PEPUDICADO PEPUBLICAN ULSTER

Vol. 6, No. 7, SATURDAY, 14th February 1976 d, Scotland & Wales 10p). Price 7p (USA 40 ce

CREASS

BRITAIN
GUILTY OF
TORTURE
- NOW
MURDER

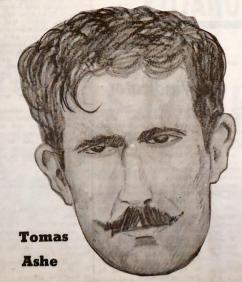
MURDERED



Frank Stagg



Michael Gaughan





The forces of the Northern Ireland Office. British GHQ (propaganda section), and the local shoneen press combined to supress the activities of Derry Sinn Fein over recent weeks in relation to protests demanding repatriation for

demanding repatriation for Frank Stage. For the past three weeks, Provisional Sinn Pein de-emonstrators have been on the streets of Derry every day except Sunday demanding support for Frank Stagg.

1 Three hunger strikes, albeit token ones, took place in Derry, including a 48-hour hunger strike in Brixton Prison by Derryman Shane O' Doherty (kidnapped a few months ago outside Belfast Courthouse and whisked by Scotland Yard to England). in De. 48-hour England).

2 Street blockades stopped all traffic moving through the city for several hours on three consecutive days.

on three consecutive days.

3 A whole series of building take-overs by Sinn Fein ers took place. Buildings several storeys above the street level were occupied and speeches on behard of Frank Stagg made through a loudhalier through the open windows. Banners calling for repatriation of Frank Stagg hung out the windows, and leaflets were distributed to passers-by on the street below. Most of the businesses occupied buildings in Guildoccupied buildings in Guildhall Square, others were in the main street, Strand Road. All these protests were unavoidable if you happened to be down the town at the time. town at the time



Nial Fagan at the Toome commemoration.

Finally, last Friday, a group of Sinn Fein protestors surprised Brits and RUC who were watching them anxiously, awaiting their them anxiously, awaiting their next protest, and rushed into the Guildhall when a lorry entered the security gates. Quickly running up into the Guildhall Tower, the Republicans hung out a large Tricolour which was reported seen flying from the Guildhall as far away as Creggan. An agile and fearless young protestor climbed out on scaffolding a hundred feet or more above the street feet or more above the street and hung out the large banner calling for 'Support

Frank Stagg which has been with the protests all the week. Small Tricolour made their appearance at the high windows opening on the faces of the Guildhall clock, and other posters hung out from other windows.

Astonished, a crowd gathered. It wasn't so long ago that lan Paisiely roared out a promise that The Tricolour will never fly over the Londonderry Guildhall, (Actually it was 1969 - to tit seems more recent.) Yet here were Tricolours, floating proudly out over Derry City from a building long infamous for its association with bigloted Unionism, a gerrymandered Corpotation,

vicious job discrimination and wretched housing. And the Crowd gathered to listen to the speakers talking about Frank Stagg from the Tower.

BUT - - did you eyer hear about this??? Everyday protests merited a two or three inch column in the Derry Journal. NO PHOTOS - apart from one of the human barricades stopping traffic on foyle Street early in the se-quence of protests

PROTEST DID NOT MERIT A PHOTOGRAPH

quence of protests.

Even the SPECTACULAR, the occupation and protest held inside the Derry Guildhall, did not merit a photograph - except, of photograph - - except, of course, from these ardent Bishop Daly, by his recent statement, must have qualified to join the ranks of Six County politicans - he's proved his willingness and ability to turn completely around without claiming any movement or change in his principles. Such a fear rivals the anties of a William Craig, Gerry Fitt, or even Brian Faulkner, who everyone recalls was the Bishop Daly, by his recent everyone recalls was the only Loyalist hardnosed enough to lead his followers up the Longstone Road, yet now poses as the archangel of reconcilation and power-sharing. sharing.

It is a human shame to see any man join such a company. But it is ter-



MARTIN McGUINNESS

We can be certain that, We can be certain that, following this custom, if the Republican Movement came power in Ireland tomorrow, the same churchmen who were so quick to condemn it today would now call on their parishoners to, support 'the law of the land.'

of truth, marching in deep respectful columns to com-memorate and cherish the memory of these two brave sons of Ireland. Stewards greeted the buses as people came from Derry and else-where to recall the sacrifice of these brave men.

orters of Kodak Film the BA and RUC snoop squad. ad, ever anxious to nortalise the faces of those taking part in the protests.

Why???You may wonder, or why???Tou may wonder, or you may have already formed the intelligent opinion that all news media must accept rigourous censorship from representatives of Lisburn Brit GHQ and the Northern Ireland Office.

AMAZEMENT We say this would be an intelligent opinion, because a number of Unionists, who from the look of outraged amazement on their faces (noted by those Sinn Feiners inside the Guildhall Tower and gazing at the crowds below) must have wondered it they were seeing visions or when must have wondered it they were seeing visions or whether they had simply gone mad, after viewing the Tricolour flying from the Guildhall and hearing the Guildhall and hearing the speakers talk in support of Stagg, and then go home and not even hear a squeak of protest about this 'sacrilige' from their local Orange Leaders. Obviously, the N.I. Office decreed: the ONLY way the Republican movement will get television and newspaper coverage. and newspaper coverage, apart from supplied statements, will be if violence follows a protest or demonstration. This was clearly illustrated after this year's Bloody Sunday Commemo-ration. Last year despite a crowd which included many more visitors from all over the country, NOT, A MOMENT OF TELEVISION COVERAGE, apart from an inaccurate estimate of crowd size. "THIS YEAR size. "THIS YEAR television coverage was granted, because the British Press thought this would put the fear into the British-people. (it probably succeeded.) Not that we are complaining about the television coverage of Bloody Sunday. It was great to know that those unable to attend could see the size of the crowd with their own eyes.

DID DALY GET A VISIT FROM CONWAY PRIOR TO HIS ABOUT-TURN?

Bishop Daly, his recent ment, must have qualified to

Bishop Daly,dld you get a visit from Cardinal Conway? Or what was it that made you retract your appeal for Frank Stagg to be transferred

rible when a public representative of the church turns politican. When the church involves itself in politics, it invites exploitation by the State. Mutual ex-ploitation of church by state and state by church, tragically, has been the rule, rather than the shameful exception, in this country.

NO CREDIT

It is no credit to its Christianity that the Church hierarchy in Ireland has always upheld whatever regime was currently in power, no matter how unjust its reign. Remember the Church's

excommunication of Fr.
Murphy, its condemnation of
Thomas Ashe and Terence Murphy, its condemnation of Thomas Ashe and Terence Macswiney, - until all of these people were respect-ably dead for a number of years, and then the history books used in the schools of this land could tell how brave these men actually were. Just not at the ONE SIDED STANCE BY CHURCHMEN

It is a pity that when the church's representatives take it on themselves to involve themselves so seriously in politics, they take such a one-sided stance. 'Always support the gover-ment in power' is their motto.

DERRY REMEMBERS

Carrigart Remembers:
Vol. Phelim grant Lt. Charles Mc Cann filled in action 5th February

The importance of being earnest was the theme of prominent Republican Niall Fagin when he addressed a Fagin when he addressed a large congregation of dedicated Sinn Fein members and supporters who gathered to pay homage to lt. Charles Mc Cann and Vol. Phelim Forant, Oglaigh na Heireann, killed on active service against the forces of occupation on 5th February 1972.

Memorable during this memorable during this commemoration were the extremely well-turned-out Slua Charles Mc Cann-Phelim Grant, na Fianna Eireann, a proud, disciplined body of young Irish men and women

FIANNA IMPRESSED ALL PRESENT'

This Slua impressed on all present their deep sense of national pride, and determination that in the near future, we, the rightful inhabitants of Ireland, will through dedication and self-sacrifice soon take our rightful place amongst the free nation of the world.

NIall Fagin was the first speaker to address the gatherspeaker to address the gathering, after Kevin Agnew marshalled the laying of the wreaths by family, and comrades, and friends. 'He recalled the record of the politicians with whom the SDLP now seek desperately to share 'power'.

PERSONALITY

CULT

by Vindicator

Individualism has not been a prominent, that ted by imperialist and capitalist interests. It can lead Movement, The Movement's to the assumption of strength has been conjected, undesignated authority, arbi-Movement. The Movement's strength has been generated by the combined efforts of all its members and has been supplemented by the support of the ordinary people on the streets. The promotion of policies has always superceded the promotion of individuals.

viduals.

The 'personality cult' (or representation) The 'personality cult' (or self promotion); is symptomatic of the 'professional politican', who tends to view the political situation in terms of personal gain, whether it be financial or political), rather than the overall objectives of the organisation to which he belongs, and is

a characteristic easily exploited by imperialist and capitalist interests. It can lead to the assumption of undesignated authority, arbitary decisions, confusion and resentment. It can also lead to a form of political elitism' which can be lightly damaging to the effective working of the organisation's internal machinery. Where the organisation is a revolutionary one this damage may be irrepairable.

Firtunately the 'personality cult' is something that the Republican Movement has never really suffered from, but if recent press articles are anything to judge by we must be on our guard against its potential threat.

SHAME

Old-age pensioner, Mrs. Minnie Doherty (76) received injuries in her home at 19 Quarry Street, Derry; when a heavy tiled livingroom when a heavy tiled livingroom fireplace broke away from the crumbling chimney wall and collapsed into the livingroom, crushing her legs as it fell. Derry Housing Executive,

on being informed, sent a representative and duly informed Mrs. Doherty that no repairs would be carried out until she made an ex gratia payment of £6.00, towards a new

fireplace.
This 76yr. old woman is This /oyr. old woman is totally unable to meet such an arbitrary penalty and while the Derry Housing Executive continues to fail in it's responsibility towards this olderly towards this elderly tenant, she is being forced to exist in a back without bedroom

bedroom - - without heat, throughout this freezing spell of Winterweather.

We say to our public at large. - to the local Tenant's Association, to those claiming to be public representatives, - - in fact, representatives, - in fact, to all interested honested Christians; rally Around Immediately and Go To This Woman's Assistance.

To the Derry Housing Executive - - that body of heartless gnomes - We, Say Shame - Shame

IMPOSED SOLUTIONS WILL BE OPPOSED

the Constitutional Convention was reconvented the decision of the decision was reconvented and secret inter-party talks began. further adjourned

the participants belong to that elite group - parliamentary demoand they were there at the behest of Rees to attempt to
the constitutional crisis: which, if solved, say the British Government,
lead to peace, progress and prosperity. If the SDLP and a
of loyalists (enough to constitute a majority) can agree on a
of devolved government then - so this logic runs - reconciliation
the leaders (sic) of the two communities will lead to reconthroughout the community and the defeat of the IRA. Fallacies would between

Agreement reached at Stormont will make no material or physical differences to the mass of the people inside Stormont they'll be agreeing on how to carve up Ministerial positions, make the RUC more palatable to the Catholics and helping the British Government out of its mess in Ireland.

British Democracy with its imperialist infringement on Ireland is wrought with many contradictions. Foremost present day is its machinations with the parliamentary democrats of the six-counties who have been weaned on the principles and practices which apply in English politics.

came to light in early January when the jouranl of the ULSTER WORKERS COU-CIL (a now Paisley controlled body) fingered out John Taylor as having such sym-

Craig proposes a voluntary coalition as opposed to a coalition permanently written into the Constitution. The SDLP would be guaranteed Ministerial Posts for 3 to 5 years provided they support the RUC (which they do) and drop their United Ireland

That the parliamentary majority of West, Paisley and Baird over any combination(s) of parties of their political opponents - SDLP, UPNI, VUP & Alliance - gives them the Right of forming an excutive, should be (to British parliamentary democrats!) was beyond dispute. way beyond dispute.

However, the will of that majority is thwarted by the dictates of the Ailson Government. Rees administers in the six-counties without a mandate and since the imposition of Direct Rule four years ago the British Government have searched in vain for a stable front line government, which could look after interests and allow the British Army to withdraw.

This undoubtedly has been, and continues to be, the British solution for the six-counties. What is prevalent is counties. What is prevalent is their desire to leave behind a 'BRitish' administration amenable to their influence. But the solution which they have adopted is full of multiple contradictions, and standard British politics have had to be modified with 'exceptional' rules applying to this 'unique' situation - a grammatical way of avoiding the conclusion that the six-counties are incompatible with the British way of life.

Initially the Executive of '74 looked promising. It was a patchwork coalition of middle patchwork coalition of middle class unionists - UPNI on the middle class Protestant side and SDLP on the middle class Catholic side; the third 'partner' was the Creme-de-la-creme of moderation the Alliance Party who were just middle class.

Often quoted in the Execu-tive's favour was the point that its numerical support in Stormont constituted the sacrosanct will of the 'Democratic majority'.

Little is heard today of the rights of the 'Democratic majority' of which the UUUC is the rightful claimant in this gerrymandered state of this partitioned country.

The front line government which the British are still hopeful of creating has this time shifted to include William Craig's Vanguard William Craig's Vangua.
William Craig's Vangua.
Party. To this end British policy is being directed. The UUUC's intransigent insistence that they will not share power in goverment with ple(SDLP) who are attempting to overthrow the state (which is nonsense) spoils all hopes of Rees striking a bargain with them whilst they maintain this attitude.

However, Rees is convinced that elements within the UUUC (namely some Offical Unionists) are sympathetic to the ideas circulated for the last three months by William Craig. Cause for such a belief

aspirations (which as a sixcounty party they never have

Rees is hellbent on produc-Rees is neilibent on produc-ing a majority - even a maj-ority of only one - in favour of this idea. And so he is now engaged in manoevres designed to split the UUUC.

The real threat of undercutting the UUUC mandate by a referendum on voluntary Coaliton is part of this campaign. A recent poll organised by ITV's WEEKEND WORLD concluded that two thirds of the Protestant community are in favour of some form of power-sharing.



Paisley has recently revealthat he has information the effect that a black paganda campaign designpropaganda campaign ed to discredit UUUC leaders has been organised by the Northern Ireland Office, and allegations were made on and allegations were made on the first day of the convention that Craig's coalition proposal were pro-moted to him by James Allan, a constitutional expert with the N:I:O: Though this claim was made by the mentally deranged Professor Kennedy Lindsay 'here is proof that Craig did have meetings with Allan during inter-party talks last Autumn. Allan ducing last Autumn.

In response to an appeal from Craig the SDLP inserted a £750 OPEN LETTER TO THE LOYALIST PEOPLE in the NEWSLETTER on February 4th. This letter meant to boost Craig's image and make the SDLP appear in their most conciliatory light had the full (financial) backing of

UUUC loyalists were quick to claim that the N:I:O: had sponsored the ad. John Hume unconvincingly denied this; but it is well known that the SDLP are funded by the Brits. albeit indirectly, via the Rowntree Trust - and extremely conservative and counter-subversive body.

So while the UUUC is in a defensive position of maintaining its obduracy it is being depicted as the organisation which is postponing peace, progress and prosperity. Meantime Rees, the SDLP and Craig are working frantically to split the UUUC and thus create a weight of the property of vol. UUUC and thus create a majority. In favout of voluntary coalition.

No consensus of opinion reached at pariamentary level can satisfy the revolutionary objectives of the IRA, nor the Republican people in the ghettoes and rural areas, Rees and Wilson know this and they know that they must either withdraw politically and militarily or(and this seems the more likely) financially and militarily support the political systems which they create; and this in turn completely isolates any participating SDLPmembers.

A few strategic acts of re-No consensus of opinion

A few strategic acts of revolutionary violence by the IRA can inflame passions and block parliamentary agreement. It is therefore IRA can and blo obvious that agreement which is so gragile is not of is so gragile is not of lasting settlement. It is for this reason that choice acts of revolutionary violence have recently created further insta-

bility.

All British imposed solutions will be opposed a solution based on the bureaucratic practice of parliamentary politics in parliamentary politics in isolation should be vehemen-

tly opposed.
The revolutionary objectives of the IRA are based in a redistribution of power in the control of the organised people on the streets. And that, is the only parliament which we should

SCREWS CONVICTED

roy Vivian Two Screws, roy Vivian davies and Ian James, were convicted in Cardiff of assaulting a prisoner, Sean Driscoll, in Cardiff Prison.

davies, secretary of the local Prison Officers Assoc-iation was given a 9 months suspended sentence and James bound over.

TARTAN ARMY APPEALS

Scottish Nationalist prison-Michael Fairlie, Robert Berwick and Alastair Coventry had their sentences cut by the Appeals Court. Fairlie will now serve 10 years, instead of 12, Berwick and coventry had their sentences reduced from 9 years to 8

'FRONT BULLIES'

A 65-year-old member of the Prisoners' Aid Committee in London was attacked by National Front bullies while selling papers at Shepherds Bush Green this week. The local police arrived and drove off the cowardly 'Front' members without making any attempt to arrest them.

'Front members have also attacked Sinn Fein members in Fecent weeks but have

usually came off in receiving end of hostilities.

THOSE GREENCASTLE

Following a peaceful protest which was part of the nation-wide campaign for the repat-riation of Frank Stagg, three Catholic homes in the rath-Catholic homes in the rath-coole area came under attack from Loyalist extremists. The Joseph Cunningham Sinn Fein cumann in a statement to Republican News, described the Loyalist allegation that the attack was a "reprisal for Republican violence in Green-castle" as "ludierous."

The Cumann point out that the only Republican activity in Greencastle had been the Greencastle had been the Stagg protest. The spokesman

for the Cumann said:
"Loyalist extremists in this area have never needed an excuse for sectarian attacks on helpless catholic families before. We see these latest before. We see these latest incidents as part of the broad based Loyalist plan to turn the Rathcoole-Newtownabbey area into a para-military launching pad for further attacks. There is fittle doubt that the various murder-gangs have RUC-UDR co-operation in carrying out their plan."

An interview with UDA spokesman, Sammy Smyth, appears **UDA THREATEN** in the current issue of GOWN, a Belfast student's newspaper. The interview was given to GOWN Editor Jamie Delargey and is of vital importance to the Nationalist community, who, if the UDA get their way, will cease to exist. WHOLESALE SLAUGHT

J.D. The Ruc is about to close down all the illegal drinking clubs. How will the UDA make

clubs didn't S.S. These clubs didn't come into being to raise funds. You see people were afraid of moving out of their areas and these clubs were created to give them some of them later, its true got a bad namε. J.D. What is the origin of

J.D. What is the origin of the UFF. S.S. The UFF was set up by people [not UDA men] who had been intimidated out of their homes or had friends shot.

UDA attitude to

S.S. We accept their view as legitimate. We don't want to moralise to these

J.D. Do you think that civil war is inevitable if the Provisional IRA don't give

Provisional IRA don't give up or aren't defeated.

S.S. Nothing is inevitable, but only a miracle can prevent it. We've had two miracles before. If it hadn't been for the UWC there would have been a civil war. If at that times the Army had moved in you would, have had a full-scale conflict. The Army knew this but the people were ignorant of it.

When

J.D. When might a civil war be expected?
S.S. Lets not be naive.
You don't give dates when you are going to do anything - be prepared. The people are saying now that defence is no longer enough.

They want it stopped, we will decide when but you can expect it anytime.

J.D. We have been

reliably informed that Glenn Barr's allegiance to Vanguard policy is not popular with grass-roots UDA opinion is that so?

that so?
S.S. That's not a fair question. He's a politician whereas the UDA is not.

If Vanguard advocates

If Vanguard advocates powersharing with the SDLP at Cabinet level, then it is out of step with the Protestant people. That sort of policy does not have the support of the UDA - no border than that not even of Protestants.

The UDA will support those parties who grant defence powers of the UDA will support those parties who grant defence

parties who grant defence of the border and are against power-sharing.

J.D. Is it true that the incompetence of the Scottish loyalists means that in fact they hinder rather than help

the goodwill is there and that's never to be despised but there's not much money in

J.D. Would they not come over and support you in a civil war?

Scivil war?

S.S. Look, Westminster would stick the navy up the Irish Sea and prevent any movement across.

J.D. Would not try to be one move ahead?

S.S. This is the game, We must get our supporters before that happens.

J.D. Do you expect defections from the Army?

S.S. Yes. Every Battallon has lost men. There's no love lost there for the IRA.

IRA.

Do you know what their

contingency plans are?
S.S. We've a good idea.
J.D. What about the Eire

J.D. What about the Eire Army?
S.S. We have a good idea what their contingency plans are too. Their number of openings is limited and we don't know what the specific are, but we have a good idea of the overallskrategy.

They must be concerned in

They must be concerned in the event of a war about a takeover down there by the Provos. So they must first and foremost be concerned with the security of their

J.d. Do you defend the bombings in Dundalk, Dublin? S.S. A war exists here and we will defend ourselves. The

free state is part and parcel

of the enemy.

J.D. How long would a

civil war last?
S.S. We would like it to

be over in a week.

J.D. What about those
Catholics who have no arms?
S.S. How do you know that S.S. How do you know that they've no arms. We will assume that Catholics are fully armed and on that assumption we will take action against them. The Provos have support from the Catholics. Otherwise they just couldn't exist.

couldn't exist.

In a civil war no one can stand aside. Those who do not partake will be classed as an enemy. So will the person who cannot be depended upon

J.D. What will be under conditions

Catholics will stay?

S.S. There will be no room for R.C.s in a new state.

J.D. None? S.S. None.



J.D. How do you know that ou have the support of the you have the sur Protestant people

Protestant people?
S.S. I meet people all over the country and I know that the feeling is there that something must be done.
They're saying that defence

Isn't enough.

J.D. Why hasn't Civil
War been more fully discussed in the papers and television?

UDA men pictured with their collaborators and allies, the British army, during the Ulster Workers Strike which was aimed mainly at the Nationalist population.

The clubs were always harassed by the police who quite frequently removed drink even. from the good ones. For instance they took 1000 worth of drink from The Jolly Roger and never left it back.

Was the drink stolen? clubs were

as the drink stolen?

If drink was stolen it wasn't sold through those bars S.S.Soldiers used to call in and have a drink. A patrol of five might drop in keeping one man outside on watch for the officer. As a matter of fact the Army liked the clubs because it could keep an eye on them and check the people inside. If

J.D. Are there other sources of revenue? Would you care to comment on allegations of protection rack-ets talked about in the Sunday Times.?

S.S. No other sources, except for the contributions from America and Scottish loyalists.

J.D. You were editor of Ulster Militant. Your associates in that paper were accused of being involved in sectarian assassinations by the UDA and the UVF. It wasn't true, was it?

S.S. That was never mentioned and we were never accused. They don't know who the people behind that paper were. They still don't and the people still exist.

It wasn't a UDA it was apaper called for by a very select group whose main concern was a 100% security for their own identity. It was published as an information and message journal. mation and message journal, I was the go-between.

people. They've suffered

directly.

J.D. In a possible loyalist offensive against Republicans, who are the legitimate targets?

S.S. People who act against the State o r give passive or active support to those who do.

J.D. Will it include SDLP men and their support-

s.S. The SDLP are the enemy. Their strength and consistency depends entirely on the violence of the Provisional and Official IRA.

Provisional and Official IRA.
The conflict is over the establishment of a 32 county Republic. Hume said it was that or nothing. So this merely re-emphasizes that they identified with the Provo and Official IRA. At this bottom level there is unity among that i.e. the destruction of the State of Northern Ireland and the elimination of the Protestant people.

people.

J.D. Of course your knowledge of who the Republication't good. That licans are isn't good. That means that your offensive will probably involve the deaths of innocent Catholics. Would that deter the UDA?

Would that deter the UDA?
S.S. War exists in
Northern Ireland and in a
war situation there are no
innocent people. Those not
actively involved and who are
killed happen to be in the
wrong place at the wrong

Every citizen has a stake in the community. No-one can abdicate responsibility, cannot stand aside, we do not accept that anyone has the right to opt out.

WE CANNOT TAKE PRISONERS' THEY ARE A LIABILITY..... THERE WILL BE NO ROOM FOR R'C"s IN THE NEW STATE' WE WOULD GO FOR EXTRA TERRITORY' SO THAT THE REPUBLIC CAN'T BE A THREAT TO US IN A COUPLE OF GENERATIONS'

J.D. Can anybody surrender

der?
S.S. We cannot take prisoners. They are a liability.
J.D. Will you win?
S.S. While there are
Protestants here there will be
a Northern Ireland as a part of Britain of Britain.

J.D. Do you expect a new

S.S. No larger. We would go for extra territory so that the Republic can't be a threat

S.S. The media conceals the horror of civil war by editing the interviews to suit their own purposes.

For instance, the Sunday News left out in an article of mine that no prisoners would be taken.

would be taken. J.D. Has the determination

J.D. Has the determination to finish this once and for all made the UVF settle its differences with the Ulster Army Council?
S.S. It has.



ANDERSONSTOWN P.O.W'S SLAM COLLABORATION COMMITTEE



RUC COLLABORATION COMMITTEE

A Chara,

A Republican P.O.W's from the Andersonstown area and as people who treasure our connection with the area and it's people, it was with a mixture of disbelief and disgust that we read the reports in the Irish News and Belfast Tele' announcing the formation of an 'R.U.C. COLLABORATION COMMITTEE' in the Andersonstown area.

The organisers of this committee, announcing it's formation, claimed that . . "The committee was formed as a result of a meeting to which a representative of every known organisation, club and society - political or otherwise - in the area was invited." This we know to be a lie! It should have read . . "The committee was formed from a selected number of individuals, paper committees (representing no-one) and known reformist

meeting was held some four years ago and since then it's sole activities centre around one man who uses the name of the Association as a front for his sechemes.

This person and others have consistantly attempted to set up a collaboration committee in Andersonstown, their last attempt being about two years ago under the title of an 'Andersonstown Co-ordinating Committee of Youth Clubs and Tenants Associations'. This attempt came to an inglorious end when some of the people from the area expressed their utter disgust and revulsion of the activities of these people at a meeting of this committee at which no less than two Majors of the Occupation Forces and an Inspector in the RUC were present. (One of the people who expressed his views and disagreement at this meeting was 'lifted' two days later and given a very savage beating by the British for



groups from the area. (Of course there were a few genuine persons invited to give the whole thing an air of respectability). The purpose of this committee will be to act as a 'Public Relations Committee' for the R.U.C. in an effort to have the R.U.C. reintroduced into Andersonstown

ENCOURAGING THE RUC TO COME BACK

The exercise that these people have / are carrying out is a stab in the back for the people of Andersonstown who have consist antly refused to permit the murders, torturers and sectarian bigors of the RUC to have a free hand or entry into the area. What these people have done and are doing, is to actively encourage the RUC to try to come back into Andersonstown ander the pretense that they represent a large number of people from the area. This is NOT the case as, for example, one of the main personalities behind this whole scheme acts and speaks on behalf of the 'Andersonstown Tenants Association.' This Tenants Association does not in fact really exist as their last public ants Association does not in fact really exist as their last public personalities being the control of t

daring to speak his mind and for refusing to see the need for a 'Collaboration Committee').

Having pointed out the means and aims of this committee we would ask the people of Andersonstown to completely reject the activities of people such as the ones we have mentioned and make it quite plain and clear to them that they speak for no-one but themselves and would ask you to be wary if you hear of

SUPPORT THE MEN WHO HAVE SUPPORTED YOU FOR

SIX YEARS

R.U.C. OUT

ANOTHER attempt is being made by the Royal Ulster Constabulary, aided by the S.D.L.P. and the clergy, to return to Irish-orientated districts of Belfast under the guise of "committees investigating complaints against the police". Meetings have been held from which various political organisations and other goups with the political organisations and other goups with the political organisation of the political organisation and the goups with the political organisation of the goups of the political organisation of the political organisation of the popule's interest and unity is becoming obvious.

interest and unity is becoming obvious.

On your guard Respectable citizens are urged to be on their guard. Collaborators, touts, spice and traitors are warned to not these manoeuvres or take the consequence.

No collaboration is possible with the unreformed and unreformable torturers and murderers of the R.U.C., the role of which can never be any other than working in the alien interest at every level and by the most unscrupulous means.

If any lesson has been elearned since 1968 it is that. The R.U.C. must go, never to return,

Protest in Western Australia

IN Perth, Western Australia, Mr. Paul McKee went on a 36-hour hunger strike on the steps of Government Buildings in support of Proinsias Stagg and his comrades in English jails.

REGETTED DEATHS

THE Republican Movement deeply regrets the death of Claire McVerry, Skeritt, Cullynanna, mother of the late Michael McVerry, who died recently.



The members of the Der-mot Crowley Sinn Fein Cumann, Corlough, West Cavan have learned with deep regret of the death of Thomas O'Rynn, of Ballinamore, a life long member of the Rep-

MAN? WHAT

Numerous words have been said and written about the plight of Mr. Frank Stagg and his self imposed hunger strike, which is the only means at his disposal to highlight a courageous struggle for repatriation of the land of his birth.

The pain and suffering that

The pain and suffering that a sustained hunger strike entails can only be understood by the layman when defined by medical experts, and even then, it is almost outside the scope of human comprehension to absorb the full complications of such a degree of self imposed torture to uphold a principle and undisputable love for nes ones own country. This extreme mesure of protest by Mr. Stagg highlights the ominous silence by those political control of the pain of

icians who repeatedly state their desire of equality and justice for all, irrespective of class or creed. In this case, as in others

of similar nature in the past, those in the political



sphere seem to be select-ive when justice is sought of fail to have the courage

convictions they profess when seeking the votes of the elector-ate. No word of protest has been made by them to the British Home Secretary to abolish political status for persons accused of political motivations.

This special category status was achieved only after a long and bitter struggle (involving hunger strkes), by the people concerned, and at the present time tends to be overshadowed by Mr. Stagg's life or death struggle with the British Government. The lack of sincerity by public representatives in these parallel cases will not easily be forgotten, for what is a man if he cannot face the truth.

IOSEPH RIGRY



BY THE W

As LondonWeekend TV enters the Convention pro-paganda stakes the drum beating for a CraigiFitt coalition administration grows deaftening. Peace the coalition administration grows deafening. Rees, at the request of the SDLP hierarchy, has pushed ahead with his plan to depo-liticize the situation in

East Ireland. Full page ads, financed by yer actual tax-payers, are appearing with monotonous regularity in the monotonous regularity in the SDLP controlled 'Irish News, The purpose of the ads., which seem to plumb the

> ARTY AND SO BILL TO

by Liam Dunne

Speaking of full page ads. Did any of you read the SDLP's appeal to their Loyalists brethern' which appeared in the Unionist controlled 'News Letter'? Seven hundred and fifty quids worth of begging letter. The SDLP plea to the Protestant people to accept them as equals didn't seem to have much effect on John Morrison who came off with the following gem in his 'sunday News' column last week:

The political situation is

Unionists at heart, has not changed this situation. REjecting democracy, the SDLP want the Brits to get them into power by some other and crooked means,'

crooked means."
Well, although 'John
Morrison' is the authentic
voice of sectarian Loyalism,
we agree with him on that
point...that the SDLP are
creeps.

Meanwhile, back in the

jungle. Few will shed tears for the mercenary butchers who ended up being butchered them-selves. TV interviews with some of the English killers, some of the English Killers, prior to their departure for Angola, gave a clear insight into the minds of the ex-British army criminals.

Most were of the oponion that they would earn £150 a week for moving down wogs' and raping their womenfolk. As it turned out, predictably and pleasantly, the English pigs found themselves facing a well armed and determined liberation group who were rapidly making mince meat out of the making mince meat out of the reactionary forces represented by UNITA/FNLA.

The 'Daily Mirror', not exactlyrenowned for the truth, may have lapsed temporarily into a state of creditibility when it quoted an English mercenary about to fly to Angola following news of the

Angola ton.
14 executions.
'I am quite prepared to kill
guys if they don't fight.

That is what they're there for, that's what they're paid for... and that's what they should bloody well do. I would pull the trigger on any of them quite happily'.

No doubt the speaker had service in Ireland with the British arny, you know, that bunch of 'tolerant' and 'well-trained' professionalss who never, never, do anything wrong. Let's hope that the mercenaries South Areican mercenaries South Areican bosses give them double thick Flak jackers, you know, to stop the MPLA bullets which will be coming at them from the front, and the bullets from the guns of their mates which will no doubt be coming at them from behind.

THE CROWDS WERE MET BY RUBBER BULLETS TEAR GAS' AND POLICE BATONS'" ARE'NT WE LUCKY SUCH THINGS DON'T HAPPEN IN IRELAND.

Before leaving the 'Daily Mirror', in the toilet' pre-ferably, I would like to bring your attention to a little gem which appeared in Monday's editorial. Twelve cubic inches editorial. Iwelve cubic inches of space was devoted to a scathing attack on the new Spanish administration of King Juan Carlos for an incident the previous day in Barcelona. Part of the article read:

Crowds calling for a political amnesty and home rule for the Catalans met smoke bombs, rubber bullets, and swinging pol savegely police batons...just days.

Tut, Tut, Rubber bullets, shocking, smoke bombs...appalling baton swinging... atrocious. Arent we glad that such things don't happen in the streets of Belfast

STUDENTS DRIVEN OUT

With the recent wave of sectarian wrath that has driven thousands of families from their homes along the East Antrim coast from Larne to North Belfast in an effort to secure and maintain the Loyalist foothold over the main industrial centre in the six counties, a new dimen sion in the latest pogrom has arrived.

Recently in Carrickfergus that well known centre of liberalism, dozens of students from the "Ulster Polytechnic" have been intimidated from accommodations their accommodations by loyalist thugs concerned about the morality of students or more important the morality of their religion. This, of course has caused great embarrassment to those nice English-white Liberals at the "Ulster Polytechnic" well I mean you should never put students there in the first place.'

So some thing had to be done, after all these people were'nt just nationalist's, some of them were Unionist as well, and if that got known. That would be an even greater embarrasswert. even greater emabarrassment so something had to be done.

CAMPAIGN

faceless bureaucat One faceless bureaucat came up with a grand idea and so the saga began. Well if there is a campaign against students in Carrickfergus why not extend the campaign to co-Jordanstown? That way the whole nasty mess could be covered up by displacing as many students from Nationalist areas all over the six counties. On the pretext of breaking some petty rule and breaking some petty rule and replacing them unawares by the students from Carrick-fergus. What a grand idea.

BRILLIANT IDEA

And so down in 'Polytech Nicville' they jumped for joy Nicville' they jumped for joy at this brilliant idea, much to the delight of their local |'intelligence agent' who had been telling them local l'intelligence agent'
who had been telling them
for years to search every
person, everything. File and
refile. Every detail on every
person they met, in an effort
to stop the influx of 'nasty
political lefties and Republicans. Now with a staff at
your disposal you would think
this would be easy, especially
when one of them is related
to a well known high ranking
officer in the UDA's West
Belfast Brigade. So I suppose
the only thing the Polytechnic intelligence agent
could say to them, was 'be
careful and dont show such
contempt so openly, or you
might foul up the whole
operation and destroy our
liberal veneer completely.



FRANK STAGG'S SISTER **REPUDIATES** 'IRISH NEWS'

ADVERTISEMENT

LAST WEEK A FULL PAGE AD'. APPEARED IN THE 'IRISH NEWS' ATTACKING THE CAMPAIGN TO HAVE FRANK STAGG REPATRIATED'. THE ADVERTISEMENT WAS INSERTED BY THE BRITISH AND QUOTED AN ALLEGED STATEMENT FROM STAGG'S SISTER', YERONICA, ON SEEING THE SCURRILOUS DIATRIBE MRS' PHILLIPS SENT THE FOLLOWING LETTER TO THE EDITOR OF THE PAPER'. WE REPRINT IT IN FULL'

Sir, I was appalled and shocked when I saw the advertisement carried by your paper on the 4th February. Firstly, I was amazed that a government office could have taken confidential and personal information about my brother, Frank Stagg, and passed it to another government department who then proceeded to publish it in a national paper. I am taking legal advice on my brother's behalf about this, needless to say Frank had not been asked if he agreed to the publication of his private

Secondly, I repudiate absolutely the words attributed to me in this advertisement. I have no idea of the source of these words but I do know that if anyone is guilty of making political propaganda out of my borther's plight it is the British government, who are also responsible for causing it.

I myself have approached the Home Office on numerous occasions over the last three years about the appalling treatment they have given Frank, especially about his being held continuously in solitary confinement. They have never even had the courtesy to give me a detailed or rational explanation of their conduct towards him - that's how much they care about my real opinions. I have and always will support Frank whose "connection" with Ireland, far from being, nothing, is a profound bellef in the ultimate freedom and unity of the Irish people. Frank has lived and probably will die for that belief. That is his connection with Ireland. Whatever "crime" he committed is and has been committed every day by thousands of Irish people. Those who are really aft the ones who conspired to imprison him and who are still conspiring against him as he is dying. They are the cowards who did not put their names on their letters in a crude attempt to disfress him and his family by black propaganda of the worst kind.

Let the nameless manipulators of the Northern Ireland Office who placed that advertisement say in public just what connection they have with Northern Ireland apart from their fat salaries.

MRS. VERONICA PHILLIPS.



WANTED FOR MURDER



JENKINS AND HIS BUREAUCRATIC HYPOCRITS

A Chara,
May I, through the courtesy
of your column, express my
disgust at Mr. Roy Jenkins
statement, "I am not going to
give in to blackmail of this
sort," when asked what his
intentions were, regarding
Frank Stagg who is, at this
date and time, 50 days on
Hunger Strike in Wakefield
Jail, seeking just and humane

GINGER BAKER

They excuse their actions, apart from their cries of "blackmail", on the grounds that Frank Stagg was not born. In Northern Ireland, therefore, they see no reason why they should move him there. Albert "Ginger" Baker, the mass murderer of innocent Catholics was not born in England, yet he was moved to an English Jail the day after his Trial. To date 20 Political Prisoners have been moved to Jails in Northern Ireland from

jails in England, all were moved with no bother, except for the four Republicans, who had to embark on a Hunger Strike and were near death, before they were moved. Fourteen Loyalists have been moved from Northern Ireland to jails in England, again without having to protest. Furthering my sence of abhorence is the fact that, Mr. Jenkins and the British Governemnt he speaks for, have the 'gall' to call themselves Socialists, when in fact, this band of Bureaucratic Hypocrits are prepared to let a human being starve to death, rather than swallow a little pride, and grant him the justice he seeks. The British Government speaks of "blackmail", by the Republican P.O.W's, but what about their blackmailing of the Irish Nation over the past 50 years or so with their Border. They forever fail to realise that for Republicans like Frank Stagg,

the Border is of no significance. He is asking to be moved to a jail in his homeland, and it so happens, that England have Jails in the Six North Eastern Counties of Staggs homeland.

ANTI-IRISH

Irishmen have died in English Jails in the past because they refused to be regarded as members of the English Criminal Class and now it seems that another Irish P.O.W. is to die because he to will not be regarded as a Criminal.

For Mr. Roy Jenkins to refuse this man his basic and humane demands, no matter what excuses he makes, shows clearly the Anti-Irish (Croppy lie down) mentality of British Politicians.

Is Mise, Sean Magee (P.O.W.) Cage 12 Long Kesh, Concentration Camp.

SYSTEM EXISTS

(The following is a message received from Republican POWs in Armagh Jail, to be read out at the Bloody Sunday Commemoration on Sunday. However, it was too dark by the time it was received to read it out on the speaking platform).

MESSAGE TO THE PEOPLE OF DERRY FROM THE VOLUNTEERS OF "A" COY. ARMAGH GAOL.

Today we all remember what happened here four years ago. That Sunday thirteen men were gunned down ruthlessly and without mercy by a group of British soldiers.

The sorrow was world-wide but the pain was yours, and now as the years continue to flow the pain is still with you all. The senseless killing that happened that day is closest to' the people of Derry as it was you that day, for the civil rights which so justly belong to you, took to the streets to march peacefully.

Would it have made any difference if you had known that day what lay in front of you? No, it wouldn't because you are still here again today, four years later, and still with the same causes at heart as you had that

day. But here today are the British soldiers, who perpetrated the cruel murders. The soldiers may not be the same ones who were here on Bloody Sunday, but the system whereby such deeds were ordered still The men on whose shoulders the guilt of these murders must fall have not been brought to justice, if justice exists for them. Yet they are probably in Northern Ireland, maybe even here in Derry today, and we all know as long as such people remain free such deeds can never be ruled out or forgotten. Therefore as long as these men remain on the streets the souls of our dead can never rest in peace. Ireland must rid herself of this setm who have been glorified by the British Government for shooting unarmed, defenceless men on the streets of Derry.

OUR THOUGHTS AND PRAYERS ARE ALWAYS WITH YOU'

We here in Armagh Gaol extend to you, the people of Derry, and especially the families who have surfaced as a result of that day, our continued sympathy. The loss you suffered that day no one knows but yourselves. But our thoughts prayers are with you always especially on this day.

Cavan man tarred and feathered

"On Sunday night, February 1st, a police informer was tarred and feathered by 1.R.A. volunteers", said a statement received from the West Cavan Command, Oglaigh na hEireann.

"The man, Patrick McBrien, a 40-year-old unemployed labourer had passed information to the Free State police which led to the seizure of a revolver", the statement said.

"We have warned people what could happen to spies and informers and we hope that that this punishment will act as a reminder to those who would think of aiding the enemies of Ireland", the statement added.

Q.U.B. Notes S.R.C. SHOULD READ EIRE NUA

Following a meeting of the Student's Representative Council of the Student's Union at Obern's (SRC) on January 22nd, a press statement was released. It pledged that the Student's Union (SU) was opposed to sectarianism and at the same time also to the Provisional IRAa if to suggest that the Provisional IRAa instigated secterian lettimes.

They do not seem to realise that sectarianism is being actively promoted by SAS/UVF murder squack in such places as the Murder Triangle and bright Belfast where, recently, Mr. Nail O'Niell was cold-blocodedly murdered by British agents. Sectarianism is merely the sympton, British presence is the disease. The only way to end sectarianism is to put an end to it by removing the British presence as their policy has always been 'divide and conquer'.

One of the reasons given in the press release for the condermation of the IRA was the fact that in a recent interview. with a student revespaper, GOMV, the movement dairned that Coli War was inevitable and that they were preparing for it. If the SU think that it is not inevitable, they only have to read another interview. UDA spokesman Sammy Smyth in the same paper (see elsewhere in this issue)

Smythe claims in the interview that the UDA are prepared even to 'initiate' such a confrontation. Would it not, in such a situation, be foolish to leave the Nationalsit population unammed and defenceless as in 1999

The SU vas also gravely concerned about the rapidly deteriorating unemployment situation in the coupled 6 Counties. Of ourse everyon-will realise that this (the dosure of holls-Poyce, STC Lame and the continued contraction of the shipbuilding, textile, and construction industries) is the first phase of the impending British withdrawal.

Finally, they conclude by saying: The Union urgs incressed public spanding, selective import controls, nationalisation of banks, building land and other key sectors of the economey and an end to foreign currency speculation and capital exports.......... if the SRC would take the trouble to read EIRE NLA they will find that their policies are so allike to those of the Pepublican Movement, let's home that they do, and soon.

It has also come to light recently that authorities at the New University (NUU) have been tapping student's phones. This, coupled with the fact that security guards at the NIP Polytechnic are carrying regally held finemen while on duty, on the campus as they are members of the socialled 'security forces' (see REPUBLICAN NEWS of Jan. 10th) suggests to us that sinster forces are at work in our colleges. We are also aware of the availability of confidential information on students files to these forces who can use them for their own ominious ends.



CONSPIRACY:

THE LAST RESORT OF OF A DESPERATE GOVERNMENT

PRO' DERRY COMHAIRLE CEANTAIR

A MEASURE OF THE Northern Ireland Office's fear about the growing support and righteous sympathy for the sacrifice and courage of Frank Stagg is best illustrated by the huge sums of money they have spent in full page ads in the Irish

During the past week, the British propaganda machine has strained itself to the point of frenzy in its desperate attacks on the political Irishness of Frank Stagg and all nationally-minded

News, trying to convince the public that Frank Stagg has no connection with Ireland.

As any schoolchild can tell you, Mayo is nowhere but Ireland, as are Crumlin Road Gaol, Magilligan, and Long Kesh. As anyone who has lived through the last few years of this war knows, the only reason Frank Stagg recognises a dangerous man today by Roy Jenkins and Co., is that Frank Stagg recognises where Mayo, Long Kesh and Crumlin all happen to be - and recognises the injustice of the Jails and Concentration camps within the confines of his island.

'CONSPIRACY

Frank Stagg was "convicted" on the charge that is the last resort of governments desperate to squash rebellious residents; conspiracy. No explosions had taken place in Coventry, yet Frank Stagg was sentenced to 10 years for conspiracy against the Crown - the main evidence against him being he had a map of Coventry in his pocket. Who among us would not protest against a ten year sentence in a foreign jail for having a map of Derry in our pocket?

Frank Stagg chose as his protest the most nonviolent protest possible; the hunger strike. The hunger strike is nothing new

to Irishmen. It is a time-honoured and respected means of protest against outrageous injustice, chosen by s uch men as Terrence MacSwiney. By a hunger strike, freedom-loving people seek to confront the conscience of their own people, who by actual support or apathy keep in power an unjust regime. The hunger striker asks you, the people, if you can justify in your own hearts what accounts to their murder. No man or woman choses death if any reasonable alternative is available. Fran Stagg would certainly like to be fit and well today. He didn't want to fail, from eleven-stone-ten to his present weight of four and a half stone he didn't want to lose his sight, nor want his kidneys and liver and lungs to fail.

lungs to fail.

But Frank Stagg recognises he would pose no threat to any normal government. Without the events of Bloody Sunday, SAS assassinations, a vast system of camps for political prisoners and a complex set of political evils, which the British presence in our land requires, people like Frank Stagg would have never seen the inside of a jail, much less find themselves on a hunger-strike to the death. The only reason Frank Stagg and the rest of the political prisoners are held in jails is that they resisted tyranny. He and his comrades expected to gain nothing for themselves by resisting; they all knew their likely "reward" would be prison, death, or exile. But they believe life co-operating with injustice.

All Frank Stagg asks for is to serve his unjust, totally political sentence in his own country. Ask yourself: Is Roy Jenkins right in murdering a man for this simple request?

We must take a stand now for the life of Frank Stagg, because in the morning Frank Stagg may be dead, and it will be indifference to his thirst for justice which will have killed.

MARTIN McGUINNESS ARRESTED

Martin McGuinness of Derry was lifted by enemy soldiers who raided a house in Jacquel-ine Way, near the Bogside, on Saturday last, Also detained was Terry Crossan, Both were handed over to the R.U.C. for questioning

A riot followed the arrests as Irish Derry demonstrated its indignation. As we go to press he was still being "inter-rogated" and no charge has been preferred.

Martin was one of the six Irish negotiators who flown in a British airforce helicopter to London in the summer of 1972 for truce

In 1974 Martin was relased from Portlaoise jail having completed a sentence for membership of Oglaigh na

FITZIMMONS (3rd Anniversary) In proud and loving memory of our dearly beloved daughter and dearly beloved sister, Volunteer Vivience Fitzimmons, (killed in action) July 10th, 1973. Rest in peace

Remember those who died for free dom, Say not they died in vain, For from their blood a hundred-fold,

Always remembered by her loving

J'HANLON/FITZIMMONS

J'HANLON/FITZIMMUNS
(3rd. Anniversary)
In proud and loving memory of Vol., Vivienne Fitzimmons and her comrade O/C
Leo O'Hanlon (killed in action)
Feb. 10th 1973. Rest in Peace. Mary Queen of Ireland pray for them.

Always remembered by GLEN



CONCERT, DANCE & AUCTION of Long Kesh Craft

in FOUR SEASONS HOTEL, MONAGHAN

FRIDAY, 27th FEBRUARY, 1976 on

× Dancing to RED SHADOWS DANCE BAND (Armagh)

Well-known Artistes of Radio and Television Fame

For Transport etc. see Local Press.



Vol. Sean McKearney



Vol. Eugene Martin

Commencing 8.30 to 2 TAILLE (Including Supper) £1.50

nant Joseph Cunningham, O/C E' Company, 3rd. Batt. Belfast Brigade, Oglaigh na hEireann, (killed n action) on this, his fourth Anniversary.

God Bless you Irish soldier. Your courage beyond compare Rest in Peace brave Irish soldier, Your memory we will keep You paid the supreme sacrifice, So sleep, Irish soldier, sleep

Mary of the Gael, pray for him.

Always remembered by his father, mother, father, loving wife and children and family circle.

O'HANLON/FITZIMMONS' 3rd. ANNIVERSARY'

Staff Capt. Leo O'Hanlon and Volunteer Vivian Fitzimmons. (killed in action) February 1973.

Let traitors scorn. And tyrants stare, Little do we care, A Felon's cap is the noblest crown an Irish head can wear.

rays remembered by their comrades, M' Murphy, J' Cowan, E' Duggan, J' McClean, C' Devlin. P' McPolin.

(Cage g. Magilligan Concentration Camp.)

O'HANLON/FITZIMMONS' 3rd. ANNIVERSARY

Staff Capt. Leo O'Hanlon and Volunteer Vivian Fitzimmons. (killed in action) February 1973.

Without the dark and desolation of winter we cannot appreciate the warmth and splendour of spring.

Always remembered by their comrades in arms, S. McKenna, J' Hollywood, M' Tinnelly, S' Rud#y, G' Heaton, C' Casey, M' McCabe and P' McDonald.

(Cage G' Magilligan Concentration Camp)

O'HANLON/FITZIMMONS' 3rd, ANNIVERSARY'

The Officers and members of the Leo O'Hanlon Sinn Fein Cumani fondly remember Staff Capt. O'Hanion and his valiant comrade, Volunteer Vivian Fitzimmons, Cumann na mBan, who gave their ives for Ireland , February 1973.

Write their names in letters of purest gold.