

Phoblacht

REPUBLICAN NEWS



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UDA VICTIMS



● Samuel Millar (above), killed in 1976, and Felix Hughes (Below), killed in 1972, are described in Paisley's book for the USA, 'Ulster, the facts', as 'an IRA victim' and 'yet another IRA victim'. In fact, they are a UDA victim and yet another UDA victim — members of that organisation have been sentenced to prison terms for both killings



Blunder not thunder
is the Orange tune
in States and book

LOYALIST KILLERS

THE loyalist propaganda tour of the United States aimed at countering support for the IRA there, has turned into an embarrassing flop for the participants, Official Unionist John Taylor, Peter Robinson of the Democratic Unionist Party, and the two substitutes, Mrs. Norah Bradford and Mrs. Eileen Paisley.

Equally in Canada, the short visit of loyalist leader Ian Paisley, architect of the ambitiously-titled tour — 'Operation USA' — has proved a non-event and given the loyalists a salutary lesson in just how few friends they have in the real world.

For Paisley — who likes to thunder forth to a chosen audience — there is particular irony in his choice of base in Toronto.

Until twenty years ago the mayorality of that particular city was the exclusive preserve of the Orange Order, now its media chiefs have instructed their staffs to adopt a low priority in regard to the visit of the loyalist chief,

loud counter-demonstrators dog his every step, and in general there is public indifference.

In the United States, the loyalist delegation has been treated in the same low key fashion by the media. Their press conference at the Washington Press Club was

poorly attended and they have been totally ignored by the influential 'New York Times'.

Moresover, the silly attempt to place the IRA in a world-wide communist conspiracy has dissolved into ridicule, with Mrs. Eileen Paisley naming some of

America's closest allies, such as Saudi Arabia, as being among the IRA's backers.

Having failed in Washington to find any influential politicians willing to meet them, the delegation has now fanned out around the United States, largely missing the

major centres of population. Visits planned in the big cities of New York, Chicago and Boston have as their focal point meetings with the British consuls!

A planned public meeting by (continued on next page)

LOYALIST KILLERS

(continued from previous page)

Paisley's side-kick, Peter Robinson, in San Francisco was first cancelled by Grace cathedral, which is dominated by ecumenists, and then by a Jesuit-run college of the local university. Both strange venues for ultra-Protestant rhetoric.

In the face of this, Robinson later claimed his meeting would take place at a secret venue, and inevitably therefore before a minuscule audience.

Secrecy on the tour has become a necessity both as an excuse for its failure to attract attention and because of the protest activities of Irish Northern Aid supporters.

This week the Noraid weekly 'The Irish People' will be publishing the supposed secret tour schedule on its front page and calling on its units around America to mount suitable protests. And Noraid is claiming that the tour has in fact worked to their benefit in so far as it has spurred on their supporters once again and also served as a useful eye-opener on loyalism for those who have needed it.

Back in the North, the tour has also failed to provide the intended boost for its participants, with media coverage surprisingly low key.

Some controversy has arisen, however, around the glossy booklet, which has been specially prepared for distribution on the tour, entitled 'Ulster — The Facts'.

The book presents the loyalist view of the North past and present and makes spychophantic appeals to what is gauged as American fears of communism, linking in with the contribution of Ulster Protestants in the United States.

CONTROVERSY

The main controversy, however, surrounds the publication of several gruesome photographs intended to portray the 'savagery of the IRA'.

By some ironic blunder, two photographs are of the victims of loyalist killers.

One, on page 93, shows the decomposed body of Samuel Millar, murdered in County Derry in 1976 by the UDA — a UDR soldier has been convicted of his killing — but captioned in the book as an 'IRA victim'. And on page 96 is another photograph captioned 'yet another victim of IRA terrorism', but in fact it is of yet another victim of the UDA — a Catholic, Felix Hughes, who in July 1972 was kidnapped by them in Portadown, and was beaten and tortured to death before his body was tied to a mattress which was weighted down and dropped in a drainage channel.

Continuing its 'blame the IRA for everything' theme, the book brings out the common claim of over two thousand dead in the last decade at the hands of the IRA. 'Ulster — The Facts' merely breaks this down as 618 members of the British army, UDR and RUC, and simply 1,515 civilians.

This latter figure, however, as official statistics confirm, includes over six hundred and fifty loyalist assassination victims, one hundred and twenty innocent civilians murdered by British forces, forty loyalists killed by their own bombs or by British forces. It also includes almost two hundred members of the IRA, Cumann na mBan and na Fianna Eireann who have been killed in action over the last ten years.

The true 'facts' about 'Ulster' are that all the deaths in Ireland's struggle for freedom are the sole responsibility of the British presence. Perhaps the loyalists' American venture may well have opened a few more eyes to that one reality.

Paisley finds it hot in Canada

BY PETER ARNLIS

LOYALIST leader Ian Paisley got more than he bargained for on this week's trip to Canada. From the beginning of his trip on Friday 15th January his public appearances were dogged by well organised protests from the Irish Republican Prisoner of War Committee and his propaganda was countered at every turn by Sinn Fein director of publicity Danny Morrison, who was given equal and, more importantly, sympathetic, radio and television coverage.

Paisley arrived at Toronto international airport to a hot welcome from about thirty members of the Irish committee. When foreign passengers and bystanders saw that it was actually Ian Paisley who was being heckled they joined in and swelled the number of protesters.

Paisley was visibly shaken as airport security men tried to hustle him out of a side door but he was chased by demonstrators. Paisley brushed pressmen aside and told them to 'get the hell out of my way', his first major public relations mistake. As police pushed him into the car of the Free Presbyterian organiser of his tour, his head was bumped twice against the roof. The erratic driver then hit a passing bus and knocked down a Royal Canadian Mounted Policeman before driving off.

IMMIGRATION

On Saturday night, Danny Morrison, who arrived in Canada unannounced, for fear that had he disclosed the actual purpose of his trip (to counter Paisley) it would have jeopardised his entering the country, was held overnight by immigration officials when the person appointed to meet him did not turn up at the airport.

Morrison was referred to an immigration hearing on Sunday morning at which he admitted his true reasons for coming to Toronto and was then released.

On Sunday, preaching at a Free Presbyterian church, Paisley again lost the sympathy of the media when he denounced Britain's intentions to exchange ambassadors with the Vatican. Paisley's inability to emerge from the sixteenth century and his arguing over something that happened in 1533 led to scathing press attacks on him. In fact the 'Toronto Star', Canada's biggest daily newspaper, took an

editorial decision not to cover his tour and refused to meet him.

PRESS

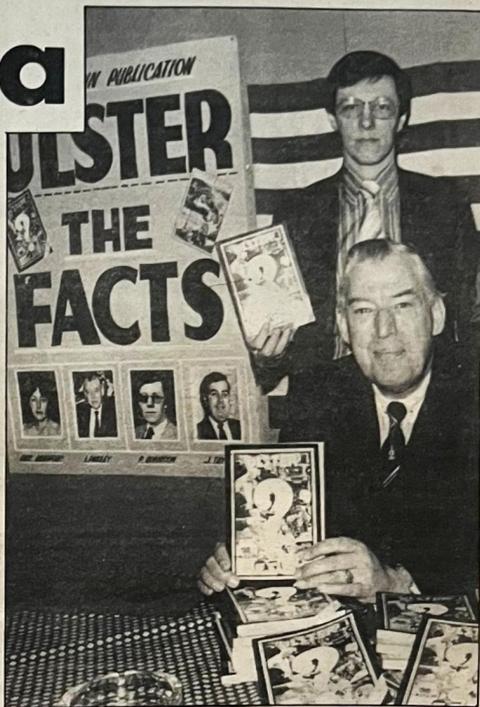
On Monday, he launched his press conference and the book 'Ulster, the Facts', at noon, in the prestigious Royal York Hotel, to coincide with the Washington press conference of his loyalist colleagues whom he was prevented from joining by the US State Department's withdrawal of his visa. Danny Morrison and Mike Quigley of the Irish committee were barred from entering the room.

Over twenty-five Free Presbyterian henchmen guarded all entrances and their behaviour caused further press consternation. Christopher Thomas from the London 'Times' who was seen speaking to Morrison was refused entry on the grounds that he was a suspect IRA man. Reporter Peter Murphy of CTV National News threatened to sue the henchmen who were about to jostle him.

Thomas eventually gained admission but a reporter from the 'Globe and Mail' who had forgotten his press card appealed to Paisley's doorman, "my 'desk' will screw me," said the agitated reporter, "I don't cover this press conference."

"Well, language like that will do you no good for a start," said that Protestant fundamentalist to the stunned reporter.

Despite the fact that Morrison and Quigley made up the only official opposition, Paisley refused to go past them and was smuggled into the conference through the hotel kitchen. He was challenged on why he refused to debate the issues behind the conflict in Ireland with Danny Morrison, but was evasive and unconvincedly stated that it was because Morrison was



● The smile was soon wiped off Paisley's face

not an elected representative. (He still refused to debate with Owen Carron who is an elected MP)

CREDIBILITY

After Paisley met the press, whose subsequent reports were less than complimentary, Danny Morrison held his own impromptu press conference in the lobby and said that the credibility of any politician, Paisley being no exception, must rest on public scrutiny and his ability to defend his policies. Paisley could not defend the loyalist cause and he was ignoring his part in the violence in Ireland and that was why he was not prepared to debate the issue before a neutral forum, said Morrison.

Paisley was further opposed on Tuesday night by a crowd of over two hundred demonstrators outside the Wallace Christie memorial home. Again he had to be smuggled

in through the back door. Besides Canadian and Irish/Canadians on the demo there were Grenadians and Chileans. This protest was the main news item on many radio and TV stations that night.

Addressing his Free Presbyterian followers Paisley complained about being called a fascist and to loud applause asked where else did fascism have its origins but in the Vatican, a comment described as 'disgusting' by some political commentators.

Paisley's propaganda trip was a real flop and he must be thanking his lucky stars that he was refused a visa for the States where the demonstrations would have been equally effective and only increased republican support from the American people. On Thursday Paisley was due to return to Belfast with his tail truly between his legs.

IRA CLOSE RAIL LINK

MASSIVE disruption to the Belfast-Dublin rail link, extensive media coverage, and the tying down of British army and RUC personnel for two days, was the result of the petrol tanker bomb planted by the IRA in South Armagh last Sunday night.

IRA Volunteers from Crossmaglen placed the petrol tanker, in which two bombs had been placed, directly under Ayalogue bridge, near Meigh in South Armagh, across which runs the rail link between Belfast and Dublin.

The petrol tanker had been commandeered several weeks earlier, just before Christmas, on the road between Creggan and Crossmaglen, when it contained a full load of highly combustible fuel.

Following this the IRA left the petrol tanker near Cullolville, not far away, and subsequently — despite the tanker having come under observation from the British army — managed to drive it the fifteen miles to the Ayalogue bridge last Sunday where they left it.

The rail link was cut, passengers having to be ferried by bus between Dundalk and Portadown, while British bomb disposal experts approached the tanker with extreme caution, unsure whether it, and its petrol load, were booby-trapped.

It was not until late on Tuesday evening that bomb disposal men moved in to defuse the two bombs with controlled explosions after the petrol tanker had been dragged clear of the bridge.



● Petrol tanker with two bombs on board

Abused

A NINE months' pregnant young Belfast woman became the target for sustained obscene verbal and physical abuse at the hands of a British army mobile patrol last Friday afternoon, January 15th, leaving her still in a state of extreme nervousness and depression several days after this attack.

Lorraine Healy, aged seventeen, who was two weeks' overdue in giving birth at the time of the attack, and who had been released from hospital, where she had been treated for high blood pressure, only two days earlier, was walking home through the Lenadoon estate in west Belfast with a friend, at around noon, when they were stopped by a mobile patrol of two British jeeps.

One of the Brits jumped out and asked Lorraine for her name, and insisted on searching the handbags of both girls. This Brit, joined by others in the patrol, then began to pass remarks on Lorraine's pregnant state and to shout obscenities.

The two girls walked on down through the estate, but after her friend had walked off in another direction the Brits again drove up to Lorraine and shouted obscene

comments at her, cruising alongside her as she walked on.

Just before she reached her home the same Brit as before jumped out of his jeep and asked Lorraine her name again. He then tried to put his tongue on Lorraine's cheek. Disgusted, she pulled back, but the Brit then pushed the barrel of his rifle into her stomach, saying he would blow the baby out of her.

Lorraine broke down into tears at this point, but obscenities continued to be shouted for some time by members of the Brit patrol before she was allowed to walk on. As she passed the Brit who had assaulted her he struck her across the face with his leather gloves.

Several days after the attack Lorraine was so distressed by her ordeal that she was afraid to leave her house and was in a state of extreme nervousness.



● Lorraine Healy, suffered obscene verbal abuse from British soldiers

Panic shooting

PANIC shooting by edgy British soldiers near Crossmaglen in South Armagh, last Sunday afternoon, led to a group of foxhunters narrowly escaping death or injury when a burst of shots were fired at them from short range.

Twelve members of the Loch Ross gun club, who had earlier informed the RUC in Crossmaglen that they were going foxhunting, were on bogland at Lisnagull, between Crossmaglen and Cullinville, when they came under rapid fire from Brits operating from a dug-out fifty yards away, in a neighbouring tree plantation.

The British army subsequently claimed ludicrously that their undercover unit had spotted gunmen who fired three shots at them. In replying to this statement, which was later proved to be blatantly untrue, the IRA in Crossmaglen said that this was the 'third incident of panic shooting by British soldiers in three weeks'.

Informer dies

A WEST Belfast man shot and wounded by the IRA on January 3rd after he was uncovered as an RUC informer died in hospital last Tuesday, January 19th.

The man, twenty-nine-year-old John Joseph Turbitt, from Horn Drive in the Lenadoon estate in west Belfast, died from chest wounds he received in the IRA shooting.

Westrock punishment

THE IRA's Belfast Brigade has claimed responsibility for the punishment shooting of a seventeen-year-old youth in the Westrock area of west Belfast last Sunday evening, January 17th. The youth was shot in both legs.

According to the IRA he had been engaged for some time in persistent acts of burglary, stealing cars, stripping cars and selling the parts.

Kesh clash

A MINOR clash between Long Kesh republican prisoners and prison warders on Friday 15th January resulted in four prisoners being sent to the punishment block for three days.

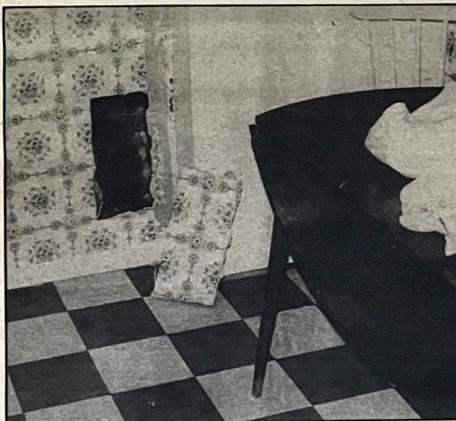
The confrontation took place in 'D' wing of H5-Block when republicans who had been eating breakfast refused to leave the canteen when ordered to do so by the warders.

The prisoners regarded the usual procedure of two men returning to their cells at a time as an infringement of their dignity, and decided to challenge the warders by leaving as a group.

The four republicans put on the boards were: Gerry McDonnell, Belfast; Tom Holland, Belfast; Joe Watson, Belfast; and Ciaran O'Donnell, Dungannon. They had been charged with rushing the warden guarding the canteen door, and holding the door open.

The men won a marginal victory by their action, however, since warders have now stopped ordering men back to their cells in this way.

Wanton wrecking



● Typical wall damage, in Broom Park, Twinbrook, Belfast

THE wanton wrecking of nationalist homes by raiding Brits, which has become a regular feature of life in the Northern ghettos in recent months, has continued over the past week with serious damage being caused to at least five houses in west Belfast by sledge hammers and pick-axes.

The first of the two raid-and-search operations involved began at 10 a.m. last Friday, January 15th, when a large force of British soldiers and RUC sealed off the Old Suffolk Road at the edge of the Lenadoon estate, and immediately occupied all the premises on the road.

These included three homes, a motor works, and an unoccupied office building. No-one was allowed to enter or leave the area throughout the search.

Seven workers at the Glenview motor works were held in the building for over six hours while it was searched, disrupting an entire day's work.

Worst damaged was the home of the Hughes family where built-in cupboards were ripped off walls and carpets lifted. Shortly after the Hughes family had been ordered into the front living-room where they were held, forty-seven-year-old Annie Hughes collapsed and had to be rushed to the City Hospital.

Further up the road the home of Joe Quinn was also damaged, with holes being made in ceilings.

Finally, at 4.30 p.m., after fruitlessly searching for over six hours, the Brits left leaving residents to clear up their trail of damage.

At roughly the same time a second raid took place on three homes in the Broom Park area of the Twinbrook estate, little more than a mile away.

The occupants of one of the homes, Michael and Helena McClean, their six-week-old baby and two older children, were herded into the kitchen while the Brits went through the house with sledge hammers and pick-axes.

Floorboards were pulled up and broken, both panels were ripped off, floor tiles smashed and wallpaper torn down.

Similar damage was caused in two neighbouring houses, in one of which two old-age pensioners were left in a distressed state, before the Brits pulled out at 7.10 p.m., two-and-a-half hours after the raids had begun.

Savage rent increases

SAVAGE rent increases averaging 22% for tenants of the North's Housing Executive are due to be implemented on April 5th, according to David Mitchell, the Stormont minister responsible for housing in a statement last Monday, 18th January.

This rent increase will mean, in cash terms, an extra £1.88 each week for the average household, and follows on from past annual increases in recent years of between 20% and 30%.

Unlike last year, when the board of the Housing Executive rumbled loudly with discontent at having to impose the rent increase, this year — marshalled by Charles Brett, the chairman of the Housing Executive — the board has meekly acquiesced to the increase.

The reason for the turn-about is simple. Several weeks ago the Housing Executive put forward its proposed budget for 1982/83, which included the building of 4,500 new homes if British government housing expenditure was sufficient.

Housing Minister David Mitchell responded by agreeing to meet the bulk of the expenditure needed, provided rents were increased drastically to help pay for this.

DANGLING

Apart from meekly protesting that



● Many Housing Executive tenants are falling into the debt trap

a capital building programme should not be directly related to rent levels — but doing nothing in defence of this fundamental principle — the Housing Executive has readily gone along with Mitchell's dangling carrot.

The rent increases will hit hard at the majority of the North's public housing tenants, many of whom are increasingly falling into the debt trap as rents have doubled in three years. (District heating charges, affecting many

urban tenants, will hit even harder when they go up, probably in May.) Increasing anger and despair by tenants' groups facing spiralling rent increases, which go unchecked by the spinelessness of the Housing Executive board who refuse to stand up to the NIO, has resulted in the possibility of the first serious tenants' challenge to rent increases for several years.

PROTEST

A meeting of tenants' groups' rep-

resentatives held in Belfast last Saturday agreed to organise a 'day of publicity' outside Belfast city hall this Saturday afternoon, January 23rd, and a further protest rally and 'day of action' outside the city hall on February 6th. The main demand they are making is for the freezing of rents for at least three years.

Also needed will be the establishment of the principle that any future rent increases are not inflation-linked, as at present, but based on the average percentage increase in incomes. (Of course, were this principle applied it would mean a near-zero increase in annual rent levels.)

And also, the fundamental principle that the 'newbuild' and maintenance programmes of the Housing Executive should be financed independently of any consideration of rent levels, must be enforced.

The appalling state of housing in the six counties, the result of sixty years of incompetence and sectarianism, and in more recent years of savage under-spending, requires a massive injection of funds to arrest the decline in, and chronic shortage of, housing stock. The economically deprived, who form the majority of the Housing Executive's tenants, should not be forced into even more extreme poverty in order to pay for this social necessity.

BLOODY SUNDAY

10th Anniversary
Commemoration
March & Rally
Sunday 31st January

DEBRY
Assemble 2 p.m. Creggan shops
March on original route
to rally at Free Derry corner

Sixth arrested

SIX of the eight escapees from Crumlin Road jail in Belfast last June, have now fallen victim to the policy of determined collaboration by the Free State government and are being held in custody in the twenty-six counties.

The latest to be re-captured is twenty-four-year-old Angelo Fusco from Belfast, who was arrested in the early hours of Tuesday morning, January 19th, after a raid on a house in Tralee, County Kerry.

All six men have been charged in the Dublin Special Criminal Court under the Criminal Law (Jurisdiction) Act which circumvents the international law bar on extradition. Two of the escapees, Robert Campbell and Michael Ryan, have already been sentenced to ten years' imprisonment for the escape.

Awaiting trial with Angelo Fusco are Michael McKee, Paul Magee and Anthony Sloan.

The two escapees who have so far evaded re-capture are Anthony Sloan's brother Gerard, aged twenty-seven, and fellow Belfast man Joe Doherty, aged twenty-eight.

El Salvador solidarity

SINN Fein has issued a statement on the occasion of the international day of action on El Salvador on Thursday 21st January.

It says: "Sinn Fein extends solidarity to the oppressed and struggling people of El Salvador. Their tenacity under the leadership of the revolutionary FMLN and FDR heartens all those people throughout the world struggling for justice and peace.

"We unreservedly condemn United States support for the genocidal military junta. We pledge our continued support for the struggling people of El Salvador."

Incriminating document

SINN Fein's Munster organiser, twenty-one-year-old Kenneth O'Ginneide of Cobh, County Cork, has been given a three-month suspended sentence in the Special Criminal Court in Dublin for 'possession of an incriminating document'.

The document in question is a poster headed 'Irish Republican Army - 1981' and showing two hooded IRA Volunteers with a machine gun. At the bottom were the words 'Victory to those struggling for Ireland's freedom'. The poster, which was found during a raid on O'Ginneide's home last September by Garda Special Branch men, was on general sale during the summer months.

Comhaltas tour

COMHALTAS Ceoltoirí Éireann, the traditional music and dancing organisation, begins its eleventh annual tour of Britain on Saturday 13th February. The tour, which will last a fortnight, will include concerts at fifteen venues.

The youngest musician with the group is nineteen-year-old uilleann piper Michael Cooney of the Holycross Selsiun group in County Tipperary, who has been hailed as one of the most proficient pipers of this generation.

Representing the traditional style of dancing are the Thurles set-dancers, who won the Munster championship of 1981; and also dancing on the tour will be the current world champion Freida Grey.

The group will give a farewell concert in Dublin's Liberty Hall on Sunday 7th February.



PRISON POEMS by Bobby Sands

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 Connelly, 21 Monagh Crescent, Turf Lodge, Belfast, telephone Belfast 620768.

FREE STATE PRE-BUDGET ASSESSMENT

Vicious budget begins

BY DAMIEN O'ROURKE

WHAT is billed as the most severe Free State budget 'in peace time' will be officially announced in Leinster House, next Wednesday, January 27th.

But already bits of the bad news are being revealed and will continue to be, even after the official budget speech, as further price increases are sanctioned, spending cuts are decided upon, and increased government charges calculated.

Already this week, in the first instalment, revealed in the 1982 Book of Estimates, electricity and gas charges are to be increased, charges for hospital beds raised, water rates extended to cover all homes, and meat prices raised by a withdrawal of meat factory subsidies.

But the figures already revealed show that even with increased revenue from these sources, public spending will not keep pace with inflation, being projected to increase only 16% whilst inflation is currently at 23%. In addition, capital expenditure is to be drastically cut back, making nonsense of job creation promises.

In human terms, not only does this mean less employment - with jobless figures already at an all-time high of 141,146 - but also a reduction of already inadequate services, covering social welfare, health, education and housing.

TAXATION

But for all the cuts - in real money terms - in public expenditure, the Coalition government's determination to achieve the monetarist dream, and 'balance the budget' over the next four years, means that only massive taxation increases can cover the estimated target reduction in this year's budget deficit.

The package of income tax reform which Fine Gael promised at the last election would cost approximately £900 million and would be financed, as stated by their election manifesto, by a corresponding increase in indirect taxation - increased VAT charges, excise duty on



Next week's Coalition budget will give no hope to the one hundred and forty one thousand unemployed and its contribution to inflation rates will further attack the living standards of all those dependent on social welfare benefits

petrol, drink and cigarettes and so on. At a time of high unemployment and high inflation, such a switch is entirely regressive, with those existing on social welfare benefits and fixed and low incomes, unable to get the compensations of lower income tax and

inadequately compensated by meagre increases in benefits.

So expensive is the promised tax reform, that it is now expected that the Coalition will wriggle out of its promises and only partially introduce it. Needless to say, the indexation of PAYE tax bands in line with rising living costs - which the PAYE campaigners have identified as a major necessity - was never included in the reforms at all.

There will undoubtedly be some token widening of the net in the form of capital taxation and further minuscule levies on bank profits. But it is unrealistic to expect Fine Gael to attack its major support base of the wealthy and big business, and the 5% of the twenty-six county population who (we are told) own 70% of the wealth are unlikely to suffer unduly. The rest of us will.

DEPLETION

The other aspect of next Wednesday's budget is, of course, whether it will get through Leinster House.

The depletion of Fianna Fail's voting strength with the expulsion/walk-out of Charles McCreery could have a bearing on the subject. But neither McCreery nor any of the other more established independents are looking for a general election and are likely to put self-preservation first as usual.

Just how cheaply the independents can be bought off, can be seen from the already announced allocation of a mere £400,000 for the provision of pre-school facilities for children under four-and-a-half.

This figure arises from the hypocritical pretensions of independents Noel Browne and Jim Kemmy at the education cuts, last year, which raised the age for beginning school. Voting that measure through, the two 'independent socialists' claimed that they had won a new programme of pre-school education.

The money now allocated for that purpose will scarcely cover such pre-school facilities in the constituencies of the two deputies involved.

Unfortunately then, any hopes of escaping the forthcoming budget, based on Browne, Kemmy, or Sherlock, are very slim ones indeed.

Craos chun cumhachta

LE AODH DE PAOR

TÁ póilíní na Sé Chontae Fíchead le cloisteacháir arís ag éileamh tuilleadh cumhachtaí dóibh féin. Chomh maith le sin tá siad ag iarraidh gó goimeádaí pionós an bháis. Tá siad ag éirí níos cosúla leis an RUC achán lá.

Ní chloistear aon ghuth liobarálach uathu. Príosún agus bás, sin réiteach na faidhbe dar leo. Tá siad ag tarraingt chucu cuma fórsa paramíleata an-tam ar fad. Chomh maith le sin tá siad ag sleamhnú níos faide ó phobal na tíre.

Nílid sásta le dearcadh agus cultúr an phobail. Nílid sásta amháin náisiúnacha a bheith á chanadh ag cluichí CLG. Nílid sásta Gaeilge a labhairt le lucht labhartha na Gaeilge. Nílid sásta go dtugann an pobal tacaíocht do Ghluaiseacht na Poblachta sa troid in éadan fórsaí an Chorcáin sa Tuaisceart.

EAGLA

Tá siad ag iarraidh eagla a scaipeadh i measc an phobail. Deineann siad iarracht a chur in iúl go bhfuil gach aon duine i mbaol. Tugann siad le tuiscint gur iad féin amháin na daoine gur féidir leo an pobal a shábháil.

In éineacht leis an chaint tá an láimh láidir. Tá idir an Special Branch agus an Special Task Force ag cur réimeas uafáis ar bun. Bíonn siad le feiscint agus a ngunnaí tarraingthe acu. Bíonn a ngluaiseatín ag dul ar nós na gaoithe trí lár na mbaile. Tá atmasféir an eagla a chruithú acu.

Níl aon leisce orthu gunnaí a tharraingt ar dhaoine. Is cuma cén duine atá i gceist. Táid lán tsásta daoine a bhigilgeadh agus a chur san ospidéal. Agus má tharlaíonn sé go dtugtar ós comhair cúirte iad, éiríonn leo sleamhnú



Harriers an lae inní agus leanúint traidisióin an RIC saor de bharr an córas cúirte atá i réim.

RUC

Táid ag déanamh aithris ar an RUC agus ag éirí níos cosúla leo. Ar ndóighe ní haon ionadh é sin mar táid i dtéarmaí leao an-tam ar fad. Tá siad tagtha go dtí an tuiscint chéanna leo, i.e. gur féidir cúlú ar Tuaisceart a shocrú ach an dlí a neartú.

Cheana féin ní cearta ar bith fágtha ag duine sna Sé Chontae Fíchead. Má ghabhann na póilíní duine anois séantair a chearta air agus ní féidir leis faic a dhéanamh faoi. Fiú sa ghabháil féin táid ag déanamh aithris ar an RUC mar gur minic a thagann siad go dtí an teach go luath ar maidin. Tá siad ag déanamh Diúltaíonn siad dlíodóirí dháil don té atá

gafa acu. Diúltaíonn siad dochtúirí dháil agus fiú a chearta a léamh don duine. Agus má tharlaíonn sé go dtugtar buille nó dhó, nó trí diút, cen cruthúnais atá agat.

Má thagann sé chomh fada le lá sa chúirt, seasfaidh na Gardaí le chéile agus diúltaíodh siad gur tharla aon ionsaí. San aon chás amháin atá ar méolas iarr dhúirt Garda gur chuala sé scórachaigh dúirt an breitheamh gur dócha gur rud eile a chuala sé.

Ach níl na póilíní sásta fó. Teastaíonn a thuilleadh cumhachtaí uathu. Is féidir a fheiceáil gur mhaith leo gach gné den Stáit a bheith faoi mhóir. Tá siad ag déanamh aithris ar an RUC mar gur minic a thagann siad go dtí an teach go luath ar maidin. Tá siad ag déanamh Diúltaíonn siad dlíodóirí dháil don té atá

Fianna Fail feuding

BY KEVIN BURKE

THE recent sparring matches within Fianna Fail, of which the expulsion of Charles McCreery was the highpoint of this week bring to mind similar events which preceded the downfall of Jack Lynch as party leader in December 1979.

On balance, however, the present Fianna Fail leader, Charles Haughey, is not yet in the precarious position of his predecessor.

The compliance of Charles McCreery with his expulsion from the parliamentary party undoubtedly benefited Haughey greatly. A roll-call vote, which Haughey was demanding for his proposal of expulsion, was thus avoided and with it an open split in the parliamentary party was sidestepped.

Even up to the last moment it was unclear whether the powerful trio of Des O'Malley, Martin O'Donoghue, and George Colley would support Haughey's proposal.

But the fact that there was no doubt that Haughey would have won the vote anyway, contrasts sharply with Lynch's attempt to expell Bill Loughane in late 1979 after he had branded Lynch 'a liar' over the helicopter border overflights controversy.

On that occasion, George Colley, in the absence of Lynch failed to get the expulsion motion through the parliamentary party; a failure which convinced Lynch that he was finished.

RE-SHUFFLE

The situation of O'Malley, O'Donoghue and Colley within the party — all of them being in

the anti-Haughey camp — has become particularly interesting with the long-awaited re-shuffle announced last week.

Haughey, obviously not strong enough to take them on, has left O'Malley with the Industry and Commerce portfolio, dramatically recalled O'Donoghue to the powerful Finance post, and has been forced to retain Colley, not only in his Energy role but also as deputy leader. The appointment of another of their faction, Gerry Collins, to the Foreign Affairs spokespersonship, means — strangely — that all the major posts in the shadow cabinet are held by anti-Haugheyites.

Nevertheless, Haughey's extension of the front bench by promotions of his own men, such as Mark Killelea and Ger Connolly, gives him a comfortable majority overall. And, more subtly, the establishment of O'Malley, O'Donoghue and Colley as equal ranking leadership contenders precludes any of the three from attracting sufficient personal support to make an early bid at the top job.

CRACKS

However, the front bench re-shuffle also brought more cracks



● Bobby Molloy's popularity is a problem for Haughey

to the surface in the shaky party unity.

Firstly, irate supporters of Jack Lynch's Defence Minister Bobby Molloy, who was dropped by Haughey on taking office in December 1979, were sufficiently stirred to have a resolution of no confidence in the Haughey leadership passed at Galway comhairle ceantair of Fianna Fail, when local deputy Molloy was not restored to the front bench in the shake-up.

This sign of continued dissension in the ranks of Fianna Fail was further underlined with news of motions submitted for the party and theis by branches in Bandon and Kinsale, County Cork, calling for a change in the leadership.



● Charles McCreery walked out on expulsion

Controversy in this area surrounds a Haughey favourite, Flor Crowley, who was imposed on the Cork South-West constituency by the party leader at the last general election despite strong local opposition. Crowley had also received promotion in the Fianna Fail re-shuffle.

But one strong Haugheyite who had to be dropped from his position of spokesman was Jackie Fahey of Waterford.

Fahey, one of the 'gang of five' who successfully plotted Haughey's accession to the leadership, was rewarded with a job as a Minister of State in Haughey's government. His sacrifice now is an attempt to damp down the internal feuding in that constituency where

Fahey's Fianna Fail rival is Willie Kenneally.

The latter, who is chairman of the Fianna Fail parliamentary party, was the first deputy to publicly express support for the criticisms made by Charles McCreery.

So the fascinating feuds within Fianna Fail continue and Haughey, not strong enough to take on his opponents directly, will be looking to the budget next week to divert media attention from his problems.

But even here, frustrations will be built up again if, as appears likely, Fianna Fail are still unable to crack the wafer-thin Coalition majority. It will be particularly ironic if the vote of Charles McCreery becomes crucial.

IRATE DUBLIN TENANTS CAMPAIGN AGAINST OLIVER BOND FLATS' NEGLECT

Angry at disrepair

BY SEAN McSPARRAN

FRUSTRATED and angry at the neglect and disrepair of their immediate area, the tenants of the Oliver Bond flats complex in Dublin's Bridgefoot Street have begun a campaign to force Dublin Corporation into action.

Last Monday night, January 18th, the tiny and totally inadequate community hall in the area was filled to capacity for a meeting primarily aimed at local elected representatives, and concentrating on promises of improvements made in 1977, after similar protests, but never carried out.

The response from the local politicians was a predictable mixture of attempts to pacify the irate tenants with soothing platitudes and strong self-righteous remarks from councillors covering up their idleness.

As one resident after another outlined their individual complaints, a sad and sorry tale of neglect began to unfold, which is all too typical of corporation flat complexes around the city.

PROMISED

Five years ago, tenants from Oliver Bond met Dublin Corporation officials to press for a variety of basic improvements, including the re-wiring and painting of flats, a supply of lighting on the stairways, the disinfection and repair of rubbish chutes, repairs to downpipes, re-surfacing of roads within the complex, general cleaning, and a host of individual complaints relating to leaking toilets, rotten window frames, blocked fireplaces and dampness.

To date none of these repairs, although promised, have been properly carried out.

Re-wiring of the flats was started last year, but — about those completed before the outside contractor went bankrupt — there is a list of complaints of the dangerous state of wiring, and one such flat in 'B' Block caught fire, as a result of faulty wiring, shortly before Christmas. In 'C' Block, corporation inspectors have found it almost impossible to follow the wiring system at all.

HAZARD

Rats and sewerage constitute yet another hazard to the people of the Oliver Bond flats, and one tenant from 'O' Block told last Monday night's meeting of how seven of her children, in a bedroom next to a rubbish chute, wake up screaming with fright at the noise and squeals from the rats in the chute at night.

Another tenant, Mrs. Hawkins of 'C' Block, reported rats on the top balcony of her block.

There were general complaints also of a flat in 'A' Block, vacant now for six years, which has been allowed to deteriorate so badly that sewerage is flowing from the flat without any attempt from the corporation to rectify the situation.

Mrs. Hassett of 'P' Block, in



● Oliver Bond tenants face many sources of frustration

common with several other tenants, has her bath located in the kitchen. On a number of occasions sewerage has seeped up through the bath outlet.

Dampness is another common complaint and Alice Birmingham, whose husband is chairman of the tenants' association, told of how the family, who have lived in the complex for over forty years, moved to a larger flat twelve months ago.

Although the rent is double, one bedroom is unusable because of leaking water and a list of repairs ranging over dampness, a broken boiler and broken windows, compiled on moving in, remain untouched.

The lack of social facilities for the two thousand people in Oliver

Bond flats, especially the youth, is another source of frustration.

The community centre, as the over-crowded meeting proved, is inadequate for any viable youth activities. Only one group can use it at a time, heating is inadequate, and the roof has been leaking constantly. Locally it bears the apt title of 'the hut'.

A youth club which used to meet in nearby Power's old hall, can find no alternative accommodation since the lease was withdrawn.

IDEAL

A derelict site, known as Ganley's Ruin', which is adjacent to the flats and has lain vacant for seven years, has long been regarded by Oliver Bond residents as ideal for 'community development.

Recently, planning permission has been obtained from the corporation for the construction there of an office block.

Oliver Bond tenants also identify the waste ground as the local scene for drug-peddling and cider parties by youngsters and the general gathering ground for petty criminal activity. Social facilities developed on the site would effectively kill two birds with one stone, it is argued.

Last Monday night's meeting decided to give Dublin Corporation three weeks to make some realistic response to their demands. But among the understandably cynical tenants of Oliver Bond flats the talk now is of the next stage of their campaign — a rent strike.

ATROCIOUS CONDITION IN CARRICK HOUSE

BY GERALDINE HEGGARTY

A MAN living in Carrick House, a hostel for 'homeless' men in north Belfast, recently came to the New Lodge Road Sinn Fein centre for help: he wanted the Republican Movement to publicise the conditions in Carrick House which have been intolerable since a fire devastated the top floor and roof of the premises, last October.

Carrick House was built in 1904, probably as a workhouse. With the demise of the workhouse, the Belfast Corporation ran it as a hostel for homeless men. Women have never been provided for by the state - this fits in with the notion of women as home-bound subjects.

With the 'troubles' erupting in 1969, one of the buildings was closed down and the other was used as an emergency shelter for those who fled their homes. The British army was also billeted there during this period.

Local government reorganisation followed direct rule in 1972, and Carrick House then came under the control of the newly-created Belfast city council, who in turn allocated it to the Eastern Health and Social Services, South Belfast Division. The Social Services have since modernised it at a cost of over £20,000. It has a capacity of 107 men.

SCAFFOLDING

Carrick House is a three-storey building, but the top storey, a dormitory, has not been used



● Carrick House: surely an argument for an alternative housing policy for the homeless

for at least four years. The second storey is a large dormitory; the beds are in cubicles; and, since the fire, six of these cubicles have been used to hold the scaffolding. The ground floor has a dining room, a TV room and a large entrance hall with a snooker table.

The upstairs is atrocious. There is no heating in the dormitories, the windows cannot close, and the cold and damp comes through the temporary roof.

There is an old-type heating system, which consists of three-inch thick pipe running around the room adjacent to the ceiling, but it gives no heat. There are only two lavatories, one at each end of the dormitory.

A resident describes the conditions: "The place is flooded out when it's raining. Sure there's no heating upstairs at all. It's too cold up there, I'm only a young man so I wouldn't feel it half as much as them old ones."

Another man points out that it is impossible to sleep in those conditions: "I had to get up at seven this morning and have my shower right away so as to keep myself warm. It's impossible to sleep upstairs. The sleeping accommodation is alright like, the bed's alright. It's the draught and cold with this frost that's on now."

The older and less well-off are in danger: "Not only do I get cold, there's an owl man there who's just out of hospital and this falls over here, now he got up this morning at seven and he's not even able to rise."

DISGRACE

Downstairs is well heated. The kitchen, however, is a disgrace.

In spite of a capacity for 107 men, with ninety-seven men resident there at the minute, there are only forty-four chairs and table places for forty-four men. There is no cutlery, two pots and a pan. There are twenty-eight gas rings but many are not working.

There is also a serious lack



● The upstairs is atrocious. There is no heating in the dormitories, the windows cannot close.

of washing facilities. There are only six toilets, nineteen wash-basins, two showers and one bath. The tiles are off the walls and there is no heating in the washrooms.

These unhealthy and inadequate conditions insult the men who pay £10 a week to stay there.

Neither Ms. Lusky, the principal social worker, nor the staff who tend to the daily running of the establishment, know when the roof will be fixed or when facilities will be improved.

The men are not optimistic about the prospects: "Nobody's done frig all for us. Them (Social Services) people that was down here, they come down here all the time. I was talking to that matron and she said she can do nothing about it until she sees somebody higher up. But them people won't come

down, they don't want to know us."

Besides the bad conditions, the nature and purpose of Carrick House need challenging.

Carrick House works on a policy of 'first come, first served'. What this means is that men can stay there for as long as they like. At the moment 99% of the men are long-stay residents, all having been there for over one month. Many of them have been there for over a year. One man has lived there for thirty-eight years.

Carrick House is a hostel for men who for some reason or other have nowhere else to stay, but as it is in effect a long-term residence it is automatically closed off to many homeless men, for the turnover is so minimal. These men, and any homeless women, have to turn to less financially secure voluntary organ-

isations for help.

A spin-off from this Social Services are no finding alternative dation for these men. T ers the development progressive housing poli homeless.

SAFETY

Carrick House does tend to solve the problem of homelessness; it does a net for the lucky few that the few are not chances. The men have against both government lic stigma which label 'down and out'.

One of the men has say about one of the istrators of the Eastern and Social Services: "fella, Young, he put a in the paper... He clas 'down and out' people."

'Tell Them Everything' by Margareta D'Arcy. Published by Pluto Press, 1981. Price £1.95.

An outsider inside

BOOK REVIEW BY UNA O'NEILL

MARGARETTA D'ARCY, the Galway-based playwright who in 1975 wrote the 'Non-Stop Connolly Show' with her husband John Arden, and in 1976 formed the Galway Theatre Workshop, on May 14th 1980 was brought to hell: Armagh jail's 'A' wing, then in the middle of a gruelling 'no wash' protest sparked off by savage attacks from male and female screws on the protesting prisoners in February of that year.

'Tell Them Everything' is Margareta D'Arcy's very personal account of her sojourn in that hell, among thirty unconquerable women, 'tiny warriors' whom she gradually discovered and tried to understand, across locked doors and smeared walls, and across other invisible barriers erected by age, class, language, and partition.

She herself admits to have seemed to them as 'a perfect Kitsonian caricature, proclaiming Women's Lib; an alleged playwright speaking with a not very definable accent... a middle-aged woman with four sons and a husband; and yet I appeared to

be fancy-free." But it is this very gap, this arm's-length distance between her and the prisoners which gave her an insight into the nature of the present struggle. Because she acknowledges with lucidity this ever-present gap, her account is far more truthful and credible than many an 'objective' report.

How Margareta D'Arcy came to spend three months in Armagh jail in 1980 is related with colour and humour in the opening chapters.

Her solitary protest against the H-Blocks, a squeaky red marker on a wall of the Ulster Museum,

during a poetry reading in the Autumn of '78. Three weeks on remand in Armagh as she awaited her sentence. Breach of the peace, incitement to riot, defacing a public monument: she had lifted a marker pen and the British war machine had swallowed her whole.

Then the picket outside Armagh jail with Women Against Imperialism on March 8th 1979. The demonstrators arrested, then released. And a day later, political afterthought, or Kafkaesque sluggishness of RUC bureaucracy, eleven women were charged.

These charges preferred against eleven feminists caused a greater

stir in the women's movement than the plight and demands of the women prisoners for whom the picket had been organised - which does not say much for the political clarity of the women's movement.

The farcical court appearances in October '79 and January '80 are the highlights of the first part of the book. All the hypocrisy and make-believe of the judicial process in the six counties is remarkably rendered, who better than a playwright to see the actor behind the magistrate and the barrister.

ELEVEN

The Armagh Eleven were sentenced in their absence in April. The 'no wash' protest had been going on for two months then. Non-payment of fines meant serving a few months in Armagh, and the eleven were deeply divided on the matter.

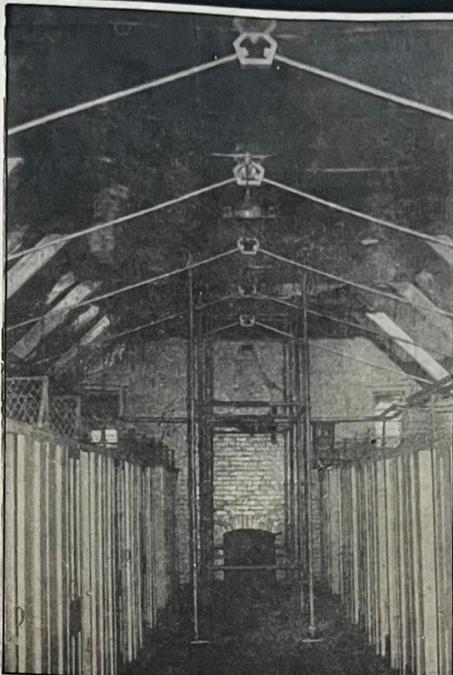
Margareta D'Arcy writes bitterly of People's Democracy's attitude: "PD did not want their

members in Women's Democracy to go to they would gain too and undue advantage afterwards. PD women conscientious workers WAI were few in number compared to the women Fein and their absence might afford Sinn much preponderance. Any influence PD Republican Movement Smash H-Block Con be undermined if no of WAI went into members paid firm Machiavelli is alive People's Democracy.

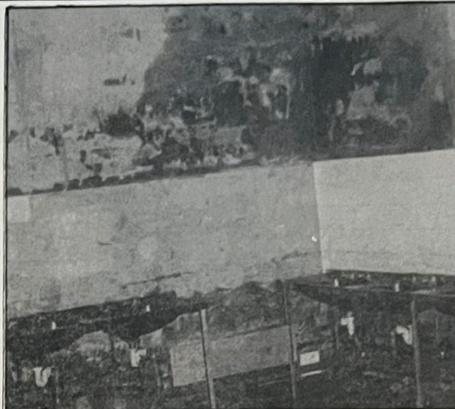
Eventually, two Eleven were to sentences in full, Liz Lagretta D'Arcy. On 1980, the Fort Taggart, in the Army/RUC outpost Ballymurphy, in and gave herself which few people least of all the pri



● MARGARETTA D'ARCY a very personal account



● The temporary roof gives inadequate protection against the cold and damp



● Unheated washroom which has nineteen basins for over one hundred men

better dressed than the (EHSS) people who run the City hospital, that's my opinion. I'll shave myself three times a day if hardy comes to hardy. That fella, he put an apology in the paper about the 'down and outs', but who gave him the authority to say that we were 'down and outs'. We're not 'down and outs'. I class myself as a first-class citizen, as a first-class person."

They feel that people stigmatise them through ignorance: "You see, unfortunately the majority of people believe what they read in the papers. The 'Irish News' ran the place down — left, right and centre — talking about the men in the place, not the building, but the men. It was all about the men."

The problem of homelessness should not be a social services responsibility, it should be the responsibility of the Housing

Executive. Like the unemployed who sign on the dole, the homeless who live in Carrick House are seen and treated by the state as charity cases.

These men cannot fight against homelessness in the same way as mothers with kids can; both the community and the state act on the sexist assumption that they are not as 'deserving'. It is much easier for such women to take direct action such as squatting than it is for either single men or women.

KICKED

Homelessness can mean being kicked out of, or leaving, home; it can mean being unable to meet the price of the rent; or it can mean not 'fitting into' society in some way. These reasons are not tackled in a systematic manner in Carrick House.

The staff's justification for this

ranges from arguing that the men are independent people who do 'what they want', to arguing that any attempt to deal with the men in this way will, and has, inevitably failed.

As for the first point, the men are not doing what they want. One young man put it this way: "I've nowhere else to go. There's no sense in getting a flat if you haven't got a job and you can't get a job and that's it. I'm going to stay here, there's no chance of a job in this town. You just have to accept the situation as it is and that's it."

Another man explains that many of the men have nowhere else to go: "If this place closed down these people would be sleeping out all night in empty houses or in shelters and things like that, or else found dead somewhere."

One of the men explains: "You'll see most of these men (40%) are retired, men of eighty, ninety or what have you, and then you have got men who are in bad health who couldn't work anyway."

As for the second point, the staff recall how they tried and failed to set up a craft class, and to get the men to go to a luncheon club in Quakers' Hall in Frederick Street; and the Unity Flats' community centre's offer to take the men out on an expense-free trip was also turned down.

This, however, does not mean that the men are happy with what they are doing; everybody recognises the boredom and depression which can often accompany permanent unemployment and homelessness. The situation described by the men themselves is evidence that they have many social problems which cannot be tackled alone.

APATHETIC

In spite of the personal concern which the staff of Carrick House might have for the men, there is a distinctly apathetic and negligent 'official' approach towards these issues. It is this approach which keeps people ignorant of the real issues facing these men and reinforced the stigma of being homeless.

An alternative housing policy for homeless people should be pursued. For example, this has been tackled in England through

the Homeless Persons Act (1977), in which the local authority housing department was made responsible.

This not only means that the problem is recognised for what it is, it also incidentally means that statistics are available on the extent of the problem. This makes it easier to challenge the state for its negligence. At the moment there are no such statistics available in the six counties.

The present sexism of social services policy should also be challenged.

There is also much to learn from the present voluntary projects set up for women: rape crisis centres and battered wives' centres have successfully opened up the debate on the specific oppression which women face and the pressures which they are under in marriage are the outcome of sexist assumptions of the male bread-winner. These issues should be recognised, but if people are waiting for officialdom to take the lead they will wait a long time — for the state maintains sexist oppression.

The present activism on housing in the nationalist community has led to housing action groups being set up. Perhaps these groups could lend support to the men in Carrick House and begin to engage in these issues. Ideas could be got from other action groups on how they tackled such injustices.

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ABSURDITY
Apparently unconcerned by the absurdity of her position, Margaretta D'Arcy found herself 'where she wanted to be', a cell in 'A' wing, or, in other words,

the 'last ditch' of a war waged by the British against the Irish nation.
No details are spared regarding the spreading of excreta on the walls, but little is said of the

reasons why the prisoners had to do it. A regrettable omission, given the insistence of the British media to describe the prison conditions in those days as 'self-inflicted'.

However, all aspects of everyday life in 'A' wing are sharply observed. The picture which emerges is that of an awesome battle between a prison system which metes out cruelty in a cold, calculated fashion, backed up by the whole state apparatus and thirty prisoners who, at an enormous cost to their health and morale, deliberately ignore that system, and thus defeat it daily.

The screws are everywhere, yet there is no human contact between them and the prisoners. During her three months, Margaretta D'Arcy seems to have developed a profound admiration for the prisoners, and for the way in which they organise inside the jail, and particularly for Mairead Farrell, their O/C, who manages to maintain sanity, and unity among her comrades.

The importance of the prisoners' background is accurately perceived: "The struggle to survive inside a large family made for very strong and individual women well accustomed to fighting back. If they ever allowed another member of the family to take advantage of them, they'd be finished. On the other hand, the ghetto culture did make for

strong unity against any outside attack."

While the screws prance about smoking king-size cigarettes and talking about their enormous take-home pay, they seem like ghosts from another world. But reality is never very far away: pots emptied back into the cells, verbal attacks, threats, keep the tension riding high.

PRISONERS

So who are these prisoners? The best part of Margaretta D'Arcy's account is that of her contact, talks, arguments with them. She rightly sees them as part of a wider struggle, with which, by and large, she agrees; as members of a beleaguered community, of which she knows little: 'the partition of Ireland in 1922 had in fact worked'.

And she gradually understands that they are republicans, and that far from the empty rhetoric it has become in the twenty-six counties, republicanism is a powerful, progressive, and dynamic force, flexible and capable of moving forward. Considering the huge effort of propaganda by the British in the last twelve years, it is no mean achievement of the prison struggle that it has forced so many people to re-consider and re-assess the value of republicanism.

Particularly interesting is Margaretta D'Arcy's judgement of the women's movement's short-

comings: 'something basic was missing'. During her time in Armagh, few, if any, feminists took time to write to her or enquire about her. Possibly less out of indifference than out of a lack of awareness of jail as part of the repressive system, because it does not figure in 'the old patriarchal priorities of the women's needs'.

"Tell Them Everything" is, at times, slightly irritating. 'An Phoblacht/Republican News' is widely quoted, yet rarely acknowledged, and even criticised for its lack of coverage of Armagh. The old patronising attitude of the intellectual towards the Republican Movement still rears its ugly head now and again.

"Tell Them Everything" is, in some ways, pathetic. Margaretta D'Arcy must have reached depths of loneliness as she was trying to understand those stiff-necked young women, and as she thought she had reached them, only to find 'a maze within a maze'.

Yet, most of all, 'Tell Them Everything', because it is wholeheartedly subjective, is completely truthful and sincere, and will touch a wider audience than Nell McCafferty's book 'The Armagh Women'. One can only regret that such a valuable contribution to the understanding of the prison struggle was published after the end of the hunger-strike.

MAIA POIST

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

New directions

Dear editor,
After concentrating our minds for so long on the hunger-strike, a time of reflection and searching for new directions has arrived. The hunger-strike taught us many lessons, which we forget at our cost.

'An Phoblacht / Republican News' has been foremost in highlighting many of these lessons and now can also hopefully serve as a vehicle for further discussion. Some excellent letters have appeared recently in the paper. I would like to add, for what they are worth, my views in considering the lessons which we should learn.

If Irish independence and unity could have been achieved by the expression of anger at the life that has been dictated to us by the English oppressor, both directly in the occupied North and indirectly through their Free State puppets; if it could have been achieved by the groundswell of emotional nationalist response to the peaks of barbarism of the English enemy, be it the wanton destruction and slaughter of 1798, the cruel crushing of the Easter rebellion, the atrocities of the Tan War, or — more recently — the attacks on the civil rights movement, Bloody Sunday, or the callous treatment both of the POWs prepared to lay down their lives and of their supporters on the streets; if it could have been won by individual acts of heroism, a list too long to detail, or by major blows against the English war, and propaganda, machine; if it could have been achieved by England paying attention to the wishes of the majority of the Irish people, in whichever country, by elections, by opinion polls; then this independence and unity could have been won ten times over.

Yet, sadly, we do not have the freedom we so desire, despite the anger, the emotional support, the individual brilliance and heroism, our martyrs, and the valiant armed struggle.

If we are to move forward, the Republican Movement must address itself to why all the above efforts have failed, why previous moves forward have always been frustrated, and how the same pitfalls are going to be avoided in future.

There is not space here to discuss all the questions, but I would like to mention some points are I feel are central to any discussion.

Most of them are not new points, they have appeared in the pages of 'An Phoblacht/Republican News' over the last years, and more pertinently they are points that have been made back in the 1920s, the 1960s, the 1980s, and so on, but were not acted upon.

Unless the present war of attrition is to carry on into the next century; and if we want to avoid any more Dublin, Belfast, or Westminster lackeys claiming to power for their own greedy



● The enthusiasm of young people, shown during the hunger-strike, must be developed in the struggle for a socialist republic

ends on the backs of fighting or dead republicans and exploited nationalists; and unless — as was warned in the excellent scenario printed in 'An Phoblacht/Republican News' a year or so ago — we, as republicans, want to win the war, but spend the peace locked up in enlarged Long Kesh, Portlaoise, Armaigh and Limerick jails, ruled by a Fianna Fail/SDLP / Westminster controlled coalition; then we must act now to prepare the ground to cut short the ability of Ireland's enemies to exploit to their own ends the energy and drive of the liberation movement.

The extent of latent nationalist/republican feeling in this Ireland has been well demonstrated again and again. At times of great stress the Republican Movement has been able to count on this support. But it has been this support that enemy connivings have been easily able to undermine and that has dropped away after the crisis period or equally so, in some cases, that has been discarded by the Movement.

If a broader basis of support, and hence greater strength and greater durability is to be gained, then it is this latent feeling that has to be tapped.

The PLO, ZANU/ZAPU, and all the great revolutionary movements, alongside their military offensives have seen education as vital to their victory. This not only means education of those directly involved in the armed struggle, but raising the political consciousness of the people they rely on for support, and whose support they must rely on if they are not to have victory snatched out of their hands by opportunistic individuals or NATO, UN, EEC joint interventions.

Education involves exposing and understanding the bankruptcy of capitalist, colonial, neo-colonial, and reformist politics; and showing up for what it is, the republican talk of so-called Irishmen in Lanister House and of the SDLP, and the left talk of the armchair socialists. It also involves explaining how reactionary forces are able to count on the church and turncoats to do their political sabotage.

More importantly, it means pointing the way forward constructively — not just with short-term policies such as 'Brits out' or 'Smash the PTA', (although these may be useful foci of attention), but by making known, explaining and — where possible — implementing, revolutionary

PAISLEY'S TRUTH

A chara,
No doubt Paisley and his team of truth disciples will have included in their book of truth, extracts from the press at the time of the Malvern Street murders, in which one of the convicted assassins declared openly in court that it was a very sorry day for him that he ever had anything to do with Paisley.

This event happened before August 1969 and was to be followed by the sackings of Catholic enclaves carried out by armed gangs of loyalists. All this happened long before that was ever fired by the IRA in the defence of nationalist areas.

Never was the question asked at the time by Paisley and his disciples or any unionist politician or Protestant churchman, as to where the loyalist armed followers of Paisley obtained their arms from.

But, then, wasn't the RUC reserve force better known as the 'B' Specials, whose members were armed to the teeth and who were permitted to house their weaponry in their own homes — a situation not much changed today with the UDR, the RUC Reserves and not to mention the Third Force, all of whom are staunch followers of General Ian — still with us to this present day.

I could go on and on supplying



interesting material which if it were contained in Paisley's truth bible would certainly make it

worth reading.
Fiat Lux,
Belfast.

political policy.

It is no use armed force gaining victory if there is going to be a political vacuum, easily filled by collaborators; it is no use putting up candidates in elections if voters are not aware what they are voting for, or why.

At times of crisis, as for example during the hunger-strike, the burden of carrying the struggle forward cannot be left to a handful of dedicated activists to drum up emotional support; likewise, in elections, the informed politically-conscious support has to be there, ready and in numbers.

In my opinion, there are two vital groups of people whose education is necessary.

The first is the young. The church has recognised long since that if they have a person when they are young, they have them for life.

The 'hoods' rebel against Brit-imposed authority because the Brit world offers them no future. They joined in the hunger-strike protests because it was a diversion for them. They left the protests again because they were given no longer-term aim and guidance, no viable political or social alternative — as was pointed out recently in this paper they were not educated into the Movement.

'An Phoblacht / Republican News' carries many articles that expose imperialism and capitalism for what it is (it carries few on the political way forward, or how a socialist republic will function), but it is doubtful whether 'AP/RN' is read by the young and the youths (the 'hoods', the kids at Crazy Joe's) whose drive and support the Movement needs. Most of their contact with republicanism, outside of the Northern ghettos, is likely to be via the capitalist media, not via agitation in housing, in employment, on moral issues, or the principal of the armed struggle.

The young must be given a concrete vision and aim that will carry their enthusiasm through into a thirty-two county socialist republic, that gives them an alternative future to a life of unemployment and bad housing, and which involves them actively in these fields.

The other vital group to involve is the 'cause of labour'. While there was much support during the hunger-strike from this direction, the full potential of the support remained unrealised because there had been insufficient preparation of the field. Outside the Northern

nationalist areas it is at the workplace that the contradictions of the capitalist state are at their most acute, and it is where an international link can most easily be forged.

For too long the Republican Movement has relied on the vision of a free and united Ireland to gain and hold support. History, recent and remote, has proved that that is not enough.

We have an enemy without — British imperialism — but there is also an enemy within, that can be used by the Brits when they feel they need to.

Our struggle must be on both these fronts. The armed resistance must go on, but it will be vain unless the people have been prepared to exploit the victory that will be brought not just through armed force, but by the march of a people who know, in specific, concrete terms — not emotional, visionary terms — where they are going, what they want, and how to get it. Freedom will not drop into our hands, we have to go out and work for it.

International support is important, but more important is a home-based educated and aware mass — not an educated articulate elite.

My view is that the moves into the trade union area, action on housing, employment, agriculture, moral issues and the like, must be encouraged, not to replace the armed revolution and international agitation, but to complement them and show that a socialist state is viable, is welcome, and with broad, solid and conscious mass support will be ours — sooner, not later.

Bernie,
Belfast.

Polish / Irish parallel

To the editor,

Poland has a *de facto* government of Poles who feel compelled to act in the interests of a neighbouring great power, namely the Soviet Union, lest the Soviet Red Army invade Poland again (as they did in 1939 as part of a deal with the Nazis and in 1945 after Hitler and Stalin had their falling

out).
The Warsaw government in its martial law crackdown on Solidarity might not be acting in the best interest of the Polish nation. This observation one might say was intuitively obvious (although it was not so to Gerry Ford in his 1976 debate with Jimmy Carter; then president Ford thought communist Poland was a 'free' country).

But now we have the knowledge of the oppression and domination of Poland by the Soviet Union confirmed for us by no less an authority than the president of the United States, Ronald Reagan. We applaud his candour on the Polish question.

Not only is Poland governed by men who operate either through desire or intimidation, in the interests of the Soviet Union and contrary to the Polish national interest (analogous to the 'Vichy' French government during World War II), but there has been since 1939, a legitimate Polish government in exile and an anti-Communist, underground nationalist movement among the Polish people both at home and abroad (not unlike the 'Free' French of Charles De Gaulle).

That this situation might be easily comprehended by Irish people should be no surprise, given the many parallels between the Irish and the Polish historical experiences.

Both Ireland and Poland are ancient nations who accepted Christianity before their current 'great power' oppressors, and both the Irish and the Poles have remained steadfast in their faith despite persecution by foreign schismatics, heretics, and atheists.

Poland was partitioned by Hitler and Stalin in 1939, and to this day part of what was Poland in 1939 remains annexed to the Soviet Union. Ireland was partitioned by act of the (British) Westminster parliament in 1920, and to this day those six of the divided Irish province of Ulster's nine counties known as 'Northern Ireland' remain annexed to the so-called 'United Kingdom' (albeit without equal protection under British law).

Both the Irish and the Poles have fought against their respective foreign aggressors, against overwhelming odds; neither people has conceded defeat.

Many Poles were forced to leave eastern Poland in 1945, their territory (now in the USSR) being planted with non-Polish settlers. We painfully remember well the many, attempted plantations of

Ireland (especially in Ulster) and Cromwell's English government policy of sending the Irish 'to Hell or to Connacht'.

Peadar Kirby said in his address delivered at the Robert Emmet commemoration at the Academy of Music, Brooklyn, New York, March 2nd 1914, "After all, there are in Ireland two parties: those who stand for the English connection and those who stand against it."

The current Warsaw government stands for the Soviet connection (for atheism and communism, and against God, his holy church, and the nation), the government of the Irish Free State in Dublin was the creature of the British Government of Ireland Act of 1920, created to rule Ireland in the interest of England (that is, standing for the English connection) — the current Dublin government (which has, with England, refused to join the United States in sanctions against Soviet aggression in Poland) is its linear and ideological successor.

Polish nationalists throughout the world refuse to give *de jure* assent to the Warsaw Communist regime; the legitimate Polish government in exile serves as a national conscience and as a beacon of hope to all Polish lovers of liberty.

Irish nationalists the world over similarly refuse to accept the legitimacy of the English connection, of the partition of Ireland, or of any anti-nationalist government in Dublin which refuses to attempt in deed to bring to fruition the bright dream of the men of Easter 1916; the ('Provisional') Irish Republican Army (to whom the mantle of legitimacy was passed by the surviving members of the Second Dail Eirann in 1939) serve not only as a conscience for the Irish nation, standing against the English connection but, to date, as the only practical hope for the people of the North still under foreign military occupation.

The parallels of the Irish and the Polish historical experiences are many and they are well known in Ireland, in Poland, and in the Vatican in Rome. But when, or when will they ever be recognised in Washington, D.C.?
Kenneth Tierney,
Yonkers,
New York,
USA.

English prisoners

Dear sir,
With reference to previous articles in your paper concerning the plight of Irish political prisoners in English jails, I would like to inform your readership that a public meeting will be held at 8 p.m. Wednesday 27th January in the Junior Common Room, Trinity College, to discuss the plight of these prisoners.

Speakers include Mrs. Lily Hill, whose son Paul many believe was wrongly convicted for the Guildford bombings, and journalist Darragh McDonald, who has been active on behalf of these prisoners.

A magazine on these prisoners, produced by TCD students, will also be available.

Declan Hayes,
of Students' Union,
Trinity College,
Dublin 2.

Thanks

A chara,
Over the years I have seen a lot of work done in Strabane for the prisoners, and I know a lot of prisoners are still in jail.

The reason for me writing is to thank those who worked for me and my son. I know a lot of people did this, but two who I think ought to be mentioned are Mrs. McGillan and Billy Forbes.

I just want to say to them thank you very much, and to the others too.

Gratful,
Strabane.

The Scales of Justice

Burke's at the back BY KEVIN BURKE

WHEN two Catholic youths were deliberately mown down by a British army land-rover in Derry's Creggan estate on Easter Sunday last, it looked as though, as usual, the matter would be ignored by the occupying power. But the outcry at the time forced charges to be brought against two members of the Royal Anglian regiment.

Last week, the case opened in Belfast crown court in which Colour Sergeant Hugh Dalton Smith and Lance-Corporal Stephen Neville Buzzard were charged not with murder, nor even with manslaughter, but with the far lesser charge of 'reckless driving' causing the death of two teenagers, James Gary English and James William Brown.

Witnesses told the court how two British army land-rovers drove down the very steep Creggan Hill at a speed of 65 m.p.h. at a crowd of some one hundred youths standing in the road at Creggan Junction.

Such was the speed, and force of impact, that one of the dead youths, James Brown, was found dead one hundred and sixty feet away from the junction.

Both Brits were acquitted.

Not so fortunate in their choice of victim were two members of the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders who stabbed a Protestant youth outside a disco in Portrush, killing him. They were charged with murder.

Privates Christopher Wilson and Thomas McCallion bought knives one afternoon last March and went to a disco at a hotel in Portrush. On hearing of a fight in the street outside, the two, along with several other British soldiers, chased a group of civilians down the road.

Wilson and McCallion caught up with one unfortunate youth, Colin Taggart of Bushmills, and Wilson stabbed him twice as he fell to the ground. McCallion then kicked him and, as he lay on the ground, stabbed Taggart through the chest with such force that his knife went through the breast bone.

McCallion, who told the RUC later that he intended only to give the youth 'a small cut' and 'had been under the strain of serving in the British army in areas of the province where soldiers are particularly at risk', was sentenced to four years' jail.

Wilson received life imprisonment, but no recommended sentence was added by the judge and so is unlikely to spend more than eight years in jail, if that.

Both men will be transferred to prisons in Scotland.

One of those promoted in the long-awaited re-shuffle of Fianna Fail's front bench is Roscommon deputy Sean Doherty, who becomes shadow Minister for Justice. Doherty, one of the 'gang of five' who conspired to replace Jack Lynch with Charles Haughey in December 1979, was rewarded with the post of Minister of State at the Department of Justice in the Haughey government and has now moved up one in opposition.

Thirty-seven-year-old Doherty, who lives at Cootehall, near Boyle, began his career as a garda, joining the force in 1965. Six years



● The 'Sunday Tribune' has discovered in the six counties' World Cup soccer fans a magic formula for solving the North's problems

later he joined the Special Branch and was based, until 1973, at Dublin Castle.

In that year he entered politics, being co-opted to his father's seat on Roscommon county council and changing careers to become an auctioneer — that favourite occupation of local councillors who apparently find no conflict of interest in voting through controversial planning permissions and then taking a cut from the sale of the land involved.

He sounds like an expert on justice alright.

Another garda in the news — this time a serving member — is Cornelius Condon of Crumlin garda station in Dublin. He appeared in Dublin district court on Monday 18th January, charged with maliciously wounding and inflicting grievous bodily harm on William Travers at Crumlin garda station on August 15th 1981. The case was adjourned for a week.

Travers, a middle-aged man, was arrested under the Offences Against the State Act in Walkinstown, taken to the garda station, where he was beaten up, and then removed by ambulance to hospital where he remained for ten days.

But the appearance of the garda in court received publicity only in the 'Irish Press'. It was covered there in three sentences at the bottom of page four in a report headed 'Man charged' which did not actually mention that Condon was a garda!

Last week's example of private enterprise in the freeze-up, with shopkeepers charging 50p for a pint of milk, was matched this week in the thaw by self-employed plumbers.

With thousands of burst pipes waiting to be fixed, householders had little option but to pay whatever price was asked and this averaged out at around £25 to £30 for the simplest jobs. This effective rate of £1 per minute is exactly twenty times the rate paid to Dublin Corporation plumbers who toiled long hard hours repairing bursts in corporation housing. And paid tax on their wages as well.

Fianna Fail is 'not' the 'only' Free State

party suffering internal turmoil at the moment. Despite the election of Joe Sherlock on a personal vote in the last election, the Sticky 'Workers Party' is rent with disillusion, disenchantment and disappointment, following its disastrous showing in every other constituency fought.

With membership falling away and party paper sales dwindling, the Sticks in Dublin are now in a state of near feud. At the meeting of its comhairle ceantair on Tuesday this week — called to consider important resolutions for next month's ard feis — there were strong accusations that certain selected branches had not received any notification of the meeting.

Another split on the way?

Grasping at straws last Sunday was the sports page of the 'Sunday Tribune', which carried one of those nauseatingly vacuous pieces on reconciliation in the North. Apparently the magic solution to all the problems is the entry of the North's soccer team into the World Cup finals.

The article by Maurice Hawkins — surely not a pen-name of Ciaran McKee's? — carried a quote from a 'football fan' in a Shankill Road pub by the too good to be true name of 'Samuel McCracken'. Commenting on the goal by Gerry Armstrong against Israel which won 'Northern Ireland' (or 'the national team' as the 'Sunday Tribune' calls it) a place in the finals, this fan conveniently says:

"No-one cared whether Armstrong was Catholic or Protestant. The Pope himself would have been cheered here to the echo if he had got the goal which took us through."

This success is apparently 'planting seeds in the community which are showing growing signs of taking root'. However, the article does not go on to examine what would happen to a Catholic soccer fan caught on any other terrace than Cliftonville's, or what was wrong with the 'seeds' planted by the all-Ireland rugby team which has been in existence for decades.

Such pieces of empty journalism are no more than an insult to the people of the six counties. Or, putting it another way, it's another load of those things that are kicked around on football pitches.

WHAT'S ON

PUBLIC MEETING
'Republican Prisoners in England'
Speakers: Mrs. Lily Hill (relative) and Darragh McDonald (journalist)
8 p.m. Wednesday 27th January
Junior Common Room
Trinity College
DUBLIN

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

SOCIAL AND BALLAD SESSION
Music by guest artists
every Saturday
Kevin Barry Club
44 Parnell Square
DUBLIN
Admission £1

BLOODY SUNDAY
COMMEMORATION
1.30 p.m. Sunday 31st January
Edgewick Park
Foleshill Road
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

DARTS COMPETITION
8.30 p.m. every Thursday
commencing February 4th
Kevin Barry Club
44 Parnell Square
DUBLIN
Submit players' names before January 31st
£1 fee each

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

NATIONAL H-BLOCK/ARMAGH
COMMITTEE
RECALL CONFERENCE
Open to all H-Block activists
11 a.m. — 6 p.m. Sunday 7th February
Mansion House
DUBLIN
Creche facilities available

FRANCIS STAGG
COMMEMORATION PICKET
1.30 p.m. Sunday 14th February
Wakefield prison
WAKEFIELD
Yorkshire
Organised by Sinn Fein (Britain)

IRISH SOLIDARITY
PUBLIC MEETING
Including 'Prisoner of War' film
7.30 p.m. Thursday 18th February
St. Roch's Secondary School
Rovyston Road
GLASGOW
Organised by Glasgow Irish Freedom Action Committee

IRISH SOLIDARITY
MARCH & RALLY
11.30 a.m. Saturday 20th February
Assemble: Roystonhill
GLASGOW
Organised by Glasgow Irish Freedom Action Committee

Death of John O'Neill

THE death took place on Thursday 31st December of John O'Neill of Aughmullenn, Coalisland, Co. Tyrone. Despite being seriously ill and bedridden for some years, John remained a committed republican. His constant thoughts were with the prisoners and the continuing struggle for freedom.

He was a devout Catholic who bore his illness with Christian fortitude. Throughout his long illness he was helped magnificently by his wife, Teresa, who, although in poor health herself, remained a tower of strength.

The esteem in which John was held was reflected in the large crowd that attended his funeral despite the torrential rain. Members of the O'Neill/Kilpatrick/Conroy Sinn Féin cumann, of which John was also a member and former chairman, escorted his tri-colour draped coffin to the graveside, where a short oration was delivered by a local republican.

Fergal O'Hanlon commemoration

THE death of IRA Volunteer Fergal O'Hanlon, during the raid on Brookborough barracks, County Fermanagh, on New Year's day 1957, was commemorated in his native town of Monaghan on Friday 1st January.

At a wreath-laying ceremony at his grave in Latturan cemetery, wreaths were laid on behalf of local Sinn Féin cumainn, Monaghan Sinn Féin comhairle ceantair, and the Republican Movement. The proceedings were chaired by Paddy O'Boyle.

Later in the day a commemorative meeting was held in the town and several speakers on the 'fifties period' included Sinn Féin vice-president Dáithí O'Connell, Fergal O'Hanlon's sister Mrs. Murphy, Vincent Conlon of Monaghan Sinn Féin, and Sean Fitzpatrick of the National Graves Association.

Francis Liggett commemoration

A COMMEMORATION ceremony took place last Sunday, January 17th, in Belfast's Milltown cemetery for IRA Volunteer Francis Liggett, who died on active service on January 18th 1973. The ceremony at the republican plot comprised the laying of wreaths, a decade of the rosary in Irish, and a minute's silence, followed by an oration delivered by Sinn Féin ard comhairle member Tom Hartley.

Death of John McGuane

THE death has taken place of one of County Clare's oldest republicans, eighty-four-year-old John McGuane, of Francis Street in Ennis.

Deeply involved in the Tan War, he remained an active republican throughout his life, attending local republican activities right up to Christmas last year.

At the removal of his remains to Ennis pro-cathedral, and, after Mass the following day, to Drumcliffe cemetery, his tri-colour draped coffin was accompanied by a guard of honour of local republicans and was followed by a large crowd of mourners.

The sympathy of the Republican Movement was extended to his wife Nellie, sons Pat and John, and daughters Mary and Gretta. Ar dheis láimh Dé go raibh a anam.

Join Sinn Féin

ANYONE interested in joining Sinn Féin 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 Féin.

NAME

ADDRESS

SMAOINTE AR AN TRÍÚ FÓRSA

LE EOGHAN - BLOC HS

Litir ós na H-Blocanna

SÉ AN tríú fórsa atá ina phríomh-ábhar chomhrá i mbéil an phobail na laetha seo. É sin agus an treo ina bhfuil an t-Oirmheach Ian Paisley ag stiúradh an tslua seo. Ní gan tuige, tá imní ar an muintir Caitliceach agus Náisiúnach roimh an fórsa seo.

Má thiteann cúrsaí amach mar a bh mhaith le Paisley, beidh an buíon seo ar na sraideanna go laethúil, ag cuardú gluastaín, tithe agus feirmeacha.

Beidh siad ag gabháil agus ag fuadú aon duine a bhfuil amhras acu faoina ndéiseacht don Chóirín eachtrannach. Beidh siad ag ionsaí iad siúd a cheapann siad gur Poblaicthaigh iad. Níl dabht ann go mbeidh siad ag marú agus ag feallmharú iad siúd a sheasfaidh i gcoinne mianta Phaisley.

Cé hiad baill an fórsa seo mar sin, atá toilteannach na coireanna seo a dhéanamh in éadan a gcomhshaoaránach, an tsíad gan trócaire a imirt ar an míonlach agus an bagairt a fhógairt go mbásfaidh siad (mar féin-chosaint ar ndóig) an té a fheileas doibhna, nuair a oireas doibhna.

MEÁNCOG

Shilfé gur fí feargacha, baolacha agus fíochmhara iad. B'fhéidir daoine a mharáigh (nó a rinne iarracht a mharú) roimhe seo. Daoine

gur leo gunnáin nó gléasa marbacha eile agus is mór an tsians go bhfuil an ceart agat.

Ach comh-chéile le sin, deirfí nach mbeadh an díl dá dtacú agus' gur deimhin féin, níor chóig go mbeadh. Ach bheadh meáncoig á dhéanamh agat. Tá an díl dá dtacú agus níos mó ná sin, is ionann iad agus an díl..... nó fórsaí an díl ar a laghad.

Tá baill den UDR agus den RUC in arm Phaisley. Tá an méid sin maoite ag ceannaire an tríú fórsa i nDoire le déanaí. Is cuma má dóirt ceannaire eile lé ar na mhárach, gur 'mavericks' iad agus nár baill iad ar chor ar bith.

Abair é sin leis na teaghlach Caitliceacha i dTullyally a raibh 200 fear lena n-éighe ar chúil chaipín, taobh amuigh dá ndóirse acu. Bhfodair ag cur mallacht ar Chaitlicigh, ag bagairt agus ag



● Paisley agus a chomhleacaithe ag bagairt ar an bpobal náisiúnach

freachú ordaithe míleata.

CEADÚNAS

Thug Paisley ceadúnas do dháiseoirí leantúint ar aghaidh le taispeántair mar seo go hofigiúil nó go mi-óifigiúil. Má osclaíonn ceannaire aímdeach amháin a bhéal

ró leathan agus rudá a scaoileadh, sin crua ach ní féidir le ceannaire eile a rá - "ní innid iad, is mavericks iad siúd."

Níl an ceart sa mhéid sin. Ghin an arrachtach céanna achán buíon acu. Níl aon chuach sa need a rinne Paisley.

The dating of Easter



THREE hundred years before the birth of Christ, perhaps (the date is disputed), the Gael, O-Celtic speaking, arrived in Ireland and founded a kingdom in County Meath, at Teamhair na Riogh (anglicised as 'Tara').

The energy behind that drive brought him to Ulster, to mastery of Ireland; to Scotland, to mastery of Scotland; to Wales and Cornwall and Devon.

The linguistic evidence is all over Ireland and Scotland and, to a lesser extent, in Wales, in the Isle of Man, Devon and Cornwall and even on the European mainland, in the form of standing stones inscribed in Ogham.

The Gael was kicked out of Wales by the Welsh patriot, Cunedda, attacking from the east following his victory in Gwynedd in north-west Wales in the fifth century.

Christianity in Ireland resulted in a re-channelling of that tremendous energy and, for centuries, the expansion was to be spiritual (religious, artistic, educational, explorative) rather than colonial and militaristic, characterised by monastic exploits across the European continent, virtually to the gates of Russia, of Irish missionaries.

Along with this went leadership of the Celtic church in Ireland, Wales, northern England, Devon, Cornwall, Brittany and even as far as Galicia, in north-west Spain, along with the Breton emigrants.

Some of that energy also went into voyages of exploration, such as those of St. Brendan, and on which Irish literature has a special section.

Though the Irish colonies in Wales were uprooted by Cunedda, probably when most of Ireland was still pagan, Irish organisation soon re-established intellectual leadership, to be seen not only in founding of universities and in the transplanting of the Irish monastic system but also in the organisation of music and the other arts; and the form which the esteddóid (the annual cultural gathering in Wales) keeps to this day was decided by a Welsh king in Glenn Da Loch, County Wicklow, surrounded by Irish advisers (see 'History of Irish Music' by Gratton Flood).

EASE

The ease with which the 'Irish way' was adopted in Wales and in other places in the middle east, and on the continent, at that time would suggest that, previously, Irish druids were regarded as the spiritual leaders of what remained of the Celtic world after so much Roman conquest and resultant destruction.

The Celtic church, as I have pointed out previously, differed only in some inessential/ extraneous/ front/ Rome/ Tonseries were different, and robes,

and minor parts of the liturgy (surviving from the very early church) but the main point of conflict was the calculation of the date of Easter. There was never even a whiff of heresy from churchmen in Ireland (Eriugena was earning his bread on the continent).

From the beginning of the church there had been angry debates and controversies over this matter.

SHOWDOWN

A showdown in these islands came at the Council of Whitby in AD 664 in the Monastery of St. Hilda and there, as I pointed out in my previous article in this series, with leaders of the Celtic church on one side and those of the Roman on the other, the ruler of Northumbria, King Oswy, dared no longer contradict the decree of him who keeps the doors of the Kingdom of Heaven lest he refuse me admission'. The Roman church had won.

Henceforth the Roman church would be in the ascendant and the Celtic church in decline, to be extinguished finally in the early days of the Norman invasion of Ireland of the twelfth century by papal order.

As to the origin of the controversy: early Christians in the Middle East continued to observe for a while, Jewish customs, including the Passover. Later began the argument as to the dating of Easter between Christians of Jewish origin and those of Gentile origin. It was long and bitter.

When should the paschal fest end? According to one side, as the Jews observed it, on the fourteenth day of the moon at evening, the Easter festival following immediately.

The other side maintained that it should end on the first day of the week identical with the resurrection preceding the Friday of the crucifixion. One side used as a guide a day of a month; the other, a day of a week.

It was, of course, all quite complicated.

In time, the West came to observe Easter on the first day of the week and the East, following Jewish practice, on the fourteenth day.

CONTROVERSY

The controversy was aired at the Council of Nicaea in AD 325 and unanimity was reached: Easter should be kept on the Sunday (and this same Sunday preserved)....

The correct date was to be cal-



● The spiritual expansion sparked off by Christianity was characterised by monastic exploits such as those of St. Brendan

culated in Alexandria, to be announced by the local prelate every year to all churches under Rome and thence to the West.

Thus, Easter day would be the first Sunday after the full moon following the vernal equinox (which varies in various longitudes, making for notorious inaccuracy or the celebration of Easter on different days in different regions).

An attempt at accuracy was made by fixing on a cycle of eighty-four years, the Jewish cycle. This remained Roman custom until 457 AD.

Christianity is said to have reached Ireland officially in AD 432 but, though there is controversy over the exact date (part of the controversy surrounding the two Patricks), the event certainly took place some time in the fifth century; and Ireland at that time adopted the prevailing Roman custom (the eighty-four-year cycle).

It remained faithful to this even when Rome changed its mind, thus upsetting the Roman bureaucracy and causing the friction between Canterbury (the Roman outpost in these isles) and the Celtic church, resolved eventually by the Rome-backed invasion of Ireland.

CYCLE

Another attempt to solve the problem for the entire church was made by Victorius of Aquitaine, who invented a cycle of 532 years. Eventually they decided on a cycle of only fifteen years.

St. Augustine pointed out in a letter that, in 387 AD, Gaul had kept Easter on March 21st; Italy, on April

18th; and Egypt, on April 25th... In AD 455, there was a difference of eight days between the Easter date, as observed in Rome and in Alexandria...

Canterbury, incidentally, during the Whitby arguments of AD 664, tried very unfairly to smear the Celtic church with the Quartaedeciman observance even though the Celts always had kept Easter, according to Nicene decree, on a Sunday (thus following the general Asiatic practice).

In Britain, at any rate, Archbishop Theodore adopted the Roman calculation of his time in AD 669 and the Celts much later (Wales, in 768, at the instance of Bishop Elfodd of north Wales; Iona, Scotland, in AD 715).

Kathleen Hughes ('The Church in Early Irish Society', page 107) writes: 'When Bede wrote his Ecclesiastical History in 731 all Ireland, Scotland, Pictland and the kingdom of the North Britons had conformed.'

Wales had remained the most obstinate of the Celtic areas.

It may be of interest to note that Jesus Christ celebrated Easter on the Thursday and the High Priest, Caiaphas, on the Friday. The Jewish day (like the pagan Celtic day) was from sunset to sunset. Easter could vary between March 22nd and April 25th (as pointed out in Nicaea in AD 325).

Whitby was not the last word in the controversy and it was not until February 24th, 1682, that lasting reform began, the reformer being Pope Gregory XIII (the originator of the contemporary calendar); and then, as 'how Ireland was hanging high on the cross of Pax Britannica.'

Funeral of Liam Ferguson

FORMER IRA comrades from County Down and a strong GAA contingent were among hundreds of mourners who attended the funeral of veteran republican Liam Ferguson in St. Fintan's cemetery, Howth, County Dublin on Saturday 16th January.

In a tribute at the graveside, Sinn Fein vice-president Dáithí Ó Conaill recalled Liam's life and involvement in the Republican Movement. Referring to the part played by Liam Ferguson as a Volunteer in the IRA's 3rd Northern Division during the Tan War, Ó Conaill continued:

"Liam Ferguson suffered the agony of seeing his O/C, Joe McKelvey, being taken out by fellow Irishmen and shot on December 8th 1922. The oppression waged against the nationally-minded people of the North bore heavily but in no way did it affect Liam's commitment and service to the Republican Movement."

"When Liam moved South to rear his family he continued his unbroken service to the Republican Movement. Many republicans who were on the run were to know his hospitality and generosity."

"In the last decade, Liam was involved in his support for the fight in the North and he was in constant attendance at every demonstration and function in connection with the struggle."

"Perhaps Liam will be remembered best for the Trojan work he did for hundreds of young children from Belfast who came South, year after year, to enjoy a holiday in Cork and Kerry. Along with Cristóir de Baróid from Cork and Donal O'Donoghue from Dublin, Liam organised a holiday scheme for Northern children, both Catholic and Protestant, and brought a ray of



● Dáithí Ó Conaill delivered the oration

happiness into the lives of suffering children.

"The sympathy of the Republican Movement goes out to Mrs. Ferguson, Des and his brothers and sisters. The staffs of Sinn Féin's head office and 'An Phoblacht/Republican News' in Dublin will retain the fond memories they have of Liam who was a frequent caller."

"We bury an unconquered and unconquerable republican today and we are all the poorer by his passing. Ar dheis lámh Dé go raibh a anam."

IN MEMORIAM

COEN, Kevin. (7th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol. Kevin Coen, Óglaigh na hÉireann, Co. Fermanagh, who died while on active service duty on January 20th 1975. Meas go áfach, na n-ádh go raibh a anam. Always remembered by his friends and comrades in the Republican Movement. Fermanagh. **DELANEY, Kevin.** (2nd Anniversary). In proud memory of our friend and comrade, Vol. Kevin 'Dee' Delaney, Co. Belfast Brigade, Óglaigh na hÉireann, who was killed in action on January 17th 1980. Many friends go to the grave to pray for him. Always remembered by Big Marie, husband and family. **DELANEY, Kevin.** (2nd Anniversary). In proud memory of Vol. Kevin 'Dee' Delaney, Belfast Brigade, Óglaigh na hÉireann, who was killed in action on January 17th 1980. RIP, Mary, Queen of the Gael, pray for him. Always remembered by Michael and Ann Maguire and family.

DELANEY, Kevin. (2nd Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of my good friend 'Dee', who died on active service duty on January 17th 1980. RIP, Mary, Queen of heaven, pray for him. Always remembered by his friends and comrades in the Republican Movement. **DELANEY, Kevin.** (2nd Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of our good friend 'Dee', who died on active service duty on January 17th 1980. RIP. Too good in life to be forgotten in death. Remembered always by Maria and the rest of all his many friends in Andersonstown.

DELANEY, Kevin. (2nd Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol. Kevin Delaney, Belfast Brigade, Óglaigh na hÉireann, who died on active service duty on January 17th 1980. RIP, Mary, Queen of heaven, pray for him. Always remembered by his friends Maura and Danny, Donesgal.

DELANEY, Kevin. (2nd Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of our very dear friend, Vol. Kevin 'Dee' Delaney, Belfast Brigade, Óglaigh na hÉireann, who died on active service duty on January 17th 1980. Our Lady of Lourdes pray for him. He will always be remembered by his friends John and Mary Ann Stone and family.

DELANEY, Kevin. (2nd Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of our dear friend, Kevin 'Dee' Delaney, Belfast Brigade, Óglaigh na hÉireann, who died on active service duty on January 17th 1980. ST. Gerard pray for him. Always remembered by his friends Eddie and Kathleen, Armagh. **GREEN, John Francis.** (7th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol. John Francis Green, 2nd Battalion, Óglaigh na hÉireann, who was murdered in Co. Monaghan

on January 10th 1975. Remembered always by his loving aunt Mary Anna and family, Lurgan.

KELLY, John STONE, John. (7th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol. John Kelly and John Stone, Belfast, Brigade, Óglaigh na hÉireann, who died while on active service duty on January 21st 1975. Always remembered by the John Kelly Memorial Accordion club in Glasgow.

KELLY, John STONE, John. (7th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol. John Kelly and John Stone, Belfast, Brigade, Óglaigh na hÉireann, who died while on active service duty on January 21st 1975. Fuar siad bás ag troid ar son saoire. Always remembered by his friends and comrades in the Belfast Brigade.

KELLY, John. (7th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol. John Kelly, 'D' Coy., 2nd Battalion, Belfast Brigade, Óglaigh na hÉireann, who died on active service duty on January 21st 1975. Remembered always by the Lower Falls Commemoration Committee Belfast.

KELLY, John. (7th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of our dear son John who died in action on January 21st 1975. Fuar siad bás ag troid ar son saoire. Remembered always by his loving parents.

KELLY, John. (7th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of our son's friend and comrade, Vol. John Kelly, 'D' Coy., 2nd Battalion, Belfast Brigade, Óglaigh na hÉireann, who died on active service duty on January 21st 1975. St. Anne pray for him. Will those who think of him today, a little prayer to Jesus say. Remembered always by John and Mary Ann Stone and family.

MCCORMACK, Eamon. (10th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Eamon McCormack, who was shot dead by British forces during occupation on January 16th 1972. Thug sé a shaol óg ag troid ar son saoire muintir na hÉireann. Always remembered by his sister Rosemary, brother-in-law Terry, and family.

MENULTY, Patrick. (10th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol. Patrick McNulty, Óglaigh na hÉireann, who died on active service duty on January 16th 1972. Fhad atá na huachtanna seo in Éirinn ní bheid síocháin ann gan saoire. Always remembered by his friends and comrades in Óglaigh na hÉireann, Castlewella.

SLOAN, Michael. (10th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of our friend, Flann Michael Sloan, Belfast Brigade, na Flanna Éireann, who died on active service duty on January 11th 1972. St. Martin pray for him. Remembered by John and Mary Ann Stone and family. **STONE, John.** (7th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of our

son, Vol. John Stone, 'B' Coy., 2nd Battalion, Belfast Brigade, Óglaigh na hÉireann, who died while on active service duty on January 21st 1975. "Silent memory of those who die at the time of another year. No longer in our lives to share, but in our hearts you're always there." Always remembered by his loving father, mother, and brother Francis.

STONE, John. (7th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of our dear brother, Vol. John Stone, 'B' Coy., 2nd Battalion, Belfast Brigade, Óglaigh na hÉireann, who died on active service duty on January 21st 1975. St. Jude pray for him. "When thoughts go back as they do, we treasure the memory we have of you." Always remembered by his loving brother, Sister, in-law Mary, and family.

STONE, John. (7th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of my dear brother, Vol. John Stone, 'B' Coy., 2nd Battalion, Belfast Brigade, who died on active service duty on January 21st 1975. Remembered always by those who loved and remembered every day. Always remembered by his loving brother, Kathleen, brother-in-law Mick, and family.

STONE, John. (7th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of our dear brother, Vol. John Stone, 'B' Coy., 2nd Battalion, Belfast Brigade, who died on active service duty on January 21st 1975. To those who have a brother, love him while you may, for I wish with all my heart to see him again. Always remembered by his sister Teresa, brother-in-law Eddie, and family.

STONE, John. (7th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of our brother and uncle, Vol. John Stone, who died on January 21st 1975. St. Martin pray for him. Will those who think of him today a little prayer to Jesus say. Always remembered by his friends, nieces Rosalyn, Marie, Colette, Leann, Martina, Anna Maria, and Bridgen and nephews.

STONE, John. (7th Anniversary). In loving memory of our special friend, Vol. John Stone, Belfast Brigade, Óglaigh na hÉireann, who died in action on January 21st 1975. RIP. St. John the Baptist, pray for him. Always remembered by his friends and family: the Sloan family; and the Walsh family, especially Martin Walsh (H-Block) and his family.

STONE, John. (7th Anniversary). In loving memory of our friend Vol. John Stone, Belfast Brigade, Óglaigh na hÉireann, who was killed in action on January 21st 1980. RIP. Jesus, son of Mary, pray for him. Always remembered by Eugene Murphy; the Parker family; the Mulvenna family; and John and Patricia Donnelly and child.

our sincerest sympathy. Go ndána Dia trócaire ar a anam. **O'NEILL.** The members of the Bobby the Soldier family, Co. Louth, Co. Tyrone, regret the death of John O'Neill and tender to his wife Teresa, and family our deepest sympathy. Ar dheis Dá go raibh a anam dílis. **O'NEILL.** The members of the Derry/Derry/Loughlin family, Sinn Féin, cumann, deeply regret the death of John O'Neill and tender to his wife, Teresa, and family our deepest sympathy.

REILLY, The O/C, Staff and Volunteers, Óglaigh na hÉireann, Portlaoise prison, extend their deepest sympathy to our comrade Joe and his family circle on the death of his father. Go ndána Dia trócaire ar a anam.

Forthcoming draw

South Derry comhairle ceantair, Sinn Féin
Five-week draw: £1,000 in prizes
Draw commences February 14th with £50, £30 and £20 prizes each week, for four weeks, and £500, £50, £30 and £20 prizes on the fifth week. Proceeds in aid of a memorial hall to the hunger-strikers and all who gave their lives for Irish freedom.

Draw results

Irish Republican Prisoners' Welfare (Transport section), Belfast
Christmas ballot
1st prize (Portlaoise table): Brian Doyle, Belfast; 2nd prize (£50): Gerard Catry, Belfast; and 3rd prize (Long Kesh Cattery): J. Killen, Belfast.
A Cumann Cabhrach, Dublin
December draw
£100: No. 29; £50: 290; £25: 254; £10: 253 and 280; £5: 21, 25, 187, 247, 273 and 389.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

DAVITT. Thanks to the Jackie Griffith Sinn Féin cumann and na Flanna Éireann, Ringsend, Dublin, for their Mass card and sympathy on the death of my wife Mary-Ellen.

Thanks

THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE, AN CUMANN CABHRACH, wishes to acknowledge a donation of £55 from the John Green Sinn Féin cumann, Castleblayney, Co. Monaghan.

Sympathy

FERGUSON. The O/C, Staff and Volunteers, Óglaigh na hÉireann, Portlaoise prison, extend their sympathy to our friend Ferguson and extend our deepest sympathy to his family.

MCCABE. The Republican Movement and H-Block/Armagh committee, Kerry, would like to express their deepest sympathy to the family and friends of the late John McCabe, chairman of the Ballyheigue/Causeway H-Block committee, who died on December 28th 1981. "There's an inner trinis in every man, do you know this thing my friend? It has

BIRTHDAY GREETINGS

CUSHNAN, Henry. Happy twenty-fifth birthday, Henry. Hope you don't have many more in the POW camp. From Frances and Brian.
CUSHNAN, Henry. Happy birthday, Henry. Hope your next one is spent in freedom. From the Laverty family, Toiswin, Toome.
CUSHNAN, Henry. Happy birthday, Henry. Here are rays in our thoughts. From mum and dad.

withstood the blows of a million years, and will do so to the end."

MCLAUGHLIN. Deepest sympathy to the McLaughlin family on the death of their father, Mark. May Ireland free be a monument to his memory. Miceál Carlin.

MCLAUGHLIN. Deepest sympathy to the McLaughlin family on the death of their father, Mark. May republicans of his calibre always be found when Ireland needs them. The Carlin family, Cavan.
O'NEILL. The members of the O'Neill/Kilpatrick/Coney Sinn Féin cumann, Co. Tyrone, deeply regret the death of John O'Neill, their esteemed member and former chairman. To his loving wife Teresa and family we send

our sincerest sympathy. Go ndána Dia trócaire ar a anam. **O'NEILL.** The members of the Bobby the Soldier family, Co. Louth, Co. Tyrone, regret the death of John O'Neill and tender to his wife Teresa, and family our deepest sympathy. Ar dheis Dá go raibh a anam dílis. **O'NEILL.** The members of the Derry/Derry/Loughlin family, Sinn Féin, cumann, deeply regret the death of John O'Neill and tender to his wife, Teresa, and family our deepest sympathy.

REILLY, The O/C, Staff and Volunteers, Óglaigh na hÉireann, Portlaoise prison, extend their deepest sympathy to our comrade Joe and his family circle on the death of his father. Go ndána Dia trócaire ar a anam.



DUFFY, Joe. (Albany). Birthday greetings, Joe. From Mick and Doreen, Sinn Féin POW dept., Dublin.
SMYTH, Kieran. (H-Block). Best wishes for your twenty-second birthday, son. I send you all my love and full support. From your mother. Hope you have a speedy recovery.

SMYTH, Kieran. (H-Block). All the best for your twenty-second birthday, Kieran. We'll be thinking about you. Good luck. From Seany and your brothers. Always, Get well soon.
SMYTH, Kieran. (H-Block). God bless you, Kieran. You are always in our thoughts. From your brother Raymond and sister-in-law Bernadette. Get well soon.

SMYTH, Kieran. (H-Block). Best wishes for your birthday, Kieran. Hope to see you soon. From your brother Dane and Elizabeth. Get well soon.
SMYTH, Kieran. (H-Block). Good luck, Kieran. Hope you get well soon. From the McDowell family and your comrades Mario (H5) and Peter (H4).

SMYTH, Kieran. (H-Block). All the best for your birthday, Kieran. Hope you get well soon. From your sister Deborah, brother-in-law Danny, and nieces Cara and Danielle.
TAYLOR, Willie. (Portlaoise). Happy birthday, darling. In your case, life for us begins at 11. Miss you always. All my love, Veronica.

TAYLOR, Willie. (Portlaoise). Happy birthday, daddy. All our love from William, Cathy, Isabelle, Tony and Joanne.
TAYLOR, Willie. (Portlaoise). Many happy returns, Willie. Aren't you glad to

be on a winning side? All the best to you and all the boys. From Johnny, Anne and family, Derry city.
TAYLOR, Willie. (Portlaoise). Happy birthday, Willie. From Dolly, Willie and family. Greetings also from we Minnie, Sue and family.
TAYLOR, Willie. (Portlaoise). Happy birthday, Willie. We've booked that corner for Veronica in '85. From Alice, Liam, Della, Bernie and Tony. Greetings also from Ann Mellon and family.

TAYLOR, Willie. (Portlaoise). Happy birthday, Willie. From Tommy McDermott.
TREANOR, Pat. (Portlaoise). Happy birthday and best wishes, Pat. We are thinking of you always and waiting for the day when you are free once again. From Sean and Oonagh.

TREANOR, Pat. (Portlaoise). Birthday greetings, Pat. Things you do, always love Della.
TREANOR, Pat. (Portlaoise). Happy Birthday and best of love to you. From your friends Peter and Eileen.

Solidarity Greetings

BRENNAN, Paul. (H-Block). Solidarity greetings for the New Year, Paul. Sorry to be late for Christmas. Thinking of you always. From Rosie, Terry and family.
GIBSON, Stephen. (Portlaoise). Solidarity greetings for the New Year, Stephen. From Tiny and the gang.

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BRITISH FLOAT SOLUTION TO POLITICAL IMPASSE

Latest innovation

BY EAMONN McCRORY

OVER the past week or so, political tangents and diversions have complemented and competed for media coverage with the sordid as well as the latest innovation in the re-conquest of Ireland initiated by Thatcher and Haughey on May 21st 1980.

Off to North America, last Friday, in a rare display of unionist unity went Ian Paisley, Peter Robinson and Eileen Paisley of the Democratic Unionist Party, John Taylor of the Official Unionist Party, and Norah Bradford, widow of the late and unlamented, raving Robert Bradford.

Given Paisley's penchant for militarism the would-be propaganda exercise was styled 'Operation USA'. As an operation it seems not to have even got off the beach, with Ian Paisley in particular meeting hostility from both reporters and supporters of the struggle in Ireland, whilst disinterest and cancellation of speaking engagements seems to have been the hallmark of the other quarter's efforts.

Present in Canada also this week are Fermanagh and South Tyrone MP, Owen Carron, and 'An Phoblacht/Republican News' editor, Danny Morrison. Determined, as always, to have things his own way, Paisley — who would not accept a challenge from Morrison to a public debate — had a contingent of about a dozen Orange heavies present at his one and only press conference in Toronto to prevent Morrison from attending.

The fast 'to the death' by two loyalist prisoners in Long Kesh which began on Monday January 11th had predictably concluded by Friday, January 15th, after only five days.

With the contentious ending of the local council boycott by the OUP, rowdiness by DUP councillors was substituted for the loss of the overall unionist majority as a means of disrupting council meetings, leading to the incongruous spectacle of RUC men carting recalcitrant DUP men out of council chambers.

RUMBLINGS

The week also saw further serious rumblings of discontent in the OUP over James Molynaux's leadership, which since his totally inept handling of tactics after the death of Robert Bradford has gradually been growing into a leadership crisis which must be resolved in the short-term given likely political developments in the next couple of months.

Already the defeated OUP candidate in last August's by-election in Fermanagh and South Tyrone — Ken Maginnis — is drumming up support for the Armagh arch-bigot Harold McCusker as an alternative leader. The only other possible candidate for the leadership — John Taylor — has, for the present at any rate, declared an 'absolute' disinterest in the job.

The developing crisis is the inevitable result of Molynaux's ineptness and the internal chafings within the OUP, which Paisley's seizure of the leadership of loyalist opinion at every turn has created.

John Zachary De Lorean, having previously awarded himself a £50,000 bonus, continues with his perennial and expert twisting of the economic knife in Westminster's gut. Given the £70 million he already owes various British government ministries and agencies, it is unlikely that they will continue to refuse him the export credit securities he is demanding lest their initial massive investment becomes irretrievable and because of the political loss of



● An army of loyalist bigots about to take-off for North America (from left to right): substitutes Norah Bradford and Eileen Paisley, Orange king Ian Paisley, disloyal Official Unionist John Taylor, and Paisley side-kick Peter Robinson

face his factory closure would entail.

HIERARCHY

The Catholic hierarchy was flexing its political muscle over the Chilver report on education, exacting a placatory tone of compromise from Nicholas Scott, the Brit minister responsible for education. Hitherto he had declared that rationalisation of teacher education in the North, as outlined in the said report, was a must.

A short sharp campaign of statements and the issuing of a petition denouncing the report's proposals was sufficient to force Scott into posing the proposals as open for discussion.

The Kincora House scandal took on new public proportions with the revelations last week by 'Irish Times' journalists Ed Maloney and Andrew Pollak.

Their allegations that "British officials from the Northern Ireland Office, policemen, legal figures, businessmen and boys in care" at the home were involved in a homosexual ring were deemed substantial enough to provoke direct-ruler Prior into setting up an investigation at short notice, though the nature of the inquiry — private and not public as many had demanded — has only led to fears of a further cover-up. Given that this scandalous situation has been going on for an estimated twenty years those fears seem well founded.

GOWRIE

The most important political developments of the week were an interview in the 'Belfast Telegraph' with Prior's henchman, Lord Gowrie, on Wednesday 13th, and an exclusive in the 'Guardian' on Wednesday 13th and Thursday 14th respectively, which are for the most part complementary. Paranoiac unionists pounced on only one small section of Gowrie's interview, with the DUP telling him ridiculously: "Get your green republican hands off Ulster."

The Gowrie comment which provoked such illogical hysteria was his, albeit ill-defined, suggestion of dual citizenship for six-county residents.

In reality such a suggestion is to do no more than formalise a situation which already exists with thousands of nationalists in the six counties already choosing to hold a twenty-six-county passport in preference to a British passport. It is no more than a pandering to nationalist sentiment.

Elsewhere in his interview Gowrie holds the orthodox imperialist view of partition.

It must remain. "What is more important than whatever forms of government one tries to achieve here, is for those who have British allegiance and identity in the North to recognise the legitimacy of those who have an Irish identity — and for both to realise that this is a permanent feature."

PARTITION

But he is a pragmatic imperialist who sees the need to make partition work with the co-operation of the six-county constitutionalists, something which is not achievable with the 'absurdity' of direct rule where 'one has almost absolute power'. Accordingly, Gowrie recognises the need to suck the SDLP, etc., into salaried positions in some form of administration "because more and more parties and politicians are engaged in pure rhetoric, because they have no machinery to operate."

"We have to try and provide a sustainable method of returned government where the wishes of the majority prevail... but where the existence of another set of allegiances and interests is formalised and legitimised."

Though extremely vague on just how he would set about that, that is maintain

partition with the co-operation of the OUP, DUP and SDLP in an administration which would not suffer the attention of the Orange steam-roller as did the 1974 power-sharing executive, the 'Guardian' on the following morning in an exclusive alleges that it has the answer.

According to its political correspondent, Julia Langdon, direct-ruler Prior intends to introduce legislation by the Spring to have an executive, with himself as chief executive, to administer devolved power in the six counties. Other commentators suggest the time-table of events dictated that the mechanics must be completed and the whole show be put on the road by the Autumn of this year, because of the British general election which is expected to be called some time next year.

ASSEMBLY

The plan is for a two-tier government, executive and legislative.

All executive members would be appointed while the legislative assembly would be elected. The reasoning behind the appointed executive is to prevent it from being boycotted. Anyone who refused to attend would simply be replaced by another appointee whilst the elected legislative assembly would have only limited scope for passing any new legislation.

Prior would have complete control of finance and security, while less important functions would be dealt with by the executive. The intention, the administration could be sustained, would be to gradually devolve more power to the executive and greater scope for legislation to the elected assembly over a period of years.

But as Gowrie says in his interview, which complements the contents of the 'Guardian' article, "Greater devolved government is not the solution. It is one part of the strategy — co-operation with the Irish Republic is another. Whatever the pressures on us to drop it, we have set our faces against that like flint."

So in essence what is being proposed is a continuation of the process initiated by Haughey and Thatcher in May 1980 covering trade, cross-border collaboration, energy, transport, citizenship rights, etc., with the emphasis in the Free State context on cross-border collaboration. The Brits recognise that a sustained period of IRA successes could reduce the two-tier administration to a single tier executive with all its appointed members, with the sole exception of SDLP members, being the present junta of Brit ministers in the NIO.



● Lord Gowrie, holds the orthodox imperialist view of partition