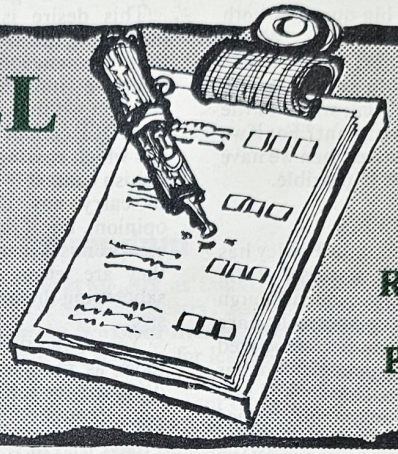
FORTNIGHT

An Independent Review for Northern Ireland

TENTH ANNIVERSARY

Issue No. 178
Price 25p.
October-November 1980

OPINION POLL



ATKINS PROPOSALS
PARTY STRENGTH
INTEGRATED EDUCATION

Results see Page 4



PADDY DEVLIN'S INITIATIVE

PLUS
"GOLDEN OLDIES"
MARK STOREY
PETER MELCHETT
GRAND OPERA HOUSE

Calvin MacNee

WHERE NEXT?

The political initiative launched by Humphrey Atkins nearly a year ago grinds on. But it must now be in its final stages and the big question both for government and for us is, Where next? What is the next move to be? And perhaps we should ask if it is wise to make any move. Well, what do the various parties involved want? For if we know their real objectives then we have a better idea of what is possible.

PAISLEY'S PROBLEMS

Over the past few months Paisley has been giving us a dress rehearsal of Big Ian as Ulster's Leader, and although some observers of the spectacle have turned to a shade usually associated with the onset of sea-sickness, one has to admit that at times it has looked as if he might really open in the role. Indeed it seems that the **Daily Mail**, inspired perhaps by sources in Dublin, is convinced that Paisley is being groomed for the part. But he has some problems. In his running fight with the Glengall Street Unionists he has won round after round. He has shown that he is doing something while they, he says, are purely negative and are obstructing things out of spite. Yet nothing fades so quickly as a success that brings no lasting advantage, and all the points scored will mean little if Paisley can claim no solid achievement. And he needs something before the local elections next May, for although everyone expects the DUP to make gains it is very unlikely that Paisley's party can match the 170,000 odd votes that the man himself won in the EEC election. So the results next May could appear as a defeat for Paisley even though he actually makes gains among the councils. To maximise his gains Paisley needs some success to point to—a next stage to the initiative. If the Atkins initiative peters out then it will be bad news for him.

A DUBLIN VETO

On the other hand, both Glengall Street and the SDLP would prefer the initiative to go away. Glengall Street's reasons for wanting this are simply because they think it would dish Paisley, and perhaps because it might lead to their favoured nostrum of local government reform. The SDLP position is more complex.

Any successful initiative will involve compromises somewhere. Making compromises is a hard job and it has risks, and with the Irish Independence Party to one side and the danger of a real Social Democrat (sorry, Democratic Socialist) Party to the other side, they do not feel like taking risks. Much better to stick to the simple verities of the traditional green paths.

This desire is reinforced by the policies of the Dublin government. If they are engaged in a diplomatic offensive intended to result in a solution within an Irish context, then the SDLP cannot engage in compromises which envisage a solution within a British context (which it must be if it is to carry any element of Unionist opinion). For if they do engage in such compromises then it would appear that they are letting the side down and sabotaging the great diplomatic offensive.

Yet all the time it seems more and more as though Haughey's policy is designed for internal consumption in the Republic. In any event, his attention must now be on his economy, and it is unlikely that he will pay much attention to the North's problems. But this will not make it any easier for the SDLP to move. The policies of Dublin will, as it were, veto any move by the SDLP, and if the SDLP are regarded as vital participants in any political scheme then it will be vetoed too.

ATKINS' OPTIONS

Then we come to the Government. Do they really want to succeed in Ulster? Or are they going through the motions so that they can say to the world "We tried but those people in Northern Ireland prevented us from doing anything"? Opinions are divided as to what the government's real intention is, so perhaps we should consider the possible courses of action that they could take.

First there are the two options contained in the last White Paper—a P.R. Cabinet or a double barrelled arrangement where a majority government is balanced by a power-sharing "Council of the Assembly". These have not gained much support, and there is clearly no agreement on option 1. Paisley nibbled at option 2, but so far has not taken the bait, while the SDLP have firmly ruled out option 2. The government, it is said, is reluctant to go forward on either of these on its own. Is there anything else? Well, two things have been suggested—a consultative assembly, and a referendum.

WHAT IS TO BE DONE?

I think that a consultative or advisory assembly would be unwise. In any election the parties would commit themselves in their manifestoes and



possibly leave themselves with no room for manoeuvre. Any debates would be in the public eye in a way that the recent conference was not, so there will be a premium on the simple arguments and familiar stances. The difficult road of negotiation will not be tried. In short, it will be the 1975 Convention all over again.

If the government wants an excuse for the failure of its initiative, this is the best way to obtain one. But the result would be to leave us worse off than before. The failure would reinforce the divisions and as it seems that we only get one initiative per government these days, we would have to wait for a new government in London before there would be a new attempt.

Can a referendum help? At the moment, no. What question could you ask that would change the attitudes of the parties? If you have a scheme fully worked out and you have enacted it, then a referendum asking people if they approve of that Act may be useful. But at the moment a referendum would lead nowhere.

So, what is to be done? So far, the government has been asking questions and publishing papers in which it does not commit itself. Now it must decide. Is it going to put its money on option 1 or on option 2? It should spell out its intention in detail. Then you could have a consultative assembly or referendum in which you could say, "Look, here is the prize to be won."

If the prize is big enough and juicy enough, the parties might make the effort. Such a course involves risks: but if the government is not prepared to take the risks, it would be better to do nothing and concentrate on direct ruling in a better fashion that at present.

Issue No. 178
October-November 1980

CONTENTS

Calvin MacNee. 2
Opinion Poll. 4
Paddy Devlin's Initiative. 6
Shuffling the Cuts
by John Simpson 7
Housing 8
Getting Tough on Fairness 9
Diary of Events. 10
Book Reviews. 15
Recent Pamphlets 19
The Fiction of Neil Jordan
by Gerald Dawe 19
New Poems. 21
The Grand Opera House
reviewed by Rosemary Jack . . 22
Sidelines. 23

SUBSCRIPTION RATES
(6 issues)
British Isles £3.00
Elsewhere (airmail). £5.00

BACK ISSUES
A limited number of complete sets of **Fortnight** are still available, with a number of early issues reproduced in black and white; the cost of run from 1 to 173 is £40.
Individual copies (where available) cost 25p.
Post free in British Isles.
Cash with order only.

ADVERTISING
Full page. £70
Half Page £40
Per single column inch. £3
Copy: one week before publication
Full details from the advertising manager

EDITORIAL COMMITTEE
Tom Hadden, Robert Johnstone, Chris Moffat, Martyn Turner.

PRINTED
by Noel Murphy

FORTNIGHT
7 Lower Crescent,
Belfast BT7 1NR
Phone: Belfast (0232) 24697

Time for a Referendum

The almost total stalemate at Mr. Atkins' talks is a clear indication of the difficulties in securing any agreement between Messrs Paisley, Molyneaux and Hume on a form of devolved government for Northern Ireland. Mr. Paisley and Mr. Molyneaux are primarily concerned with the struggle for leadership in the Protestant community. Mr. Hume is primarily concerned to pursue a coordinated strategy with Mr. Haughey, and for that reason does not want to see any progress in the talks. These attitudes are scarcely surprising when it is remembered that those very leaders have made it their business to oust from their party leadership anyone who shows any readiness to compromise. Mr. Fitt and Mr. Devlin have both been driven out of the SDLP. Mr. Craig has been given no support with his idea of a voluntary power sharing coalition.

The results of the **Fortnight/RTE Poll**, published in this issue, indicate that there is a much greater readiness among the rank and file supporters of all parties to contemplate some form of partnership in a devolved assembly. The Poll indicates that a slightly larger number of people favour power sharing than direct rule. But even more significant perhaps is the indication that so many people are prepared to give power sharing, or any of the other government options, a try, and that so few express any intention of seeking to make them fail, even if they were not their own first choice. It does not follow that if a referendum were held on the government's proposals, with or without the added option of an assembly without any immediate executive or legislative powers, the same results would be achieved. Mr. Atkins is right to be wary of the combined efforts of Messrs Paisley and Hume to ruin any referendum. If a majority is to be found for some form of coalition or compromise, some organised support will be required, of the kind about which Mr. Devlin writes in this issue. But it is hard to see any such support emerging through an ordinary election held in advance of the publication of firm proposals from Westminster. Traditional party allegiances in Ulster die hard. The proportional support for the four main blocks in Ulster politics, the extreme Protestants, the Unionists, the liberal centre, and the Catholic Nationalists, has remained remarkably stable over the years. The government should drop the idea it is reported to be pursuing of holding an election for a new Assembly before settling its precise constitution or powers. It should go direct to the electorate with a series of firm proposals designed to break the deadlock and reestablish a local assembly.

PARENTAL CHOICE AND INTEGRATED EDUCATION

The **Fortnight/RTE Poll** also confirms the finding of many previous polls that there is substantial support in both communities for some form of integrated education. The government has repeatedly argued that there is no real demand for such a policy, and that integrated education is unworkable since it would require large scale bussing of pupils from one area to another. This is a fundamentally mistaken approach. It assumes that people would be forced to attend integrated schools What our Poll indicates is that there is firm support among about one third of parents in both communities for the creation of integrated schools in addition to unmixed schools. The government has the power to insist that area boards make provision of that kind, through the power of the purse strings. It should begin now to establish a mechanism through which parents who wish to have their children educated together can express their wish, perhaps by requiring a formal local vote if sufficient signatures requesting it are presented. If that vote shows that there are sufficient parents and children to support a viable integrated school, the area board should then be required to provide one. It is no use leaving it to the clergy or the school managers to make the first move. The government should give some practical effect to its commitment to parental choice.

SURVEY REPORT

1. The White Paper

The Fortnight/RTE survey shows a continuing divergence in attitudes between the two communities, but also a high degree of readiness to accept power-sharing if a majority want it.

The main objective of the survey was to find out how people in Northern Ireland, as opposed to their political leaders, reacted to Humphrey Atkins' constitutional proposals. The questions were designed to test the possibility of securing an agreemnt, rather than to encourage the expression of widely diverging aspirations. Unlike other recent surveys, questions on the long term future of Northern Ireland were deliberately excluded. The results indicate that a majority of people are willing to give a new package a try.

The survey was carried out for **Fortnight** and RTE by Carrick James Market Research of London, which has experienc of survey work in Northern Ireland. The questionnaire was put to a quota sample of 508 respondents at 21 sampling points throughout the province between 10 September and 10 September. The quota at each sampling point was set to reflect local populatiosn in terms of age, class and religious affiliation, as shown in census returns. In all, the sample covered 332 Protestants, 175 Catholics and one atheist. The details of the sample make-up are set out below.

POWER SHARING

The government White Paper made it clear that the Westminster Government's first choice would be a system of power sharing in which cabinet posts would be shared proportionately between representatives of all parties. The survey indicated that a power sharing system of this kind was the first choice of more respondents than any other system. But there was a substantial variation in the approach of Protestants and Catholics. The vast majority of Catholics (79%) gave power sharing as their first choice compared with only a quarter of the Protestants (26%). The majority of the Protestants (57%) gave continued direct rule as their first preference, compared with only a few of the Catholics (15%). Hardly anyone (10%) gave the third option, system in which the cabinet or executive would be made up out of the majority party but the opposition would have substantial powers of delay or veto, their first prference, and one one third gave it their second preference. This may in party be explained by the fact that few people understand exactly how the system might work. Overall the survey gives a marginal preference for power sharing (44%) over continued direct rule (42%).

The results suggest that there is more chance of Humphrey Atkins obtaining acceptance for his proposed system of power-sharing by going over the heads of the politicians than by struggling on with his party talks. The questions designed to test the **acceptability** of each of the options as opposed to what people would prefer if they were given the choice, gave an even more encouraging result from the government's point of view. Altogether more than three-quarters (77%) said that they would either try hard to make power-sharing work or give it a try if a majority was in favour of it in a referendum. This response was given by a large majority of Protestants (67%) as well as of Catholics (93%). There was a similar response in respect of the other two options. This indicates

TABLE 1

Q. *The Government has proposed two new systems of government as alternatives to Direct Rule. What order of preference would you put them in?*

	Protestant %	Catholic %	All %
First Preference			
Power-sharing	26	79	44
Direct Rule	57	15	42
Veto System	14	3	10
Second Preference			
Direct Rule	29	51	37
Veto System	40	27	35
Power Sharing	25	18	23

TABLE 2

Q. *If a majority in a referendum voted for power sharing, how would you accept the result?*

	Protestant %	Catholic %	All %
Try hard to make it work	36	69	48
Give it a try	31	24	29
Don't mind whether it succeeds or fails	13	4	10
Would try to make it fail	13	1	9
Would try to make it fail by supporting strikes	4	—	3

TABLE 3

Q. *Should there be a referendum on the government's proposals?*

	Protestant %	Catholic %	All %
Yes	74	55	67
No	21	39	28
Don't Know	5	6	5

TABLE 4

Q. *Which party most closely represents your views at the present?*

	Protestant				Catholic				All
	ABC1	C2	DE	All	ABC1	C2	DE	All	
DUP	23	28	26	26	—	—	—	—	17
OUP	45	39	53	46	—	2	1	1	31
UPNI	4	6	4	5	—	—	1	1	3
Alliance	21	15	5	13	47	27	22	30	19
NILP	3	3	5	4	5	7	5	6	4
SDLP	1	1	1	1	37	42	43	41	15
Republican Clubs the Workers Party	—	1	—	—	7	5	9	7	3
Provisional Sinn Fein	—	—	—	—	—	4	5	3	1
None/D.K.	6	6	7	5	4	12	13	11	8

TABLE 5

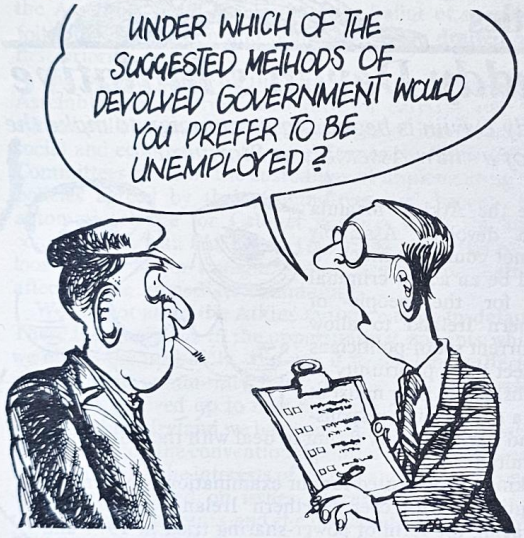
Q. *Which of these do you think are doing a good job at present?*

	Paisley %	Molyneaux %	Craig %	Napier %	Hume %	Fitt %
Protestants	60	48	30	35	14	31
Catholics	7	5	6	47	55	47
All	42	33	22	39	28	37

that there is a high degree of willingness on all sides to give a try to any system of devolved government which the government's criterion of involving representives of both communities.

REFERENDUM

The survey also indicates that a substantial majority is in favour of putting the government's proposals to the test of a referendum. Two thirds of those asked including a majority of both Protestants (74%) and Catholics (55%), thought that there should be a referendum now on the government's proposals. Current reports suggest that the Norhern Ireland Office is shying away from the idea of a referendum, though it has never been ruled out and statutory authority to hold one has been quietly retained despite the dissolution of the Convention in 1975. It cannot be predicted what effect a sustained referendum campaign would have on people's attitudes, and whether the government's reported fear of mass abstention would be borne out. But the survey results suggests that a referendum would be welcomed by most people.



The results of the survey in terms of first and second preferences, as outlined above, also suggest that agreement might be reached by a series of referendums of the kind which were held to resolve a similar impasse in Newfoundland in 1947 and 1948. There the first referendum ballot did not produce a clear majority in favour of any of the proposed solutions. But when the least favoured option was excluded, the second referendum did produce a clear majority, though a small one, in favour of the government's preferred option (see **Fortnight** Issue 173). This strategy would involve a substantial commitment of governmental effort to persuade people that some form of power sharing, whether on a proportional representation basis or by some form of coalition, was essential to stability. This strategy must now be given serious consideration, given the almost total lack of success in the latest round of inter-party talks.

The survey also included questions on the role of the Republic in any political settlement in Northern Ireland. Opinions on this issue were much more sharply divided between the two communities. Only a few Protestants (14%) agreed that the government in the Republic should be involved in discussions about the future government of Northern Ireland, and three quarters (76%) were against the idea. More than half the Catholics (58%) thought that the Republic should be involved.

TABLE 6

Q. *Should the government in the Republic be involved in discussions on the future government in Northern Ireland?*

	Protestant %	Catholic %	All %
Agree strongly	5	27	13
Agree	9	31	17
Neither agree nor disagree	10	19	13
Disagree	27	18	24
Disagree strongly	49	5	34

TABLE 7

Q. *The government should insist that there should be mixed primary and secondary schools in each area to which both Catholic and Protestant children could go as well as unmixed schools.*

	Protestant %	Catholic %	All %
Agree strongly	20	23	21
Agree	40	39	40
Neither agree nor disagree	15	15	15
Disagree	17	15	17
Disagree strongly	7	7	7

TABLE 8

Q. *The government should insist that Catholic teacher training colleges in Belfast should be brought together with Stranmillis Training College.*

	Protestant %	Catholic %	All %
Agree strongly	19	10	16
Agree	37	23	32
Neither agree nor disagree	22	24	22
Disagree	14	27	19
Disagree strongly	8	15	10

TABLE 9

Q. *If there was an integrated school near your home as well as an unmixed Catholic or State school, how would you feel about sending your children to the integrated school?*

	Protestant %			Catholic %			All
	ABC1	C2	DE	ABC1	C2	DE	%
Definitely send to integrated	25	20	15	19	25	17	20
Prefer to send to integrated	14	13	8	23	13	17	14
Wouldn't really mind	41	37	37	30	25	38	36
Prefer to send to unmixed	12	15	17	16	25	19	17
Definitely send to unmixed	8	14	22	12	9	8	13

SAMPLE MAKE-UP

Class		Religion		County			
ABC1	154	Protestant	332	Belfast	119	L'derry	48
C2	157	Catholic	175	Antrim	122	Armagh	48
DE	197			Down	122	Tyrone	48

Copies of the full report of the survey may be purchased at £10 per copy from Fortnight Publications. The report contains a detailed explanation of the selection of the sample and 35 full page tables tabulating the answers to each question against age, sex, religion and party support. Urgent orders CJMR, 01 636 8822.

2. Party Support

The survey confirms the dominance of the four major parties: Official Unionist, DUP, Alliance and SDLP. But it also suggests that the big swing to Paisley and Hume in the European Elections is not a true reflection of party strength.

The survey included a standard question on political party support. The results confirm that any immediate election is likely to be dominated by the four major parties which have established themselves in recent years. The Official Unionists were clearly strongest with 31% of respondents, followed by Alliance with 19%, DUP with 17%, and SDLP with 15%. The smaller parties like NILP, Republican Clubs and UPNI gained only 3% or 4%, and Provisional Sinn Fein only 1%. These results indicated that the massive swing to the DUP and the SDLP in the European Election of June 1979 was the result of the personality contest between Ian Paisley and John Hume, and that the results of the general election in May 1979 are a more accurate pointer of continuing party strength. The shift in strength from SDLP to Alliance compared with the 1979 elections in equally striking. It seems likely that this is primarily due to dissatisfaction among Catholic voters with the hard line on Irish unity the SDLP has recently adopted.

(%)	DUP	Other U.	OUP	UPNI	Alliance	NILP	SDLP	Other
Gen. Election (May 1979)	10	11	37	1	12	1	20	8
Euro Election (June 1979)	30	7	22	1	7	1	25	9
Poll 80 (Sept. 1980)	17	—	31	3	19	4	15	4

This possible explanation is supported by the results of the question on attitudes to leading politicians. Among Protestants far more said that Paisley (60%) was doing a good job than Molyneaux (48%). But roughly one third said also said that Craig, Fitt and Napier were doing a good job. Among the Catholics Hume, with 55% of 'good job' reponses, was only just ahead of Fitt (47%) and Napier (47%). When the responses from both Catholics and Protestants are combined, Fitt and Napier come out well ahead of Hume, since both gained substantial approval from both Protestants and Catholics.

The survey also reveals some interesting figures on support for the various parties in different social classes. Alliance emerges clearly as the most middle class of the parties, with twice as many middle class as working class supporters in both communities. Support for other parties was more evenly spread among the classes.

3. Integrated Education

The survey shows once again that there is substantial demand among both Protestants and Catholics for those who wish to be given a real chance to send their children to integrated schools.

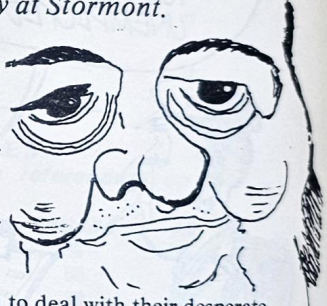
The final set of questions in the survey concerned integrated education. On the general question of whether mixed primary and secondary schools should be provided in each area there was a substantial majority of both Protestants (60%) and Catholics (62%) who agreed or agreed strongly that they should be provided. These results are remarkably similar to those in the 1973 **Fortnight** survey in which the corresponding figures for a similar questions were 59% for Protestants and 64% for Catholics. The latest survey also included a more specific question asking whether the respondents would send their own children to an integrated school if they had the chance. The answers to this question were somewhat different, with only one third of respondents indicating that they would definitely send their children or would prefer to send them to an integrated school; a further third indicated no clear preference either way, and slightly less than a third said they would prefer not to or would definitely not send their children to a mixed school.

On the more immediate issue of the integration of the two Catholic teacher training colleges with Stranmillis, the survey results were less clear cut. About half the respondents agreed or agreed strongly with the proposal. But there was substantial opposition among Catholics, 42% of whom were against or strongly against the proposal.

Politics

Paddy Devlin's Initiative

Paddy Devlin is beginning a campaign to make the best of a new Assembly at Stormont.



While the Atkins' formula for a devolved Assembly may not count for much, it would be an act of criminal folly for the people of Northern Ireland to allow the current set of politicians to reject this opportunity of establishing in their midst at least a democratic, responsive and Parliamentary forum to deal with their desperate difficulties.

Atkins has presented for our examination two forms of Executive control over Northern Ireland affairs: one embracing the form of power-sharing tried in 1974 and the other rather like that form which enabled the Unionist Party, excesses and all, to inflict itself on the people of Northern Ireland for over half a century.

It is patently obvious that both forms of Executive structure are too far apart for civilised compromise between the political parties that represent tribes seeking conquests over each other. We should see that it is not possible in the present consultations to secure a long-term constitutional settlement. We must reconcile ourselves to less than that. After all, there have been no elections of this type in Northern Ireland for five years and mandates tend to get tattered and threadbare unless they are more regularly tested at the ballot box. These people have no right to assume that they have public backing for doing nothing in the face of the worst violence the North has ever known, no right to assume public support for their monumental apathy in the face of galloping unemployment and strident poverty. They must be made to accept the responsibilities of political choice or else abdicate in favour of those who will exercise their choice.

While we wait for a long-term solution to Northern Ireland's problem being delivered to us from a mountain on a tablet of stone more hardship and misery will be heaped upon us by the present Westminster Government and by those whose role it is to represent our interests there. We can stop it only by having our own forum, by engaging in political dialogue on what action we can take

collectively to bring our agony an despair to an end. In any case we must get rid of the vacuum created when the Assembly was abolished in 1974. Paramilitary organisations since that date have claimed that their deadly deeds have been done in our defence or on our behalf. Let's kill this claim as quickly as possible.

What proposals can be made to enable us to benefit from the opportunity inherent in the Atkins initiative? At the outset he should be advised to abandon his proposals to set up an Executive with formal Cabinet positions to be filled by one party. By so doing, the minefield created by the intransigence of the major parties would be avoided na and movement towards short-term agreement could be easily achieved. What is needed at this stage is to evolve a two-stage strategy in which those elected to a new Assembly can meet in Committee to prepare policy papers for the workings of a future administration. The subjects, dealt with in separate committees similar to the American system under an elected Chairman assisted by special advisors, would be: Agriculture, Consumer Affairs, Local Government, Education, Environment, Commerce, Housing, Social Services, Manpower, Health, External Relations, EEC, and Finance. The Speaker of the Assembly could be elected by a ballot of members following the election and Standing Orders drafted as a first priority.

The second stage of the strategy, which moves the Assembly into a formal structure for carrying out the agreed policies, could reflect attitudes of individuals to social and economic issues on a class basis. Chairmen of Committees could be the custodians of implementing the policies agreed by their Committees and become the automatic choice for Cabinet position when the time comes to set up an Executive. Traditional party ties could loosen to allow for realignment of members on matters affecting the immediate community.

We cannot allow the Atkins initiative to go by default. There is a challenge in the opportunity it presents which we must take up boldly. We owe it to the long-suffering people in our community. They deserve more than what they have received up to now from the politicians.

In Northern Ireland we have no option open to us other than to develop the conventional politics of the democratic society in which the interests of labour and the interests of capital are aligned on issues concerned with the just distribution of incomes and the ownership of wealth. We have never had this form of politics before even though it is normal form throughout the whole of Western Europe. We have always been deluded that politics here in the North was about the confrontation between flag-waving bigots while the politics of economic equality and individual freedom was a pipe dream.

Northern Ireland's economic plight has brought again reality to bear on that delusion. With one or two exceptions our Westminster MPs are calling for more cuts in public expenditure in Northern Ireland. They seem oblivious to certain unassailable facts: (1) Our fair share of unemployment, if the figure in Great Britain is two million, should be only 50,000, not 90,000. (2) We have no, or very little, private investment, therefore cuts in public investment on the current scale do serious damage to essential community services. In what region in Britain does one find leading surgeons in the major hospitals going out with a begging bowl to get the money to help them save human life? (3) Why should we receive a massive cut-back in housing expenditure when housing stock in Northern Ireland has a ratio of three times more unfit houses than Wales or England? It is no longer tolerable to me that our representations at Westminster should be kept entirely in the hands of transient carpet-baggers and their collaborating cronies.

Paddy Devlin

Housing

Progress at Risk

Some progress has been made in reducing unfitness levels since 1974. Recent cuts in capital expenditure threaten to make things worse again.



The preliminary report of the **Northern Ireland Housing Condition Survey 1979** shows tht a good deal of progress has been made by the Housing Executive in reducing the number of unfit and substandard houses in Northern Ireland. The Executive's first major survey in 1974 revealed an unfitness level of 20% ; the latest figure is 14% . There have been similar reductions in the number of houses lacking basic amenities: in 1974 26% of the houses lacked at least one amenity; in 1979 the corresponding figure was 18% . The highest levels of unfitness are still in Belfast (15%) and in rural areas in the west and south of the Province (25% in the Western Region).

There can be no question of the Housing Executive resting on its laurels at this degree of progress. The level of unfitness in Northern Ireland is still three times the rate in England and Wales. Twice as many houses in Northern Ireland lack basic amenities. But the prospect of maintaining the progress which has been made is seriously threatened by the continuing cuts in capital spending allocations.

To begin with most of the progress in improving housing standards has been achieved by the demolition and rebuilding of old houses rather than by grant-aided rehabilitation work. In the five years from 1974 roughly 10,000 houses have been built each year, of which about two-thirds have been provided by the Housing Executive. Some 7,000 houses per year have been demolished or otherwise removed from the housing stock. The total figure for demolition in the five year period, some 35,000, is far in excess of the overall net reduction in the number of unfit houses, a figure of 23,000. It follows that up to 10,000 have decayed into unfitness since the 1974 survey.

In the face of these figures the government is persisting in substantial cutbacks in the redevelopment programme. It was even proposing to abolish the mandatory duty of the Housing Executive to deal with unfit houses. Happily this proposed change in the law has now been dropped following strong representations from the newly formed Shelter (Northern Ireland) and from the local association of public health inspectors.

The government's preferred alternative strategy—presumably because it is cheaper—is to concentrate on rehabilitation. In some areas this makes good sense. Grant levels in Northern Ireland are substantially higher than in Britain: 75% of approved expenditure is payable throughout the Province, and up to 90% in cases of hardship and 100% in respect of small houses with low rateable values. This compares favourably with the overall level of 50% in Britain, and has been a substantial incentive to owner-occupiers to improve their houses. Even so the net contribution of rehabilitation in improving conditions has been relatively small, perhaps 2,000 to 3,000 houses per year, compared with about 10,000 newly built houses. Part of the problem is the well known bureaucratic delay in processing grant applicat-

ions. There is also the difficulty that the amount of money which has to be spent to meet the five or ten point standard is often far in excess of the maximum allowed for grant purposes. The government has recently announced some small increases in the maximum levels for standard amenity and repairs grants. But as the Chairman of the Housing Executive has pointed out, there is little point in doing this without increasing the amount of money available to pay the grants.

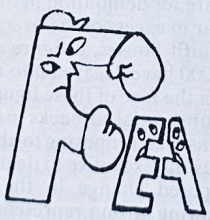
The actual amount of money allocated for grant aid for 1980-81 is some £27m. This is proportionately a lot more than in other areas of Britain. But even this is far below the amount required to maintain the position. The Housing Executive has estimated that on the basis of its 1979 survey the total cost of bringing the houses in the Province up to a reasonable standard of repair would be in excess of £500m. It also reckons that there is a real risk of some 60,000 houses which currently require more than £1,000 worth of repairs decaying into unfitness if the work is not undertaken quickly.

It is difficult to produce a more convincing argument for increasing rather than reducing capital expenditure both on redevelopment and rehabilitation. There would also be substantial benefits in other respects. The highest unemployment rates in Northern Ireland are in the construction industry, which happens to be predominantly Catholic. There is also a desperate need for new housing in or adjacent to the overcrowded Catholic area of West Belfast. There are large areas of vacant land and bricked up houses in what used to be Protestant areas adjoining the so-called 'peace-line'. It is time the authorities made a real effort to grasp this particular nettle.

Employment

Getting Tough on Fairness

As the recession bites and inequality in unemployment becomes more obvious, there is a strong case for a new strategy from the Fair Employment Agency.



Recent statistics indicate that proportionately twice as many Catholics as compared with Protestants are unemployed in Belfast. As with the Black population in Britain, unemployment is hitting the minority hardest. The Fair Employment Agency was set up in 1976 to devise means of promoting equality of opportunity in employment in Northern Ireland. Like similar agencies, such as the Equal Opportunities Commission and the Commission for Racial Equality in Britain, it is going to have a frustrating time. It was always suspected that the legislation which set up such agencies would fail to provide them with enough teeth to get the job done. The present economic and political climate merely highlights their powerlessness.

The Fair Employment Agency covers all employers and employees with the exception of teachers, ministers of religion and certain forms of employment connected with national security. The Agency has the job of seeing that the Act is upheld and that grievances arising from illegal discrimination are remedied. It is also responsible for developing conciliation work by securing wide acceptance by employers of the Declaration of Principle and Intent to be a Fair Employer, and by promoting the appraisal and monitoring procedures set out in the Department of Manpower Services' **Guide to Manpower Policy and Practice.**

So far, well over 2,000 employers have signed the Declaration, although there are some notable exceptions, in particular some district councils, from the list of signatories which is published in an annual register. Rather fewer employers have been willing to commit themselves to regular monitoring and appraisal of their employment policies. Apathy on this issue is not confined to managers in local industries, but is equally evident in certain government departments, not to mention coolness on the part of some trade unions and professional associations./

Complaints investigation has continued at the rate of some 30 to 40 cases per year, with approximately 60% of complaints coming from Catholics and 40% from Protestants. In 1979 the Agency found that there had been four cases of unlawful discrimination. To date, one of these, a case involving Craigavon Borough Council, has been before the courts. The County Court quashed the Agency's finding of unlawful discrimination, but on appeal to the High Court the finding against the Council was upheld.

Necessarily—and some would say, fortunately—the Agency has had to procede with a certain degree of decorum and discretion. Unlike the CRE in London, they have not issued jolly publicity photographs of Catholics and Protestants hobnobbing on and off the job. Indeed the Agency seems to have avoided publicising most of its activities, partly because of the adverse manner in which such issues are treated by the local press. In the long run, such avoidance has probably not helped its broader educational and conciliatory objectives.

RESEARCH FINDINGS

This is not to say that the Agency has not done some useful work. But there is no clear way of assessing its effectiveness. The research studies commissioned by the Agency have helped to define very precisely the dimensions of the problem of intercommunal inequality in the province, but they have been less clear on solutions. It is well-known (as shown by the Agency's first research report, **An Industrial and Occupational Profile of the two sections of the Community in Northern Ireland**) that a disproportionately large number of Protestants are in non-manual and skilled manual jobs, and a disproportionately large number of Catholics are in semi-skilled and unskilled jobs, or are unemployed. It is also known that Protestants predominate in engineering and manufacturing industries, while Catholics tend to predominate in construction and tertiary, or service industries. The Agency's subsequent research on attitudes to work **Research Paper 2**), educational qualifications (**Research Paper 3**) and occupational mobility (**Research Paper 4**) suggests that such intercommunal inequalities are not just handed down passively from generation to generation, but are being actively recreated. However, since most of these studies reject the argument that there is widespread, overt discrimination, the Agency is still no nearer to finding a way of breaking the cycle of disadvantage.

THE IMPACT OF RECESSION

Economic recession and the freeze on public investment have seriously undermined the strategies the Agency has evolved. Its two most recent reports, Research Paper 5, **Into Work? Young School Leavers and the Structure of Opportunity in Belfast,** and Research Paper 6, **The Vocational Aspirations and Expectations of School Leavers in Londonderry and Strabane**, look at the difficulties Protestant and Catholic boys faced in finding jobs when they left school at 16 years. Not surprisingly when unemployment amongst school leavers is approaching 10% of all employed, the results make depressing

reading, not least because, predictably, Catholic school leavers were more likely to be unable to find work. What strikes the outsider is not just the evidence of communal inequality, but the total failure of the lower reaches of the secondary schooling system to meet the educational needs of a very considerable proportion of the province's young people.

In more prosperous times the Agency's suggested policy of positive discrimination in industrial location and investment together with a general education and conciliation programme to reform industrial recruitment and promotion policies, could have done much to mask many of the more glaring inequalities. It is doubtful whether it would have produced any major structural changes. Now that traditional industries are declining, there is much less scope for intervening in the labour market to remedy inequality and little to be gained from exhorting managers, personnel staff and careers officers to use more formal procedures to recruit their rapidly shrinking labour forces.

If the Agency's basic strategy is now in doubt, what of its style? In the past the Fair Employment Agency has almost invariably adopted a characteristically softly, softly approach. Yet it has received comparatively little sympathy or support either from local political parties or from the Government. Considering the moral lead which could have been given by the government both through its economic policies and through its position as a major employer and contract-awarding body, its support has been derisory. However, now that life is—according to current political orthodoxy—going to get tougher, there are good grounds for arguing that the Agency should get tough too.

Finance

Shuffling the Cuts

John Simpson finds some worrying signs in the small print of the latest round of cuts.



The latest round of changes in public spending in Northern Ireland announced in July have attracted a predictably hostile reaction. For those who are already critical of the Conservative Government, the changes are easily seen as further evidence of an unshakeable and doctrinaire approach. Such a general conclusion overlooks some of the other significant features of the July package.

To put the announcement of a £98m reallocation in context it has to be remembered that at the time of the Budget in April we were told that, in real terms, it was expected that public sector spending in Northern Ireland would fall by £64m in the year 1980/81. This was a planned reduction of nearly 3% and was proportionately larger than the planned reductions in the national totals. In response to the allegation that this was unfair, it was argued that Northern Ireland was starting from a higher (per capita) level of public spending.

Less than six months after the Budget it must have become apparent to Ministers that Northern Ireland faced considerable, even impossible, problems in living within its original budget. In the early summer a mini-Budget was put into operation, starting with the freeze on all new spending commitments.

MISCALCULATIONS

The first practical question is why there was a need for a mini-Budget in the first place. It is now clear from the reallocation decision that the Department of Commerce has been the main 'culprit'. An extra £80m has been earmarked for their functions. Their original estimates of 1980/81 seem to have been extraordinarily defective. It is just possible that the extra Harland and Wolff and De Lorean grants and loans (£21m) were not anticipated. But it is less easy to accept that the needs of the Electricity Service (£30m) could not have been anticipated. The remaining £29m has been described as partly a response to increased industrial development. This explanation is even more difficult to accept since industrial development finance tends to be required over a three year period (or longer) **after** projects have been negotiated. This should mean that the financial needs of 1980-81 were to a large degree determined long before the Budget. No persuasive argument has yet been given which avoids the natural implication that the Department of Commerce got its sums wrong.

The second feature of the mini-Budget is that although it is popularly talked about in terms of 'cuts', the package as a whole amounts to an increase in **net** spending of £50m. This very nearly offsets the cuts announced in the spring. However, the main repercussion of the mini-Budget is that, notwithstanding the increase in spending, there will be a reduction in services and employment. The extra finance for electricity is unlikely to generate extra employment over that already forecast. But the reductions in finance to other Departments will certainly lead to reduced employment. The package has the paradoxical effect that more public spending is associated with reduced public sector employment.

CONSTRUCTION SLUMP

A third feature of the changes is the savage effect that they are likely to have on the building industry. Despite the calculations and reassurances of the Minister, Mr. Rossi, the cuts in building commitments in the remainder of 1980-81 can only have a sharp impact. On this occasion the building industry, because of the contract nature of its work, is the main sector to suffer. The industry can reasonably argue that if there had to be cuts, the reduction should have been shared over a larger period rather than introduced so sharply, and that the burden should have been more evenly spread. Given that the construction industry employes more than its fair share of Catholics, and that Harland and Wolff and the industrial sector in general employs more than its fair share of Protestants, the package is also likely to exacerbate the inequality in unemployment.

Perhaps the most difficult issue raised by these changes is the equity of the procedure. Is it reasonable that an exercise in robbing Peter to pay Paul should be applied in one region of the United Kingdom? It would be understandable (but no more palatable) if Northern Ireland were financed solely on an annual block grant basis. But successive governments have argued that public spending in Northern Ireland is determined on the basis of relative needs. If this principle holds, then it cannot be reasonable to cut health, education or housing spending in Northern Ireland to finance extra industrial spending. The redistribution should then be national, rather than regional.

The final comment must be in terms of the politics of these issues. If the Secretary of State wanted to make 'direct rule' unpopular, he might have come up with precisely this kind of package. Local politicians are always claiming that they could manage the local economy more efficiently. So far, practical alternative suggestions are not much in evidence.

DIARY OF EVENTS

JUNE 1980

Sunday 1 June

BBC musicians began a strike to prevent the scrapping of several orchestras, including the BBC NI Orchestra.

MONDAY 2 JUNE

Alderman John Carson (OUP) was installed as Lord Mayor of Belfast. He called for more government help for housing and for the city's young.

Dr. Ronald Craig was elected Moderator at the General Assembly of the Presyterian Church in Belfast.

The government Digest of Statistics showed **infant mortality** was down to 1.6% in 1978, continuing a decrease. The **birth rate** continued to increase, to 1.71%. In 1978, 7,247 **new houses** were built, a decrease of 18% . New houses started in 1979 were fewer by 16%

Maze Prison officers worked to rule to protest at cuts in allowances.

TUESDAY 3 JUNE

The **Local Enterprise Development Unit** reported it had promoted 10,116 jobs in depressed areas during its nine years. The public cost per job had fallen to £3,521. In 1979-80, £4.64m was offered in assistance.

Amid conflicting statements, Lifeline, a Peace People welfare group, left the movement to work independently.

WEDNESDAY 4 JUNE

John Turnly, chairman of the Irish Independence Party, was assassinated at his home near Carnlough, Co. Antrim. The three gunmen were thought to be Loyalist extremists.

Grammar schools defended **selection procedures** against allegations that some lower graded pupils were being offered places in preference to those graded higher by the primary schools.

THURSDAY 5 JUNE

The Official Unionist Party described Humphrey Atkins' **devolution proposals** as 'a dog's breakfast'. The Democratic Unionist Party expressed opposition to power sharing.

Following the closure of Courtauld's viscose fibre plant at Carrickfergus, a local group urged the extension of the proposed Belfast 'enterprise zone' to include Newtownabbey and Carrick.

Belfast's Lord Mayor attended a reception in Dublin for the new Church of Ireland Primate, Archbishop Armstrong, which was boycotted by other Unionists.

FRIDAY 6 JUNE

The NI Consumer Council suggested that while the province's **cost of living** was higher than the UK average, some British regions were worse off. Housing cost 20% less, but heating and lighting 40% more. Shop goods cost 2-3% less. 42% less was spent on aclohol. Household incomes were 82% of the UK average; this was partly affected by the higher number of dependants per income.

The Alliance Party proposed a three part **plan to aid the economy**: increased public spending; aids to greater efficiency; and encouragement to new businesses. It called for a Management Institute, an Export Marketing Agency, wider industrial training boards, and worker participation.

Environment Minister Philip Goodhart announced a plan to double the size of Aldergrove airport's passenger terminal and improve facilities totalling £21m. Half a million passengers were carried in 1979.

Lord Elton met James Tunney, the Republic Secretary of State, for further talks on cross-border cooperation on sport, recreation and youth.

SATURDAY 7 JUNE

Richard Latimer (30) was shot by the Provisional IRA in his shop in Newtownbutler, Fermanagh, in front of his 11 year old son. He was a part time UDR member, and was the third PIRA victim in the area in six months.

An army bomb expert received serious injuries while examining a bomb in Dungannon, Tyrone. Another bomb in the town destroyed a bar. Bombs also exploded in Coagh, Tyrone, and Londonderry, where the Guildhall stained glass was damaged.

1,500 marched in Dublin in support of **H-Block** prisoners.

MONDAY 9 JUNE

On BBC's *Panorama* Charles Haughey, Taoiseach, appealed to Britain to accept that **withdrawal** was in the best interests of Ireland and the UK. He also held open the possibility of some form of 'federation' and separate 'social laws' north and south. The 'British guarantee to Unionists' was an obstacle to progress, he claimed.

A **cross-border** report sponsored by the European Commission and the British and Irish governments advocated development of tourism, roads and telephones, and of St. Angelo airport, Enniskillen.

TUESDAY 10 JUNE

A **prison officer** was shot twice in the Ballygomartin area of Belfast.

The NI Electricity Service announced a 10% increase in charges. The cost of electricity had gone up by more than a third since January.

Lord Elton announced a 'modified 11+' exam following the Ulster Teachers' Union refusal to operate the alternative 'transfer system'. Other unions called this retrograde.

WEDNESDAY 11 JUNE

A PIRA statement announced resumption of **attacks on prison officers**, suspended since March. (Two recent attacks had been by Loyalist paramilitaries.) Commentators pointed to 'hints' in the statement of a new willingness to negotiate on the H-Block question.

UUU, OU and UPU MPs attacked the **Fair Employment Agency** and its chairman, Bob Cooper. Minister of State Hugh Rossi rejected their demands that it be abolished.

The Republic had 93,510 unemployed in May, a continuing deterioration.

THURSDAY 12 JUNE

The centre of Markethill, Co. Armagh, was badly damaged by a large PIRA car bomb.

The Order to renew **Direct Rule** was laid before Parliament.

Six people in London and eight in Glasgow were detained by police under the **Prevention of Terrorism Act**. It was believed there was a connection with the UVF.

Sir Brookes Richards, an established intelligence official, was named as Sir Maurice Oldfield's replacement as Security Co-ordinator at the NIO.

FRIDAY 13 JUNE

Michael Wright (25) of Blackmountain Parade, was killed by a bomb in Highfield Community Centre, west Belfast. The UDA, of which he was a member, claimed he had been threatened by security forces following two terrorist charges.

It was announced that 450 more troops were to leave the province. 11,500 would remain. The UDR would be given a greater role 'in support of the police'. The UDR had a total strength of 7,378, the RUC 6,700.

The NI Association of Socialist Lawyers called for reassessment of prison policy. There should be a 'minimum floor of rights' for all prisoners, and those convicted in Diplock Courts should be given a special designation.

Army bomb experts spent seven hours defusing a proxy bomb in the centre of Maghera, the target of many previous attacks.

A man was **kneecapped** in the Markets area of Belfast, the third in three nights.

SATURDAY 14 JUNE

800 marched on Falls Road, Belfast, in support of H-Block prisoners. Later youths attacked police with iron bars.

A survey showed half of NI's building firms were working at 75% capacity. About 9,000 building workers were unemployed.

SUNDAY 15 JUNE

Dr. Cahal Daly, Bishop of Ardagh and Clonmacnois, said the UK government should grant concessions on the H-Block issue. There were signs of a willingness to compromise by the IRA, he claimed.

MONDAY 16 JUNE

The Deputy President of the Union of Students in Ireland accused RC colleges of 'intimidating' students who supported **integrated education**. Earlier, a students' conference had called for integrated education and deplored spending cuts.

Controversy about the RUC was caused by the conviction of three policemen for a murder and kidnapping. One SPG Sergeant was found guilty of both crimes.

It was announced the Sports Council would be disbanded and replaced by a voluntary advisory body. This brought widespread condemnation.

A survey showed **shop prices** in NI were still higher than in the UK, but now rising at a lower rate (23% over the year). **House prices** rose 4% since January, but remained static for the next few months.

Dr. Garret FitzGerald, Fine Gael leader, told an SDLP meeting in Coalisland that a united Ireland must be pluralist. He claimed most people in the Republic admired the SDLP.

TUESDAY 17 JUNE

An EEC Transport Committee began discussions on the feasibility of a tunnel between NI and Scotland.

WEDNESDAY 18 JUNE

The **Orange Order** published resolutions to be aired on the 12th July celebrations. One called for devolved government recognising 'the right of the majority to rule while safeguarding the rights of all citizens so that there may be equal rights for all with special privileges for none'.

THURSDAY 19 JUNE

The **European Commission of Human Rights** rejected the case of protesting prisoners at the Maze. It found that the 'almost sub-human' debasement of the dirty protest was 'self-inflicted' and 'designed to create maximum sympathy and to enlist public support for their political aims'. It went on, 'The Commission must observe that the applicants are seeking to achieve a status of political prisoner which they are not entitled to under national law or under the (European) Convention.' The Commission also criticised the British government's inflexibility in dealing with the matter. Some time later, it was suggested that the case would be taken to the United Nations.

The Alliance Party revealed its submissions to the **Atkins talks**. It wanted a devolved executive and legislature based on partnership with control of security, taxation and foreign affairs, but subject to control from Westminster or a Bill of Rights. Election would be by proportional representation (single transferable vote). Committees would be elected by PR in the assembly. There would be a 'political right of appeal'.

FRIDAY 20 JUNE

Des O'Malley, Republic Minister for Industry, Commerce and Tourism, claimed abolition of the border would be economically advantageous for all of Ireland.

Harland and Wolff shipyard won an order from BP for two oil tankers worth £50m. Industry Under-Secretary Giles Shaw stressed this merely provided 'a breathing space'.

SATURDAY 21 JUNE

A car bomb in Fintona damaged shops and houses, including that of an 81 year old invalid woman.

SUNDAY 22 JUNE

Senator Justin Keating called for an end to the 'British guarantee to Unionists' and contradicted the policy of his party and Labour leader Frank Cluskey.

An oil find by BP/Aran in the Porcupine Basin, which might make Ireland self sufficient for 10 years, was announced.

MONDAY 23 JUNE

The Chilver Report on Teacher Education recommended amalgamation of the two Catholic colleges, St. Mary's and St. Joseph's, and their removal to the Stranmillis College site, where they would retain separate denominational and legal identity. This was received coolly by RC spokesmen.

Humphrey Atkins, Secretary of State, told Bishop Daly that there was 'no case that I am prepared to recognise' for political status in the H-Blocks.

The Fermanagh United Protestant Action Group for the Defence of Family and Home heard James Molyneaux (OUP) and Ian Paisley (DUP) condemn **recent killings in the border area** and the 'unhelpful' attitude of the Dublin government. A resolution called for the 'sealing' of the border and warned, 'we shall take whatever steps are necessary to protect ourselves'.

TUESDAY 24 JUNE

A Peace People pamphlet called for a change in the seven year old **Emergency Provisions Act**, originally a 'temporary' measure. 72% of those charged under the Act had been found guilty without proper trial, it claimed. Two thirds of those serving sentences of over four years had been under ten years old when the current troubles began in 1969. It claimed the EPA was 'an integral part of the cycle of violence'.

The Duke and Duchess of Kent arrived in NI for a two day visit.

WEDNESDAY 25 JUNE

The US Democratic Party adopted Senator Kennedy's Irish policy, calling for an end to 'the division of the Irish people' and a solution based on 'consent of all the parties to the conflict'.

Mr. Haughey told the Dail that Irish unity was his government's first political priority.

THURSDAY 26 JUNE

Dr. Miriam Daly was shot dead at her home in Andersonstown, Belfast. She was a member of the National H-Block Committee and a prominent Republican. Loyalist extremists were thought responsible.

FRIDAY 27 JUNE

A 19 year old UDR part timer and an ex-UDR man were shot at their work in Aughnacloy, Tyrone. The older man was seriously injured.

John Hume, Social Democratic and Labour Party leader, said that a purely internal settlement was impossible since Unionists had 'not only learned nothing' but 'got worse'. The agreement to hold talks with the Republic could be the basis for a lasting settlement.

SATURDAY 28 JUNE

George Elliott (55) of Charlemont, Tyrone, was shot dead in a cattle market in Ballyboy, Monaghan. He was a former UDR and OUP member. The INLA and PIRA both admitted the killing.

MONDAY 30 JUNE

The Irish Congress of Trade Unions Low Pay Unit claimed **low wages** in NI were the cause of proportionately six times as many families requiring Income Supplement as in the UK.

The Child Poverty Action Group said high prices, low wages and harsh debt collecting methods forced NI families to try to forego basic necessities or incur debt. It proposed new bodies to deal with debt and welfare.

Mr. Atkins announced a month's standstill in government departmental spending to allow for monitoring and a **switch of resources** to support investment and industry.

On a visit to Larne Richard Burke, EEC Transport Commissioner, said NI had a 'special claim' to EEC aid.

Grundig, the electrical manufacturers at Dunmurry, Co. Antrim, announced closure and the loss of 1,000 jobs.

Belfast High Court found Craigavon Borough Council guilty of **discrimination** against a Catholic in the appointment of a Senior Recreation Officer. The YMCA was found guilty of discrimination in refusing females the use of its snooker room.

"Counsel said that Gorman's allegations against the police were of a 'moderate nature'. He claimed that he had been threatened that his head would be knocked off and that he had been shown the post mortem photographs."

Belfast Telegraph **Thursday July 3 1980**

JULY

TUESDAY 1 JULY

Terence O'Neill (26) was shot dead by police near Whiterock Community Centre, Belfast. A PIRA member, he had been 'kneecapping' an 18 year old.

The NI Standing Advisory Commission on Human Rights claimed the continuation of the EPA undermined the rule of law.

Harland and Wolff was to receive £42.5m additional government aid in the coming year, but was still expected to lose £24m. It later appeared that £9m of this was to come from other projects. 7,000 men worked in the shipyard.

WEDNESDAY 2 JULY

The government published its long awaited **'Discussion document'** on the future government of NI. It contained two options: 1—any party gaining a certain proportion of the vote would gain seat(s) on the executive; 2—a 'majority rule' executive would be balanced by a council of the assembly in which the minority would be a majority. Nine elements had been agreed by all parties, including a devolved, province-wide administration with powers similar to the 1973 executive's, with the NI Secretary responsible for foreign affairs and security, the assembly to comprise about 80 members elected by PR.

Subsequent comment and discussion by observers and politicians seemed to leave little hope for agreement, with Protestant parties opposed to the 'power sharing' first option, and Catholic parties opposed to the 'majority rule' second option.

Mr. Atkins did not rule out a referendum on a proposed assembly.

The Public Accounts Committee at Westminster criticised grants to NI industry to promote employment, the costs of which were 'wholly unacceptable'. The Departments of Commerce, Agriculture and Education were also criticised.

Police fired on a stolen car they were chasing in west Belfast. A 15 and a 17 year old boy were later found in hospital with bullet wounds.

A large bomb exploded outside living quarters at Plumbridge police station. A constable's wife and two year old son were injured by debris.

THURSDAY 3 JULY

A bomb under his car injured a policeman in Armagh. A bomb exploded without warning at St. Vincent de Paul Parochial Hall, Ligoneil. A cylinder bomb at a workingmen's club in Ligoneil was defused.

FRIDAY 4 JULY

A three year old boy was killed by an army personnel carrier in the Falls Road area of Belfast. Youths rioted and attacked army and RUC patrols.

The ICTU congress claimed low wages were a major problem, giving no incentive to leave the dole. Other resolutions condemned government spending cuts and advocated 'positive discrimination' in female jobs.

John Carson was expelled from the OUP for deciding to run against OUP Councillor William Bell for Lord Mayor of Belfast.

Rev. Martin Smyth, Grand Master of the Orange Lodge, suggested Britain should re-annex Donegal, Cavan and Monaghan to ease border security. Ian Paisley described this as 'dangerous lunacy'.

MONDAY 7 JULY

Three Monaghan men were charged with the murder of a UDR soldier in NI under the Criminal Law Jurisdiction Act 1976, the first time the law had been used in the Republic.

The SDLP criticised the decision to send an Irish regiment, the Inniskillings, to NI. Michael Canavan, Law and Order spokesman, pointed to claims that the security forces had collaborated with Loyalist terrorists, and said that their impartiality would be called into doubt.

TUESDAY 8 JULY

Relations between Dublin and 'The Four Horsemen', Senators Kennedy and Moynihan, Speaker O'Neill and Governor Carey, were strained by the apparent attempt by Mr. Haughey to remove Sean Donlon, Irish Ambassador in Washington, to the UN in New York.

WEDNESDAY 9 JULY

Section 12 of the Emergency Provisions Act, not used since 1975, was dropped. It allowed detention without trial.

Mr. Atkins told Parliament that devolution must include a 'meaningful' role for the minority, and that all-Ireland discussion would not make agreement easier. James Molyneaux called the White Paper 'a grotesque caricature of democracy'.

Backbench Labour MPs continued to call for greater recognition of the **'Irish dimension'** and an end to the **'bipartisan approach'**. Once again Labour shadow ministers rejected their calls.

THURSDAY 10 JULY

It was confirmed that work would stop on the second phase of the big oil fired Kilroot power station. The price of oil had caused this.

There were talks between An Bord Gais and private NI gas companies about a possible gas link between Britain, NI and the Republic. Earlier an independent study had recommended a gas pipeline from Scotland which, with conversion to natural gas, would cost £105m.

FRIDAY 11 JULY

The Commons heard that 30 were charged with 'terrorist offences' in June, five with attempted murder. Two apparent terrorists had been killed, one shot by police, one thought to be blown up by his own bomb.

SATURDAY 12 JULY

100,000 **Orangemen** marched at 20 centres throughout NI and Donegal to mark the Battle of the Boyne in 1690. Speakers called for an 'escalation of the war against the IRA', 'full democracy and British citizenship' and government action to save jobs. The Atkins proposals were heavily criticised.

MONDAY 14 JULY

The row over the BBC's interview with an INLA spokesman and reportage of an IRA roadblock in Carrickmore continued in Parliament. The Attorney General said he would not prosecute because of 'public policy' rather than legal reasons.

A survey showed labour relations and productivity in NI to be 'good', but profits 'unsatisfactory'. 40% of firms claimed to suffer from the troubles.

TUESDAY 15 JULY

The **Irish National Caucus** held an 80 hour vigil outside the Republican Party convention in Detroit to publicise their policy on NI.

WEDNESDAY 16 JULY

A £2m ferry terminal development for Larne, partly funded by the EEC, was announced.

Ian Paisley (DUP) and Enoch Powell (OUP) attacked the government's 'enterprise zone' proposal, mainly on the grounds that it was too limited in area.

THURSDAY 17 JULY

Mr. Atkins met Mr. Molyneaux for **talks** in London. The constitutional proposals were also discussed by the SDLP and the Taoiseach in Dublin. A subsequent statement called for the British to 'declare an interest in Irish unity', take the 'Irish dimension' into account, and work for a settlement at inter-governmental level. It did not mention the discussion paper.

Lord Elton announced that a 'modified 11+' exam would be reintroduced. A new middle grade would deal with borderline cases. He also assured Dr. Daly that integrated education would not be forced on anyone.

FRIDAY 18 JULY

Debating the Order for £1,299m for NI, opposition spokesmen said Tory policies would turn NI into an 'industrial wasteland', and repeated a familiar warning, that unemployment could reach 100,000 by 1981. Hugh Rossi said £100m would be 'redirected' to aid industrial development, but due to the current review of expenditure, the £1,299m figure was 'still provisional.

SATURDAY 19 JULY

Rifleman Christopher John Watson (20) was shot dead in a pub in Rosemount, Londonderry, during a visit to his wife's relatives.

Provisional Sinn Fein announced that Martin Meehan, on hunger strike in protest at his alleged framing in court, had started a thirst strike. The NIO claimed his condition was 'not consistent' with a total hunger strike.

The **EEC Social Fund** gave £23.5m (more than one third of the total UK grant) to NI to assist schemes for the young, the unemployed and the handicapped. Commissioner Giolitti suggested that part of the Derry-Donegal border area could be treated as an 'integrated operation' if both sides were agreeable.

A postman, a part time UDR member, was shot while on his round near Ballygawley. An elderly couple were held at gunpoint in a farmhouse during the ambush.

SUNDAY 20 JULY

More than 40 buildings were damaged and some destroyed by an IRA car bomb in Main Street, Lisnaskea. Part of the car was blown into the home of Frank Maguire MP.

MONDAY 21 JULY

Garret FitzGerald called on Mr. Haughey to clarify his position on 'IRA front organisations' in USA. He threatened to end the joint Fine Gael/Fianna Fail approach.

A 17 year old youth, a passenger in a stolen car, was shot by troops when it burst through a checkpoint, later crashing with a lorry. Since January in west Belfast, 850 stolen cars had been recovered and 114 youths charged. Two had been shot dead and others seriously injured.

The army blew up Lecky Bridge, a border crossing in Fermanagh. 15 **border routes** had been closed in six weeks.

Soldiers were in a cross-border gun battle near Rosslea, the second such incident in the area in a week.

TUESDAY 22 JULY

Another £16m came from the EEC in a joint border scheme covering the districts of Derry, Strabane, Omagh, Fermanagh, Dungannon, Armagh, Newry and Mourne, and Counties Monaghan, Leitrim, Cavan and Donegal, to promote crafts and tourism. £5m went to NI, £11m to the Republic, with similar sums coming from the two governments. An objection to the scheme was lifted by the NIO.

Mr. Atkins met John Hume in a series of talks with parties on the discussion document.

Dr. Seamus O Cathain, following threats to his wife and the murder of Dr. Miriam Daly, a University lecturer, decided not to take up his post as Professor of Celtic Studies at Queen's University.

WEDNESDAY 23 JULY

Michael McCartan (16) of Ormeau, Belfast, was shot dead by police on the banks of the Lagan. He had been painting 'Provos' on a poster site. Police claimed he had ignored calls to halt and seemed to be pointing a weapon. He was holding a paintbrush.

Five lorries were hijacked and burned in west Belfast following demonstrations supporting thirst and hunger striker Martin Meehan. Meehan ended his 60 day fast at the Maze prison after pleas by Cardinal O Fiaich and an offer by Amnesty International to review his case.

Humphrey Atkins repeated in the Commons that the 'dirty protestors' would not achieve their aims. Terrorism had slightly declined in the first six months of 1980, he claimed. 38 had been charged with murder (15 convicted), 28 with attempted murder, and 348 with other 'terrorist crimes'.

FRIDAY 25 JULY

There were various hijackings, and stoning and petrol bombings of the police, following the death of Michael McCartan.

A NI Order ended Borstal, replacing it with 'Young Offenders' Centres'.

SUNDAY 27 JULY

Captain Robert Thompson (26) was killed by a car bomb on the Aughnacloy-Monaghan road. A 19 year old private was seriously injured. Thompson had been in NI for only a week.

Charles Haughey expressed opposition to violence and condemned NORAID and the associated Irish National Caucus, American organisations suspected of supporting the campaign of violence.

TUESDAY 29 JULY

Seamus Mallon, SDLP deputy leader, called the devolution proposals a 'dead duck', and called for Dublin to be involved in intergovernmental talks. Oliver Napier, Alliance, called this unrealistic.

The row over the Dublin **'arms crisis'** continued with denials and accusations. Kevin Boland, a member of the 1970 cabinet, alleged that all cabinet ministers, with the possible exception of Tanaiste Childers, must have known of how government funds were being used to support the IRA.

PIRA documents found by Gardai listed five training bases in the Republic, gave details of how to acquire false identities, how to use weapons and how to attack 'the enemy', described as the British army, the RUC, the UDR, prison officers, Gardai, and the 'Free State army'.

UNEMPLOYMENT JUNE—AUGUST 1980

	Total	Male	Female	School leavers
June	73,031 (12.7%)	49,483 (14.9%)	23,548 (9.6%)	8,022
July	84,687 (14.7%)	55,341 (16.7%)	29,346 (12.0%)	—
August	88,082 (15.3%)	58,020 (17.5%)	30,062 (12.3%)	12,982

INDEX OF INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION (JULY 1979/1980) (1975 = 100)

	July 1979	July 1980
All industry	90	86
Manufacturing	88	81
Textiles	91	67
Clothing	107	101
Engineering and Metals	78	81
Mineral products	82	67

WEDNESDAY 30 JULY

A CBI report warned the **recession** was so bad in NI it could become self-perpetuating. So many were out of work that demand would fall and sales suffer.

The government auditor revealed the Housing Executive was owed £8.7m for rent, rates and heating up to March 31, 1979 (£0.8m up on the previous year).

An SDLP group met Minister of State Michael Allison to discuss the shooting of Michael McCartan and other teenagers and 'joyriders' in Belfast.

THURSDAY 31 JULY

Seamus Mullen ended a two month hunger strike in protest at his sentence after pleas by his sister and the Bishop of Derry.

The Post Office Engineers Union dissociated its members from alleged phone tapping and called for a review of authorised tapping in NI.

Local people in the Falls area of Belfast intervened to stop the hijacking of a bus,

AUGUST

FRIDAY 1 AUGUST

18 people were killed and 33 detained in hospital after a train crash at Buttevant, Co. Cork.

'Friends of Michael McCartan' was formed to investigate his killing, channel young people into peaceful protest, and protest that the police who had shot him were still on the beat. Fr. Denis Faul and Frank Maguire MP were to preside over the investigation.

Sir Michael Havers, Attorney General, said the government would take a 'tougher line' on media interviews with terrorists.

Alliance members met Mr. Atkins to discuss the discussion document. The Party backed option 1, power sharing.

Cardinal O Fiaich claimed 'some progress' after more talks with the Secretary of State on H-Block.

SUNDAY 3 AUGUST

William John Clarke (59) of Castlederg, Tyrone, was shot in his car at Pettigo on the Fermanagh-Donegal border. He was a full time UDR member. A massive Garda search failed to catch the gunmen.

Two youths were shot while collecting fuel for an internment day bonfire in north Belfast, it was thought from a house.

Garret FitzGerald said Fianna Fail's policy was now consistent with Fine Gael and coalition policies, but criticised a difference of 'tactics', for instance, the emphasis on the 'Republic-UK dimension' rather than north-south relations.

George Colley, Republic Minister for Energy, said energy should be planned on a one-island basis.

MONDAY 4 AUGUST

The Department of Agriculture said farm incomes fell 60% in real terms in 1979. Returns were up 2%, costs up 10%.

Police were called to Craigavon Borough Council during protests by DUP Councillors and in the public gallery over a reciprocal trip to Dublin. DUP members walked out of Larne Council in protest at the acceptance of an invitation to Dun Laoghaire.

Gardai raided an IRA training camp near Inniskeen, Monaghan, finding arms and ammunition.

TUESDAY 5 AUGUST

Giles Shaw told the Ulster Farmers Union that farmers were 'no exception' to general economic problems. £12m milk aid was unlikely to be paid this year.

Belfast Industrial and Commercial Development Agency, proposed by the City Council to promote jobs, was refused government aid.

Derry Councillors protested about the resiting of a closed circuit television on top of Rossville flats.

WEDNESDAY 6 AUGUST

The government announced an extra £48m aid for NI, with £50m to be diverted from other projects, to assist industrial development and ease energy costs. Of this £14m was for De Lorean Motor Cars, £30m to the NIES, £10m for 'law and order and protective services'. The Department of the Environment was cut by £24m, the Department of Health and Social Security lost £10m, the Department of Education £10m, with other cuts in Agriculture, Manpower Services and Finance.

Margaret Thatcher told an ICTU delegation that NI was treated better than the rest of the UK: there was 35% more public spending per capita and industrial assistance was higher. The Unions called her policies 'disastrous'.

The UUUP called for Unionist unity on the Atkins proposals. This was rejected by the DUP and OUP.

THURSDAY 7 AUGUST

The Union of Construction, Allied Trades and Technicians called for cuts in apprenticeships to preserve existing jobs.

FRIDAY 8 AUGUST

A fire in a Bundoran hotel killed ten people.

Spending limits on NI security were raised by £11.04m to £296.19m in the current year.

The Dublin Central H-Block Committee held an all-night vigil outside the British Embassy to protest at the 'lack of initiative' by the British government.

There was widespread violence and disturbance on the **ninth anniversary of the introduction of internment**. Three were killed, 18 injured.

Gunner Peter Arthur Clark (22) was crushed to death by an army vehicle at the site of a bonfire in north Belfast.

James McCarron (19) was found shot dead in Shaw's Road, Belfast. Despite PSF claims of army involvement, he had been shot by a gun not issued to security forces.

A young girl was seriously injured by a plastic bullet in the Lenadoon area.

In one night in Belfast, Londonderry, Dungannon, Armagh and Cookstown, there were nine explosions, 11 shootings, five hijackings, 11 malicious fires, 32 attacks on the security forces, and 38 arrests.

Gerry Fitt MP, Alliance Secretary John Cushnahan and Republican Clubs Councillors condemned 'manipulation' of the young during such protests by 'the godfathers of violence'. PIRA Belfast Brigade deplored the deterioration of the protest into 'hooliganism' and appealed for an end to 'anti-social' actions.

SATURDAY 9 AUGUST

Sergeant Brian Michael Brown (29) was killed by a PIRA bomb near Forkhill, Armagh. A passing motorist was critically injured and another soldier injured.

SUNDAY 10 AUGUST

2,000 attended an internment rally in west Belfast. Later youths threw stones at the army and cars were burnt. There were other disturbances in Belfast and Londonderry.

MONDAY 11 AUGUST

Mrs. Violet Magill of Ballyloughran, Comber, died of gunshot wounds received three weeks previously.

Following a return to the system of casual employment, 341 deep sea dockers in Belfast, ITGWU members, struck for better pay and conditions.

The NI Tourist Board announded ¾m **tourists** had visited NI in 1979 (16 % up). ¼m came from the Republic.

TUESDAY 12 AUGUST

Official estimates showed **industrial production** was down 3½% from January to June 1980. Manufacturing fell 4.5%. NI production fell by 9% over the year. Textile production was 27% down. Manufacturing output was now 98% of the 1975 figure.

Despite criticism, the Apprentice Boys Cullybackey Branch carried a flag in their Derry march which was made and donated by ex-policeman William McCaughey, who was serving a life sentence for the murder of an Ahoghill grocer. There were disturbances in the Bogside area of the city during the march.

Defence Secretary Francis Pym met army and UDR units and security chiefs in NI.

THURSDAY 14 AUGUST

James Bell (24) of Cookstown was shot dead outside a burgled restaurant. The army claimed to have seen two armed men, but no weapons were found, and there was controversy over the shooting.

A detective was charged with two armed robberies and the murder of an RUC sergeant in 1977. Chief Constable John Hermon said that the RUC would not protect members who broke the law. The RUC required community confidence if it was to discharge its duty and safeguard the public. The speech was welcomed by the SDLP, Alliance and OUP. The DUP attacked the SDLP for its failure to support the security forces. Later, Cllr. Paddy Devlin called on people to support the police.

FRIDAY 15 AUGUST

William Younger (87) and his daughter, Letitia Younger (51) were brutally beaten and shot dead at their home in Ligoneil, Belfast. They were Protestants in a mainly Catholic area. At their funeral, local residents signed a petition condemning the killings.

5,000 members of the **Ancient Order of Hibernians** marched in Draperstown, south Derry. Six police were injured by attacks. The Order later threatened to cease marches because of such disturbances.

SATURDAY 16 AUGUST

Colette Meek (47) was killed on her doorstep in Alliance Avenue, Ardoyne, Belfast, when two PIRA gunmen fired on an RUC patrol in an ambush. Another passer by was shot in the foot. None of the police wer hurt.

SUNDAY 17 AUGUST

Mr. Atkins repeated that any settlement must have minority support. The main differences were over how power was to be exercised and how to safeguard minority rights. Security would remain in Westminster's hands.

MONDAY 18 AUGUST

The Post Office admitted to the FEA that it kept a list of people it would not employ in NI which included ex-internees and people not convicted of any crime.

Seamus Mallon (SDLP) alleged Armagh Council **discriminated against Catholics** in senior appointments. The Council was one of only which had not adopted the Code of Employment and Promotion Procedures. There were 26 Councils in NI.

The Bishop of Derry claimed to have evidence of beatings in the Maze in 1979. This was rejected by the NIO. He also called for an end to 'the British guarantee to Unionists'.

TUESDAY 19 AUGUST

The Health and Safety Commission said reported **accidents at work** fell to 319,000 in 1979, the lowest in the decade. There were 544 fatal accidents in 1979, 651 in 1974.

WEDNESDAY 20 AUGUST

William Craig addressed 120 delegates to discuss possible reactivation of the Vanguard Unionist Party. He attacked the sincerity of the OUP and called for 'a much more dynamic approach to devolution' and a single Unionist policy.

Shipyard steelworkers banned overtime, claiming 'mismanagement' and expressing fears for their redundancy payments. They demanded clarification of the yard's position.

Belfast High Court threatened to jail a senior Housing Executive official if repairs were not done to a home in Donegall Pass, Belfast, within a month. The Executive's 'cavalier attitude' to the tenant was criticised.

THURSDAY 21 AUGUST

Senior officials of the four Health Boards warned the government that **cuts** would have a worse effect in NI than elsewhere. The NI Housing Council said it would seek talks with Mrs. Thatcher on housing: a difficult situation would be worsened by cuts. John Carson attacked Mrs. Thatcher's economic policy and called for more aid in housing. The Housing Executive said it would no longer allocate families with young children to high rise flats.

FRIDAY 22 AUGUST

A car bomb exploded in Armagh. Three UDR members and five civilians, including a six week old baby girl, were injured. A bomb badly damaged Ballymurphy Workingmen's Club, Belfast.

SATURDAY 23 AUGUST

Rodney Patrick McCormick (22) was shot dead at his home in Larne. He was an IRSP member and had received warnings to leave.

Six soldiers of the parachute regiment were charged with causing £2,500 damage to two pubs in Bangor, and later with assault and malicious damage. Six civilians and some police had been injured in the brawls.

SUNDAY 24 AUGUST

A young soldier was injured by a sniper on the lower Antrim Road, Belfast. A UDR man escaped when his car was fired at on the Castlederg road.

Gardai found three large bombs near the Monaghan border.

MONDAY 25 AUGUST

The NIO said applications by protesting prisoners in H-Block for 'compassionate home leave' would be 'considered on their merits'. Normally parole is denied to protestors. The H-Blocks Information Centre said this avoided the 'main issue'.

TUESDAY 26 AUGUST

Two masked men fired six shots at a 16 year old Lurgan boy as he lay in his bedroom. He was seriously injured. His father was a prominent Nationalist and may have been the intended target.

The NI **Family Expenditure** Survey found the average weekly income per household in 1978 was £87.14 (UK average £106.13, 21% higher). There was more spending on necessities and less saving, but less spent on housing than in the UK. Spending on drink was down by 4.5% in NI, up by 11.7% in the UK. Household size in NI averaged 3.04, compared with 2.72 in UK.

The Southern Health Board gave up trying to find a new home for elderly patients and reopened admissions to Tower Hill Geriatric Hospital, Armagh, despite a fire risk.

WEDNESDAY 27 AUGUST

Fort Monagh and Glassmullen army bases were demolished 'as part of the changing security situation in west Belfast'.

THURSDAY 28 AUGUST

Tanaiste and Energy Minister George Colley said the Republic would buy **electricity** from NI if the link blown up three times by the PIRA were restored. There were hopes that the second phase of the big Kilroot power station, Co. Antrim, might be saved, preserving 700 jobs. NIES announced a £12.6m deficit. £6m could be saved by the link.

FRIDAY 29 AUGUST

Frank McGrory (52) of Carnagh, Co. Armagh, was killed when his scythe triggered a booby trap bomb near his home intended for the security forces. The INLA admitted it was theirs.

Michael Alison, Minister for Health, denied suggestions of rebellion by Health Boards against government cuts. The Boards promised to 'resist' and warned of 'total collapse' in the Health Service.

A 100lb bomb in Cookstown caused much damage. Two bombs in Finaghy, south Belfast, damaged separate premises and threatened to set fire to nearby houses. The PIRA admitted all three.

SATURDAY 30 AUGUST

A 17 year old was found with gunshot wounds on the Lower Falls. A 16 year old was kneecapped in both legs in west Belfast.

It was revealed that a senior civil servant in the NIO was to go to the British Embassy in Washington to join the information department.

30,000 members of Royal Black Preceptories marched in six centres throughout the province.

SUNDAY 31 AUGUST

Wallace Allen (49), an RUC Reservist, was apparently kidnapped 'for interrogation' by the PIRA from his milk lorry near Markethill. It later emerged he had been shot dead.

William Craig (OUP) said a united Ireland should be 'put in cold storage' and that the SDLP could be considered as members of a devolved government. But he ruled out power sharing 'as of right'.

THIS ULSTER

'In large orange print my wife wrote across it (an invitation to Dublin from Charles Haughey) "No Surrender" and we've posted it back."

—Peter Robinson, deputy leader, DUP.

'We believe the IRA is the British liberation movement so, according to this principle, we have the right to support them, if the British Government continues to support Libyan criminals.'

—Musa Kousa, Libyan diplomat.

'If we consider it our function to reconcile the communities we will concentrate on practical progress, not ringing declarations—and perhaps be a little more concerned with the social and economic plight of the people of Northern Ireland, which often gets overlooked in our constitutional preoccupations.'

—Brynmor John MP, Labour NI spokesman.

'There is no doubt about it—Dublin has declared war on Loyal Ulster.'

—Ian Paisley MP.

'Our aim is the unity of all the people of Ireland in peace and harmony and the achievement of that aim is our first political priority.'

—Charles Haughey, Taoiseach.

'I would like to introduce a second motion, that the name of the State be changed to the Irish Holy Roman and Apostolic Republic.'

—Dr. Noel Browne TD, after the failure of his divorce bill in the Dail.

'Letting the opposition shoot first is what we call "The Irish Dimension".'

—Anonymous SAS member, quoted by Tony Geraghty in his book on the history of the regiment.

'This silly nonsense about a united Ireland should be dropped by them (the SDLP) and the minority parties here for the time being. I am not denying them the right to pursue it, but if we want peace in Northern Ireland and good relations with the Republic, put it in cold storage.'

—William Craig (OUP).

Ulster's Young Under Stress —Peter Melchett



Jeremy and Joan Harbison
A Society Under Stress—children and young people in Northern Ireland
(Open Books, £9.95)

It is refreshing to find a book dealing with the social psychology of young people in Northern Ireland starting off by describing the appalling problems which face them. In their introductory chapter Jeremy and Joan Harbison list the all too familiar statistics (for those who live in Northern Ireland) on family poverty, bad housing, unemployment and infant mortality, as well as those familiar in Northern Ireland and elsewhere, on deaths, injuries and damage to property during the last ten years.

Ken Heskin, in his review of research on children and young people in Northern Ireland, hammers home the point of all these statistics—"To emphasise that if the troubles in Northern Ireland were to end this minute, the young people of Northern Ireland would still be living in a society under stress."

I should add that two other aspects of this book heavily prejudiced me in its favour. First, one of the main justifications that Jeremy and Joan Harbison advance for giving us 'yet another' book on Northern Ireland is that they try to answer the criticism made by Laurie Taylor and Sarah Nelson in their review of 'The Trouble with Being Young', which I was responsible for initiating in 1978. Taylor and Nelson had noted the absence of relevant hard data and 'perception' studies which might challenge some of the unsubstantiated assumptions about young people in Northern Ireland. These are all too common, particularly in the local press, and among many politicians (local and British). This book certainly provides a first, very tentative step towards filling that gap. Second, the book has a thorough and long overdue bash at some previous academic authors in this general field. To begin with, outsiders are roundly rebuked: "regrettably simple minded work . . . personal prejudices . . . ride roughshod over a discipline . . . theoretical flotsam and jetsam . . . wander capriciously over dubious data": all this about Dr. Rona Field's "missionary descent" in the early 70s.

More important, rather more polite, but in its way just as devastating, is the criticism directed at the best known authors on the problems of Northern Ireland's young people, two local psychiatrists, Fraser and Lyons. Curran, Jardine and Harbison refer to the considerable publicity generated by Fraser's widely read 'Children in Conflict', and they pointedly contrast this with formal, scientific studies. As Ken Heskin rightly notes, Fraser and Lyons' "popularity" was due to their concentration "on the more dramatic aspects of the situation". I hope this relatively mild and richly deserved criticism sticks.

Having set out why research of the type reported in the book is still needed, the authors pause briefly to reflect on why local psychologists haven't done it before now. One possibility is that local psychologists doing research in Northern Ireland on the development of ethnic discrimination (between Catholics and Protestants) or the motivation of demonstrators in civil disturbances, must be coming uncomfortably close to doing research on themselves. This explains the concentration by academics and politicians in Northern Ireland on doing things to and with young people. The local researcher can distance himself or herself from their work as long as they are studying features of being young. So in this book we have the **development** of ethnic discrimination, **pupil** values as social indicators, and so on.

This seems to me to be starting at the wrong end. We need to understand ethnic discrimination and intergroup differences in adults, as well as how these things develop in young people, before we can make suggestions about how to stop young people developing the same characteristics. As Ken Heskin says, talking about the authoritarian, even bloodthirsty, attitudes generally displayed by all adolescents, "In some respects, the problem of Northern Irish society is not that there is anything peculiar about Irish youngsters under the circumstances, but that such attitudes so frequently appear to persist into adulthood."

Still, this book is about young people, pre-school to late teens. Its aims are first, to make available recent objective research on young people; second, to challenge other workers to extend their present views and methodology, and third, to suggest constructive responses from individuals and professional groups, and changes in govrnment policies.

In my own experience, the most popular and widely held view about young people in Northern Ireland is that they are bad now, and are going to be as bad (and probably much worse) once the troubles end. Lyons and Fraser have given every encouragement to this gloomy view. Ken Heskin's review of research shows that there are "substantial grounds for such fears". But he goes on to raise some doubts: for example, the number of indictable offences known to the police in Northern Ireland is only two-thirds of the rate in England and Wales. Again, while studies show that Northern Irish schoolboys are more 'deviant' than their Scottish counterparts, and more anti-social (although much less neurotic) than London schoolboys, no one knows if this was also the case (or even more the case) pre-1969, as there are no pre-1969 studies to give us a base line. Heskin points out that the pessimistic predictions about the future behaviour of young people assume that valid predictors of crime and delinquency elsewhere will be equally valid in Northern Ireland. In the past such measurements have **not** been good predictors of behaviour in Northern Ireland. In some ways the conflict of the last ten years has lessened the chances of juvenile crime and delinquency in future. As a number of authors "with noses rather closer to the ground" than Lyons have said; "mutual respect has increased as young and old have become involved in the problems of their community". Heskin concludes that the widespread fears of terrible problems with young people, even if there is a political setlement "are largely unjustified".

If there is still a long way to go with getting this message across, what of others in the book? It goes without saying to readers of **Fortnight** that the present Government's policies are greatly exacerbating the general economic and social problems in Northern Ireland. Murray and Boal conclude their study of people intimidated into moving house by saying that any policy to help such people must form part of a general policy aimed at improving all sub-standard housing. A conclusion that looks a bit forlorn alongside the current massive cuts in housing

expenditure and a policy of trying to sell off any reasonable NIHE housing.

Thompson, Cormack and Osborne's paper looks at some aspects of the choice of job, and actual achievements, of sixteen year old boys in Belfast. They found that an expectation of access to skilled jobs at a higher rate than their fathers was especially noticeable in Catholic schools. And while only 20 per cent of Catholic school boys thought that discrimination in employment could affect them, the authors cautiously suggest that when many of them fail to achieve what appear to be unrealistic expectations (particularly at a time of high unemployment), "more of them may come to believe that their co-religionists are the victims of discrimination".

Nothing in this book seems likely to alter the Government's savage policies on housing, unemployment or poverty in Northern Ireland. Nor would I expect either British or many local politicians to believe, let alone understand, the fact that young, scheduled (i.e. 'terrorist') offenders appear to be, in Elliot and Lockhart's words, "more intelligent, (to) have higher education attainments, to be more socially outgoing . . . and (to be) somewhat less likely to have had a history of school truancy" than 'ordinary' delinquents. In contrast to British politicians' eagerness to label them as mad, mindless or psychopathic, scheduled offenders are also less likely to have been referred to child psychiatrists and educational psychologists, and are more likely to be first time offenders. Elliot and Lockhart don't seem to believe this either, because they go on, in their conclusions, to contradict much of their own data. Unlike previous researchers who have looked at this question, they say that no clear-cut distinctions between scheduled and delinquent groups can be justified. But their sample of young offenders held on remand at the Lisnevin assessment centre may not be typical of young scheduled and non-scheduled offenders generally.

In a similar vein, it would be useful for the lay reader to know if the Rutter and Yule Scale B(2)'s measurement of 'Antisocial disturbance' (found by Frank Fee to be higher in Catholic than Protestant school children) is in part measuring attitudes to the state's authority (Government, the police and so on). If so, the results for which Fee has no straightforward explanation would be easily understood. All in all the findings allow Halla Bellof, in an excellent concluding chapter, to say that "young people in Ulster are not as a group qualitatively different from their peers in large cities and other area of relative deprivation, like Scotland". Non-Northern ireland readers will undoubtedly latch on to comments in the book that appear to give support to integrated education. Lockhart and Elliot's study of the changes in the attitudes of young offenders in Lisnevin (the first 'mixed' training school) led them to conclude that young offenders' attitudes were significantly altered by being locked up for five weeks in a mixed community of Catholics and Protestants, and that "such results must support those who argue for integrated education and give hope to organisers of community relations activities, such as holidays and playschemes, which bring the young people of both communities together". I hope they are right. But the conclusion would have been more convincing if they had looked to see if some of the change in attitudes noted in Lisnevin persisted for more than five weeks after leaving (when the final test was adminsistered). Unfortunately for pro-integrationists, another paper by Ed Cairns on the development of ethnic discrimination in children in Northern Ireland confirms the Catholic Church's worst fears. Cairns found that children in an integrated primary school showed less ethnic discrimination than those in controlled or maintained schools. But he also shows that the majority group in the school (Protestants) had similar results to children in controlled schools, while the minority (Catholics) had in some way been "assimilated by the majority".

Beloff leaves future researchers with some clear directions which I would strongly agree with. She suggests less agonising about what young people really meant when they answered such-and-such a test or scale, and instead "more immediate, spontaneous negotiations with young people. Let them speak to us direct."

On the subject of speaking directly to people, the book gave me some information I'm glad I only learnt after being a Minister in Northern Ireland, not before. Ken Heskin describes some research by Cairns and Duriez, which showed that Protestant children tend to 'switch off' at a middle-class Dublin accent, and Catholic children at a standard English (R.P.) accent. This may help to explain why assurances from London and Dublin politicians seem to have been falling on apparently deaf ears. For current constitution makers, it doesn't tell us what anyone's reaction might be to assurances given in a strong Ballymena accent.

Peter Melchett

THE SHANKILL

Photographs by Buzz Logan

£2.25

The Farset Co-operative Pre
95 Shankill Road, Belfast BT

Kennedy Lindsay

Ambush at Tully-West: The British Intelligence Services in Action

(The Dundrod Press, 53 Clanbrassil Street, Dundalk. £9.95 h.b., £5.50 p.b.)

This is a fascinating, rivetting and disturbing book about the activities of the British Intelligence Services in Northern Ireland and the ways in which the authorities have been prepared to pervert and manipulate law enforcement and justice for political ends. It is a very important book because for the first time an attempt has been made to reconsider a number of major incidents in which there appeared to be considerable evidence that the perpetrators were neither Republican nor Loyalist paramilitaries but members of the security forces.

The book describes three particular incidents in detail. The first incident concerns the shooting of William Black by an army undercover squad in his cottage at Tully-West. From army press releases it appeared that four men in two cars had arrived at a farmhouse which was being observed by the army. One man was said to have been carrying a gun. He was challenged and when he did not drop it he was shot.

Lindsay painstakingly analyses this incident and the circumstances leading up to it and concludes that the shooting of William Black, a Protestant and a member of the UDR, was in fact a planned attempt by the SAS to assassinate him. The reason, Lindsay suggests, is that Black, two years earlier, had seen some people, whom he later knew to be soldiers, stealing a van and a car outside his house.

The description of the circumstances leading up to Black's assassination makes up a third of the book. The other two major incidents are dealt with in less detail. The second concerns an attempt by the Special Branch to force a Protestant to work as an undercover agent. The third deals with the bombing of the Alliance Party Headquarters in February 1974. Lindsay suggests that this was carried out by the authorities in an attempt to influence voting behaviour in the province.

In the absence of an open judicial inquiry in which state officials are forced to give evidence, there is no way in which the authorities can be said, beyond reasonable doubt, to have been involved. Nevertheless, Lindsay's arguments and evidence are extremely convincing and provide an insight into the probable extent of criminality within the state.

As well as the descriptions of these three cases, the book also describes the way in which the law enforcement and justice system have been deliberately perverted and manipulated for polit-

ical ends. For example, Lindsay analyses the arrest, on the charge of murder, of seven Protestants in 1973. He argues that the purpose of the arrests was political; they were carried out to reassure public opinion that those involved in various assassinations were being caught. To support this view he notes how some of the murder charges were subsequently dropped by the prosecution and others were thrown out by the judge at the time of the trial. None of the seven, therefore, had to produce a defence.

In the penultimate chapter Lindsay reconstructs the interrogation of a Protestant at Castlereagh. It could be argued that it is most improbable that a person could remember all the details noted in this chapter, particularly who said what to whom. This may be so, but our own research on interrogation suggests that this is a reasonably accurate description of a typical interrogation in 1977 and the likely physical and psychological impact on the person concerned.

The numerous events and incidents described in this book add up to an extensive indictment of the misuse of power by various state authorities. Lindsay has performed a very valuable task in revealing the dark underside of what we traditionally describe as a liberal democratic state.

It is essential reading for all those who may still be sceptical about the extent to which the authorities in the United Kingdom will go to achieve certain political ends.

Paddy Hillyard

THE SONG GOES ON

James Simmons
Constantly Singing
(Blackstaff Press, £3.95 p.b.)

Potential readers of **Constantly Singing** might feel that it tells them more about James Simmons' 'private' life than they would wish to know. He is aware of the danger. A quotation at the front exclaims: 'Anything processed by memory is fiction!' The husband punching his wife in 'After Eden' may or may not be actual. The important question is whether the poem is faithful in a wider sense.

This book deals with heterosexual love, marriage, sex, the expedition in search of good free love, humane government of personal relationships and social ones too, and true culture, the full free expression of humanity, in the work of the pen or the penis.

The approach is mostly direct and realistic. Where the autobiographical, or fictional-biographical mode gives way to metaphor or obliquity, the results can be more interesting, perhaps because constraints are imposed. 'Rogation Day', 'Eden', 'The Egyptian Hotel', 'Birth' are the most attractive:

I don't remember it too well
but I hear tell
there's great times inside the womb—
even in Ulster.
In there's the original snug,
the landlady's your friend,
quiet nights all day,
inside out of the wind,
tucking it away.

(from 'Birth')

The wider implications of 'sexual politics' are drawn explicitly here and there. I prefer the neater, more energetic and daring juxtapositions of 'Rogation Day' to the discursiveness of 'The Conservative', and the humour and invention of 'Birth' to the mock heroics (where the mockery is tongue in cheek) of, say, 'Meditations in Time of Divorce'.

That last title is reminiscent of Yeats. Simmons sets his faith against the prevailing morality of Northern Ireland. He insists on the awkward truth. The 'dirty wee beast' raises his head despite the respectable. His observation of the conventional Ulster Protestant marriage is acute and compassionate.

But how far does this take us? Would an intelligent, liberated woman (for want of a better description) from a more civilised country find these poems sympathetic? Is Simmons subversive only in Ulster?

Like any Simmons book this one is pleasing and infuriating, a curate's egg of a collection. The forms at times seem desultory, sharp rhyming couplets jostling damp squibs ('rough and ready their workmanship, as it is in all of God's creatures' to misquote). But that's part of the ambience. Simmons scatters his fireworks—a ballad here, a confession there, an apparently controlled, complex poem petering out in a series of individually brilliant but disjointed couplets—and some of them are bound to land in puddles.

Constantly Singing doesn't offer much that's new on a poetic level, but it'll do to be going on with. In this case, it may be easier to admire the singer rather more than some of his songs.

\+ + + + +

Paul Muldoon
Why Brownlee Left
(Faber, £3.00 p.b.)

Why Brownlee Left is Muldoon's third and best book. It is about leaving—home town, childhood, wife, or reality. Mostly the departures are from the familiar to the wonderful, or what is imagined as wonderful, from what is known to the mysterious.

Brownlee's motives for leaving his comfortable farm are impenetrable. Nothing is certain. The 'facts' of literary or even personal history may be fictional. Commitment, to origins or sides, to autobiography or fantasy, to epic or lyric, Irish or American, metre and rhyme, is always tentative, incomplete.

Muldoon's irony is no longer, if it ever was, a defence against the vulnerability of assertion. Like the subtlety of his rhyme and half rhyme and his nearly conversational rhythms, it is part of an integrated strategy to express the difficulty of certain knowledge or commitment, which may be factual or religious knowledge, personal or social commitment.

The reader may feel lost at times in a quicksand. This book, like the previous two, closes with an ambitious longer poem. 'Immram' is a ten page tour de force, a transposition of **Immram Mael Duin** into Raymond Chandlerese, set in a dream version of Philip Marlowe's Bay City. Its technique is the most impressive thing in the book. Every stanza is loaded with clever or outlandish slang, puns and rhymes. But, in the best Chandler tradition, all is confusion. Nothing swimming past in this phantasmagoria stands for itself, and the first person narration offers no clues. The skeletal figure in the Park Hotel at the end could be Howard Hughes, but it could be God, or the narrator's father, or just the Godfather. Or all of these. 'Immram' is dense but, like many good longer poems, not intense.

In a fair number of the shorter poems the intensity dissipates towards the close. The connections of 'Palm Sunday', 'Making the Move', 'Promises, Promises' have a metaphysical wit but little else. Muldoon is a clever poet, but he sometimes allows his wonderful style to juggle with the bright ideas he's produced without feeling the need to catch them all cleanly when the trick's over.

That doesn't happen often here. Apart from the dazzling and challenging 'Immram' there are a good number of shorter successes. In 'Anseo' a classmate reverses his miserable life at school when he goes off to 'fight for Ireland'. I found this richly ambivalent and chilling. 'Whim' is delicately preposterous about sex. 'Cuba' and 'Lull' are wry yet warm in their celebration of the poet's background. There are others.

Oddly enough, Muldoon approaches a comic brutality in his treatment of love and sex, yet in alluding to the brutalities of the current violence, as in 'Anseo' or 'Ireland', he is more ambiguous. Is this significant? Buy the book and enjoy finding out for yourself.

+ + + + +

William Peskett
Survivors
(Secker and Warburg, £3.90 h.b.)

This is William Peskett's second book, much more consistent than his first. He is not as expansive as Simmons nor as spectacular as Muldoon, but in his quiet, careful, idiosyncratic treatement of serious themes, he is worth reading.

Those themes come from his study and teaching of science rather than literature, which makes a change. The wasp entering a room is described anthropomorphically but not whimsically: the poem hints at the unsentimental patterns of behaviour that apply to all living things, rather than imposing an essentially poetic and capricious correspondence.

A short sequence celebrates Charles Darwin, and evolution and the survival of the fittest are ever present in this book. Unlike much 'nature poetry', Peskett's is never cosy. It's hard to imagine a grimmer account of aging and procreation than the excellent 'Earthworms':

On my lawn, surrounded
by a frost light, cold,
the touch of grass like clothes,
a couple of earthworms stupidly copulate.
It's a matter of existence,
the motive contained within the fact.
Like an object in a drawer
the worms remain.

Even love and friendship are subject to the unromantic laws of nature: 'We each have/our own interests/to protect,/ruthless genes/to push.' (Photographs')

But it would be 'inhuman' to accept this without a murmur. Much of the tension in these tense poems comes from the difficulty we higher forms have in accepting the stark truth. A pleasant domestic scene in 'At Home' is made less satisfactory by biology: 'Our metabolism peaks/in office hours.' The loved one is not less loved for being a mysterious, potentially dangerous, basically equally solipsistic creature. The act of love is a compromise between animal passion and something on a higher plane, seen from an elevated view. The death throes of a mouse are 'quite predictable' but no less disturbing for that.

This tension is also in the fine poem, 'The Zoological Museum Revisited', which characterises a teacher explaining evolution to schoolchildren, but which lightly suggests the teacher's own attempts to come to terms with his lesson. It could be a metaphor for the poet himself.

Peskett has a subtle ear, so subtle that it is often easy to miss the rhythms and rhymes in what might at first appear flat, chopped up prose. His use of words is often vivid, showy in an endearing sort of way. Unfortunately he still seems unsure in this area, especially in his penchant for compounds and neologisms. The balance of sound in his verse is so delicate that the occasional infelicity seems more prominent.

However, **Survivors** is a great improvement on Peskett's first book and contains a number of poems, such as 'Floods', 'The Zoological Museum Revisited', that are more deeply moving than anything he has done before.

Robert Johnstone

Will Colhoun, Robert Johnstone, David Park
Trio Poetry 1
(Blackstaff Press, £2.95 p.b.)

This is the first volume of a new series: the pattern is familiar from Faber's Introductory series and the better established Penguin Modern Poets. A clutch of poets (usually the magical three) sit huddled together between two covers, often with little in common beyond their own surprise. It is presumably a successful way of selling poetry, if we pretend for a moment that publishers are intelligent people who know what is good for their readers and their own bank balances. Only further volumes in this particular series will tell us about the success of this new venture; at this stage, any welcome, like that given to strangers, wild animals and parents-in-law, should be cautious.

The main problem for the poets concerned is that inclusion in this kind of volume inevitably invites comparisons. We are not told anything about these characters, we merely have their poems thrown at us and we have to do with them what we will. It is the old I.A. Richards Lit.Crit. version of the Thatcherite philosophy: 'Stand on your own two feet and give yourself the occasional kick up the backside.' Disarmingly, some at least of these poets are not averse to doing just that, undercutting their own pretensions, as in Will Colhoun's 'Envoi':

I long to experience myself in print,
To create a stir through the written word,
To be interviewed by Robinson and Bragg,
Then shatter the illusion, show it's absurd.

Van Gogh's an exception that proves the rule,
The garret is warmed by ambition's flame.
It's all a con, you can take my tip,
This quest for art's just an ego trip.

Well, it may be. But the quest goes on, the pretensions remain, as even the innocent poeticisms of parts of this reveal. Of course, ever since poetry ceased to be written in Greek and Latin, English poets (which means Irish ones as well) have been questioning their own authority, often with good cause. We all like to have our cake and eat it. But our fastidiousness must be judged by the quality of the cake. It is all very well (well, it isn't, and that's the point) for Colhoun to make his portentous 'Final Statement';

My thought is a northern flinty kind
Where reason thrives and soft words die.
I find no peace in peaty sentiment,
No resting place in a past's sad cry.

But his poems don't bear this out, any more than the ersatz lilt of this supports his claim. He may not hark back to Ireland's boggy past, but his own 'emotion recollected in tranquillity' (the title of one of his poems) is in its own way personal and mushy: there is more flint in Yeats and Heaney. Colhoun, let us admit, attempts to confront his experiences with some formal constraints, but the laboured rhymes show how difficult this is. Only occasionally do his conclusions ring true, as in 'Love's Labour' (about twins prematurely born):

I hope I have those feelings again
And there's no partition to swell the pain.

But even that, the longer you contemplate it, ends up as neatness rather than profundity. And if the political reference is taken seriously, it ends up as crass.

David Park is likewise occasionally racked by his own sense of inadequacy:

The search for images is invariably graven
The hunting of symbols hopelessly askew

(not for the first time in reading through this volume you wonder whether there's a misprint there, or whether that's what he actually wrote, and which would be worse). In fact, I think he has less cause to feel uncertain, if only because he is more adventurous. But the search for images leads him into some pretty peculiar back alleys. The last four lines of 'Pat Jennings' are typical:

For lesser mortals the ball slips like soap
But he stands a pole apart from all these,
He scoops it up, his arm a trawler's net,
The ball an iron filing, each hand a magnet.

The only appropriate comment on that would be, as with Wordsworth's **Excursion**, 'This will not do'. And yet, when he is in control, as in 'The Piano Miracle', where he writes about a piano not played for twenty years that is played again at last, he brings off a minor **coup**:

We watch in wonder
At the miracle of the piano—
The alabaster box opened,
The withered hand healed,
A child born in old age.

Or in 'Snowdrift' about his mother's tears:

The fragile tears fall gently like snowflakes.
I stand powerless to gather them.
They pile up in deep drifts about my heart.

As that shows, whereas Colhoun wants to assert a cool reasonableness, Park is much more overtly a romantic, going

for the grand gesture. It involves greater risks, it offers more possibilities.

Of these three writers, Robert Johnstone is the truest poet: the risks and the possibilities are there in abundance. There is undoubtedly too much 'playing inside my head with words' ('Adelaide'), but there is a correspondingly more genuine imaginative vision here. These are quizzical, rather nervy poems, and there aren't many I find myself going back to for renewed succour. But there's an appealing combination of wryness and generosity which augurs well. 'New Incidents in the Life of Shelley' has the kind of flair and panache you would associate with Paul Muldoon; and 'Every Cache' is a kaleidoscope of perceptive memories of his father, always sidestepping the sentimental. Interestingly, the poem concludes, like Park's 'Piano', with the emphasis. It is this element in particular that makes Johnstone a poet to watch. As he says in his poem on Shelley,

His words burst like particles of charm,
he seemed to give everything new names.

A poet who values such things is himself to be valued.

Mark Storey

WRITERS FROM THE SOUTH OF IRELAND 4

In the final part of his series on young southern writers, GERALD DAWE assesses the fiction of NEIL JORDAN.

Writing in **The Irish Times**, Francis Stuart made what has now become a customary critical point about Irish fiction. Stuart described the work of Frank O'Connor as "soft-centred", lacking in the sharply-focussed realism, the penetrating artistry of Samuel Beckett. It was the latter's sense of language, of what happens between people when they speak to one another, the deceits and devices of dialogue, that Stuart held up as a more valid and endurable model of what is best in Irish fiction. Perhaps Stuart would have found another, much younger model of accomplishment in the work of Neil Jordan.

When Jordan's **Night in Tunisia** first appeared in 1976, published by the Irish Writers' Co-Op, it received several favourable reviews, in particular a glowing one from Sean O'Faolain in **The Irish Press**:

It is a personal language. It has no echo of the worn out now rather boring old language and symbolism of rural Ireland's little whitewashed country cottages, her wet winding roads, her colleens driving home the cows, her old priests, the little country chapel, the patriotic songs and laments of country pubs.

O'Faolain proclaimed that if Jordan 'keeps and develops his primal gifts . . . he will become an outstanding writer". Demanding anticipations for what was then a twenty-five year old writer. Four years later, however, the Writers and Readers Publishing Co-Op based in England reprinted **Night in Tunisia** and, reaching a wider audience than the original publication, the book's success was marked by Jordan receiving the **Guardian** Award for New Fiction. He has already had a few plays broadcast on RTE and BBC and his first novel, **The Past**, is due out this autumn from Jonathan Cape.

To return for a minute to O'Faolain's comment about the first book, he went on to draw one or two comparisons (of a technical nature) with Joyce's **Portrait** and 'of special interest' the point that 'while being engrossed in his locale (Jordan) is in no way, as Joyce was not, in the least parochial or regionalist".

In fact, the ten stories which make up **Night in Tunisia** range in locale from London to Sligo to Dublin while some are unlocatable in the sense that they are more like extended images than pictorial narratives. 'Her Soul' is one such story. But the most impressive thing about **Night in Tunisia**, something O'Faolain applauds, is Jordan's acquisition of a language stripped clean of inherited 'literary' props: it is a highly personalised language. By this I do not mean that his stories are full of arcane allusions. Rather it is the way in which Jordan has created a language that refuses to pander to conventional interpretations of Irish experience. There are relatively few hand-me-down images of Ireland and, more importantly, there is a positive attempt to understand 'Irish experience' of the here and now. The book tries, in other words, to distinguish between traditional inheritances and what is subjectively real and important.

Jordan's characters seek out what is important to them, often blindly dependent upon instinct but also, as in the very fine concluding story, 'A Love', intuitively realising what is **not** important to them even while the whole structure of their social lives proclaim it to be so.

In one of 'A Love's' most important passages, the two reunited lovers, one a woman older than her uncertain former lover, wander around Dublin before making up their minds to try

Recent Pamphlets

Low Pay in Northern Ireland by Boyd Black, John Ditch, Mike Morrissey and Richard Steele;Low Pay Unit (9 Poland Street, London W.1) 90p.

Boyd Black makes a detailed study of official figures on weekly pay in Northern Ireland and other parts of the UK, showing that while the differential has declined since 1961 both men and women in Northern Ireland earn less than the average in the UK. John Ditch and Mike Morrissey analyse the Northern Ireland Family Expenditure Survey and show how low incomes in Northern Ireland affect spending patterns and the incidence of debt. Richard Steele describes how Wages Councils and other methods by which the pay of low paid workers are regulated are supposed to work and how their impact could be improved. The three sections are a little disjointed, but overall the pamphlet provides a mass of essential information on relative poverty and deprivation in Northern Ireland.

+ + + + +

Low Pay in Northern Ireland: the role of the Labour Relations Agency Labour Relations Agency Occasional Paper No. 7, 50p.

The Labour Relations Agency gives a straightforward account of statistics on low pay and of the function of Wages Councils. It calls for reforms in the Wages Council system and for a greater indpendent role for the Agency in sectors where Wages Councils have not been established.

+ + + + +

Belfast Bulletin No. 8: The Churches in N. Ireland Belfast Workers Research Unit, 52 Broadway, Belfast 12, 60p.

A detailed and revealing account of the role of the Catholic and Presbyterian (and Free Presbyterian) churches in marriage, education and social relations; hard-hitting profiles of the 'Godfathers', including Bishop Philbin, Martin Smyth and Cardinal O Fiaich. The Bulletin also includes detailed articles on alleged corruption in Housing Executive contracts and the ineffectiveness of Youth Employment Programmes.

+ + + + +

Ends that won't meet: a study of poverty in Belfast by Eileen Evason, Child Poverty Action Group, 1 Macklin Street, London WC 2, £1.20.

A shortened version of the report of the Belfast Welfare Rights Project, based on surveys of New Lodge, Turf Lodge, Tullycarnet and Ballymacarrett in 1978 and 1979; the original report was reviewed in **Fortnight** Issue 197.

and see if their relationship is still alive:

We walked outside then and the brass music became a deafening thud. We walked slowly down the street, we couldn't talk, the music was so loud. I bought a newspaper at the corner of Abbey Street and saw a headline about the funeral that was crawling along beside us. We passed a TV sales shop where a crowd of people were staring at a white screen, staring at the death being celebrated behind them.

It is a perfect image of the young man's detachment from De Valera's funeral, the historically significant moment passes him by through an alienating medium as it **actually** occurs. The young man is caught up in that which is more demanding, more immediate, more meaningful.

The central character of 'A Love', Neil, perceives the past, the grandiloquent past, through the prism of an impoverished but concrete present. The following passage, preceding Neil's meeting with his lover, meticulously points out this contradiction in the figure of the waitress:

I went into the cafe then and it smelt of Dublin, Ireland, the musty femininity of the women waiting on the kerb for the men to pass, dead, heroic, old and virginal. I sat by the plate glass window and looked at the shiny chrome expresso machine, a cloud of steam rising from it. A girl in a blue smock with an exhausted face brought me coffee and I felt for the first time that I was back somewhere. I tasted the coffee and got the cheap caffeine bite, details like that, the girl's legs, too thin so the nylons hung in folds around them. Outside I could hear the brass band coming nearer, louder like the slowed step soldiers use in funerals. I knew I was out of step, it was all militarism now, like air in a blister, under the skin, it was swelling, the militarism I had just learned of before, in the school textbooks.

The passage updates Griffith's famous speech during the Treaty debates when he asked, "Is there to be no living Irish nation? Is the Irish nation to be the dead past or the prophetic future?" The charcter's alienation from the event taking place outside is absolute: De Valera is referred to as "the dead man" yet it is not the actual funeral that is important. Jordan uses it as a symbol, the counterpoint to what he refers to as "the nostalgia of the emigrant", of officiated Ireland, the institutionalised version of The Past. His character feels:

it was as if I was still away, as if here in the middle of it all I was still distant, remembering, apart from it. It shook myself but couldn't get rid of the feeling. (106)

The young man has changed but the world around him seems time-locked and this relationship is at the centre of Jordan's writing. Technically, Jordan shifts and plays with chronologies. His opening story in **Nights in Tunisia**, 'Last Rites', doubles back on the suicide of a labourer in a public baths, before the event, during the event and afterwards, the labourer's self-consciousness is fixed by those who will find him and their reactions. And it is in **The Past**, Jordan's novel, that he deals at some length with the relatedness of past to present, and the importance one attaches, one feels, with history, what has shaped character and how one is liberated or dominated by history.

In an article of this scope it would be impossible to convey the subtlety of design and controlled writing of **The Past.** It is certainly one of the finest first novels I have read by an Irish writer over the last ten years and it is perhaps fair to say that the novel could only have been written by someone coming to creative self-awareness during the late 1970s in Ireland. For it has been particularly marked during this period, the 1970s, that the social life of southern Ireland has undergone change and the reassessment of its past has been forced upon its citizens in the light of the tragedy of Northern Ireland.

It has not only been the Northern "Troubles" that has forged this examination but changes within the actual state of Ireland have, probably more profoundly than the situation of "The Troubles", altered and transformed people's attitudes and impelled writers to sense out the qualities of liberation that have taken place. Neil Jordan I consider to be one of the finest young writers to have artistically achieved this because of his refusal to exaggerate or underestimate the profound difficulties that are involved.

Gerald Dawe

Books by Neil Jordan:
NIGHTS IN TUNISIA, originally published by the Irish Writers' Co-Op, Dublin, and by Writers and Readers Publishing Co-Op, 1979, 9-19 Rupert Street, London W1V 7FS; and THE PAST, which will be published by Jonathan Cape this autumn.



18th BELFAST FESTIVAL AT QUEEN'S — 3-22 November

Counter booking now open at Festival House or telephone booking on Belfast 665577.

Postal bookings so far have been running at record levels, but there are tickets still available for almost all events.

But don't delay.

NEW POEMS



GENTIANS

In my alpine house, the slavery I pay
My wilful gentians! exploring all their pleats
And tucks as though they had something precious
Deep inside, that beard of camel-hair
In the throat. I watch them
Ease their heads so slowly
Through their thumbhole necklines till they sit
Like tailors in their earth shoes,
Their watery husbands' knots—no insects
Visit them, nor do their ovaries swell,
Yet every night in Tibet their seeds
Are membraned by the snow, their roots
Are bathed by the passage of melt-water,
They tease like sullen spinsters
The dewfall of summer limes.

Medbh McGuckian

SECRETS

Black-out blinds rattled loose
on the street still dead-quiet.

I was coming of age in a sparse
attic overlooking the city.

Down the last flight of stairs
a grandfather clock struck its

mimic metronome to those
who went about their business

with a minimum of fuss—our
puritan fathers, for instance,

stumbled from separate beds
to find an allotted place

under the staunch gaze
of monumental heroes, frozen-

stiff in my mind's eye,
they had always been

tightlipped about God
knows what secrets.

Gerald Dawe

GREAT NEW COMPETITION

The prize offered
is the pleasure found
in the entrant's awareness
he is doing right.

He will be silent
on his own behalf
for ease of his betters
and the good of all.

Each has the option
to have by heart
admired stanzas
and whole poems

as many as he likes
(or she) by Shakespeare
etcetera, and life
membership of civilization.

There is no entrance fee
but to feel free
to forward postal orders
to living poets

in gratitude
for more than the loan
of verbal beauty—
You have made it your own.

James Simmons

ON READING MICHAEL LONGLEY'S SHORTER POEMS

This bearded fellow, laughing,
friendly, fond of jazz,
a witty mimic,
seems to be a large,
an affable extrovert.

Nevertheless he clenches
the convolutions of his thought,
and will not liberate
his wren, his badger to follow
their hinted purposes outside
the coded casket of
his intricate syllables.

I wait for the badger to lurch
over to nuzzle my boot
offering to share his secret,
and the wren to contract
till it split open, explode, in
a featherstorm of canticles.

John Hewitt

BEAUTIFUL LOFTY THINGS

The celebration drink for
Una, Eileen, May and Joan
down to their target weights
after weeks of Unislim.

From her bathing suit's
tight gusset-edge
individual, irrepressible
springy hairs.

Returning from seeing
the babysitter home
the old street transmuted
important and rare.

Talk waning, the shy wife
bearing it in—warm, golden,
highpiled, moist—a loaded plate
of freshly toasted sliced pan.

Michael Foley

A RULING
(after James Simmons)

This hand, which knew your curves, whorled your breast
between your sheets. This secret, night-time spouse
could be no secret from his other, neat bed
and, coming home, was hurled out of the house.

My father seeks to be our contraceptive
and that (though not a bad thing in itself)
can rob the morning's beauty, as I leave you
its living quiet, delicate as delf.

Youth must tug the leash and taunt the sacred,
age must know the time (to value it),
so when I go don't weep "He came home early"
for he stayed away all night, and drunk life neat.

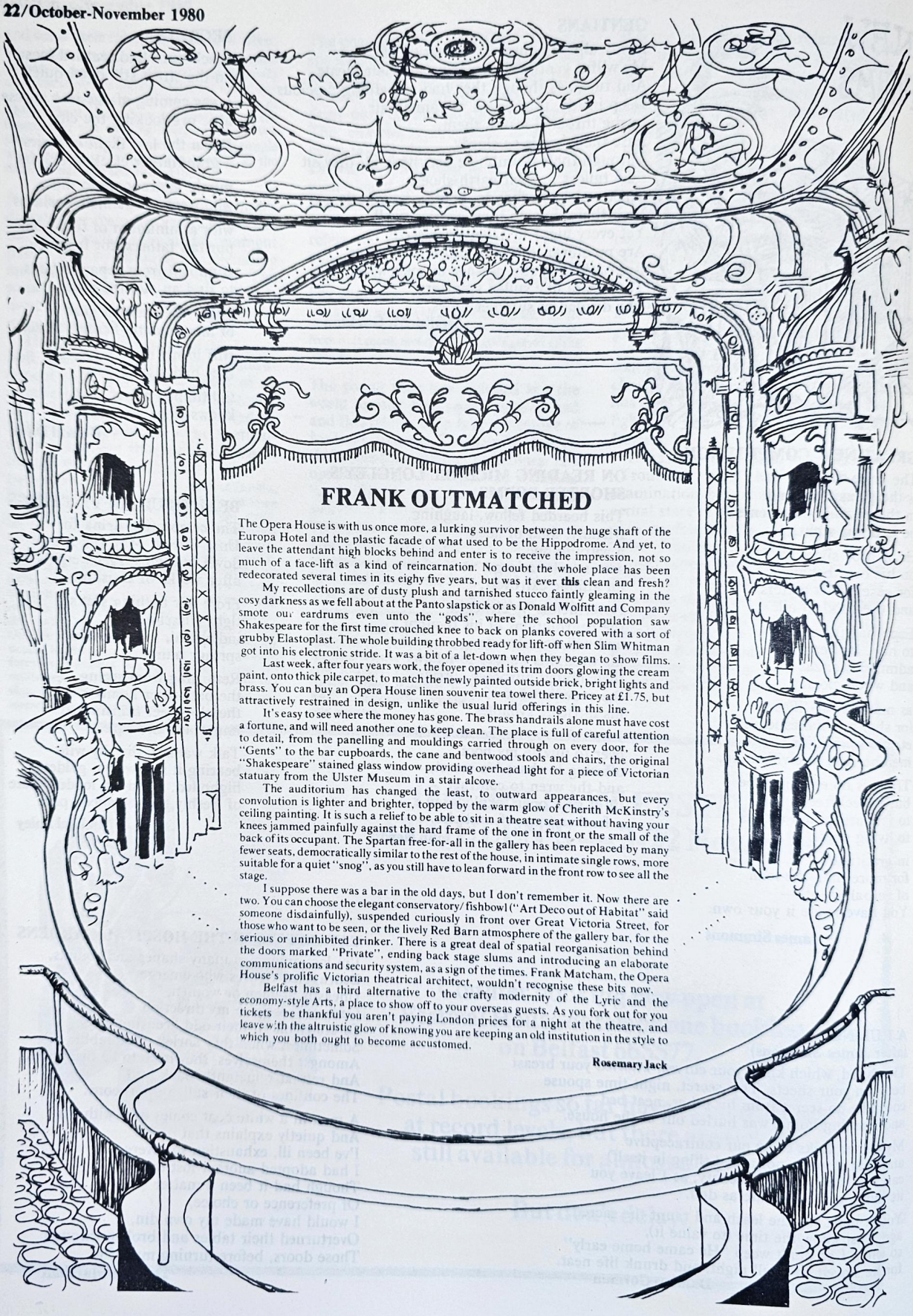
Damian Gorman

CATALEPTIC IN THE HOSPITAL GARDENS

I'm lost among so many shapes and sounds,
Bedraggled figures who emerge
Uneasily as men or women,
Gesture loosely in my direction
Or study me in their odd accusing ways.
Sometimes, when they shriek or squabble
Amongst themselves, they have to be dispersed,
And retreat reluctantly back into
The confines of their sullen afternoons.

A man in a white coat comes over with tea
And quietly explains that
I've been ill, exhaustion so severe
I had adopted another lost cause,
Though had it been a matter
Of preference or choice,
I would have made my own din,
Overturned their tables and broken through
Those doors, before turning myself in.

Douglas Marshall



FRANK OUTMATCHED

The Opera House is with us once more, a lurking survivor between the huge shaft of the Europa Hotel and the plastic facade of what used to be the Hippodrome. And yet, to leave the attendant high blocks behind and enter is to receive the impression, not so much of a face-lift as a kind of reincarnation. No doubt the whole place has been redecorated several times in its eighy five years, but was it ever **this** clean and fresh?

My recollections are of dusty plush and tarnished stucco faintly gleaming in the cosy darkness as we fell about at the Panto slapstick or as Donald Wolfitt and Company smote our eardrums even unto the "gods", where the school population saw Shakespeare for the first time crouched knee to back on planks covered with a sort of grubby Elastoplast. The whole building throbbed ready for lift-off when Slim Whitman got into his electronic stride. It was a bit of a let-down when they began to show films.

Last week, after four years work, the foyer opened its trim doors glowing the cream paint, onto thick pile carpet, to match the newly painted outside brick, bright lights and brass. You can buy an Opera House linen souvenir tea towel there. Pricey at £1.75, but attractively restrained in design, unlike the usual lurid offerings in this line.

It's easy to see where the money has gone. The brass handrails alone must have cost a fortune, and will need another one to keep clean. The place is full of careful attention to detail, from the panelling and mouldings carried through on every door, for the "Gents" to the bar cupboards, the cane and bentwood stools and chairs, the original "Shakespeare" stained glass window providing overhead light for a piece of Victorian statuary from the Ulster Museum in a stair alcove.

The auditorium has changed the least, to outward appearances, but every convolution is lighter and brighter, topped by the warm glow of Cherith McKinstry's ceiling painting. It is such a relief to be able to sit in a theatre seat without having your knees jammed painfully against the hard frame of the one in front or the small of the back of its occupant. The Spartan free-for-all in the gallery has been replaced by many fewer seats, democratically similar to the rest of the house, in intimate single rows, more suitable for a quiet "snog", as you still have to lean forward in the front row to see all the stage.

I suppose there was a bar in the old days, but I don't remember it. Now there are two. You can choose the elegant conservatory/ fishbowl ("Art Deco out of Habitat" said someone disdainfully), suspended curiously in front over Great Victoria Street, for those who want to be seen, or the lively Red Barn atmosphere of the gallery bar, for the serious or uninhibited drinker. There is a great deal of spatial reorganisation behind the doors marked "Private", ending back stage slums and introducing an elaborate communications and security system, as a sign of the times. Frank Matcham, the Opera House's prolific Victorian theatrical architect, wouldn't recognise these bits now.

Belfast has a third alternative to the crafty modernity of the Lyric and the economy-style Arts, a place to show off to your overseas guests. As you fork out for you tickets be thankful you aren't paying London prices for a night at the theatre, and leave with the altruistic glow of knowing you are keeping an old institution in the style to which you both ought to become accustomed.

Rosemary Jack



THE HISTORY STORY

They always say there's more than meets the eye in Irish history. The same could be said of the two massive TV series planned for the autumn. The originator of the idea was Peter Taylor, who actually produced an outline—the Orange, the Green and the Red, White and Blue—for Thames Television more than two years ago. The idea soon ran into difficulties, not least because Taylor's programmes on Castlereagh and other such matters did not endear his name to the powers that be in Thames. Taylor took the opportunity to write a book on interrogation at Castlereagh, which is due out later this month.

But the idea of a major series on Irish history lived on. Jeremy Isaacs, who had been with Thames and marginally involved, took it with him to the BBC when he went freelance. He is now producing the 13 part serial which is being written for BBC2 by Robert Kee. That is scheduled to begin in December at 9.30 on Wednesdays.

Meanwhile back at Thames they are planning a rival series which is to be produced by Richard Broad—who won prizes for his even-handed treatment of the Palestinian issue—and Ian Stuttard, who has a long association with Irish issues. Just in case you want to compare the rival versions, I'm happy to tell you that they are thinking of putting that one on on Wednesday evenings too.

Devotees of history in depth may also be interested to hear that there is to be a sequence on the potato famine which will explain in glorious technicolor what happens inside the potato when it is attacked by blight. But just to keep you guessing I'm not saying in which series. The usual small prize for the first correct solution . . .

\+ + + + +

CLASS WAR

There's been a lot of talk about the Army moving out of its Fort Monagh base. Which is one eyesore removed. Whatever your view of the Brits, no one can claim that they are great conservationists, or that their presence adds to the cultural environment. Not so the UDR. If you've had occasion to shift across from the ugly barricades in west and north Belfast to the shady groves of Malone, you'll have seen a beautiful little turreted observation post guarding the HQ of the 10th City of Belfast Battalion. Slates and all. Quite a little architectural folly, in the nicest taste.

I suppose that's what they mean by Ulsterisation.

\+ + + + +

GOD SLOT

The BBC Religious Affairs Unit did a recent series of 'Thought for the Day' from Northern Ireland. The **Observer**'s radio critic was generous in his praise of the contributions by 'Michael Longley, a promising young poet', as he put it.

Promising, perhaps. But young?

\+ + + + +

HIBERNATION

There seems to be a salutary lesson for the publishers of small magazines somewhere in the **Hibernia** saga, which has recently reached its conclusion. Many years ago, when **Hibernia** was a fortnightly printed by the **Irish Times**, they were given a short piece about the alleged court appearance of a priest in mufti. The writer of the piece was a diarist for one of the Dublin popular newspapers. It appeared in **Hibernia** unchecked and, apparently, unseen by the editor, who was away on other business at the time. The whole story, while naming names, turned out to be totally untrue, and despite efforts at published apologies and mediation, the priest proceeded to successfully sue **Hibernia** for many thousands of pounds earlier this year. The **Irish Times**, the printers, were also liable, both for the damages and for the large legal costs. The judge in the story is also, at present, suing the same defendants and, presumably, can expect to be equally successful.

The **Irish Times** held a letter from **Hibernia** freeing them from the expense of any legal obligations as printers of the review, which is the normal procedure in such circumstances. **Hibernia**, while managing successfully the transition to a weekly paper, didn't have the resources to meet the astronomical bill for damages and costs. This left the **Times** in the invidious position of either baling **Hibernia** out or letting the paper go to the wall.

The situation was partially resolved a few weeks ago when it was announced that **Hibernia** was to close in the autumn and that its editor, John Mulcahy, would edit a new Sunday up-market tabloid, the **Tribune**. All of **Hibernia**'s staff are to be employed on the new Sunday at improved rates of pay. Where does that leave the priest, the judge and the **Irish Times**? Well, I would have taken legal advice on that, but you know the cost of that sort of thing, so you will have to wait until I hear the outcome.

\+ + + + +

Letters

Dear Sir,

In your last issue, Calvin MacNee suggested that I am an NILP man and that my views on Northern Ireland have been acquired from that organisation. This is utter nonsense. I am my own man and my views are entirely the product of independent study and thought.

Yours sincerely,

Dick Barry.

Farset Cooperative Press

WISH TO APPOINT A

DEVELOPMENT OFFICER

The Farset Cooperative Press is a community-based publishing venture, established to help local people get their views and creative ideas into print, and to facilitate the publication of material on key social and community issues. Further information and job description from:

The Secretary,
Farset Cooperative Press,
95 Shankill Road,
Belfast 13.
Telephone: Belfast 492729

Closing date for applications 5th November, 1980

FOR WHAT'S LEFT IN IRELAND ...

Left Perspectives

Subscribe to Ireland's first socialist quarterly. Issue No. 1 includes articles on the economy, feminism and the new technology. Issue No. 2 has a symposium on the North, and a major article on education.

Subscription: £3.50 to
LEFT PERSPECTIVES LTD.
19 UPPER GARDINER STREET
DUBLIN 1

THE ARTS COUNCIL OF NORTHERN IRELAND

The Arts Council of Northern Ireland
in association with Queen's University English Society

presents the following
LITERARY READINGS

Paul Muldoon

Thursday 16th October

A reading by **Paul Muldoon** to mark the publication of his third book of poems, *Why Brownlee Left* (a Poetry Book Society Choice).

James Simmons

Thursday 23rd October

A reading by **James Simmons**, who has recently published *Constantly Singing* (a Poetry Book Society Recommendation).

Blake Morrison

Thursday 30th October

A talk by **Blake Morrison** on 'The Movement'. The Movement is a group of poets and novelists, including Philip Larkin and Kingsley Amis, who became prominent during the fifties. Morrison, himself a poet, has recently published an acclaimed book on this subject.

all at 8.00 p.m., 6 University Square, Belfast 7. Coffee afterwards in 4 University Square.

ADMISSION FREE

Take out your new FORTNIGHT subscription now

by filling in this form and sending it to:
THE SUBSCRIPTIONS MANAGER, 7 LOWER CRESCENT, BELFAST BT7 1NR.

Annual Subscription (six issues per year including postage):
British Isles £3.00; Elsewhere £5.00 (airmail)

I wish to subscribe to FORTNIGHT

Name .....

Address .....

I enclose a cheque/postal order for £.....

Please send a complimentary copy of FORTNIGHT to:

Name .....

Address .....