

An Phoblacht REPUBLICAN NEWS



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Free State failure to face up to partition

NO GRIT

THE last week of Siberian weather conditions across Ireland, which has led to a number of tragic deaths, which cut off electricity and food supplies to many areas, which has been cursed the length and breadth of the country and which has, incidentally, contributed to a growing split in the Official Unionist Party (since many councillors were prevented from reaching Belfast for a crucial vote), has also shown up the differences in practical responses between the advanced capitalist government of British imperialism in the North and the 'banana republic' style administration in the twenty-six counties.

This might sound like an argument for the Union but it is only to make the point that

the confused line of the border which marks no natural boundary but that of a sectarian head-

count made in 1921 can, at last, be clearly distinguished by the hazardous and snow-blocked roads which sweep up to Bridgend on the road to Derry, or to Middletown, or to Killeen, only to be replaced by the well-gritted surfaces of the North's roads, kept open by the regular patrols of snow ploughs if not saracen armoured cars!

This argument in the Brits' favour of administrative efficiency is used by loyalists as one rationale for not wanting a united Ireland, if not inversely by those in the South wanting to know what the hell the

(continued on next page)



● Stranded amidst the ice and snow on a bleak city centre street, due to the Dublin government's lack of determination to deal with the climate facing the Irish people, let alone the political problems of partition and loyalism

NO GRIT

(continued from previous page)

nationalist people of the North 'want to join us for'. But the explanation for the North's good roads is the advanced nature of British administration and capitalist development as opposed to the neo-colonial development of the Free State and the attitude of its rulers.

Domestically the British government is equally committed to a policy of economic austerity, but successive Free State governments have made something of a virtue of harsh policies in health and social services, unemployment benefit, and, of course, in avoiding the radical approach to the North necessary to challenge British rule and hasten peace with justice in Ireland.

The Free State government lack such resolve and, anyway, are not inclined to a radical approach to economics or to the nationalist question. They are in power because they represent that section of the Irish middle class which came to an accommodation with British imperialism at the time of partition and which have never been shifted yet (and which will not be shifted until Irish independence unleashes their political downfall).

SURPASS

British professionalism in imperialism is the quality which enables that state to hold the North. The Brits surpass the Free Staters in administration, in research and statistics, in international propaganda, as well as at road gritting!

The Free State, on the other hand, is good at collaborating. Anti-Irish jokes apart, the reason for this British efficiency over the Free State is not because of Irish inferiority (though undoubtedly it encourages that myth), but because of the prime position which their imperialist position has given them, and because of Free State mis-management which cares little for the welfare of the people, encourages disillusionment over the attainment of Irish unity, and which is engaged in revisionism of Irish history.

So, the line of partition is even apparent through the snow that falls in winter and in the ice that grips the land and, of course, all the differences that can be emphasised in this are grist to the mill of loyalism and British imperialism. And if the Free State government has not even got the grit to deal with the relatively minor problem caused by the climate then how can they be expected to deal with the much greater problem of partition?

SECURITY CRACK-DOWN

BY DAMIEN O'ROURKE

A MAJOR 'security crack-down' by the Free State government has been in the wind for several months now and some of the ingredients of such a package have come to the surface following the bombing of the gardai's chief forensic scientist and the shooting dead of the security chief at Clery's store on Wednesday and Thursday week in Dublin.

Although both these attacks were carried out by non-political elements, the focus of state activity is inevitably on republicans and their supporters in framing new repressive measures. Indeed, the first reaction to the bombing in a statement from the Coalition was a thinly-veiled threat of a re-introduction of internment in the Free State, interpreted as such by a large section of the media.

The key sentence in the ominously-worded statement reads: "The government wishes, however, to give an immediate and categorical public assurance that this new development in our society will not be allowed to prevent the law being enforced and that the government will not shirk its responsibility to take any action that may be found necessary."

LEAKS

The interpretation of this as an internment threat does not come out of thin air, but is based on leaks in the latter half of last year which reported that selective internment of republicans brought in at the same time on both sides of the border had been studied in detail by the Anglo/Irish study group on security.

The conclusions of that study group, which were alone kept secret, were also believed to have been a major topic at the Fitz-Gerald/Thatcher summit in London, with both premiers concerned with how to contain the upsurge of nationalism, North and South in Ireland, following the H-Block hunger-strikes.

After this first government reaction came the inevitable calls from the gardai representative bodies to abandon plans to abolish the state death sentence and instead extend its scope.

Little mention is made of the reality that, with all plain-clothes gardai now equipped with either a Smith and Wesson revolver and/or the Israeli-made Uzi sub-machine gun, arbitrary capital punishment can be exacted by any individual detective at the rate of six hundred bullets per minute.

The exact nature of changes in the law to legalise further repression have not, as yet, been

finalised, but the Coalition Minister for Justice, Jim Mitchell, has promised legislation during the forthcoming Leinster House term.

Already, however, apart from the extensive arming of gardai, other significant developments have taken place.

Most important of these has been the conversion in recent months of Limerick jail into a high-security prison. Among those who will be moved there from Portlaoise are the 'maverick' political prisoners who include Eddie Gallagher and associates, members of the British and Irish Communist Organisation, and a variety of others. The 'Stickies' or 'Official IRA' prisoners have already been moved there.

Republican prisoners are still being kept at Portlaoise and empty cells and wings are apparently being prepared for an extension of the prison population.

BAIL

Just how this expansion would come about is indicated by the major legal change which has been mooted for some time — a constitutional amendment to end the right to bail.

This change has several attractions for state authorities in that it severely restricts a prisoner's ability to organise his own defence prior to the trial. It also restricts his ability to gain access to independent medical examiners and so increases the effectiveness of garda interrogators, whose brutal methods were severely restricted following the Amnesty International enquiry during the last Coalition.

Another key part of the package will be the ending of an arrested person's right to silence. Anyone who would remain silent will have this used against him at his trial.



● Troops, facing the snow today with a smile on their faces and shovels in their hands, will tomorrow resume their role of armed force confronting the republican aspirations of the people in defence of the Free State

With no provision for a solicitor to be present, the inexperienced victim will be easy prey for hardened interrogators, it is estimated by those now drafting new legislation.

OFFENCES

Other new powers under consideration will extend the Offences Against the State Act power of detention and interrogation without charge or caution, will make it an offence to abscond whilst on bail, and will require an accused person to notify the prosecution of details of his defence before his trial — the accused will also be

obliged to subject himself to cross-examination in court.

The general principle behind the new powers will be to restore the position where convictions have been obtained, not on detection or on the guilt of particular parties, but overwhelmingly on the extraction of confessions and the ignorance of people of their rights in garda custody.

With a heightening of public awareness of civil liberties and their recent abuses, both these traditional methods have been weakened and thus the proposals to change the rules.

UDR soldier shot

A UDR soldier was shot dead by the IRA in north Belfast on Friday morning, January 8th.

The part-time soldier was shot dead just after nine o'clock at the petrol filling station where he worked as manager. He had only started work at the Castleton filling station on the Antrim Road earlier that week — indicating the efficiency of IRA intelligence.

Several armed Volunteers in a commandeered car pulled into the filling station's forecourt shortly after it had opened that

morning and fired about half-a-dozen shots from a handgun at the part-time soldier. As he fell dead the Volunteers made good their escape in the snow blizzard in another commandeered car.

The three main pro-British forces within the nationalist community — the Catholic hierarchy (spearheaded by Fr. Faul), the SDLP, and the Sticky Republican Clubs the Workers' Party — all falsely condemned the attack as 'sectarian'. The soldier was, in fact, the first member of the occupation force to be killed by the IRA this year.



● The scene of the ambush

END OF COUNCIL PROTEST OPENS ANOTHER RIFT WITHIN OFFICIAL UNIONIST RANKS

Boycott abandoned

BY PETER ARNLIS

The decision by the Official Unionist Party's executive, last Saturday, January 9th, to drop the local council boycott (which followed the killing of Robert Bradford, MP, in mid-November) against British government security policies has caused yet another major rift in the party, many of whose councillors have sided with the stance of Paisley's Democratic Unionist Party. And the leadership of James Molyneux has once again come under attack with Harold McCusker being suggested as an alternative leader.

Molyneux has also apparently been responsible for avoiding unity talks with the DUP in the search for a joint candidate to contest Bradford's South Belfast seat (the writ for which has yet to be moved).

The DUP has given the Official Unionists until January 28th to agree on a candidate or else they will field their own candidate — which is their main objective though they are observing the motions of reasonableness and seem to have support from Bradford's widow, Mrs. Nora Bradford.

The controversial executive decision (26 to 11, with a number of abstentions) was taken because not enough councillors had been able to attend the meeting in Belfast owing to the arctic weather conditions. It was intended that the councillors would recommend a decision to the executive but in the event it was referred to the party leadership. A total of nineteen out of the twenty-six district councils in the North had been affected by the protest, into the role of which many of the more aristocratic unionists felt ill-suited.

BITTER

After the meeting, the executive issued a statement instructing councillors 'to resume normal business forthwith'.

There was immediate bitter reaction to the decision which was condemned by, among others, Harold McCusker (who could probably foresee the hay that Paisley would and did make out of it) and Ken Maginnis from County Tyrone (whom Owen Carron defeated in last August's by-election). Billy Bleakes, chairman of the Official Unionist Councillors' Association, said that the adjournment protest had been a success and he

attendance and non-disruption.

SALVOES

On Monday the salvos got heavier.

Harold McCusker, the Armagh MP and favourite to replace the discredited leader, said that if there was not a change in Molyneux's style of leadership there would be no alternative but to replace him.

Molyneux believes that it is virtually impossible to wring from the British a Stormont assembly on lines acceptable to the loyalists and the logic of this position has seen him siding with fellow MP Enoch Powell on supporting integration between the six counties and Britain. Official Unionists believe that Molyneux lacks resolve as well as the psychological strength to pursue their demand for devolution. Besides, he radiates

lethargy and is a bore.

There are demands for a meeting of the Ulster Unionist Council where Molyneux could expect to get the big heave.

His leadership now has little authority and a number of Official Unionists have continued the council protest — Cookstown and DUP councillors on North Down's recreation committee united with the DUP to use their joint majorities on Tuesday night to vote for adjournments.

Also, on Tuesday, a Lisburn Official Unionist councillor, James Dillon, said that Harold McCusker should replace Molyneux.

PAISLEY

Out of all this Official Unionist confusion and crisis of leadership, Ian Paisley emerges strengthened. He has upstaged them at every

turn and has led the way in setting unionist attitude to British government political proposals, its security policies or its handling of EEC funds.

Last week, the resignation of RUC Police Federation chairman, Alan Wright, over the distribution of the minutes of the controversial federation meeting which followed Bradford's death, backfired on Paisley and, eventually, strengthened RUC chief constable Jack Hermon whom Wright supports.

At a meeting last Saturday the federation met and, not unexpectedly, asked Wright to withdraw his resignation, the effect of which was implicit support for Hermon. Wright withdrew his resignation when he was assured he had the confidence of RUC members.

But however the turn-about looks, overall it is a rather singed feather in Hermon's cap — the rebels loyal to Paisley remain in the federation and at all levels of the RUC and all it will need will be another trail of IRA successes to spark off another security crisis.

Official Unionist and Democratic Unionist agreement — at times frail and threadbare — has at least survived in the form of the proposed 'Operation USA' due to be launched next week.

Paisley's American visa was revoked by the US State Department and instead he is flying to Canada. John Taylor is representing the OUP, Peter Robinson the DUP, Mrs. Nora Bradford replaced her late husband, and Mrs. Eileen Paisley makes up the foursome.

Robinson was due to speak at Grace Cathedral on January 19th at a meeting organised by the Irish Forum, although the application was arranged by the British Consulate.

The cathedral is famous for its ecumenical and civil rights activities, and reconsidered the invitation to Robinson because of 'security fears' (that is, Irish Northern Aid political pressures), although it also objects to the DUP because of its opposition to the Glencree reconciliation project in Ireland which the cathedral has funded.



● Ian Paisley (centre), with his side-kick Peter Robinson (right), and a selection of adoring DUP councillors, who are making more political gains at the expense of Jim Molyneux's Official Unionist Party through their continued council boycott after the typical OUP backdown

Fast for segregation

REPUBLICAN prison protests, previously scorned by loyalists, have been copied to the extent that two loyalists, one belonging to the UDA and the other to the UVF, have gone on hunger-strike for segregation — an important aspect of one of the demands made by republicans since September 1976.

The hunger-strike started in the H-Blocks last Monday, January 11th, and the two men are James Watson of the UDA, who is charged with the attempted murder of Bernadette McAliskey and her husband, and UVF man Adrian Dowds, who is also charged with attempted murder.

According to UDA spokesman John McMichael, two prisoners will join the fast each week, although republicans within the jail doubt if it is a hunger-strike to the death. There are reports that there is widespread disagreement between the various loyalist groups inside, about the tactic of hunger-striking, which last year they

condemned as 'bringing the community to the verge of civil war' before they went out to shoot anti-H-Block/Armagh activists.

The drive for the loyalist protest appears to be coming from top UDA leader Jim Craig, who is held in H6-Block.

Paisley's side-kick Peter Robinson and Johnnie McQuade, also of the DUP, knew of the hunger-strike before it was announced last Monday and the UDA are gullible indeed if they expect that party to support them. The loyalist hunger-strikers will also have a problem overcoming a credibility gap — during the first republican hunger-strike a number

of loyalists went on hunger-strike for five days in December 1980 — and the media have not treated this extension of the loyalist protest with the gravity that they have approached similar republican declarations.

In H6-Block, republicans and loyalists voluntarily segregate on an agreed basis, but it means losing exercise, recreation, association and washing facilities every other day. The loyalists may also spread the protest for segregation into H-Blocks housing sentenced prisoners, perhaps by signing themselves into 'protection' in an attempt to force the administration to give them exercise and association as a group outside of the period that republicans mix together.

There were some loyalist protests in support of the hunger-strike at the new remand court inside Long Kesh, but it is likely



● The UDA's John McMichael claims two loyalists will join the fast weekly

that the loyalist paramilitaries will balk at the idea of rendering the prison ungovernable by a campaign against prison warders, many of whom are vulnerable and live in loyalist areas. The alternative, a

campaign of ostracism or intimidation, is probably one that the warders and administration can cope with.

Last Tuesday, prison minister Lord Gowrie visited the new court. From the dock a loyalist prisoner had declared: "Two men are going to die, everybody is prepared to go on this hunger-strike over the next two weeks." Gowrie said he regretted the hunger-strike but said that there would be no segregation: "It is neither administratively possible nor morally acceptable."

HARASSMENT

Meanwhile, the harassment of protesting republican prisoners continues inside the H-Blocks.

On Wednesday week, January 6th, two republican-nominated orderlies were giving out the tea in H4. The orderlies were serving republican prisoners who were lifting a piece of cake off the tray. A warder interjected and the two orderlies, who ignored him, were sent to the punishment blocks for 'not serving the tea as specifically directed'. The warder thought that the pieces of cake were too large and wanted them cut in half and that the prisoners should not have been allowed to lift the cake off the tray!

Fifth arrested

FIVE of the eight republicans who escaped from Crumlin Road jail in Belfast last June have now been charged in the Dublin Special Criminal Court under the Criminal Law (Jurisdiction) Act, which was passed in 1976 as a means of circumventing the bar on extradition.

The fifth man, thirty-four-year-old Patrick Paul 'Dingus' Magee, appeared in the court on Thursday week, January 7th, charged with the escape and with shooting at an RUC man during the escape. He had been arrested in a dawn raid the previous day at a house in Tralee, County Kerry.

Magee was one of an IRA active service unit who were captured following the shooting dead of a British army undercover agent, Captain Herbert Westmacott, using an M60 machine gun in Belfast in early May, 1980.

After the successful jail-break they were given life sentences in their absence by Belfast crown court. Twelve days after his escape 'Dingus' Magee made a dramatic appearance at the Wolfe Tone commemoration at Bodens-ton where he received a tumultuous welcome from the crowd.

Already two of the escapees, Robert Campbell and Michael Ryan, have been sentenced to ten years' imprisonment by the Dublin court for the escape and two others Michael McKee and Anthony Sloan are in custody awaiting trial.

Belfast punishment

THE IRA's Belfast Brigade carried out the punishment shooting of a man on Thursday week, January 7th: a twenty-six-year-old man was shot in the right leg in Collingtree Road, near Divis Flats, during the evening. The IRA stated that he was involved in assisting criminal gangs in west Belfast in their thriving activities.



PRISON POEMS

by Bobby Sands

Prison poems

THE pamphlet 'Prison Poems' by Bobby Sands, published by the Sinn Fein Publicity Department, is available at £1 plus postage (bulk rates available on request), from John Connolly, 21 Monagh Crescent, Turf Lodge, Belfast, telephone Belfast 620768.

COLD REALITY

A government whose lack of competence is only matched by their lack of concern

BY KEVIN BURKE

'IN the winter comes the snow, makes the face and fingers glow' — a lesson learnt at school, but not apparently remembered by those who claim positions of leadership in the twenty-six counties. The snow and ice which has covered the majority of the Free State has also exposed an appallingly uncaring and incompetent government.

Every aspect of an organised response to what have undoubtedly been emergency conditions was, both during and after the storm blizzards, either bungled or totally ignored.

The indolent Michael O'Leary, deputy Coalition premier and 'in charge' while Garret FitzGerald continued his winter holidays, apparently did not realise until Saturday afternoon that it had begun snowing heavily on Thursday night or that he might be expected to do something about it. His belatedly-convened emergency committee had by its total inaction become a subject of mockery by Monday morning and by Wednesday was a target of justified wrath.

The return of Garret FitzGerald on Sunday from the sunny holiday resort of Tenerife could have been expected to have been conducted under cover of secrecy in the circumstances.

But so brazen is the attitude of the politician that a publicity stunt was made of his return, with the claim that he had 'cut short' his holiday to return. In fact he had been due back the following day after three weeks away. Not unexpectedly his addition to the emergency committee made no difference to its effectiveness.

Four days after the snow had stopped falling, the main roads out of Dublin were still passable only at peril, the main streets of the capital still like ice-rinks, public transport remained in chaos, villages within ten miles of Dublin remained completely cut-off, and no idea of the individual problems of even the old, sick, and disabled, had been established.

To make the situation even more irksome, it was reported that north of the border the roads were long restored from ice to tarmac and transport and communications fully restored.

DEATHS

With deaths from the arctic weather almost at double figures by Wednesday, and the possibility of isolated old folk, both in city and country, being found to have perished later, the seriousness of government incompetence goes beyond political games of opportunistic charges



● From the beginning of the winter emergency it became obvious that the Free State authorities were sinking into chaos faster than their state was disappearing under the snow

and lame excuses.

The list of indisputable blunders and inaction is a long and heavy one which will no doubt be added to by the thaw.

Firstly, there is the obvious lack of any realistic plans made in advance either by central or local authorities for such a situation and then the inordinate delay in making a response to it.

From the beginning of the winter emergency on Friday it became obvious that the Free State authorities were sinking into chaos faster than their state was disappearing under the snow. Road-clearing operations only began on Saturday afternoon and then in spasmodic fashion.

Dublin Corporation only had a skeleton

crew on its snow-clearing carts for the whole of the weekend. Several local authorities did nothing to bring into operation private earth-moving equipment that was available to do the job. Groups of people, known to have taken refuge at a variety of spots around Dublin — in factories or halls — were left without help for over forty-eight hours.

CIE shut down its transport system and was still unable to provide a full service even on Wednesday. Mainline and suburban rail services were stopped by lack of a simple heating system on the points and Dublin buses were pulled off the roads, as a whole, despite the availability of busworkers, because CIE management collapsed, unable to organise extra services on passable roads whilst curtailing or diverting those unable to get through.

Dublin airport remained closed for several days despite having the necessary equipment to clear its runways.

TROOPS

Only on Tuesday evening was it thought necessary to bring out some of the Free State army troops to help in the crisis. Then, only two hundred of these, trained in road-blocking rather than road-clearing, were brought into operation clearing Dublin streets and on Wednesday this number raised to five hundred.

To add insult to injury the first priority for ice-clearing was Dublin's premier shopping street, Grafton Street, where department stores were fretting over the damage to their January sales, rather than the local shopping areas where the old and infirm were timidly picking their way in search of essential supplies.

With even whole villages remaining cut off, farmers with livestock out on fields and hills were given next to no assistance at getting foodstuffs out and farm access roads remained way down the list for clearance.

Whilst the six Free State army air corps helicopters were in operation by Saturday night, and their individual crews undoubtedly put in long and arduous hours, there was no sign at all of any requisitioning of the private helicopter fleets for work in the emergency.

In contrast, the exceptions to this story of careless incompetence were all the more notable. The individual efforts of neighbour helping neighbour; the unselfish long hours of ESB workers restoring power; the work of the health boards and voluntary organisations at getting food and fuel to the elderly and infirm; and so on.

But the main feature of the freeze up remains the cold reality which has been clearly revealed of just how much value there is in maintaining a government and its place-seekers down the line, whose lack of competence in office is only matched by their lack of concern for those whom they govern.

Broadway hazard

NEGLECT and indifference on the part of the Department of the Environment and the Schools' Road Safety Department has resulted in a serious road hazard in the Broadway area of the Falls in west Belfast, especially for school children and old folk.

Despite persistent approaches by local people to these departments nothing has been done to reduce the risk stemming from the heavy traffic flow along the Broadway Road, which forms a major road-link between the M1 motorway and west Belfast. According to

local estimates, four people have been killed and eight injured in traffic accidents in the area over the past five years.

Now residents, in conjunction with the local O'Callaghan/Kavanagh Sinn Fein cumann, have launched a campaign to demand that the traffic lights at the junction of Broadway Road and the Falls Road — which are frequently out of order — be properly maintained, and that a pelican crossing be placed at this junction, and another one two hundred yards away at the junction of Iveagh Street and Broadway.

As a first step in the campaign



● Patsy Mooney's plight ignored

a petition has been circulated and signed by local residents and is to be presented to the DOE.

Of equal concern locally is the



● A campaign has been mounted for a pelican crossing at the Falls/Broadway junction

case of twenty-five-year-old polio victim Patsy Mooney, who lives on Broadway Road. She has great difficulty negotiating the foot-high footpath outside her home, yet the DOE bureaucratically refuse to

lower the footpath, saying it is the regulation height.

Not far away, however, the DOE has lowered the 'regulation height' footpath to reduce the risk of dampness in houses there.

RUC attack press centre

BY SEAMUS BOYLE

RECENT republican speculation that two intensive British army and RUC raids, in little over a fortnight, on the Belfast Republican Press Centre — in the Falls Road premises which also house the Sinn Fein headquarters, the H-Block Information Centre, and the Belfast office of 'An Phoblacht/Republican News' — marked the commencement of a systematic, British government-inspired attempt to smash the republican information service, and possibly imprison leading republican political activists, has been given firm substance by the most dramatic raid to date — the third in three weeks — on Friday 8th January, in which seven people were arrested and held for two days in Castlereagh.

Earlier raids — on December 18th, when rooms in the Falls Road headquarters were searched and photographed; and on January 4th, when the distribution manager of 'An Phoblacht/Republican News', Tom Hartley, was arrested and held for forty-eight hours in Castlereagh — focussed largely around the telex room where teleaxed Sinn Fein policy statements as well as supplied IRA statements are regularly issued to local and national newspapers, radio and television stations. During these raids samples of telex tape and printed telex statements were confiscated, and the telex machine was dusted for fingerprints.

From these earlier raids it became apparent that the primary objective of the RUC men engaged in searching the premises was to establish a direct connection between the telex machine, its operator, and the IRA whose supplied statements, including claims for military operations, are regularly issued through the telex machine.

RAID

The third raid, carried out at 1.30 p.m. on Friday, shortly after a supplied IRA statement claiming the killing of a part-time UDR soldier in Belfast earlier that day had been issued on the telex machine, came therefore as no surprise, though the dramatic manner in which it was carried out gave cause for bemusement among local onlookers.

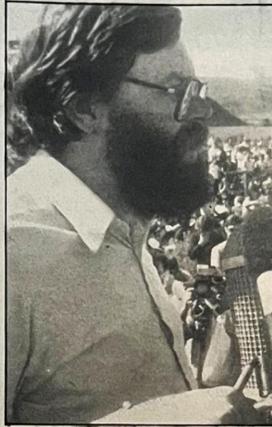
As British soldiers and armed plain-clothes RUC men occupied the grounds of a convent adjacent to the Republican Press Centre, to prevent any 'back wall escapes', saracens and RUC landrovers sealed off the junction of the Falls Road and Seavastopol Street where the front entrances to the premises are situated. The raiding party then had to wait for twenty-five minutes whilst increasingly irate Brits, armed with crow-bars and sledgehammers, broke down the barred door to the press centre.

Once inside, the raiding party seized a printed copy of the supplied IRA statement claiming the UDR man's killing, before arresting seven people who refused to explain their business in the building. These were: Sinn Fein treasurer, Tom Cahill; AP/RN office manager, Martin Lawlor; Sinn Fein activist, Aidan McAteer; former political prisoners Fra McCann and Bob Murray; and advice centre workers Paddy McManus and Paddy Loughran.

The seven were held in Castlereagh for forty-eight hours, before being released at 1.30 p.m. on Sunday. While in Castlereagh, former blanket man Fra McCann was told: 'Every time a telex statement goes out the centre will be raided'.

TELEX

Even more precisely, the RUC's intention — prompted in their course of action at a political level — to focus attacks on the operation of the telex machine as a probable stepping stone to attempting to suppress 'An Phoblacht/Republican News' and possibly to shut down the Sinn Fein headquarters, was spelt out to Tom Hartley in Castlereagh, following his arrest during the



● Tom Hartley, refused to talk to RUC



● The Falls Road Republican Press Centre, Belfast, where the telex is the centre of RUC interest

raid on January 4th.

"On Tuesday morning (5th January), two senior detectives of the RUC came in to see me and put a number of questions to me," recalls Tom Hartley, "I adopted the same policy throughout of not talking to them. At the end of the session they also said that I had withheld information, and also that in conspiracy with other people I had put out a statement on a given date.

"During the various interrogation sessions I was told by the RUC that their target was the telex machine and that they were, in their own words, going to take out the big boot. Which in fact means that they were going to try and take a case against members of the staff. It appears to me that what they are doing is to try and convict members of Sinn Fein under emergency legislation, make the running of the press centre illegal and as a consequence have it closed down."

The timing of the current raids, and the emphasis on the telex machine, can be seen against the background of the hunger strike period. At that time, the republican ability to transmit news received from inside the H-Blocks immediately by means of the telex, as well as telexing statements which exposed the manoeuvrings of the British government on the hunger-strike issue, and the ease with which republicans linked in to national and international press sources, seriously embarrassed the British and placed them on the defensive.

COINCIDING

Coinciding with this period also came a major political expansion within the republican struggle, with the growth in popularity of republican policies and the decision that Sinn Fein would contest future elections, thus posing serious problems potentially for the collaborationist leadership of the SDLP on whom the British government rely to ensure relative political stability in the North.

Whereas previously the republican threat had been viewed by the British as a military one, the threat posed by the political expansion and development of republicanism increasingly concerns the Brits.

To counter this, they have apparently taken a policy decision to try and eliminate the republican information service, using as a lever the issuing of supplied IRA statements through the telex machine and possibly attempting to implicate political activists on charges of conspiracy or withholding information.

At the back of their minds obviously will be the crude fiasco of their earlier attempts to suppress the Republican Press Centre and 'Republican News' in a series of raids, arrests, and imprisonments which focussed on two major raids on the previous republican premises at 170 Falls Road

in December 1977 and April 1978.

During these raids, office equipment was smashed and confiscated. Embarrassingly for the Brits one item smashed was the telex machine, hurled from an upper window. It was in fact the property of the GPO and the Brits had to pay compensation. The raids led to twenty-one people being charged with conspiracy and IRA membership, many of these being held for seven months on remand, until all the charges were finally dropped for lack of evidence in 1979.

REMAND

One of those held on remand at that time was Danny Morrison, then the editor of 'Republican News' and now editor of 'An Phoblacht/Republican News'.

He recalls: "They attempted to close down 'Republican News' in 1977/1978, but that attempt failed when they dropped the charges in February 1979 because of the obviously political nature of the trial which would have embarrassed the Brits at the time of criminalisation when they were trying to say that republicans were just criminals. It would have been a big political trial and they wanted to avoid that. But this time they are attempting to

do it again, less crudely than the first time...

"I expect that these raids are a prelude to a number of charges, possibly conspiracy charges, which will put Sinn Fein members in jail for a considerable length of time — possibly just on internment by remand, but even conceivably leading to convictions. All we can do is stand up to this, that's all we can do."

But although the British strategy is clearly aimed at implicating specific individuals, working in or associated with the Republican Press Centre, in the issuing of supplied IRA statements, and prosecuting those individuals on the basis of withholding information or conspiracy, the ultimate aim of the Brits has equally clearly not changed since 1977/78.

That aim is the eventual political censorship through physical suppression and intimidation of the republican political machine which increasingly destabilises British rule in Ireland.

Today the pressure is on the telex machine, tomorrow it will be on 'An Phoblacht/Republican News', the day after that it will be on political activists of all sorts; eventually they, the Brits, hope — though in vain — to get the whole republican political establishment closed down.

Lenadoon destruction

A BRITISH army raid in the Lenadoon estate in west Belfast last Tuesday morning left a young family's home badly damaged after three hours of wanton vandalism.

The squad of eight Brits and an RUC man entered the home of Valerie and John McCleave, both aged thirty, of Corrib Avenue in upper Lenadoon, at 6 a.m.

The Brits held the young couple and their three children, aged between four and ten, in the kitchen and refused to allow either Valerie or John to accompany them during the search of the house. Although a widely employed tactic during marauding Brit searches, the practice of confining a family to one room and of refusing an occupant of a household to accompany the search party is in fact 'illegal', opening up the possibility of the search party 'planting' material in the premises they are raiding.

Severe damage was caused to both bedrooms in the McCleave's home when the Brits, using pickaxes and sledgehammers, ripped up floorboards and smashed walls and doors. Damage was also caused to the living room and bathroom where panelling on the bath was pulled off.

The Brits left the house at 9 a.m., having apparently derived some enjoyment from their wrecking exertions.



● Damage done to ceiling, wall and door

The McCleave family were left to count the cost of this wholly unnecessary and malicious damage, part of the habitual price exacted by the British forces on the nationalist population.

FALLS' MEMORIES BY GERRY ADAMS



'NEVER the same again' is the third article in an occasional series of 'Falls' memories' by Gerry Adams, and provides a historical sketch of, and insight into, sectarian sentiment and strife.

"ARE YOU a Prod?" he challenged me. "Are you a Prod or a Mick?" There were three of them, the biggest one acting as interrogator, while the other two blocked my exit.

"I'm an Irish Catholic," I replied, indifferent even at that early age about the Roman prefix and with visions of boy martyrs uppermost in my juvenile mind. "I'm a Catholic," I proudly reaffirmed, safe in the knowledge that they must be also, being as we were in the middle of Divis Street, just below St. Comgall's school. Had we been in more hostile territory the cock may well have crowed thrice, but here on home ground being a Catholic was the safest bet.

"Where do you live?" "That's none of your business," I replied, seeing over his shoulder a group of women shoppers coming in our direction and, hopefully, to my rescue.

"Is it not?" He grabbed me by the shirt front and my confidence vanished as he pushed his face close to mine and the women dandered by, oblivious to my plight.

"Give him a hiding, Jimmy," one of my assailant's smaller, runny-nosed confederates encouraged. "He's a sally rod, give him the head, knock his melt in."

"Where do you live, wee buck?" Jimmy asked me again. "Abercorn Street," said I, discretion winning the day. "Abercorn Street North, number fifteen."

"Make him say the 'Our Father'," said snottier nose.

"I'm not saying the 'Our Father' for you," said I. "I'll get my da for youse if you don't let me go. Wait 'til I get home."

"You're not going home," scowled Jimmy. "We don't like Prods, and you look like a Prod."

"So he does" chirped in the third inquisitor. "Look at his eyes, they're like wee marleys, so they are. Make him say the 'Our Father'."

"No, make him say the 'Hail Mary'. Prods say the 'Our Father', they say 'that art in heaven', instead of 'who are in heaven', but they don't believe in Our Lady, so make him say the 'Hail Mary'."

PANIC

I mentally rehearsed the Five Sorrowful Mysteries, the Confiteor and an Act of Contrition. Panic was setting in, as dusk settled and my captors became more menacing. Thoughts of John Bosco vanished.

"Okay," said Jimmy, "say the 'Hail Mary'."

I dutifully complied, tears welling up and a lump in my throat doing its best to mix me up. He released my shirt front and his two companions disappointed, stared over my head.

"Do you smoke?" asked snottier nose. "I'm dying for a fag. C'mon give us your odds."

I gave them a thrupenny bit, a sprassy, and a miraculous medal, before being released to run, tears tripping me, the short way home.

That was my first contact with sectarianism, albeit of a minor kind, but all the same, it—like all sectarianism—had nothing to do with religion and was merely, as always, a profitable ruse, in this case for providing Woodbines.

The spot where our transaction took place, though I didn't know

it then, had long been the scene of sectarian faction fighting, the most serious often taking place only a few yards from us, in what was once a brickfield separating the Falls from the Shankill Road.

Rioting in Belfast between factions has been traced back to 1835; and most local historians mention the years 1843, 1857, 1864, 1872, 1880, 1884, and 1886, as being the most serious.

UNITED

In contrast to this, earlier, in the 1790s, Belfast had been the centre of an Irish political movement that linked Antrim and Down with the republics of France and America.

As is commonly known, and as Andrew Boyd observes in his book 'Holy War in Belfast', Belfast's citizens celebrated the fall of the Bastille, drank toasts to Mirabeau and Lafayette, and studied Paine's great book, 'The Rights of Man'.

These Presbyterians formed the Society of United Irishmen, and in the rebellion of 1798 fought alongside their Catholic neighbours for national independence and political democracy.

In the old republican plot erected in 1912 in Milltown cemetery were inscribed the names of upwards of twenty Protestant soldiers of the republic while the bodies of Henry Joy McCracken and other United Irishmen lie in Clifton Street cemetery.

Yet within two generations, as Boyd records, the majority of Presbyterians had completely abandoned their revolutionary principles, embraced the politics of the Tories, and developed a deep-rooted antipathy towards their Catholic neighbours. This transformation, as Boyd correctly states, is one of the most disturbing facts in Irish history.

It was caused directly by the forces of reaction, supported by the wealthy landlord class, who feared the union of Catholic, Protestant, and Dissenter. As Hugh Boulter, Lord Chief Justice, warned the London government in the eighteenth century, such a union would mean 'farewell to the English influence in this

country'.

PRESBYTERIANS

The Presbyterians, then as now, were the largest religious denomination outside of the Catholics. Had they remained untouched by the neo-fascism of Orangemen, they would, in alliance with their Catholic countrymen, have undoubtedly transformed Irish society.

They were, however, deeply divided: one faction headed by Henry Cooke, a narrow-minded Paisley-type Tory, the other led by Henry Montgomery, a liberal whose father had been an officer in the Irish Volunteers and whose brothers fought on the republican side in the battle of Antrim in 1798.

Montgomery made no secret of his liberal political and religious principles. He campaigned for Catholic emancipation, was proud of his republican background, and forthright in theological and political disputes with Cooke.

Cooke was equally forthright in his views, and was deeply anti-Catholic, one of his ancestors having fought on the Williamite side during the wars at the end of the seventeenth century.

He hated the United Irishmen and their democratic separatist principles and campaigned for control of Ireland's Presbyterians. He found support among the Tories, the land-owning class, and the Orange lodges, and eventually succeeded in ousting Montgomery, who left the parent church and formed the non-subscribing Presbyterian church.

ORANGE

Cooke, secure in the leadership of the Presbyterian church, then commenced to build up a powerful politico-religious party, in which the Orange Order, by then nearly forty years in existence, was to play a major part.

The Orange Order, an exclusively Protestant and bitterly anti-Catholic organisation, had been formed in 1795 to protect poorer Protestant farmers and rich Protestant landlords and to terrorise Catholics who sought land tenancies. It opposed all moves towards Catholic emancipation and was an alliance of the landed gentry and those poorer Protestants who were united in their distrust of liberalism and Irish Catholics.

Until Cooke's time, the Orange Order had made little impact on the Presbyterians and, in fact, the first Orangemen were mainly descendants of the English rather than the Scottish planters. Under Cooke this situation changed dramatically and the Presbyterians were drawn increasingly away from radicalism to Toryism and the political out of Orangemen.

Political and religious bigotry, of the most extreme description, were fused together and, as the power of Orangemen increased, Belfast saw the first of the riots with which we are so familiar in recent times.

RIOTS

The scene of many of these riots was to be west Belfast and, as far back as 1843, the 'Northern

Never the



'Perhaps if the British and loyalist ruling class had conceded one man, one vote, one family, one house, the abolition of the Special Powers Act; and whatever else was demanded, all those burnt-out streets might still have been standing today'

Whig' reports, "one corner of our town, including a part of Sandy Row and Barrack Street, has been the theatre of much excitement and rioting, the contending parties being Catholics and Protestants of a low description."

In 1847, the Pound Loney was the scene of protracted street fighting, with the Orangemen and the partisan Town Police Force, egged on by Thomas Drew, a well-known Orange demagogue, engaging in gunfights with the residents of the Loney area.

Streets well-known in recent times are mentioned regularly in records of that period, and places like Durham Street, Millfield, Cullington Road, Grosvenor Road,

Boyne Bridge (then the Saltwater Bridge), Quadrant Street, Albert Street, and Leeson Street, are but some of those involved.

Then, as now, residents doused street lights to confuse town police and military raiding parties, stones and pavers were used as weapons, street and area defence committees were formed, and gunfire was heard regularly.

The July period was to become almost an annual cycle of such disorders, usually ignited by such mob orators as Cooke, Drew, or Hugh 'Roaring' Hanna, and spreading on occasion to the Belfast shipyards and to other parts of the town, notably Carrick Hill, Ballymacarrett, North Queen Street and

Millfield. All these riots were deaths, by the destruction of working class homes, and by an exodus of the 'safer' areas.

BRICKFIELD

In 1872, one particular encounter occurred. It was to be known as the Brickfield since a few days after the Falls parade up the Falls Road, probably the first parade in Belfast since was attended by a thousand people at Hannahstown to de-

e same again



commenced, in the course of which a counter-attack was launched, from the Falls, up Dover Street, towards the Shankill. At the end of the day 'peace' was restored when British infantry camped on the Brickfields.

IGNORANCE

Such occurrences became a regular, if regrettable, way of life through the nineteenth and early twentieth century, but in our boyhood days going back and forth along Divis Street none of us thought of such things. Ignorance — the essence of stupidity — being bliss.

Our parents and grandparents shopped regularly on the Shankill or in Sandy Row — there was a wider choice of shops and a better chance of a bargain. I even joined a boxing club for a few weeks, beside the Eagle Supper Saloon above Peter's Hill, and none of us thought it odd that there were three Protestant churches in our midst and another on the Glen Road.

The church at Iveagh just above Broadway, on the front of the Falls Road, draws a sizeable congregation to this day; the one on the Glen now serves as a Catholic chapel; while the other two were removed, not by any lack of religious tolerance, but as part of the demolition of the Loney area.

I was surprised, therefore, in my youth to be knocked back for a part-time job by a genial Orangeman who told me pleasantly, "I'm sorry, son, but we don't employ your sort here. Cudn't do it. You kick with the wrong ful."

Although taken aback, I wasn't long catching on. It was the name of the school that did it, on top of my home address.

PUB

Later, in my mid-teens, I worked for a few months in a pub, beside the Shankill, on the Old Lodge Road.

The clientele were working class Protestants from the neighbouring streets, with a sprinkling of Catholics. The neighbourhood is now demolished. The crack was always good: politics were seldom discussed, and sectarianism only raised its head openly as the Twelfth drew near.

On St. Patrick's night we had a great sing-song. One of the customers sang 'Kevin Barry' for my benefit, while I was persuaded to render 'The Sash' in pidgin-irish, a sort of musical compromise.

As the bottles and half-uns flowed, one customer, above the sound of 'When Irish eyes are smiling', whispered to me with a friendly and knowing wink, "Y'know we're all Paddies beneath the skin."

He took another mediative slug from his Guinness and continued, "If youse fenians would just catch yourselves on and stay quiet, everything would be okay."

ARGUE

We fenians, as far as I could figure out, weren't doing anything to catch ourselves on about, but maybe your man knew something

I didn't know, so I said nothing.

You would have liked him. He and I used to discuss politics, or what passes for politics, in Belfast. I was getting involved in housing agitation and used to argue that the desperate housing conditions suffered by both the unionist and anti-unionist working class showed the need for unity by us against the common enemy.

He used to say rather sheepishly, and just a wee bit shamefacedly, when things became difficult, "Ah well, let's not fall out over it. Whatever you say, say nothing." Then sadly, "It'll be all the same even in a thousand years."

Once, when a collection was being lifted for the local Orange Widows' Association, and the collection box was being waved rather provocatively under my nose, he encouraged me to make a donation, and upset the collector, by observing, "G'wan, give a few bob. It's a worthy cause — the Orange Widows. Sure, there wouldn't be enough of them."

SACK

On the Eleventh night I got the sack.

Double-time and a day off in lieu was the union rate for public holidays, but my employer, a Catholic, refused to pay me. He told me to finish up and collect my cards at the end of the week: "Imagine asking for extra money, you ungrateful skitter. That's all the thanks I get for employing one of my own."

I fought with the union branch secretary for months afterwards but to no avail. Unemployed young people were a dime a dozen, and the Knights of Columbanus had fused the Catholic business class and Catholic trade union personnel into an old-boy 'ourselves alone' institution.

Not that I was really worried; it was more the principle of the thing.

The customers were more philosophical. "That's the way," they said. "Your own's always the worst."

"You can't say I didn't warn you," one of them told me, with a good-natured twinkle in his eye, "as I'm always saying, you can't trust a fenian."

They lifted a collection for me and advised me to take up my lost wages from the till.

I think some of them were sorry to see me go. I was sorry to be going, but delighted to leave my employer in the lurch as I walked out, in the middle of a rush, shortly after midnight, and strolled up the Shankill, the whole way, past bonfires and public houses with their doors flung open.

SWARMING

The place was swarming with people singing and dancing, acting the eejit, milling around, kicking the Pope.

"We are, we are, we are the Billy boys,

"We are, we are, we are the Billy boys,

"Up to our necks in fenian blood."

Sunday best suits and black

bowler hats were the order of the day, or night as it was then.

Point peelers were on duty, 'B' Specials chatted and drank with customers in pub doorways, and youngsters practised throwing their band batons high in the air.

"As we marched up and down,

"On the road to Portadown,

"Our drums we do batter,

"Like the thunder,

"And as the day grows near,

"We'll fill the fenian hearts with fear,

"On the Twelfth of July in the morning."

At one street corner a man thrashed hell out of a Lambeg war drum, its terrorising staccato drawing yells of approval from the crowd while he, the blood flowing from his wrists, seemed lost in some frenzied sort of a trance.

"Oh Dolly's Brae, oh Dolly's Brae, oh Dolly's Brae no more,

"For we'll kick the Pope and we'll kick him hard,

"Right over Dolly's Brae."

QUIET

On the Falls Road, as I approached it through the dark side-streets, all was quiet. A few people gathered at street corners, talking and occasionally glancing towards the Shankill from where the bonfire glow could be clearly seen and the sounds of revelry heard.

"They'll probably get a good day tomorrow," I heard one man complain at the corner of Norfolk Street.

"They always do," replied his companion. "Sure they've got God on their side."

That was 1966. The civil rights agitation had yet to come. Norfolk Street, three years later, was to be reduced to ashes.

As your man would have said, "Everything would have been okay, if you fenians would just catch yourselves on".

"In Dublin there's a man,

"And they say he has a plan,

"He has five thousand men or more, they say.

"But we will get a rope,

"And we'll hang your f---ing Pope.

"On the Twelfth of July in the morning."

CONCEDED

Perhaps if the British and loyalist ruling class had conceded one man, one vote; one family, one house; the abolition of the Special Powers Act; and whatever else was demanded, Norfolk Street and all those other burnt-out streets might still have been standing today.

But then perhaps not. To have done so would have meant abolishing the six-county state. And that would never have done. And therein lies just one of the reasons why the fenians have yet to catch themselves on.

And, do you know something? Despite the present carry-on, things, for the loyalists, will never be the same again. And that's good for us all, Catholics and Protestants alike.

We have still a long way to go, but at least we're heading in the right direction. It'll never be the same again, not even in a thousand years'.

Rule and the release of the Fenian prisoners.

The right of nationalists to march was challenged (where did you hear that before?), and the parade was attacked at the Divis Street end of the Falls, from the Brickfields, by a mob from the Shankill, armed with guns, bricks, bottles, and clubs. The attack was beaten off, after a pitched battle, and the parade continued peacefully.

However, sporadic fighting broke out between rival factions in different parts of the town and continued over the next few days. One vicious fight, involving about three thousand people in Culling-

tree Road, broke out and spread to Leeson Street and Lincolin Street, with a number of attempts being made to invade the Loney from both Sandy Row and the Shankill, and with sporadic gun-fights breaking out across the open ground between these areas.

On August 18th, 'the Battle of the Brickfields' was only one of a number of riots that shook Belfast. It commenced around three o'clock in the afternoon when about fifty armed men were spotted sneaking from the Shankill across the Brickfields towards the Falls.

The alarm was given in the Loney, from where other armed men appeared and a gun battle



All letters should be addressed to: The editor, An Phoblacht/Republican News, 51/53 Falls Road, Belfast, or 44 Parnell Square, Dublin.

Brit left

Dear comrades,
After reading the letter from C.D. Rumbold in the December 17th issue of 'An Phoblacht/Republican News,' I couldn't resist putting pen to paper. His letter is a clear expression of the boot licking attitude of his organisation, the Socialist Workers Party, to the British state.

To take his main point. It is utter rubbish to claim that there can either be bombs in England or a movement of withdrawal. The idea that it is IRA bombs that are to blame for the British left's inability to create a working class led solidarity movement is an old escape route of the left. The real problem is that the SWP and other organisations have never taken up the job of convincing workers that a struggle which takes on and weakens the British state is in their interests as well.

Instead, the left has consistently given in to some of the most backward prejudices of the British Labour and trade union leaders — anti-violence, pro-British chauvinism and so on.

The Smash the Prevention of Terrorism Act Campaign has found that workers are receptive to demands that the Irish liberation fight should be supported.

We organised a two-hundred-and-fifty-strong labour movement conference in Coventry in March 1981, won wide backing for our intervention in the 'Peoples March for Jobs' during the hunger-strike, and achieved even more with our four-day march to the TUC in September — the 'Workers March for Irish Freedom'. More recently we organised a four-hundred strong local demonstration in north London, against the PTA. That was after the London bombs.

Only activity of this type, directed to a working class that itself is under vicious attack from the British ruling class, will build a strong anti-imperialist force in this country. Bombs make our task neither more nor less difficult. Those who claim otherwise are merely excusing their fear of challenging existing prejudices.

Keith Thompson,
National Organiser,
Smash the Prevention of Terrorism Act Campaign,
BM RCT,
London WC1N 3XX.
P.S. SPTAC is organising a National Labour Movement Conference — Ireland, time for



A bomb in their holy city

British workers to act' — at Caxton House, St. John's Way, London N19, on Saturday 6th February, from 10 a.m. to 5 p.m., and there is a 'Concert for Irish Freedom' in the evening.

Compananach Poblachail,
Congratulations on the Christmas edition of the 'Poblacht', especially the (intentionally) humorous contribution from a member of the traditional Brit 'left' — the letter 'Bombs in England'.

As usual these pseudo 'lefties' will pay lip service and pass courageous resolutions supporting real revolutions in far away places (the further away the safer) but shrink in horror at the prospect of any serious revolution happening on their own doorstep.

The particular correspondent didn't object too much to a military campaign in Ireland but thought it wasn't quite cricket to play the game on his home ground. After all, it might upset the Great British game union movement. No matter that that reactionary body could end the war in Ireland tomorrow if it so desired.

Also, revolutionary action in the Home Counties would (don't laugh) alienate the Great British Labour Party, who — incidentally — sent the troops into Ireland, introduced internment, passed the Terrorising Acts, froze the Great British workers' wages and introduced Tory cuts.

It may be the great Brit 'left's' duty to cry 'Thatcher out', meaning the other Tories in, but certainly not the duty of serious revolutionaries. Ireland is showing the way for other oppressed Celtic colonies.

The Brit 'left' have set themselves up as champions of Westminster rule in Scotland and Wales by opposing the formation of nationalist or republican movements and demanding that we supply them with tame Labour MPs (as well as all our natural resources).

The Brit 'left' know only too well that bombing campaigns in Ireland, Scotland, Wales, or the Khyber Pass, will not worry the stockbroker belt of the south-east of England or the trendy Brit 'left' of London. One bomb in their holy city is worth more than a thousand bombs in oppressed Ireland.

Domhnall Mac Aindreas,
Organiser,
Scottish Socialist Republican Clubs,
Glasgow.

RUC RECORD

Dear sir,
Mr. P. Devlin, 'Independent Socialist' councillor, appears to be hell-bent on promoting public confidence in the RUC with his latest motion aimed at confirming the Belfast city council's support and confidence in the RUC.

Perhaps Mr. P. Devlin could explain to the Catholic population why carol singers from the Legion of Mary were ejected from the city centre over the Christmas period and members of the Salvation Army were allowed to remain and provide seasonal entertainment unmolesied.

Catch yourself on, Paddy! The Catholic population has a good

memory and one which is being constantly reinforced by the sectarian activities of the RUC. History has a habit of repeating itself and this bigoted treatment exposed at Christmas is similar to the treatment meted out to St. Peter's Catholic Band, who were not permitted to march through the centre of Belfast on their way to religious services in other parishes.

No conscientious Catholic who has objectively examined the record of the RUC can have support for, or confidence in, this British Gestapo, no matter how many times our Catholic British Paddy cast them on the back.

Paddy McParland,
Belfast 12.



● Paddy Devlin should catch himself on

Our revolution

Dear editor,

It was with great interest that I read recently a letter in your columns (December 17th) from a young unemployed person in Derry. It was clear from the letter that the lad has been politicised by the events of last year and yet for him many doubts and confusions still exist as to where the struggle is heading and indeed in his expectations of the Republican Movement as the revolutionary vanguard.

He has been through the hypocrisy of a system which thrives on repression, unemployment, deprivation, threats of nuclear war and he wants change. So naturally he looks to the Republican Movement as the only power for change and progress in Ireland, but he is yet unsure of our capacity for genuine revolutionary advances.

It is a fair question and one which we as republicans must consider.

Have we neglected youth in general, merely recruiting them when they showed promise? We must examine ourselves, our stated policies and our actual practice.

Perhaps we have been so engaged in the liberation struggle that we have lost the ability to judge ourselves objectively. It is an unfortunate fact that we do resent criticism, be it external or internal. We must understand that although an integral part of the revolution we are not the revolution.

I do not want this letter to be seen as anything other than what it is — an attempt by a republican to create dialogue, to advance the struggle through self-knowledge and to hopefully provide a platform for non-republican supporters of the freedom struggle. The points I make may or may not be valid, but we must discuss them openly and honestly.

One of the major stumbling blocks has been the Republican Movement's inability to attract many non-committed socialists who would dearly like to contribute to the Irish struggle. We have, at times, adopted an aloof elitist stance which has frightened away many people and worried many of us in the Movement.

There is a clear need for open and critical discussion both within and without the Movement. We must consistently put forward our revolutionary politics while endeavouring to remain open to genuine constructive debate and criticism.

We have in large measure ignored the British left, tolerating rather than working with them. We have patronised them, allowing them to work away in England without fully supporting their efforts.

In a war of attrition it is vital that the people of the occupying country are made fully aware of the nature of the war. The American people's opposition to the war in Vietnam had more sway

over the US government than the SAM 7s of the North Vietnamese regulars.

Remember it was British socialists who supported the Fenian prisoners in the 1880s when the Catholic church in Ireland was casting them into eternal damnation.

It is obvious that over the past two years an 'intellectual' element has emerged within the Movement. That in itself is neither good nor bad but it is important that the old elitism of the 'trench-coat' is not replaced by the new elitism of the 'conscious revolutionist'.

A new breed of spokespersons has arrived and while it is valid that we have people available to relate our policies to the media, we must beware the personality cult. The lesson of Michael Collins is still only too apparent to republicans. All our spokespersons must be fully accountable to the Movement as a whole.

We in the Republican Movement must always remember that our roots still lie in that contradictory confusing mixture of radical socialism and Catholic conservatism which are our historic elements. Our traditions encompass Fintan Lator and Daniel O'Connell, James Connolly and Arthur Griffith, Liam Mellows and Michael Collins.

A study of our history since 1922 will show the ebb and flow of socialism and nationalism within the Movement. And now that the time is ripe for the overthrow of capitalism in Ireland, we must be very careful that any bourgeois church, nationalist, tendencies still to be found in the Movement are neutralised.

Another aspect of the struggle to which we are now belatedly addressing ourselves are the issues which for one reason or another we previously tended to ignore: the role of women, contraception, abortion, homosexuality, religion and control of the schools, class politics, etc.

An idea current in the Movement for a time was that while

the freedom struggle went on, the class struggle must be dropped until the successful conclusion of the war. Though wrong, this was an understandable reaction on the part of many decent people who were disgusted with the corrupt antics of Irish and British politicians, and especially of the labour and trade union movements in Ireland which, while proclaiming socialist doctrine, were as reformist and reactionary as the worst elements in unionist or Fianna Filia circles.

But we cannot return to that simplistic notion of physical force as an end in itself. We don't want the Dublin GPO or Stormont. We want the wealth of Ireland for the people of Ireland and not for the benefit of another aborted Irish republic.

In view of the recent statements from the Movement that we intend to contest both local government and Westminster elections in the near future I feel it essential that more debate is needed. There are legitimate questions to be asked and we would be failing as republicans if we refuse to consider them:

1) Are we accepting the logic of capitalist democracy, heading towards a Euro-socialist view of politics which talks of change but is willing to remain forever as a loyal left opposition within parliament (or council)?

2) Can we fight the enemy on their terms? This is not a defeatist attitude but is determined by the fact that the political and economic establishment has all the wealth, full control of the media and the active support of the church.

3) Do we accept the view that these elections offer real prospects of worker participation? Elections occur every four or five years and after one has cast one's vote, that's the end of the matter.

Within the present system what power of recall has the voter? What public representative is accountable? Examine the rise of the SDLP here and the SDP in

Britain and the answer is clear. Even with so-called socialist governments no account is taken of accountability of recall.

4) Do we accept the myth of democratic capitalism, that because there is universal suffrage the will of the people is expressed through election agencies? What have the people of the Falls in common with those in Malone Road, the people of Creggan with those in Talbot Park?

The Republican Movement should debate these questions before doubt and uncertainty appear. We are out to change Ireland, not reinforce old conditions. We are not out merely to remove the border, but to remove the whole economic and social system, prevailing in Ireland. If we do not accept this we might as well support the Brit/Free State initiative — go for a capitalist united Ireland and supply nuclear bases for foreign help.

Despite these electoral misgivings, it is important to remember that we have massive support, North and South, and equally valuable, internationally. The hunger-strike election results and the rallies, protests and funerals proved that.

But we must be careful of our analysis of a section of that support. We must recognise that the hunger-strike and attendant deaths created a gut reaction among the Irish people but equally in many instances that reaction was based on an emotional response and on an emotional reaction not directly involving the Republican Movement's struggle.

There were many reasons for this. The historic connotations of hunger-strikes in Ireland, the hunger-strike as a tactic designed to appeal to the less political elements, the involvement of a quite considerable number of 'respectable' members of the middle classes.

This is not intended to demean the emotional response, but there must be further debate about the intended direction of the political potential created by the hunger-strike campaign before we conclude that that support would automatically vote Sinn Féin in any future elections.

Another problem for the Movement is that the past we have exhibited a certain easiness in our relationships with other political groupings. During the hunger-strike we appealed to the SDLP to withdraw from council chambers, and sought assurances from Flanna Fail and Fine Gael that they would pressurise Thatcher. All to no avail.

In the late 'sixties and early 'seventies we had the tacit support of John Hume and Charlie Haughey, not because they accepted our policies but because as shrewd politicians they saw the potential for gaining by clinging to our backs. Our campaign has brought both these men to power.

These people and their parties are enemies of the Republican Movement. They despise all we stand for and yet, time after time, we have allowed them to covertly identify with us, thus giving them a much undeserved credibility at our expense.

I fully appreciate the fact that at times tactical use may be made of certain circumstances but, in general, it is my opinion that the potential for drawing away middle class allies will only in the long run weaken and prolong our revolution.

From what I have written so far, it may appear that I am deliberately trying to put forward all the negative arguments I can find. If every single question I have posed can be repudiated that in no way invalidates what I have written or my purpose in writing it. My hope is that this letter will stimulate discussion and that this discussion will take place both within the pages of 'An Phoblacht/Republican News' and among republicans and socialists everywhere.

Let our position be clear. No more hesitation, no more indecision, no more doubts. We are a revolutionary republican socialist movement out to smash British imperialism in Ireland.

That is our role and that should be our message.
A Derry Republican.



● Another aspect of the struggle now belatedly addressed by republicans is the role of women, contraception, abortion, homosexuality...

Not backing Zach

**Burke's
at the back
BY KEVIN BURKE**

THE end could well be in sight for the De Lorean car company in Belfast, brain-child of ageing American playboy John Zachary De Lorean who has personally conned the British government out of several million pounds since Roy Mason first fell under his spell.

After introducing a three-day week for its employees last week, the De Lorean factory has now stopped production. Company officials have latched onto the current Sealink strike, offering this as the reason for a 'delay in the arrival of components'.

But the British government's Industry Minister in the North, Adam Butler, gave the cause of the production halt as being that the cars had 'not been selling quite so well in the United States' (its only market). The British have now refused to supply any more money or credit to the company.

Meanwhile, in the US, an attempt by John De Lorean to sell a million shares in his company to the public has been prevented by the Wall Street stock exchange. De Lorean was unable to find the necessary guarantors who would buy any shares not taken up on the public offer.

De Lorean is now apparently trying to find a major motor company interested in buying out his Belfast factory or as he puts it himself 'looking for an affiliation with a healthy partner'. Not a very likely possibility for an enterprise which, before the failed launch on the stock exchange, was described by an influential Wall Street financial newsletter as so shaky that it represented 'a classic case of go public or go broke'.

But back in Belfast John De Lorean retains the devotion of at least one of his sycophantic admirers in the form of 'independent socialist' Paddy Devlin. Expressing concern at the possibility of De Lorean closing, Devlin said: "The one thing we needed was for private enterprise to succeed so we could have more of it coming into Northern Ireland."

But fearing this pessimistic line might offend the affluent American, Devlin added that although the company appeared on the surface to be in serious financial trouble, the latest moves "could well be a tactical manoeuvre on the part of Mr. De Lorean who is a very shrewd businessman."

The recent snow-fall/freeze-up has, as expected at these times, brought out the good-neighbourliness that lies in most of us, as neighbour helped neighbour faced with milk shortages, bread shortages, no water and no electricity. But as usual private enterprise at its most basic level survived all the hardships.

I am not referring to the individuals who raided the abandoned articulated lorries on the Naas dual-carriageway for everything from chickens to disposable nappies and sold them along the road, but to so many of our local small shopkeepers in the Dublin area who cheerfully charged 50p for a pint of milk and up to £1 for a loaf of bread during the shortages.

Next time a big supermarket is moving into an area with cut-prices and special offers, the chorus of opposition from the friendly little shopkeeper with his personal touch and individual service is going to ring fairly hollow.

Exactly how the princes of the Catholic church are supposed to earn their money has never been clearly explained, but I see that Cardinal O'Fiach has found time to begin a new career as a television presenter with RTE. The latest diversion for his eminence



● The respectable front of Kincora boys home in east Belfast. Last month three members of the staff at the home pleaded guilty to charges of buggery, gross indecency and indecent assault committed against boys in their care over a period of almost twenty years.

Now accusations have been made that the RUC have covered up a homosexual prostitution ring based at the home. Involved in the scandal are officials of the Northern Ireland Office, RUC men, prominent loyalist politicians, legal figures, Belfast businessmen and loyalist paramilitary leaders. The British government has announced an inquiry, but it will exclude any "criminal matters" leaving them to the RUC and thus prolonging the cover-up. Several journalists, however, have now got their teeth into the story and another white-wash job will not be so easy

was announced at a well-oiled reception at the Communications Centre in Dublin attended by foreign diplomats and other notables from the laity.

The cardinal is to act as narrator for three television films about early Irish missionaries to be shown on RTE. It should be something he knows a bit about anyway. He certainly spends more time wandering abroad than he does at home in his Armagh diocese.

British hypocrisy has come in for a severe attack from the Russian newspaper 'Pravda' which has accused British officials of crying crocodile tears for human rights' violations in other countries while submitting political opponents in the North to 'unbearable humiliations' by throwing them into prison like criminals. Inside the Northern jails, 'Pravda' says, Britain had instituted a 'system of moral terror' which forced prisoners to react in the most extreme way.

London would do anything to maintain control in the North, the paper continues, "but the struggle continues in Ulster and the battalions of special forces sent there can no longer stop it."

The delicate touch of the garda's Special Branch was much in evidence last Wednesday

week when they arrested Brendan Doris in Dublin and held him in custody for a period at Fitzgibbon Street station. Doris, an architectural student at Bolton Street College of Technology is also president of the Union of Students in Ireland and was arrested as he was leaving a meeting organised by the Dublin H-Block Committee.

The subject of the meeting - 'the harassment by gardai of H-Block activists'.

Encouraging to see that the 'Irish Press', Tuesday 12th January, has reprinted the 'New Statesman' article on the case of the 'Guildford Four' which maintains their innocence and also looks at the connected case of the Maguire family.

The 'Sunday Press' of January 10th also gave prominence to a letter from an Irish political prisoner in Britain, Shane O'Doherty, outlining the totally unjust bias against himself and his fellow political prisoners in looking for repatriation, as contrasted to the amenable treatment of British army and loyalist prisoners in their regard.

Repatriation of Irish political prisoners to prisons in the North, pending an eventual release, is one part of the struggle for British withdrawal which is indisputably of practical importance. Any signs that their isolation is being recognised is therefore welcome indeed.

WHAT'S ON

SOCIAL AND DANCE
Friday 15th January
Community centre
TURF LODGE
Belfast
Admission £1
In aid of Prisoners' Welfare
(Transport)

DEFEND THE EMBASSY 20
PUBLIC MEETING
7.30 p.m. Friday 29th January
Junior Common Room
Trinity College
DUBLIN
Organised by
the National H-Block/Armagh
committee

BLOODY SUNDAY
COMMEMORATION
Sunday 31st January
COVENTRY
Organised by Sinn Fein (Britain)

COMHAIRLE CUIGE MUMHAN
SINN FEIN MEETING
2.30 p.m. Sunday 31st January
CORK
Two delegates to attend
from each comhairle ceantair

TRADITIONAL NIGHT
Irish music, song & dance
10 p.m. - 2 a.m. Sunday 31st January
Creighton hotel
CLONES
Co. Monaghan
Bar extension, Supper served
Admission £1.50
Organised by Clones Feis Committee

FUND-RAISING SOCIAL
Music by 'The Irish Brigades'
Friday 5th February
Kells room
Donnelly's
William Street
DUNGANNON
Co. Tyrone
Admission £1
Organised by Sinn Fein

Sinn Fein AGMs

Dublin
AT the recent annual general meeting of the Martin McKenna Sinn Fein cumann, Dublin, the following officers were elected: chair: P. Fanning; secretary: A. North; treasurer: P. McGuire; education: J. O'Keefe; and welfare: P. Purcell.

Tralee
THE annual general meeting of the Tralee comhairle ceantair, County Kerry, was held recently. The meeting was addressed by Sinn Fein president Ruairi O Bradaigh and by Richard Behal of the Foreign Affairs Bureau.

The following officers were elected: chair: Liam Cotter; vice-chair: Pat Corhey; secretary: Joe Tuohy; treasurer: Maurice Dowling; organiser: Mike Morgan; PRO: Maura Stack; finance: Pat Quirke; education: Brendan Dowd; and representatives to Comhairle Cuige na Mumhan: Jack Godley and Joe Tuohy.

Join Sinn Fein

ANYONE interested in joining Sinn Fein should contact their local cumann; head office at 44 Parnell Square, Dublin; or 51/53 Falls Road, Belfast.

I am interested in becoming a member of Sinn Fein.

NAME

ADDRESS

Galliaugh Co-op

BY TERRY O'DOHERTY

"WHEN our local economy is dying, and our youth doomed to alienation and hopelessness, we, the people of Derry, must fight back in the most positive manner we can."

So said a spokesman for the Galliaugh Co-op, born out of frustration at the lack of shopping facilities in the Galliaugh area of Derry city.

The idea of a co-op was first mooted in the spring of 1980. In July, a public meeting was held, and a decision taken to purchase land from the Housing Executive. Shares at £1 each were advertised and, to date, 2,600 share-holders have invested a total of £80,000 in the venture.

A development group was set up and, within a few months, land was acquired and a major building project was underway. People who had little knowledge or expertise, came together to organise the collection of money, the employment of professional consultants, and to learn the techniques of business management and purchasing.

The building and services were designed in conjunction with the consultants, using information obtained as a result of a survey of the area by volunteer workers. Weekly meetings were held at which share-holders were informed of the progress of the scheme, and ideas exchanged.

This community co-operation paid off and the Galliaugh Co-op opened its doors on the Tuesday of Christmas week, December 22nd. What began as an idea nearly two years ago is now a reality with assets in excess of £200,000 and providing employment for sixteen people. As well as the main shop section, a sub-post office and 'after-hours' shop are located in the premises.

MODELS

The co-op idea is not new in Derry, which has the largest co-operative bank in the world, the Credit Union. The Galliaugh Co-op models itself on the co-operative tradition throughout Ireland, as an association of users involved in self-help and mutual aid and run on a voluntary and democratic basis.

The business of the co-op is conducted for the mutual benefit of its members. As share-holders, members determine how the co-op will be run and how profits will be distributed. The share-holders are the sole owners of the business, with each share-holder having one vote irrespective of the amount of shares he or she might hold. This principle is a form of protection against any individuals, groups or commercial interests gaining a controlling interest in the co-op.

Galliaugh is an area of new development in Derry, comprising thirteen estates, built by the Housing Executive over the past ten years. The people are dependent for shopping facilities on a chain store situated a mile away and small mobile shops charging exorbitant prices.

The co-op has brought shopping within comfortable distance, explored the idea of cheaper goods, created jobs, and, at the end of the day, promised a return on investment of shared profits, which could be seen as an ideal way to save. Other co-operatives also started out along this road but perished on the rock of conventional capitalist consumerism.

EDUCATIONAL

As a starting point this ideal is good. However, co-operatives, to be progressive, must involve something more. The educational value of the process in the setting up of the venture must be clearly understood by all the participants.

In Galliaugh, a great opportunity was presented to raise the consciousness of the people on all aspects of economic repression, dependency on state aid, the multi-nationals, the alienation of the young people, the powerlessness of people in a society where the rich are getting richer and the poor are getting poorer.

Share-holders should also be encouraged to examine and learn all aspects of the technology involved in consumer shops, from management to marketing, purchase



◆ The new Galliaugh Co-op in Derry city is a tribute to the determination and hard work of those involved

The co-op is welcomed by local republicans, who have invested in the venture and are keenly interested in its development, not merely as share-holders, but in the broader context of its implications as a people-centred venture...

But, to what extent can a co-op, competing in a capitalist society, really challenge the system?

to profit, and re-investment of those profits. This level of community involvement is essential to the development of the co-op.

That Galliaugh was established in such a short time, is a tribute to the determination and hard work of those involved. But it could also be seen as an unconscious protest against the de-humanisation of the individual by exploitation and political ineptitude. That the goal has been achieved should increase people's awareness of their own sense of power and their ability to address themselves directly to issues of social development.

This could provide a springboard of change in an active manner. The combination of participation and education — learning by doing — should be the function of the weekly meetings of share-holders. It is essential that all share-holders play an active role in the life of the co-op, that each is fully informed and participates in the decision-making process.

This could be assisted by organising educational classes for share-holders. A starting point could be made by an examination of existing or past co-operative ventures in Derry, such as the Credit Union, the Foyle (Construction) Co-op and the current Inner-City Project. Many valuable lessons can be learned from these ventures.

PARTICIPATE

This educational process is not being

of protection used to foster the development of locally-owned industry, agriculture and fisheries. This policy, despite being initially successful, was ultimately a failure, for many reasons, but principally because of the dependent currency tie-up with the Bank of England.

In the North of Ireland, consumer co-ops were established, based on the principles and experiences of comparable English ventures and, despite the sincerity and dedication of the founders, they have not succeeded in meeting the philosophical or social needs of the people who have invested in them and have become submerged in the mainstream of business merely as further competitors in the capitalist rat-race.

THREAT

Whether the Galliaugh Co-op will be any different is a matter for speculation. At the moment the threat to local capitalist ventures is neutralised by the limitations of the market.

Galliaugh Co-op, like other consumer co-ops, purchases most of its products in bulk, from a Manchester warehouse. This means that produce from South Africa, and popular items of the multi-nationals such as Unilever, are bought without any consciousness of the exploitation of human beings in the production of cheap consumer products.

In this aspect most co-operatives do not present any serious challenge to the system and on the surface would appear to be capitalist concerns involved in profit margin and bulk buying with marketing techniques not seen as an educational process but as an incentive to the 'having' philosophy of impulsive buying.

One hopes that the Galliaugh co-op will be different. That the urge to set up the co-op reflects a growing political awareness among the people and that this awareness will be channelled into examining the methods of production and distribution, with a spin-off investment in local produce and enterprise. (The co-op's constitution provides for the expansion of profits into localised industry.)

Co-ops are not new, but the Galliaugh one is. In this light, republican share-holders, see their investment not only for its realistic benefits but as part of a much wider political commitment and as taking part in a process of change. Present indications of these future developments are not optimistic, but the early warning signs are there and should be heeded by the people.

optimised within the Galliaugh Co-op. It, therefore, is not being progressive, and as such is already falling into the category of another competitive shop in 'the market'. Development will only take place when, despite the risks, share-holders are allowed to examine and participate in the decision-making process of the affairs of the co-op, and power is not usurped by cliques or power blocs.

The co-op was, and generally is, welcomed by republicans in Derry, who have invested in the venture and are keenly interested in its development, not merely as share-holders, but in the broader context of its implications as a people-centred venture, in keeping with the philosophy of self-determination and class equality.

At the time of its inception, Sinn Fein called publicly for prospective buyers interested in the land to withdraw their bids, so that the co-operative could be assured of a realistic price. The involvement of republicans essentially stems from a belief that the establishment of co-ops is an essential weapon in the struggle for economic independence, culminating in the distribution of the wealth of the nation for the people.

In realistic terms this belief is open to criticism and examination. After the Free State's formation its economy was guided by the then current Sinn Fein philosophy of self-sufficiency, with tariffs and other forms

The death of Mark McLaughlin

VETERAN Derry republican Mark McLaughlin died on Friday 8th January at the age of seventy-three.

Born in 1908, Mark McLaughlin was a mere boy of eight at the time of the Easter Rising in 1916, but one of the executed leaders - Patrick Pearse - was to become a hero in his eyes.

Mark McLaughlin was a quiet, unassuming man, small in stature, big in heart, and unyielding in his republican ideals. Mark was a much-respected figure in Derry, known for his tireless work in Sinn Fein and could not be set out in print.

A member of the Patrick Pearse cumann, Mark was elected to the officer board of Derry Sinn Fein comhairle ceantair as treasurer, a position he held for many years; such was his integrity he was returned unopposed year after year.

The death of Mark McLaughlin is a sad loss to all his friends and comrades.



● The late Mark McLaughlin reading the IRA message at the Easter Commemoration in Derry last year.

BIRTHDAY GREETINGS

GILLEN, Brian, (H-Block). Happy birthday, and best wishes. We are thinking of you always and waiting for the day when you are free once again. From mum and dad, Sean and Stella, xxx.

GILLEN, Brian, (H-Block). Happy birthday, big brother. May your next one be spent in freedom. From your sister Anne and wee Brian.

GILLEN, Brian, (H-Block). Happy birthday and the best of luck, 'Gilly'. I am thinking of you always. From your friend Mary. UTP.

GILLEN, Brian, (H-Block). Birthday greetings, Brian. We are always thinking and praying for you, victory to you and all your comrades. From Maura and Kevin.

GILLEN, Brian, (H-Block). Happy birthday and all the best, 'Crilly'. Our thoughts are with you always. Hope it is not long 'til you and all your comrades are free from that hell-hole. From all your friends and those who care. UTP.

MCLINCHEY, Paul, (H-Block). Birthday greetings, Paul, for January 18th. Your courage is an inspiration to us all. From the Bailiary Prisoners of War Welfare Committee.

Solidarity Greetings

CALLAGHAN, Rosemary, (Armagh). Solidarity and New Year greetings, Rosemary. All the best from Brendan, Kevin, Johnny, Sean and Matt in Co. Kerry. UTP.

CAREY, Malachy; BOYLE, Sean, (H-Block) and Sean, on completing your fifth year on your brave protest for political status. From mum, dad, brothers, and sisters.

CAREY, Malachy; BOYLE, Sean, (H-Block). The Roger Casement Sinn Fein cumann, Loughall, sends solidarity greetings to you, Malachy and Sean, on completing your fifth year of protest for political status.

MADIGAN, Tony, (England). Solidarity and New Year greetings, Tony. Also greetings to Mick Murray, Eddie O'Neill, Stephen Nordonne, Dickie Glenholmes, and Stephen Blake, and to all our prisoners in England and Ireland. From the Madigan family.

SOLIDARITY GREETINGS for the New Year to all republican POWs, from the College of Business Studies, Belfast, to all republican POWs in the H-Blocks and cages of Long Kesh, Armagh Jail, Crumlin Road, Portlaoise, Limerick and jails in England. We salute your bravery and pledge our utmost support in the continuing struggle.

SOLIDARITY GREETINGS from Niall and Fred, Buncrana, who wish Gerry Meenan (Portlaoise), Eddie Harkin (H-Block), Raymond McCartney (H-Block), Billy Brady (Long Kesh) and all other republican prisoners, a happy New Year. May your next New Year be spent in freedom. UTP.

SOLIDARITY GREETINGS and New Year greetings from councillor Eddie Fullerton, Buncrana, to all republican prisoners wherever they are held hostage. Each day is a day nearer to freedom and to the establishment of a democratic socialist republic.

IN MEMORIAM

BLEAKLEY, Rosemary; MOONAGH, Martin (6th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol. Rosemary Bleakley, Belfast Brigade, Cumann na mBan, and Vol. Martin Moonagh, Belfast Brigade, Ogligh na hEirann, who died as a result of an accidental explosion while on active service duty on January 13th 1976. Thug said a rabh acu ar son na Poblahta. Never forgotten by their friends and comrades in the Belfast Brigade.

BLEAKLEY, Rosemary, (6th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol. Rosemary Bleakley, who died on active service on January 13th 1976. Always remembered by her friends, Mary, Martin, Fuair sí bás ar son saoire.

DELANEY, Kevin, (2nd Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol. Kevin 'Dee' Delaney, Belfast Brigade, Ogligh na hEirann, who died as a result of an accidental explosion while on active service duty on January 17th 1980. Chait sé a shaol gearr ag obair ag troid ar son saoire. Always remembered by his friends and comrades in the Belfast Brigade.

DELANEY, Kevin, (2nd Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol. Kevin 'Dee' Delaney, Belfast Brigade, Ogligh na hEirann, who was killed while on active service January 17th 1980. 'No king or saint could be so proud as he whose flag becomes his shroud.' Prayers for his loving mother, Always remembered by his loving mother, father, brothers and sisters.

DELANEY, Kevin, (2nd Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of my dear husband, and our devoted father, Vol. 'Dee' Delaney, Belfast Brigade, Ogligh na hEirann, who was killed on active service on January 17th 1980. Always remembered by his loving wife Edie and children, Sean, Paul and Ceire.

DELANEY, Kevin, (2nd Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of my dear brother, Vol. Kevin 'Dee' Delaney, who was killed on active service on January 17th 1980. 'It is not for the faint of heart, what I say, it's what I really feel inside when I think of you today.' Always remembered by his loving mother, Philly.

DELANEY, Kevin, (2nd Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of my dear brother, Vol. Kevin 'Dee' Delaney, Belfast Brigade, Ogligh na hEirann, who was killed on active service on January 17th 1980. 'Remember him with love and pride, for he fought to free his country, and for its cause he died.' St. Gerard, May your next New Year be remembered by his loving sister Ceire, brother-in-law Frankie and nephew Kevin.

DELANEY, Kevin, (2nd Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of my dear brother, Vol. Kevin 'Dee' Delaney, Belfast Brigade, Ogligh na hEirann, who was killed on active service on January 17th 1980. 'I love you more than I love my life. Oh mother, I was true to God, Ireland and to you.' Always remembered and sadly missed by his loving sister Maire, brother-in-law Gerard, and nephews Gerard and Stephen.

DELANEY, Kevin, (2nd Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of my dear brother, Vol. Kevin 'Dee' Delaney, Belfast Brigade, Ogligh na hEirann, who was killed on active service on January 17th 1980. 'Remember him with love and pride, for he fought to free his country, and for its cause he died.' Fondly remembered by Tony and Eugene (Portlaoise) and Gerry.

DELANEY, Kevin, (2nd Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol. Kevin 'Dee' Delaney, Belfast Brigade, Ogligh na hEirann, who died while on active service duty on January 17th 1980. Fhad's até na huaighseanna seo in Eirinn, ní bhíadh síocháin ann saoire. Sady missed and always remembered by Dan, Deborah and kids.

DELANEY, Kevin, (2nd Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol. Kevin 'Dee' Delaney, Belfast Brigade, Ogligh na hEirann, who died on active service on January 17th 1980. Ar ais d'ag rabh a nam. Always remembered by his loving mother, Mary, Queen of the Gael, pray for him.

McELROY, Patrick, (2nd Anniversary). The members of the McCann/Grant Sinn Fein cumann, too, deeply regret the death of David, father of our comrade Jim McElroy (Case 11, Long Kesh), and offer our deepest sympathy to the McElroy family. Mary, Queen of the Gael, pray for him.

McELROY, Patrick, (2nd Anniversary). The republican people of South-West Antrim regret the death of David McElroy and offer our deepest sympathy to his bereaved family. Mary, Queen of the Gael, pray for him.

remembered by Val and Dolores Lynch and family, Dublin.

DELANEY, Kevin, (2nd Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of my friend Vol. Kevin 'Dee' Delaney, Belfast Brigade, Ogligh na hEirann, who was killed on active service on January 17th 1980. Will those who think of me today, let a little prayer to Jesus say. Padre Pio pray for him. Always remembered by Bernie.

HARVEY, Seamus, (5th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol. Seamus Harvey, Ogligh na hEirann, South Armagh, who died while on active service duty on January 16th 1975. Chait sé a shaol ag troid ar son saoire. Ní dhéanfaim dearmad air. Remembered by Ogligh na hEirann, South Armagh.

LIGGETT, Francis, (5th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol. Francis Liggett, Belfast Brigade, Ogligh na hEirann, who was shot dead while on active service duty on January 18th 1973. Fuair sé bás ag troid ar son saoire. Always remembered by his friends and comrades in the Belfast Brigade.

MCCORMICK, Eamonn, (10th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Flann Eamonn McCormick, Belfast Brigade, na Flanna Eirann, who died on January 16th 1972. Remembered by his comrades in the Dublin Battalion.

MCCORMICK, Eamonn, (10th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Flann Eamonn McCormick, na Flanna Eirann, who died while on active service duty on January 16th 1972. Cuif sí bás sa Bhearna Bhaoil, ní dhéanfaim dearmad air. Always remembered by his friends and comrades in the Dublin Battalion.

McMAHON, Jackie, (4th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol. Jackie McMahon, Belfast Brigade, Ogligh na hEirann, who following his arrest by members of the hated RUC on January 18th 1972, was never seen again. Codaí go cídín, a chomráid. Never forgotten by his friends and comrades in the Belfast Brigade.

MOYNE, Jim, (7th Anniversary). Derry Brigade, Ogligh na hEirann, remember with pride the death of my dear brother, Jim Moyné, who died on active service on January 13th 1975 while on political prisoner in Long Kesh prison camp. I measc Laochra na nGaeil go rabh a nam. Always remembered by his loving mother, Mary, and his loving brother, Gerry.

MOYNE, Jim, (7th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol. Jim Moyné, Derry Brigade, Ogligh na hEirann, who died whilst being held as a political prisoner in Long Kesh Internment camp. Ní dhéanfaim dearmad air. Codaí go cídín. Remembered always by Derry comhairle ceantair, Sinn Fein.

SLOAN, Michael, (10th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Flann Michael Sloan, Belfast Brigade, na Flanna Eirann, who died on January 13th 1972. Thug sé a shaol ar son saoire muintir na hEirann. Always remembered by his loving parents, brothers and sisters.

SLOAN, Michael, (10th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Flann Michael Sloan, Belfast Brigade, na Flanna Eirann, who died on January 13th 1972. 'Remember him with pride, for he fought to free his country, and for its cause he died.' Fondly remembered by Tony and Eugene (Portlaoise) and Gerry.

SLOAN, Michael, (10th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Flann Michael Sloan, Belfast Brigade, na Flanna Eirann, who died on January 13th 1972. 'Remember him with pride, for he fought to free his country, and for its cause he died.' Fondly remembered by Tony and Eugene (Portlaoise) and Gerry.

SLOAN, Michael, (10th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Flann Michael Sloan, Belfast Brigade, na Flanna Eirann, who died on January 13th 1972. 'Remember him with pride, for he fought to free his country, and for its cause he died.' Fondly remembered by Tony and Eugene (Portlaoise) and Gerry.

SLOAN, Michael, (10th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Flann Michael Sloan, Belfast Brigade, na Flanna Eirann, who died on January 13th 1972. 'Remember him with pride, for he fought to free his country, and for its cause he died.' Fondly remembered by Tony and Eugene (Portlaoise) and Gerry.

WHEN I WAS A YOUNG MAN I USED TO WORK IN A CIRCUS...

I WAS KNOWN AS "THE HUMAN SLUG"!

BUT I HIT THE BOTTLE AND MY CAREER TOOK A NOSE DIVE...

... AND NOW I'M IN THE SPECIAL BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ULSTER CONSTABULARY...

... AND I'M STILL KNOWN AS "THE HUMAN SLUG"!!

BY CORMAC

Sympathy

DAVIS, The Jenkinson/Moran Sinn Fein cumann, Dun Laoghaire extends deepest sympathy to Paddy Mulcahy and family on the death of his mother Christine. Mary, Queen of the Gael, pray for her.

McELROY, Patrick, Kevin, Henry, Sean, Lorne and Fintan (republican POWs from South-West Antrim incarcerated in Long Kesh), deeply regret the death of David McElroy, father of our comrade Jim. To the entire McElroy family we extend our deepest sympathy. Mary, Queen of the Gael, pray for him.

McELROY, The members of the McCann/Grant Sinn Fein cumann, too, deeply regret the death of David, father of our comrade Jim McElroy (Case 11, Long Kesh), and offer our deepest sympathy to the McElroy family. Mary, Queen of the Gael, pray for him.

McELROY, The republican people of South-West Antrim regret the death of David McElroy and offer our deepest sympathy to his bereaved family. Mary, Queen of the Gael, pray for him.

MULCAHY, The Limerick comhairle ceantair, Sinn Fein, extends deepest sympathy to Paddy Mulcahy and family on the death of his mother.

MULCAHY, The Clancy/O'Callaghan Sinn Fein cumann, Limerick, extends deepest sympathy to Paddy Mulcahy and family on the death of his mother.

MULCAHY, The Shamrock Brigade, Sinn Fein, South Limerick, extends deepest sympathy to Paddy Mulcahy and relatives on the death of his mother. Mary. Ar deis ilímh Dé go rabh a nam.

O'CONNOR, Chuaig Joe up an clann o chumann O'Sullivan/Wright, Listowel.

O'SHEA, The Jenkinson/Moran Sinn Fein cumann, Dun Laoghaire, extends deepest sympathy to John and family on the death of his sister Kathleen. Mary, Queen of the Gael, pray for her.

REILLY, The Fergal O'Hanlon/Martin Hurson Sinn Fein cumann, Galbally, Dunsannon, Co. Tyrone, deeply regrets the death of Bernard Reilly, Belfast, Jamesdunard, and extends sympathy to his wife and family.

TOLAND, extends sympathy to the Toland family, Belfast, on the death of their mother, Mary, Queen of Ireland, pray for her. From Sean Colligan, Dublin.

THANKS

THE JOE BERGIN SINN FEIN CUMANN, NEWBRIDGE, CO. KILDARE, wishes to sincerely thank all those who contributed to our Christmas collection and who supported us during 1981.

THE ROBERT EMMET SINN FEIN CUMANN, INCHEORE, DUBLIN, wishes to thank the people of Craigmabanagh who so generously supported the An Cumann Cabhrach fund-raising Christmas sale.

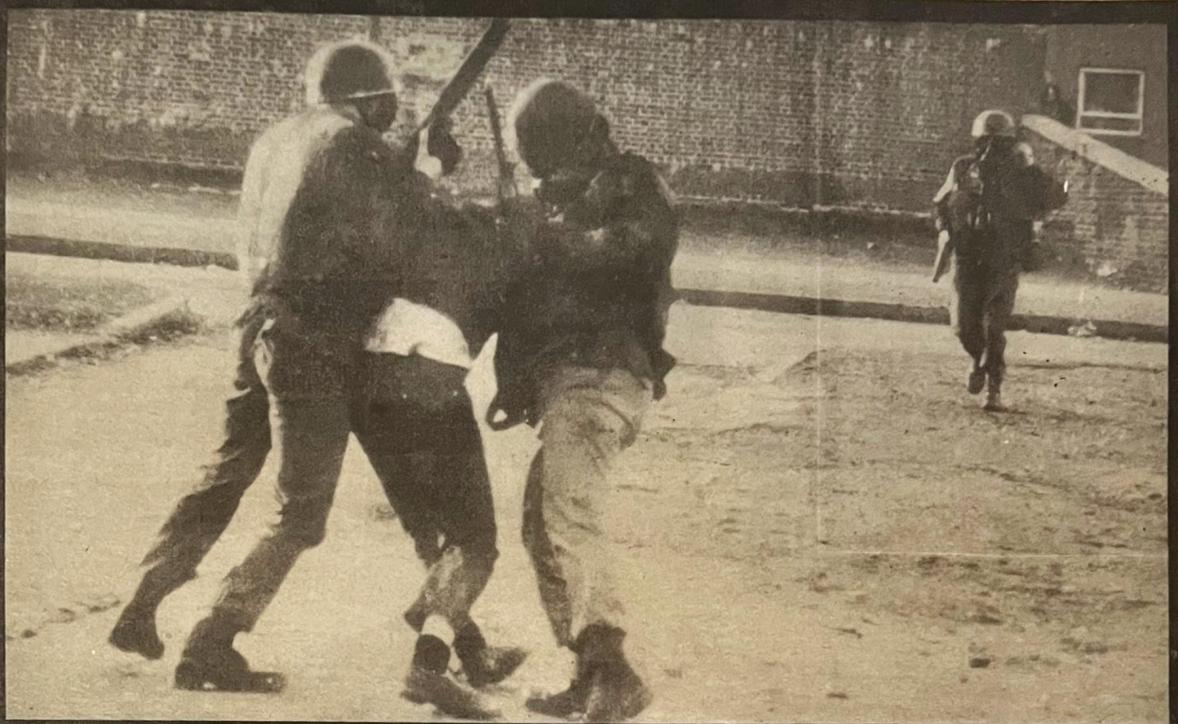
THE STRABANE H-BLOCK/ARMAGH COMMITTEE wish to thank all those who helped make the Strabane Christmas postal scheme a success. We would also like to take the opportunity to send solidarity and New Year greetings to all our prisoners.

AP/RN AFFECTED

'An Phoblacht/Republican News' would like to apologise to sellers in various parts of the country who did not receive their usual quota of papers, because the adverse road conditions created by snow and ice in some cases prevented the normal delivery of papers by van.

DRAW RESULT

Capbagh/Galbally Sinn Fein, Co. Tyrone Building Fund draw results:
 1st prize (1 cwt coal): Mary McKeown, Carley, Capbagh; 2nd prize (hammer): P.J. McKee, Aungbawn, Capbagh; 3rd prize (bottle of whiskey): A. Corr, Cranogue, Capbagh.



BLOODY SUNDAY

10th Anniversary commemoration

March & Rally

Sunday 31st January

DERRY

Assemble 2 p.m. Creggan shops

March on original route
to rally at Free Derry corner



BUSES TO DERRY FROM DUBLIN, BELFAST & OTHER AREAS. ALL ENQUIRIES TO SINN FEIN