to berserk Brit driving as a tactic of intimidation directed against the nationalist people. Recently in the space of a few days Brit 'Pigs' caused two accidents on the Falls Road in West Belfast. Fortunately nobody was injured.

On Thursday 17th January at around tea-time a 'pig' suddenly swung across the road at the Falls Park causing a City bus to skid and run into it, smashing the front windscreen and wing of the bus.

Then on the following Monday a 'berk' Brit 'pig' careering down the road in Dunville Park hit one stationary (parked) car and forced a second car onto the pavement. The 'couldn't — care — less' attitude which lies behind such Brit antics is well illustrated in a Brit magazine which has recently fallen into my hands.

The magazine, called *Seconds Out*, is the house magazine of the Number Two Squadron of the Brit Royal Corps of Transport, based at the Grand Central Hotel barracks in Belfast city centre.

The magazine contains the usual pathetic, but indicative, anti-Irish chauvinist jokes (which would probably be more applicable to the thickies in uniform who invade our shores). 'Hear about the Irishman who drove his car into a lake? He was trying to dip his headlights' and 'Some Irishmen are born losers. Paddy tried shop-lifting — and stole a free sample'.

(Remember the Grand Central mob — the Brits who stole bomb-damaged goods). But the significant item in terms of demonstrating the mentality of Brit drivers, and remember the following piece is written by a member of the Royal Corps of Transport, is a spoof 'traffic accident statement form'.

Particularly noteworthy is the all-too-realistic callous attitude towards the 'silly old man'. The spoof statement reads as follows:

STATEMENT
At 11.30 hrs. on 12/12/79 I was driving in vehicle No. OOBK07 from G.C.H. — City Centre to Flax St. along the Shankhill Rd. towards Crimea St. As I broke through the red lights at the junction of Agnes St. & Shankhill I noticed a lovely little yellow Fiat coming towards me from the right.

Now remembering my lectures by the Northern Ireland Road Safety Staff in training, telling us how inefficient our APC brakes are, well I quickly applied my brakes and guess what?

They are inefficient. Now luckily the framework of a Fiat is built so that only a 100 mph head on collision would cause severe damage so only the rear end of the Fiat was concerned for effect.

Anyway the lovely yellow Fiat had now got some bright red splashes on it as some silly old man had involved himself in our timeless chase across the lights.

This spoiled the whole colour system of the little yellow Fiat (and I may add it didn't do the little old man much good).

The old man whose name was not important started giving me a most curious look as I began to fill out my FMT 3 obviously wanting to get my priorities right. I asked if he wanted to be my star

witness. He said 'Go f... yourself you b...d'.

This sounded foreign to me and I wanted to improve our 'PR' asked if he spoke English. The only words he seemed to know were 'Where's the f...g doctor?'

Well being a good soldier I remembered my First Aid Training. His leg, which looked rather thin, my rear wheel, which was now quite red hot (I remembered from my training this was called blood).

Now what's that catchy saying they use in all those endless lectures? Itch in time saves — no not that one.

Preserve Wildlife — Pickle a Squirrel — no that's not it either! I thought: breathing, bleeding, break-downs.

I then sat there thinking, well what a clever boy you are Murphy.

I now proceeded to ask the gentleman for his First Field Dressing (as I'm not allowed to use mine, as it is under my visor).

By the time I had applied my knowledge of First Aid to the gentleman the R.U.C. had arrived. The lady in the yellow (and red) Fiat failed to answer any of the constable's questions as she lay asleep over her bonnet. (Why the use of the windscreen and not the door I don't know!)

Now it remains for me to fill in my statement form as my FMT 3's are in (1 Full — 3 Blank & Signed).

I was only doing 20 mph honest.

DVR MURPHY
P.S. (SIR) find enclosed £50. (Who mentioned bribery).

You have been warned.

Be extra careful next time you are crossing a street in front of a 'pig'.

S.McCartney,
Andersonstown,
Belfast.

Comparisons

A chara,

One of the main news items last week was the release of the British nurse Rita Nightingale from a Thai jail where she had been sentenced to 20 years for possession of drugs.

Freed on the direction of the King of Thailand, she emerged as a new British heroine of the '80s to the whirl of television cameras, the explosions of flash bulbs and the banner headlines of the gutter press in Britain. The overall feeling was of justice being done without any question of possible guilt being raised.

Simultaneously and without an iota of the same media coverage, Patrick Conlon was dying in a Hammersmith hospital, where he had been taken from his prison cell. He had been jailed in 1974 for 12 years on a conspiracy charge.

Up to the moment of his death, he protested his innocence and in fact one of his last wishes was that his name should be cleared. How many other Irish men and women are languishing in jails all over these islands on trumped-up charges and on evidence collected through torture, coercion and denial of basic human rights?

Margaret Thatcher postures and pontificates in her customary whining manner over the Russian invasion of Afghanistan. She pretends not to see any correlation between Russian aggression the Middle-East and the British armed intervention in the affairs of Ireland.

The latter situation has lasted for over 800 years, of course, and perhaps familiarity has indeed bred contempt. But it is important that the nationalist-minded people of Ireland not be affected by this attitude. We must not let apathy creep in, leave the protesting to the committed, the hard-

liners and the people with relatives in H-Block.

It is so easy to forget, but remember the thousands who marched on Bloody Sunday were marching against internment. Today eight years later, we still have a form of internment. As long as the evils of H-Block continue to exist, as long as the British war machine refuses to accept those imprisoned as prisoners of war, then we, on the outside, must continue to highlight the plight of those within the walls of Long Kesh.

P.R.O.
Wolfe Tone Sinn Fein cumann,
Derry.

Clonard warning

A chara,

We would like to draw to the attention of the people of Clonard and the Lower Falls the recent re-appearance of a number of cars in the area whose occupants have been acting in a very suspicious manner.

Cars have been seen cruising through the area at night and parking near the homes of prominent Republicans in the Clonard area.

Residents may well remember the spate of assassination attempts in Clonard in the past. One Republican was the victim of a gun attack in his home which left him and his baby son wounded. He later detected a bomb strapped to the underside of his car. Another local Republican was shot in the stomach while working in his shop.

The recent gun-attack on the Sinn Fein H.Q. in the Falls is yet another stark illustration of what this sort of car-cruising can be a preparation for.

But of course Republicans have not been the only targets.

Ultimately the prime motivation behind loyalist assassination attempts is to strike terror and induce paranoia into the hearts of the entire nationalist community, regardless of their 'political involvement'. Thus it was that at the end of December Sean Cairns was shot dead in his Tralee Street home, and his father seriously wounded, despite having no connection with the Republican Movement.

In the light of this and other recent attacks, all unidentified vehicles in the area must be a source of careful scrutiny and a healthy mistrust, by the local population.

We would urge the people of the area to report all suspicious activity of this sort to the Sinn Fein advice centre, and also to ensure the safety of themselves and their family. Make sure all doors and windows are fastened especially at night. Always make sure of the identity of a caller before opening your door. Above all, please be on your guard!

P.R.O.
Clonard Martyrs,
Sinn Fein Cumann,
Belfast.

Thanks

A chara,

On Thursday 17th January a social function — 'a night at the races' was held at the Lake Glen Hotel in West Belfast in order to raise funds for the H-Block Appeal Fund.

Courtesy of your columns, on behalf of the appeal fund, I would like to sincerely thank the function's organisers for raising the sizeable sum of nearly £1,400. This much-appreciated money will be used to help publicise the plight of the blanket men.

Tom Hartley,
Chairperson,
Sinn Fein
P.O.W. Department,
85b Falls Road, Belfast.

Derry gas-works closure

A chara,

Once again the hard-pressed consumers of Derry are in line for callous exploitation with the rumoured closure of Derry Gas Works.

Sinn Fein welcomes the call by the Works Committee of the Derry Gaslight Co. for an end to the uncertainty regarding the retention of the gas industry here. We see in operation the same shabby tactics used so recently by the managements of Hutchinsons and Courtauld to limit their recent closures and redundancies: deliberate evasion and delays in providing the necessary information until it is too late to take effective action to protect workers or consumers from the closure of this industry.

Nine thousand consumers use gas in Derry, and for the two thousand whose homes are provided with gas central heating, the matter is more critical and costly than simply changing from gas to electric cookers.

The Housing Executive seeks £25 million to convert its homes from gas to other forms of fuel. The estimated cost for converting one house from gas to solid fuel heating was recently £800. In addition, many public buildings and some businesses depend on gas for heating and production including Ann Street Youth Club, the new Pilot's Row Community Centre, and Taylor Foods, to name just a few.

No protection of the consumer is guaranteed. A mention has been made of state help to convert gas cookers to bottled gas. Conversion kits cost £60 — but unofficially, the manufacturers in England are refusing to supply these kits here, and may force consumers to switch to electric cookers.

The cheapest new electric cooker is now £239. We suggest, however, that people not rush into buying new or second-hand electric cookers until the state aid has been decided: you could end up paying for the conversion out of your own pocket by buying now.

Derry consumers already pay the highest price for gas in the British Isles: a shocking 98p per therm. Yet no attempt is made to subsidise the cost to the consumer: British policy speaks of the only terms of spreading the cost of fuel throughout the year with prepayment systems and coin-collecting devices.

The run-down of the gas industry here was preceded by studies on the options available to maintain a gas supply. Of the seven options described in a report from the British Gas Corporation in 1977, the cheapest was a pipeline of natural gas from the 26-counties.

Yet without any substantial reason given (one suspects it may be political), this option was ignored in favour of the next cheapest, a pipeline from Scotland. This in turn was refused in favour of a still more costly option, the development of bottled gas supply here.

Because no native fuel supply has been developed here, and link-ups with the 26-counties are rejected for whatever unspecified reasons, the six-county state depends on imported fuel: primarily oil, and then coal, both of which are more expensive due to transport and handling costs. Both are relatively insecure and expensive, and our dependency leaves us at the mercy of multinational monopolies such as Esso, B.P. and Shell.

All these companies have substantial holdings in all energy fields, and the run-down of a small gas industry as in the six-counties

may profit them in other ways.

For example, Calor Kosangas monopolises the market in bottled gas, and is owned by Imperial Continental Gas Association, a multi-national holding company with massive continental gas, chemical, electricity and North Sea oil and gas interests. It owns Dugannon Gas Co. and is the sole supplier of gas to Armagh, Enniskillen and Strabane (whose gas industry closes on June 1st). The forces mentioned have deliberately priced main gas out of the market, and it is no accident that Calor Kosangas took-over the market for bottled gas here at the same time of the closure of our gas industry.

Both long-term and short-term policies and action is needed to protect the consumer and the worker from this type of exploitation.

Short-term action can include supporting the Works Committee of the Derry Gaslight Co., who have not only demanded a statement from Commerce Minister Gilles Shaw on the future of the industry in Derry, but have taken a stand helping the consumer by refusing to convert gas meters in homes to the new higher price levels to recover arrears until some protection is offered to both workers and consumers.

Tenants' associations, consumer groups and individuals can support action groups which may be set up to deal with this threat, and to secure protection for the consumer in the event of closure.

In the long-term, however, we must analyse our energy needs in an all-Ireland context. We can reach vastly different conclusions.

Geological surveys indicate natural gas and oil in quantities which may not interest international developers, but which could contribute significantly to Ireland energy needs if developed.

Sinn Fein recommends an all-Ireland Energy Development and Exploration Board, owned and controlled by the public to provide a sound basis for meeting our energy needs.

Martha McClelland,
P.R.O. Derry Sinn Fein,
15 Cable St., Derry.

Brandywell amenities

A chara,

Inside the homes of many people living in the Brandywell area of Derry, dozens of families on low wages and unemployment benefits are pessimistic about the North's prospects of spreading its economic capabilities in dealing promptly with all types of housing complaints in the 1980s.

Over the past 12 months, the tenants of NIHE property reported hundreds of various construction faults without achieving much success and remain extremely worried that the NIHE during the 1980s will continue to ignore their justified grievances.

Brandywell Amenities Committee completely support the people's factual allegations against the inadequate maintenance procedures of the NIHE and firmly believe the present deplorable situation will get worse in the months ahead when frost and other severe weather conditions threaten the general health of the people in Brandywell.

Nevertheless, both the people and Brandywell Amenities Committee are convinced it never seems to matter to the NIHE if remedies for house repairs and defective heating systems never reach their index files of priorities. In November in Derry a number of houses in the Brandywell had all their life-saving heating systems abruptly disconnected for five consecutive days, which caused unnecessary hardship for a substantial number of people under the medical care of local general practitioners. And, unwittingly, the people at consid-

erable expense to themselves, used much of their hard-earned wages and unemployment benefits to provide alternative heating before learning about the NIHE emergency services. This means it is entirely the NIHE responsibility to replace (free of charge) a continued supply of Kosangas until such time as the original heating system is repaired.

From past experiences, the people in conjunction with Brandywell Amenities Committee strongly suspect the NIHE in the 1980s will display a similar pattern of non-concern in properly responding to repair and heating problems, which throughout the 1970s had plagued the people of Brandywell.

Therefore, in the beginning of the 1980s, we, the members of the Brandywell Amenities Committee, pledge ourselves to help neighbours and relatives to overcome their problems in community harmony and give useful assistance, if possible, to otherwise less fortunate than ourselves.

Brian McClelland
Kathleen McClelland
Rose Doherty
Robert McClelland
Susan Brown
Annie McClelland
Agnes McClelland
Bridget Bliss
Margaret Doherty,
Shantalow,
Derry.

Armagh eleven

Dear Editor,

The Armagh Eleven are eleven women who took part in a peaceful demonstration outside Armagh Jail on International Women's Day. As a protest against conditions of the women prisoners inside the jail. As the demonstration dispersed, eleven of the women were arrested on various charges such as disturbing the peace, secondary assault, etc.

Three times since then, the women have appeared for trial in Armagh court; three times the session has been adjourned; three times, women and men from many parts of Ireland and Britain have attended the court in support of the accused.

The case comes up for a fourth time in April 1980, despite strong objections from defence counsel that either the case should have been dealt with by now or dropped against women as it is unjust to drag it out for more than a year, four times calling upon the defendants to travel all the way to Armagh (in one case, all the way from Britain).

In the cause of women's rights we ask all Irish people to support actively the Armagh Eleven, and we are building Defence Committees throughout the 26 counties. The initial meeting to expand the Dublin Defence Committee was on Thursday, 24 January, but there will be weekly meetings (every Tuesday at 7pm) at the Women's Centre, 8 Marlborough Street Dublin. We will campaign around the right to speak publicly about conditions inside Armagh Women's Prison, and around the right to demonstrate peacefully.

We also announce a major public meeting and social at Taylor's Hall on Saturday, 9th February at 8.00pm, where women of the Armagh Eleven will speak about this assault upon Women's Rights, and about the plight of the Armagh prisoners. Please support the Armagh Eleven in whatever way you can.

MAEVE McLAUGHLIN
Defence Committee,
Armagh Defence Committee,
c/o Women's Centre,
8 Marlborough Street,
Dublin.

KING BILLY RIDES AGAIN

Evenin' all. Maurice here.

Well, I've really had it up to here with this place. Believe you me, it's no fun being a supremo. The half-wits, simpletons and rogues that I have to deal with, you wouldn't credit it. Take, for example, Lord Justice O'Donnell. There I was, sitting at my desk composing more lying press statements for Gerry Fitt to put out and the Lord Justice bursts in. 'Sir Maurice, what can I do to save King Billy?'

Well, it was all beyond me. What was the fool babbling about? This is 1980, not 1690.

Anyway, he finally managed to explain that he was trying this lunatic from Kircubbin, John Steele.

STEELE

Steele, it appears, likes to dress up and ride a white horse every twelfth of July and actually imagines that he is in some way a royal person. Normally all that would be required is for someone to call for the men with white coats and have him certified, but, this time he had got caught with a whole load of UVF home-made machine guns which had been manufactured on his 200 acre farm. It seems also that he is some kind of big wheel in the Orange Order, which, as far as I can gather is a primitive collection of morons and bigots, but which, for some reason O'Donnell fears. His problem, it transpires, is how to keep the oafish Steele out of jail.

Accordingly, to get rid of him, I tell him to get Dessie Boal, a charming lawyer with whom I'm quite taken, to plead that for 'one glorious moment', while dressed up and on his horse he really believed that he was King Billy, and so, when a complete stranger approached him and asked to use his farm to make machine guns with which to shoot teagues, he felt that it would be

petty to refuse and so, regally granted the favour.

The fact that the 'complete stranger' happened to be a member of the RUC should not be mentioned in court. O'Donnell and Boal did as they were told and Steele got off with a recorded sentence.

SMITH-BLAIN

I had just settled down again and was concocting a yarn about how much the SDLP had done for the H-Block prisoners, when there was another interruption. In came a pimply faced unpleasant youth shuffling his feet and whining about how his C/O, Lieutenant-Colonel Woodrow, had sent him up to me to be carpeted. His name turned out to be Stuart Smith-Blain and it was he who was shown on TV, wearing his fusilier's uniform, halfway up a lamp post in Birmingham gesticulating and swearing at Troops Out marchers. However, I fully agree with his C/O that 'he has got a good military career in front of him'.

Our security forces are so short of cannon fodder that they positively welcome such idiots, particularly criminals.

Why just the other day Benjamin Dowie of Bray Street, Belfast, convicted of forging £90 worth of cheques, told the judge that he was joining the UDR in the morning,



By
Maurice

was congratulated and told that he therefore needn't go to jail, and RUC constable Rodney Beattie, of Inn Road, Dollingstown, Lurgan, who has been charged with stealing money from the RUC and falsifying sick lines is of course out on bail and back on duty, pending trial.

My predecessor the Brigadier said it, and I may as well repeat it. No crime, be it murder, arson, looting, rape, theft or cattle rustling disbars the perpetrator from joining or continuing to be, a member of the security forces. After all, have I ever let a single RUC torturer be convicted? Certainly not!

FORDE

And talking of that fine body of men, I had an interesting meeting the other day with Det-Con Ben Forde. He has just published a very wonderful book about what fun it is to be a born again Christian and an RUC man.

I must confess, much as I enjoyed it, I did find some of his yarns a bit far-fetched. I mean, for instance his one about how he was interviewing a Provo Godfather of terror in Castlereagh when the fiend turned

to him and said 'you're Benny Forde, aren't you, I've got all your gospel LPs', and then confessed to a string of crimes because Benny had such a trusting face. Or the one about the bible class he set up in Long Kesh which has 23 Loyalist assassins and two Provos in it.

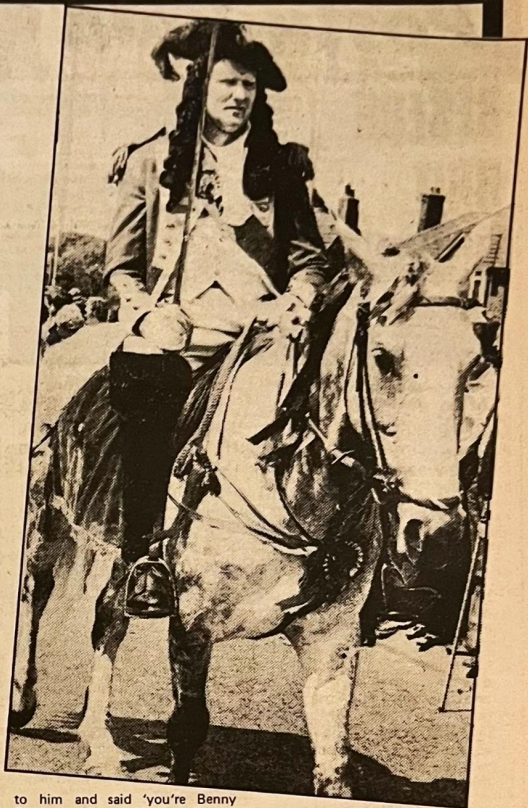
He does seem to have a rather vivid imagination.

Finally, a word to the men of the British army stationed in Flax Street Mill. It has come to my attention that some of you have been objecting to the way the

officers send you out on patrol as targets and have been known to answer back and make rude remarks about your officers' intelligence.

I know that your morale is at an all-time low, but such insubordination will not be tolerated. Any more of it and some of you will find themselves up on a fizzer! And no more crying in the dorm after lights out! This must stop!

Maurice.



DUBLIN ABATTOIRS - HEALTH HAZARD

Slaughter yards must go!

BY CATHAL MCCORMACK

THE STENCH of decaying flesh, blood and cow-dung on the streets are just a few of the daily realities for Dublin people who are unfortunate enough to live in areas where slaughterhouses operate.

Last Monday the Anti-City Abattoir Association (ACAA) held a demonstration at the city hall to protest at the appalling health problems that abattoirs create. The thirty-one abattoirs in Dublin are all situated in densely populated areas and the ACAA are organising people all over the city to have them re-located to industrial sites.

Residents near abattoirs claim that the smell is sometimes so sickening that it is impossible to eat a meal, or even enjoy a drink at the local, for the stench gets everywhere.

They also claim that the streets and walls of houses around abattoirs often get splashed with blood from carcasses being loaded onto trucks, and with cow-dung from live cattle coming in.

The ACAA point out that the health standards at Dublin's abattoirs meet neither EEC nor Dublin Corporation's regulations.

A licence is necessary to operate an abattoir in the twenty-six counties, except

when it has been in existence since before the 1847 Towns Improvement Clauses Act. Unfortunately most of Dublin's abattoirs were in existence before 1847 as small family butchers, and have now evolved into much bigger enterprises, but Dublin Corporation still do have the power to enforce more stringent health regulations.

A current focus for protest by the ACAA is the Corporation's apparent intention to grant a licence to a Mr. Keating who has been operating illegally for many years at Ossory Road in North Strand.

The ACAA have mounted a picket on these premises in an attempt to stop it being licenced.

There are other problems besides the health risk. Huge cattle trucks are often to be seen negotiating little back streets and alleyways, making four or five deliveries per day. These trucks are often making deliveries and collections until four o'clock in the morning.

At a public meeting last week the ACAA decided to extend the pickets to the homes and other business premises of the owners. The chairman of the ACAA, Brian Skeritt, has promised them not one minute of peace until their demands are met.



Protestors gathering in Parnell Square for Monday's march on City Hall

BUILDING AN ANTI-WAR MOVEMENT IN BRITAIN



BRITS OUT!

A contribution to the debate on building an anti-war movement in Britain, by Sue O'Halloran of London Sinn Féin, writing in a personal capacity.



BRITS OUT!

THE SOLIDARITY MOVEMENT in Britain is often urged to help build a broad movement for troop withdrawal on the basis of various existing sentiments in the population, which add up to 'war-weariness'; and that the kind of withdrawal the solidarity movement want, an anti-imperialist withdrawal, should not be raised publicly until a later stage, when 'withdrawal actually comes on the political agenda'.

This is the spirit with which Helen Stevens (*AP/RN* August 18th) urges republicans, the Troops Out Movement and the far left, to take part in a broad movement in Britain: a spirit of keeping their own analysis and proposals well in the background for the sake of drawing in wider forces; sticking solely to the demand for troops out, with no deeper elaboration of this.

FAILURE

I think this is a prescription for failure in building a broader movement among the most progressive sections of the labour movement which should be the most fertile area for building support. It is a recipe for the same kind of failure dramatised by the International Tribunal against Britain's Presence in Ireland, which watered down its political punch so far that in the end no-one was interested in it as a serious political forum.

I do not say that the way forward in Britain is for the solidarity movement to confine its support to militant republican mobilisation. I am in full agreement with taking part in a broad movement, but within this, the overriding task is the opening up of political debate about the how of troop withdrawal, and the political arrangements under which it should take place.

DIFFICULT

In opinion polls, a substantial majority of the population are in favour of troops out. Why then has it been so difficult to develop this opinion into an active movement for withdrawal?

Various factors have been cited, but the fact remains that there are millions of British people who would prefer Britain to leave Ireland. These millions are not a mass of naive people. The fact is that especially in the trade union movement, there are well developed political obstacles to a full acceptance of the troops out position, the main reason being that troop withdrawal is not understood as a realistic and responsible position. It is seen as an abandonment of any attempt at finding a political solution.

At the Liberal and Labour Party conferences the leaderships were able to swing the votes against troops out motions by presenting withdrawal as a reckless and catastrophic move. The Liberal spokesman on Ireland said it would be abandoning the people of Ireland.

For Michael Foot even the mention of it was enough to provoke a major disaster in Ireland. He was able to appeal to the labour move-

ment's traditions of democracy reformism, and socialist principles as a reason for maintaining troops in Ireland.

So just at the point where withdrawal is being openly discussed, a major stumbling block to a movement gathering real momentum is the absence of any proposals for an intermediate political arrangement to accompany and follow withdrawal in the short term, that would allow people to feel that they know what they are calling for when they say 'troops out'.

WORRIED

There are plenty of British workers, trade unionists and liberals who recognise that Ireland is one nation, who feel no sense of identity with the loyalists of the North, who

are genuinely and increasingly worried about the repression and brutality of British rule in Ireland, who are beginning to realise that there must be something very wrong with an arrangement that takes such military effort to maintain, who are increasingly dismayed by the backward and bigoted loyalist politicians like Paisley whom Britain is keeping going in the North.

But what such people cannot envisage clearly is the step between leaving home the troops, and the desired result: the end of the sectarian and undemocratic state and the eventuality of Irish unity.

The challenge for the solidarity movement now is to make clear this connection, to make 'troops out' a politically wise and positive position to hold.

All the time in Britain one is aware that people are wondering that if the troops are pulled out, does this mean that there would be a kind of constitutional void in the status of the six-counties?

Is the future nationhood of the six-counties then up for grabs, the outcome to be decided by hectic manoeuvres, or more likely, civil war?

This is what the TOM appear to people to mean when they talk about Irish self-determination:

'troops out' as the prelude to a deliberately set up chaos.

SOLUTION

When Republicans demand 'Brits out' they hold out an optimistic prediction as to the outcome of a troop withdrawal: the ending of the British guarantee to loyalism is the crux of the Republican vision of a solution. Once the loyalists lose their guarantees it will not be long before the Protestant working class will realise that its real interests lie in Ireland, and some form of accommodation will eventually be reached. Republicans see troop withdrawal as a prelude to a period of inevitable destabilisation of the balance of forces within unionism, a precondition for the end of sectarianism and the achievement of democracy.

The solidarity movement itself does privately have a similar perspective. But this is the perspective that is suggested should be kept out of broad work. I think this is wrong.

It is within this general perspective that the task now is to work out more concrete proposals for the ending of Britain's guarantees to the loyalists.

Without something more definite

broad support for troop withdrawal will not be forthcoming.

But even apart from this consideration, whatever one's view of the desirability of an extremely unstable period following troop withdrawal, even to the extent of a civil war, it is anyway quite inconceivable, short of a revolutionary situation all over Europe, that Britain would ever withdraw the army leaving a constitutional and political void.

Britain will not leave in this way, leaving a new balance of forces to be worked out unconstrained.

WITHDRAWAL

So we have to realise that if and when withdrawal happens it will be linked with some kind of political arrangement, however flimsy. If the solidarity movement enters into broad alliances in the spirit of backing away from discussion, even at the risk of some inevitable polarisation as the reality of troops withdrawing comes closer, and if it simply goes on echoing the troops out slogan, then the chance will be lost to make the slogan a credible position to support.

What are the political ideas floating around which the solidarity movement has to confront and refute?

The most frequently expressed hope in Britain is still the internal reform of the six-counties, through some form of power-sharing, leading to devolved government and only then will the troops leave. The Labour Party leadership was pushing the idea of reform, at their current conference, turning to the trade unions as the way to resolve sectarianism within the six-counties, as a precondition for considering troop withdrawal.

This reformist conception of how the conflict in Ireland can be resolved is a very serious obstacle to a troops out movement. It appeals to British workers' best (democratic) as well as their worst (chauvinistic) instincts. These reformist conceptions must be refuted within the labour movement, on the grounds that the six-counties is un-reformable.

Recently a different set of ideas have been turning up: the most prominent are the loyalist soundings about an Independent Ulster, and Garrett Fitzgerald's confederation. The *Guardian* newspaper has also been peddling the idea of a European-style settlement which would create an Ireland-Britain federation. One of the reasons why the solidarity movement in Britain has not taken issue with any of these ideas is the commitment to the idea of Irish self-determination.

To discuss political options is seen as an infringement of Irish freedom to decide for themselves, although there will be room for British revolutionaries to press for an anti-imperialist kind of withdrawal once withdrawal has actually begun. But it is right now that other forces are putting their kinds of withdrawal into the arena. In the market place of political proposals the demand for 'troops out' will only be taken seriously if it can compete with alternatives that are put before people.



Some British Labour MPs like Joan Maynard (pictured here at a rally in London five years ago) have called for 'troops out'. However at the last Labour Party conference the party leadership was able to swing votes against troops out motions by presenting withdrawal as a reckless move. For Michael Foot even the mention of it was enough to provoke a major disaster in Ireland.

WAR SCHOOL: TOMORROW'S MILITARY JUNTA

T.V. REVIEW
BY
UNA O'NEILL

"WE MUST provide our officers with the ability to think straight." It was with these words that Major-General Frank Kitson introduced viewers to the British Army Staff College of Camberley, in the four-programme series 'War School' shown during January by the BBC.

'War School' was, in a way, Kitson's accession to TV stardom. And who could ever forget him?

With his icy stare, his hesitant, robot-like speech, his blood-stained past in some former British colonies, and more recently in Ireland, his now famous counter-insurgency manual 'Low Intensity Operations', out of which he sometimes seemed to be reading his answers to the BBC's questions, Kitson seems to be thought of by the British army as the epitome of the 'new wave' officer.

The new course in Camberley is indeed his brain-child, and quite frequently, British officers studying at the college could be seen clutching 'Low Intensity Operations', as the Chinese were once portrayed clutching the Little Red Book.

STUDENTS

The students are described as 'the top 25% of British officers'. A few more come from other NATO armies. There they are being trained in the techniques involved in dealing with the two-pronged danger to 'Peace, Law and Order' according to the British army: nuclear threat from the Soviet Union, and internal 'subversion' and 'terrorism'.

The most appalling scene of the programme was an act played by students and portraying potential 'subversives' in the shape of four characters: the upper middle-class 'leftie', whose credentials have got him a post of responsibility in administration, but who is sworn to smash the state; the marxist trade union shop-steward engaged in shop-floor agitation and in wrecking the economy; the Scottish nationalist (this part was edited by the BBC); and the 'Citizen-Smith' type anarchist planning 'terrorist' operations. The whole scene was rather pathetic and full of upper-class clichés.

TWO-RIVERS

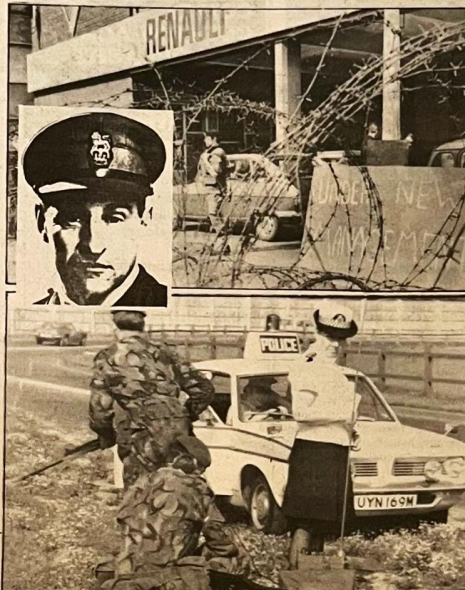
Another, more interesting insight into British army thinking was offered by the 'Two-Rivers' simulation exercise. Two-Rivers is an imaginary English town where 'law and order' have broken down, and the British army is called in to restore the peace (sic).

All the parts are played by students, posted in several rooms and provided with internal phones, Ordnance Survey maps and other material. A team plays the British army, another plays the 'subversives' another the press, and so on. Following Kitson's teaching, the 'P.R. side of it' is particularly stressed, and the officers playing the British army are asked to write press releases and appear on a fictional TV news programme.

The 'Two-Rivers' 'subversives', acting on what they were taught of 'terrorist-thinking', showed certain signs of British army paranoia: "The aim is to get the army to kill some of our people. And in case they don't, we'll do it for them."

An imaginary demonstration is about to take place in Two-Rivers, and the 'terrorists' have a sniper armed with a .303 ready to fire at the army, or at the demonstrators, as the need may arise. This seems ironic, as it is the British army themselves who have made use of such tricks in Ireland.

Asked by the interviewer if this was not a game, Kitson candidly



TOP: British troops learning the practicalities of taking over civilian functions during the May 74 UWC stoppage in Belfast.

INSET: Frank Kitson - icy stare and robot-like speech.

BOTTOM: British troops accosting the British public to seeing them on the streets at London's Heathrow airport in August 1974.

answered: "Would the public prefer us to make terrible mistakes, in Northern Ireland, say?"

BUFFOONS

A lot of what goes on in Camberley was of course not shown, as the series was evidently a 'PR exercise'. Officers were heard complaining at the old image of the British army: "There was an image created by National Service of the army as bullsh... but we are not a lot of buffoons. Not any more."

Still, only 2% of University students admit considering the British army as a prospective career. And the officers at Camberley College seemed pretty much the usual predictable public school old boys, fed from the cradle with the old conservative values. Today they join an army without an Empire, accepting eagerly its new role as an internal 'peace-keeping' force and possible alternative to a civilian government in times of strife.

Among those upper-crust officers, the token 'working-class bloke', risen from the ranks, stern and tense, gave the old recruiting sergeant line: "If you've got talents the army will get it out of you." This was later contradicted by another officer explaining how young captains leave the army "because their talents and enthusiasms are not tapped."

"We fail to attract idealists and adventurers," he concluded, unable to see that the total lack of idealism of Kitson's theories would see to that.

CROSSMAGLEN

The Irish war is of course studied in depth at Camberley. Officers were told at a lecture that the defeat of the IRA was inevitable. Document 37 was not mentioned

in the presence of the BBC, but a striking contribution to the lecture was a vivid account of life in Crossmaglen by an NCO who actually came out of it alive: "We spent four months pounding round and round Crossmaglen, trying to keep awake, trying to keep alert, trying to ensure that when attack came, at the worst it would kill only one or two - but all the time waiting for a bomb to go off, all the time wondering if it would be today where you were out on patrol."

Again the important role of 'public relations' was stressed. But, it was admitted, "there is still a reasonable body of the population to whom it does not matter a damn what you do," referring to the support of the nationalist population for the IRA.

CONFIRMS

'War School' confirms predictions of the new 'internal' role of the military in Britain and leaves Irish Republicans without a doubt as to the nature of the enemy's leadership. Devoid of respect for human life and human rights, ready to use any means to achieve power, those officers are trained to be devious, patient, and skilled at psychological operations, according to Kitson's gospel. They are trained to use chemical and bacteriological weapons, including CR and CS gas already tested on Irish gullie pigs.

Yet one concept seems out of their grasp, after ten years and more of soldiering in the North: that their very sophistication, and deviousness, will not help them defeat the IRA, no matter how many 'dirty tricks' they use, no matter how long they try to hold the fort. Popular resistance, and a people's war, are beyond a British army officer's understanding.

Solidarity Greetings

BRADLEY, Seamus (H4-Block). McKenna, Brian (H5-Block). "As comrades together, Seamus and Brian both fight for Ireland, unyielding and staunch. Determined, dedicated and true. We owe a lot to lads like you. So let us tell Britain, no-matter what, she will not divide you or tear you apart." From the Marie Drumm Sinn Féin cumann, Maghera.

CALLAGHAN, Rosemary (Armagh gael). The Short Strand RAC salutes Rosemary Callaghan on completing two years on protest in 'B' wing, Armagh gael. Your courage is an inspiration to us all.

McLAUGHLIN, Terry; RAINEY, 'Huck' COLLINS, Liam (H3-Block). Congratulations to Terry, 'Huck' and Liam on completing two years on the blanket for just demand of political status. Victory to the blanketmen! God bless you and all your comrades. From Marie and Jim.

O'CARROLL, Paddy (H3-Block). Congratulations, Paddy on completing two years on the blanket. "No one could be prouder of you than we are today and this is just to tell you we are behind you all the way." Love from Margaret, Danny, Colin and Sinead.

O'CARROLL, Paddy (H3-Block). Congratulations Paddy on completing two years on the blanket on February 2nd. "When the history of this era is written, Ireland's blanketmen will have pride of place." From all the McGrory family.

O'CARROLL, Paddy (H3-Block). Congratulations to our son on completing two years on the blanket. "It does not take a special day to bring thoughts of

you to mind, for a day without a thought of you is very hard to find."

WALSH, Seanna (H5-Block). Congratulations to our son Seanna on completing three years on the blanket. "They may have you in their keeping but we have you in our hearts." Love and solidarity from mammy and daddy.

WALSH, Seanna (H5-Block). Congratulations to my brother, Seanna on completing three years on the blanket. "They may break you in body but not in spirit." From your sister Lisa, brother-in-law Tony and Toni. Victory to the blanketmen!

WALSH, Seanna (H5-Block). Congratulations, Seanna on completing three years on the blanket. "It is not only you who can endure the most who will ultimately triumph." From granny, granda and Tony.

WALSH, Seanna (H5-Block). Congratulations, Seanna on completing three years on the blanket. "They took you to a prison cell, cold and damp inside, they handed you a blanket which you wear with endless pride." From all your aunts and uncles.

WALSH, Seanna (H5-Block). Solidarity greetings on completing three years on the blanket. Wishing you all the best for your self, Sid. From Dan, Deborah and kids, and all your many friends in the 'Strand'.

BIRTHDAY GREETINGS

BRADLEY, Seamus (H4-Block). Birthday greetings to our son Seamus on his 24th birthday. "We wish you luck, we wish you well, we think of you in that lonely cell. We are proud of what you are dear son, - a man among men now you are twenty-four. Lots of love and God bless you all. From mammy and daddy."

BRADLEY, Seamus (H4-Block). Birthday greetings dear brother, "To put on prison uniform and to abide with all the rules, your head held high you did not comply with the wishes of the fools." Lots of love and God bless you and all your comrades. From all your brothers and sisters.

CARLIN, Liam. Birthday greetings to our son Liam on his 23rd birthday on 9th February. "You're not alone in 'H' block, no matter what they say, for outside your friends and loved ones are behind you all the way." Love from mum, dad and all the family xxx.

CARLIN, Liam. Birthday greetings brother on your 23rd birthday. "We're thinking of you always, especially on your birthday. All our love from Mary, James and family. xxx"

CARLIN, Liam. Birthday greetings brother for your 23rd birthday. All our love and God bless from Eileen, Hugh and family xxx.

McNULTY, Joe (H3-Block). Greetings Joe on your birthday. Your third spent on the blanket. From Martin, Marie and family; Seamus, Kate and family; Malachy Ann and family; Pat, Ann and family; Sean, Kate and family; Tereasa John and family; Paul, Róisín and family; Paul, Mary and family; Angela, Les and family; and Tommy.

McKENNA, Brian (H5-Block). Mary Queen of the Gael wrap your mantle of blue around the brave blanketmen. "So on the blanket your struggle goes on, you never yield for your spirits are strong. For the cause we are glad you have played your part. Serving your land with body and heart." Many happy returns Brian. Lots of love from mammy and daddy.

McKENNA, Brian (H5-Block). Happy 24th birthday Brian. "You're not alone in H-Block no matter what they say, for outside your friends and loved ones are behind you all the way. Love and God bless. From all your brothers and sisters."

PUBLIC MEETING AND SOCIAL
Defend the Armagh 11!
Support the Armagh prisoners!
8 p.m. Saturday 9th February
Tailor's Hall
DUBLIN
Organised by Armagh Defence Committee

H-BLOCK DANCE AND CABARET
Pound Loney Social Club
BELFAST
8.30 p.m. Friday 15th February
Featuring Philomena Quinn and the Gambler and guest artists.
Admission £1.

BALLYCONNELL DANCE
Friday, 15th February
Star Ballroom
music by Blossom Flavour
Taile £1.25 11 p.m. to 2 a.m.
Proceeds to H-Block Appeal and PDF

DEARBHU URRRAIME TESTIMONIAL BANQUET
for
Councillor Paddy Ruane
(Ball de Chomhairle Chontae na Gallimhe 5 1988)
To celebrate 25 years of dedicated public service to the people of Galway and of Ireland.
Ostán Flannery's Motor Hotel
GALWAY
Sunday 24th February
Céol: Rodney's Glory
Aoi: chainteoir:
Ruairí Ó Brádaigh, Uachtarán, Sinn Féin
Cathaoirleach:
Councillor Frank Glynn,
Chairman, Galway Co. Council,
Dinnear 8.30 p.m. Taile £6.50
Bar extension
Organised by Galway Chomhairle Ceantair, Sinn Féin.

GET WELL SOON
The staff of An Phoblacht/Republican News send greetings to our comrade John Atkins and hope that he recovers soon.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT
DELANEY
The wife and son of the late Volunteer Kevin (Doe) Delaney would like to thank the Republican Movement for their help during our recent bereavement and their organising of the funeral arrangements. We would also like to thank all those who attended Kevin's funeral and those who sent mass cards or wreaths. Thank you all - Mrs. Edie Delaney and son Sean Paul.

Sympathy
CONLON
The prisoners in Albany prison, Isle of Wight and all Irish prisoners in English gaols extend deepest sympathy to the wife and family of our friend and comrade Giuseppe Conlon who died in Hammersmith Hospital, London on Wednesday 23rd January. Go nÉada Dia trocaire ar a nam usáil.

THANKS
H-Block
The H-Block Appeal Fund would like to thank Jim Morris of Nenagh County Tipperary for his very generous donation of £60. Victory to the blanketmen!
Cumann Cabhrach
Cumann Cabhrach, Dublin, wish to thank the MacAdams Cumann, Sinn Féin, for their donation of £550, and all those who assisted them in raising this money.

SINN FEIN NATIONAL FINANCE COMMITTEE Grand Draw Result
1st prize - £1,000: Ticket 16768, Seamus O Muiris, Nenagh
Four consolation prizes to: 28432 Strabane, 13139 Newtownabbey, 10135 Belfast, and 13045 Stroketown.
The NFC wishes to thank their supporters and looks forward to their continued support for future fund raising activities.

AN CUMANN CABHRACH DUBLIN COMMITTEE January Draw Results
£100: 322; £50: 037; £25: 368; £10: 047 & 118; £5: 302, 154,348, 385, 301 & 108.



Death of veteran Cork republican

AN APPRECIATION BY A COMRADE.

IN THE EARLY HOURS of Sunday 27th January Denis Griffen died in St Patrick's Hospital, Cork. Denis was one of Cork's oldest republicans having given over fifty years to Ireland's cause, both in the ranks of the Irish Republican Army and the G.A.A.

Having joined Na Fianna Éireann in the 1920s he quickly moved upwards to the 1st Cork Brigade of the IRA. At the same time he became a member of the Cork Volunteer Pipe Band in which he served a period as pipe major.

During the twenties and the thirties he held staff positions in the I.R.A. at company, battalion and brigade levels. In 1939 he joined the Expeditionary force which took the war into Britain.

On his return he resumed duties in the Cork Brigade and served many years imprisonment in Mountjoy and the Curragh Camp. He was one of the last to be released from prison at this period being one of the group whom Gerry Boland, then Fianna Fáil's Minister for Justice, referred to as 'the hard core of the I.R.A.' Until the day he died Denis worked in every way he could for the republican cause.

In GAA circles he will be remembered for the work he did for the organisation particularly for Na Píarsaigh hurling and football club.

The removal of his remains to the North Cathedral on Tuesday evening and the funeral to St Finbar's Cemetery on Wednesday were attended by a large gathering including veteran republican comrades and prominent GAA officials.

The tricolour-draped coffin was flanked by a guard of honour of Volunteers who had served with him in the thirties and forties, and pipers from the Cork Volunteers Pipe Band preceded the hearse. At the graveside buglers sounded the Last Post and Reveille and the oration, in Irish and English was delivered by local republican Gearoid MacCarthaigh.

Labhair amach

LE TOMAS Ó SE

Maraíodh Saighdiúr eile de chuid Arm na Breataine le déanaí. Fuair sé bás ar shráideanna Bhéal Feirste agus é ag cosaint Réim na Breataine in Éirinn. Fuair sé bás díreach mar a fuair na ceadtha dá chomrádaithe bás le deich mbliana anuas.

Cúis bhróin dúinn ar fad go bhfuil gá le cogadh chun saoirse na hÉireann a bhaint amach. Ní chuireann duine ar bith ina chiall cheart fáilte roimh cogadh. Ach níl na Sasanaigh sásta saoirse a ghéilleadh dúinn.

Taispeánadh cheana sa tír seo firinne an mhéid sin. Dhíoltaigh siad saoirse a thabhairt dúinn agus fiú anois tá ladhár sáite acu i gcúrsaí innheanacha na tíre seo.

Duine ar bith atá ag fanúint ina thost tá sé ag cabhrú le hArm na Breataine. Tá sé de dhualgas ar ghach Éireannach a ghuth a bheith le clos ag iarraidh saoirse na hÉireann.

Sna Sé Chontae Fíchead tá mórchuid daoine den tuairim nach féidir leo faic a dhéanamh. Tá daoine eile agus níl siad faic a ra ar eagla go gceapadh daoine go



raibh bá acu le hOglaigh na hÉireann. D'éirigh leis na póilíní rúnda

The late

John Joe Walsh

THE DEATH took place last month of John Joe Walsh, Kiltimagh, County Mayo. A sincere republican he was an inspiration to all those he came in contact with and throughout his life worked tirelessly in his country's cause. The political prisoners were always in his thoughts and he regularly contributed financially to the needs of their dependants. He was himself interned in the forties for his republican activities, and was a friend and comrade of Sean McNeela and Tony D'Arcy who died, on hunger strike. Republicans all over Mayo regret his passing.

eagla a chur ar dhaoine. Tá eagla orthu labhairt amach mar gheall ar chéasadh na gciní i mbeairic na bpóilíní agus mar gheall ar na Bloccanna H. Tá eagla ar dhaoine go gcaillfidh siad a bpóstanna.

Ní nach ionadh go bhfuil eagla ar dhaoine nuair a chuiriminn tú ar an méid a dúirt C.C. Ó Braín nuair a bhí sé i gcumhacht; sé sin go raibh sé ag coimeád cóipeanna de litreacha chuig an Irish Press go raibh dearcadh náisiúnach iontu.

DUALGAS

Tá sé de dhualgas ar ghach Pobhlachtach misneach an phobail a ardú. Cathfídh sé ina shaol féin misneach a léiriú. Cathfídh sé labhairt amach gan náire, gan éadóchas ag cruinnithe, i litreacha agus ina chomhrá féin.

Nuair a bhíonn duine amháin sásta labhairt amach is gnáthas go mbíonn daoine eile sásta tacaíocht a thabhairt dó. Ró-mhinic ní tharlaíonn faic toisc go mbíonn eagla ar dhaoine.

Tá muinntir an Tuaiscirt ag fulaingt le tamall fada, cathfídh gach iarracht a dhéanamh chun Saoirse na hÉireann a bhróstu.

IN MEMORIAM

CAMPBELL, Tony; McCann, James; Sloan, James. (7th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Volunteers Tony Campbell, James McCann and James Sloan shot dead by British crown forces 4th February 1973. A Muire na Gaeil déan idir púil ar a n-annamhacht uaisle. Always remembered by their friends and comrades in the Belfast Brigade.

CUNNINGHAM, Joseph. (8th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Joe Cunningham who died as a result of wounds received while on active service duty. Mary Queen of Ireland keep him in your care. Always remembered by his comrades Maris and Jim.

SAUNDERS, James. (9th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Jim Saunders. Killed while on active service, 7th February 1973; Mary Queen of Ireland pray for him. Always remembered by his friends and comrades in the Belfast Brigade.

STAGG, Frank. (4th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Frank Stagg who died 12th February 1976 for a just cause under a corrupt system. Proudly remembered by the officers and members of the Frank Stagg cumann, Sinn Féin, The Liberties, Dublin 8.

THOMPSON, Kathleen. (1st Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Volunteer Kathleen Thompson (Cumann na mBan) whose 1st anniversary occurs on the 9th February. I measc laochra na Gaeil go raibh a n-annamh uaisle. Always remembered by her friends and comrades in the Belfast Brigade.

COISTE CUIMHNEACHAIN NA POBLACHTA — Republican Commemoration Committee

Applications for speakers at Easter commemorations should be made as soon as possible, giving full details of venue, time etc., to:

An Rúnaí,
Coiste Cuimhneacháin na Poblachta,
44, Parnell Square,
Dublin 1.



Order your Easter Lilies now!

Available from:
Mrs. P. King,
29, All Saints Park,
Raheny,
Dublin 5.
Price £10 per 1,000
Honour Ireland's dead — Wear an Easter Lily!

HOUSING CONFERENCE
Saturday 16th February
10 a.m. to 6 p.m.
Liberty Hall
DUBLIN

COMHAIRLE CUIGE LAIGHIN
Annual General Meeting
DUBLIN
2.30 p.m. Sunday 24th February

INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY
Saturday 8th March
Defend political status!

PICKET
ARMAGH PRISON
Organised by Women Against Imperialism
Supported by Sinn Féin

GARTREE PRISON
PICKET
Support the POWs!

Sunday 17th February
1.30 p.m. — 3.30 p.m.
Transport leaves Hall of Memory,
Birmingham at 11.30 a.m.
Organised by Birmingham Sinn Féin

BREAK
THE WALL OF SILENCE
ON THE H-BLOCKS!
Wednesday 27th February
LONDON

Blanket protest: 6 p.m. Fleet Street
Rally: 7.30 p.m. Conway Hall, Red Lion Square.
Organised by the Troops Out Movement

H-BLOCK MEETING
Friday 8th February at 8 p.m.
West County Hotel
ENNIS

H-BLOCK FILM
Wednesday 13th February at 1.00 p.m.
Trinity College (Arts Block)
DUBLIN
Organised by Students Against H-Block

YOUTH AGAINST H-BLOCK
MARCH AND MEETING
Saturday 16th February
From American Embassy
To British Embassy
DUBLIN
Organised by Na Fianna Éireann.

COALISLAND MARCH
BUSES FROM BELFAST
Sunday 17th February

North Belfast: Ardoyne Sinn Féin
Advice Centre, and New Lodge Road
Sinn Féin Advice Centre.
East Belfast: Thompson Street, Short Strand.
West Belfast: Divis Tower; Dunville Park; Beechmount Avenue; Martin Forsythe roundabout; Turf Lodge; Busby, Andersonstown; and Stewartstown Road, Twinbrook.

All buses leave at 12.30 p.m.
Tickets, £1.50 each, are available from the Art Shop, 85B, Falls Road.

BUSES FROM DUBLIN
Sunday 17th February
Buses leave 5, Blessington Street at 11 a.m.
Tickets £4, are available from 5, Blessington Street

4TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE REMOVAL OF POLITICAL STATUS
SMASH H-BLOCK!
MARCH AND RALLY
Sunday March 2nd

DUBLIN
Organised by National
'Smash H-Block' Committee

BELFAST
Jointly organised by six-county co-ordinating committee of the Relatives Action Committee and the Ulster Executive of Sinn Féin

BELFAST VIGIL

Belfast Relatives Action Committee held a vigil and collection in aid of the H-block blanket-men on the Falls Road outside Dunville Park last Friday and Saturday.



COALISLAND
SMASH H-BLOCK
MARCH AND RALLY
Sunday 17th February
Organised by National
'Smash H-Block' Committee