DUMPING WORKERS
DUMPING WASTE

on Thursday 19th November, 700 people marched through Newry. Their protest was aimed at the local Haughey clan member, Eddie, managing director of Norbrook Laboratories, who produce veterinary pharmaceuticals. Haughey is a local self-made capitalist who started his business in a Newry basement. With the aid of a LEDU award he has progressed to a large factory on the edge of the town, right beside the 800 house Derrybeg estate.

Last August, pized off by the rough deal they were getting, Norbrook workers decided to join a union—the ITGWU. When Haughey heard of this, he laid off 7 of the “inleaders.” At 5:25 on the Tuesday they were to hold their first meeting. The rest of the unionised workers decided to strike in support of their mates. Haughey tried to counteract the strike by keeping on part-time student workers mostly his own relations untill the end of the holidays, and by bringing in scabs. The strikers are being supported by other unions, and very few raw materials are now getting into the factory.

Haugheys, wife, who is a solicitor, applied for an injunction to stop the picketing, and judgement is still pending. Unsatisfied with this, Haughey is still harassing the pickets in whatever ways possible. For example, one wet day the pickets were rained out of the peters, and Haughey rang the RUC and told them that female members of a para-military organisation were outside his gate. The RUC came out to the picket line, had a laugh about it, and left. Then the picketers got a brazier together to keep warm. Haughey rang the RUC to complain about people lighting fires outside his gate. The RUC came out, warmed their hands, and left.

He has also taken to photographing anybody who stops to talk to the picketers and to taking their car registration numbers. This must be keeping him busy, as there is a lot of local support, including the train driver who passes every day, blowis his whistle, and waves a clenched fist salute. In September, some of the striking workers who were concerned with the disposal of Norbrooks waste, compiled a report to present to the District Council. Their disposal methods consisted of pouring some of the wastes on a field between the factory and Derrybeg estate, and setting fire to it. The flames are said to be thick, black and foul smelling, and were carried by the wind into the houses. Other wastes were poured into a ditch in the same field. This ditch runs directly behind some of the houses. Both dumping and burning were regular occurrences.

The report also included evidence from a council driver who had seen a trailer load of waste from Norbrook being dumped in the council tip at Courtown Hill, overlooking the town. The council had not been told that chemicals were being dumped onto the tip.

The report also states that the chemicals burnt and dumped include some which are highly inflammable and explosive, some which are poisonous when touched or inhaled, and some which cause cancer, including one called Nitrofurazone, which is so dangerous that it was taken out of production last year. The report has been ignored by the council, whose engineer—a friend of Haughey—says that everything is alright.

So that’s why 700 people came out to tell Haughey what they think, but it is highly unlikely that he cares. He recently sold his shares to a big Dutch company, whilst he is still managing director, and building himself a swimming pool with part of the proceeds. Someone should dump Nitrofurazone in it.

CIVIL WAR-SORE

Civil war is over. The military have taken over the governing of Poland, imposed martial law, and threatened to execute anyone who breaks the truce.

The tensions within Polish society threaten the ruling bureaucracy, and the alliance with the USSR.

The rise of Solidarity was the result of released energy and self-confidence. And despite the efforts of reformists in the CP, the Catholic church, and anarchists such as Lech Walesa with their attempts at peacetime protests into national one day strikes and a national government alliance (between the above 2), there have consistently been local initiatives at taking control over work, distribution etc. These occupations and strikes were what threatened the bureaucracy and Russia.

Opposition to military rule is growing, and will have to confront the USSR eventually, if the self-confidence of the working class and the disbandment of the 20,000 army conscripts (out of 100,000) proves too much for the Polish military.

We are angry!

This was the call from the roof of Crumlin Road Jail on the weekend of December 11 by Loyalist prisoners. They were protesting over conditions in the remand wing, and held four warriors hostage. Thirteen Republicans barricaded themselves in their cells, though the protesters claimed to have them as hostages.

They had five demands, two of which were met within two days and the protest was called off. These two demands were for an enquiry into ward conditions, and the promise of constant pressure on the NIO by Loyalist politicians. DUP MPs McQuaid and Robinson have taken up the case.

Two contrasts with the other prison protests are the almost total faith in imprisonment, and the taking of other prisoners as hostages.

REPUBLICANISM

INTRODUCTION

We previously carried an article on Loyalism, and promised one on Republicanism. Here it is. We will later produce one on Anarchism.

The New Administrators

The centralisation of power, both in the resistance to the British and Orange state, and in proposals for a new Ireland are the product of an ideology—Republicanism—whose original purpose was to consolidate the power of the merchant and professional class, and not the people of no property. The bourgeoisie of Ireland, though, have already established themselves comfortably in both states. The Republican leaders of today resemble more the administrators of a new Ireland. They have a contempt for the opportunism and exploitation by the bourgeoisie and want to create an independent socialist republic. It will though be of as much benefit to the people of no property as the bourgeoisie solution, stiff resisting us direct control over our economic and social lives.

continued next page
"Republicanism" continued.

STATISM
There are two traditions of socialism. The statist variety puts economic and political power in the hands of a central organisation. Even if there is universal suffrage, reducing people's power to an "X" mark on a ballot paper every four years still leaves the decision making to others. No matter how sincere or revolutionary a group or an individual is, the moment they have power over others — once power is centralised — then the relationship is between those who have power and those who haven't. It is an authoritarian and exploitative relationship.

The other tradition in socialism is libertarian or Anarchist. That is the title of an article in a future issue.

FRENCH REVOLUTION.
Republicanism came to fruit in France in the 1790's, as the ideology of the bourgeoisie. They, along with the embryonic working class — the "brass nuss" — built on the old order of aristocratic and Church rule. On many occasions the "brass nuss" made independent demands, and fought for these through their political clubs and neighbourhood sections. But they had no generalised self-awareness, and no consistency in detailing their interests and putting forward their proposals.

This weakness was mainly because in this period of history, the working population was passing from feudalism to industrialism, from craft and tied labour to wage labour. On the other hand, the bourgeoisie knew clearly what they wanted — a state with political power in a centralised parliament to complement the economic power they already had in manufacturing, commerce and finance.

THE UNITED IRISHMEN.
This revolution influenced many people throughout the world who shared contempt for the arrogance, wealth and cruelty of the old order. But it was fundamentally a revolution to replace the aristocracy by the bourgeoisie.

In Ireland an organisation was set up mirroring the aims of the French Republicans. The United Irishmen were predominantly Presbyterians, of the merchant and professional class, who saw Britain's stranglehold on Ireland, and collusion by the Anglican ascendancy here, as severely limiting their own potential to build a prosperous economy and to create a political regime reflecting their interests.

Just as Robespierre appealed to the "brass nuss" to take up the fight against the hated aristocrats and church, so Wolfe Tone appealed to the 'Man of no property' to help throw out the British. Tone's advocacy of ending persecution against the mass of poor 'catholic' peasants was to enhance the prospects of his class coming to power. He said, "As no change could make their political situation worse, I reckon on their support as a certainty."

THE TRADITION CONTINUES.
Since the rising of 1798, most resistance to British control has adopted the ideology of Republicanism. Though the original Sinn Fein at the beginning of this century, was monarchist, Griffiths and the others soon adopted the Republican aim of an independent bourgeois parliament as the sole expression of political power. When the war of Independence broke out, it was fought mainly in the country areas between 1919—1921. Through industrialisation and the consequent labour disputes, the urban areas produced a syndicalist war with unions and employers in constant conflict, mainly in Belfast and Dublin. Despite the efforts in 1916 of the Irish Citizens Army, little contact between the traditions of Republicanism and Syndicalism took place.

Important exceptions were the general strike in Limerick against British Army occupation, and the dairy and flour societies of Co. Clare.

There was a bitter Civil War after the signing of the treaty which left the six northern counties in the hands of the Unionist party, and the south still owing allegiance to the monarchy.

The anti-Treatyites were beaten with the help of British artillery, and they became the illegal IRA. Later they too split, when DeValera left and founded Fianna Fail, which soon became the most powerful political party in the South.

THE RESURGANCE.
Why did the resurgence of Republicanism take place after so many years of apparent insignificance? The Civil Rights movement which challenged the state was composed of many elements - Socialist, Liberal, Republican and Anarchist. The Civil Rights movement failed to realise that this state was so corrupt and sectarian that it could not be reformed. The very creation of the state was the root of the problem.

Republicanism had a tradition of opposing both the state and the British occupation, and eventually came into its own.

What gives the Republican groups prominence and makes them attractive to working class people is not their ideology, but their resistance to the present injust, brutal and sectarian society. They are rooted in the anti-unionist farmlands and ghettos of the North, because these areas have suffered most of the discrimination and harassment of the British and Orange state.

However, there were other groups such as the Alliance Party, who also developed an anti-imperialist approach. Some others even took up arms to defend areas against sectarian attacks. The IRA saw itself as more than a defense force. It regarded itself as an army, the army of the Second Dail of 1916, the only 32 County elected Govt.

As inheritor of that Governments authority, it's Army Council could tolerate no independent groups. E.g. A small revolutionary group in the Beechmount area was disarmed in the early '70's because they wouldn't accept the authority of the IRA, in effect, the only way to get guns for defence was to join the IRA and accept their orders.

The first split in the "present troubles" came about when the IRA was veering towards a Communist Party line. The traditional "anti-communism" combined with the urgency to get arms (finance being offered by members of Fianna Fail in the South) led to a breakaway which became the Provisionals. There was a further split from the Officials when those socialists discontented with the abandoning of anti-partitionist politics founded the IRSP.

The momentum of the struggle and its location in the industrial ghettos of the North gradually produced a more socialist critique, but only as part of an alliance with the traditionalists. Tensions have surfaced now and then every so often, with the eventuality of a split dependant on time. These splits have always involved the question of who owns what guns, and led to bitter feuds over arms dumps and territory.

GUERILLA CAMPAIGN.
Over this last decade, despite the courage and clear sightedness of the immediate political problem, the practice of Republican groups has often reflected the reactionary side of nationalism. While sectarianism must be confronted, and not wished away, the strategy and practice of Republicans often reflects a chauvinism of their own.

The military strategy of keeping the South a safe base, by not operating there, combined with a bombing campaign in the North and England with high civilian casualties, reflects a respect for "Irish capitalism" and a disdain for "Protestant" and British working class people.

HUNGER STRIKE.
While losing 10 of their best people, the Republican movements have gained publicity and support. There has been an increase of Recruits and finances to the IRA and INLA in response to the Intransigence and repression of the British Government. Much of the media coverage has identified them, especially Sinn Fein/IRA as the sole protagonists in the protests. Through elections there are 2 IRSP councillors and one Sinn Fein MP (as well as two Peoples Democracy Councillors). It will be very interesting to see what social and political statements that Owen Carron produces now that the hunger strike is over. If Gerry Adams stands against Fitt in the next election, the new attitude in the favour of electioneering might force SF to come up with proposals other than "Brits out."

The H Block/Armagh committee (dominated by Sinn Fein) concentrated on the lobbying of Priests and politicians, but it was these forces, by their manipulation, which helped defeat the hunger strike. This reveals a bankruptcy of political ideas. Republican News, whilst offering detailed reports of protests and the prisoners motives, made little or no attempt at analysing how the hunger strike
**Sinn Fein.**

Since October's Ard Fheis, there have been the beginnings of a series of articles in Republicanism News about 'Youth'. The second on 'Hoods' was the most interesting and explorative. But it stands in stark contrast to the practice and politics of SF. Joy Riders were described as having adopted the views of the British state in their definition of 'criminal'. The authour suggested that the young peoples crimes were as political as the Provos. While such libertarian views are welcomed, they are to be seen in the context of Sinn Feins political ambitions. They want to replace the SDLP electoral leadership as the 'nationalist' community, as opposed to destroying the illusions of parliamentary politics. And to 'take power' (according to Morrison and Carson at the An Plean) as opposed to destroying hierarchical and state power. A footnote on the first article on 'glue sniffing' described Anarchism as a mild English import. Republicans could be described as a bourgeois French import, in their proposals for state control of economic life.

**IRSP.**
The IRSP split from Official Sinn Fein on the grounds that the latter abandoned the 'national' question. They have a Marxist-Leninist vision of the future state, which is totalitarian. But they also boldly propose social changes such as abortion by choice, and are more secular in their opposition to the church. Although, being a party, they have a central authority like Sinn Fein, and also play the electoral game as a political expediency. Whilst their critique of the South is shaper than Sinn Feins there is no confrontation with that state, for much the same reasons as the Republican Movement. Despite a recent appeal to protestants to realise their class and Irish identity, a two-part article in the Starry Plough earlier this year, just about regarded all protestants as loyalists, and all Loyalists as fascists.

**Liberation.**

It is not the resistance to oppression which we criticise, but the nature of that resistance, the nature of these groups, and their prospects for a new society. And despite the political differences, we have supported those who have been imprisoned for that fight, and will continue to do so. That fight is not exclusive to one party or one movement, as the hunger strike campaign and everyday resistance show. They have no monopoly over our liberation from imperialist, and little contribution to our liberation from hierarchy.

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**An ill wind blows no gooder.**

Two 'representatives of the working class' have shared the company of such names as Cardinal O'Flah and Roy Bradford in using the private hospital on the Malone Road. Well-known'socialist' Paddy Devlin, and UDA Supremo Andy Tyrell have paid through the nose to benefit from a hospital which drains resources (in personal & facilities) from the Welfare State's equivalents.

**Don't like Mondays.**

Walking away from the City Hall on Monday the 23rd of November, Paisley's Day of Action, against the steady stream walking towards the City Hall remembering the old cliché, 'Curiosity killed the cat' Monday saw everyone having to come to terms with the protest. Will I work — won't I? In many ways a success for the Loyalists.

The Hype.

The City Hall rallies, all three, called by the Official Unionists, UDA and Paisley's DUP to coincide over a short period of time were confusing to say the least — rows erupted — numbers were low. The biggest being Paisley's with no more than 5,000. In the country it was different, with cavalcades blocking off country towns and villages, snaking their way along, trotting their hores. Here the shutdown was more successful.

Newtownards on Monday night was the big one — the Third Force was to be on show. The final show of strength with the guns that never materialised. Paisley claimed leadership of the Protestant people, for that was what the day was all about — who heads the Unionist 'family'?

Molyneaux's days as leader of the Official Unionists are numbered. At every contest with Paisley over the round table talks with Atkins, Molyneaux was left outside. On the Day of Action, Molyneaux managed a small parade at the Cenotaph, whilst Paisley reviewed the Third Force at Newtownards.

The UDA were caught in the middle, not supporting the Day of Action, then calling their own protest with McCusker speaking — an unusual alliance indeed.

But whilst the division exists between the UDA and Paisley (the UDA calling for an independent Ulster, and Paisley fighting for the "historic" union to be maintained), Paisley sees clearly that the option of an independent Ulster with links with the South is more in order than the impossible Loyalist wet-dream of returning to a pre-'69 situation.

The DUP, however, are gaining maximum support by championing "no sell-out" and when the time suits them they will denounce the sincerity of the British Government and call for a "Protestant solution for a Protestant people!" Had Paisley kept to his Carson Trail time schedule, he would have declared a Provisional Government in Newtownards. Instead he chose to parade his Third Force, and declare himself Big Daddy of the Protestant people. If Paisley can go ahead with his plans, a declaration of UDI will come with time.

The only problem will be to make the change in declared ends without his followers suspecting that something is up, and that Big Dads are using them as expendable pawns.

Bradford's 'timely' death gave Paisley the burst of vitality that his Carson Trail needed. None the less, a lot of people from both "sides" found it impossible to shed tears over the death of such a notorious bigot, who "believed" that the Loyalist people of Ulster were a "lost tribe" with the 8 counties as their God given homeland.

Housing being what it is, and that's not much by the way the Housing Executive operate, is one of the most important needs for all of us, and bad houses don't make homes.

Whilst the EEC grant of £400 million has been promised, many of us, especially those who need it, won't see any improvements in our homes, except by building another house, which is what the EEC want: split and divide the community, it's one sure way of stopping revolution/war/troubles, call it what you want.

A sensible approach, on that anybody who calls himself an Anarchist should surely take, although I see no reason why anybody who doesn't call himself an Anarchist shouldn't take either, is to 'Do it Yourself'. Not dynamic politics, certainly not going to overthrow the system in the morning, but getting rid of damp, cold draughts makes life that little bit easier.

By doing it the 'alternative way' it is one step further in one's own personal development - who said that? for days to come when we do overthrow the system, state, etc., etc.

With Autumn ending, nature is stirring up its last resources to get through winter. Plants are dying back, storing energy in the roots, wild animals are building themselves up and the Housing Executive who are always hoarding are hoarding even more - £400 million to be exact. The human race too, who at one time were not far removed from nature and the elements, should also be preparing for the next few months.

Rubbish skips are in bloom all over the city, offering a wealth of goodies, old & sometimes new. Up the Malone Road, for example, old carpets for blocking out the draught around doors (leave the top free for ventilation).

Wood in many forms, for the fire. Hardwood burns best. Usually very heavy, but sometimes you might find a really good piece for that much-needed bookshelf - which is another form of insulation. Softwood burns bright and sparkly, but for building purposes, essential.

Newspapers and sawdust/woodshavings, for attic insulation: lay layers of sawdust first, then the newspaper.

Clear plastic/plastic film is good for double-glazing. Wash your windows first, This should be removable, as Summer is not long off.

Free 'Conservation Leaflets' can get from the Coal, Gas & Electricity Board & Just Books store some great books on DIY. Use imagination is the real answer to the problem. You may find that some alterations are not the most pleasing to look at, but I can safely say that it's nicer to keep warm and feel better than be cold and look nice.

And, after all that, if you still don't know where to start, cut a load of wood for some older person - maybe they might like that.
The Embassy Twenty are the 20 people who were arrested and charged after the H Block/Armagh March to the British Embassy on July 18th. The 20 have been charged under the Offences Against the State Act, and, if convicted, face between 2 and 7 years in prison.

A defence Campaign has been launched & a highly successful March was held in Dublin on the 27th of November. The first of the defendants will be tried on December 2nd. The others will be tried after Christmas.

The trial provides a great opportunity to attack the repressive institutions of the "Free State," especially the Special Criminal Court. This Court is similar to the juryless Diplock Courts, and, increasingly, it is being used not only against so-called political people, but also against social offenders (see if you can think of a better phrase). It won’t be long before this Court is used against workers fighting for their jobs and decent wages.

This Court is a political Court and is used to get rid of "undesirable people". These 20 people have been selectively charged. A lot of them have been centrally involved in the Campaign to win the 5 Demands. Also, they are being used as scapegoats. With the Coalition in power, an incident such as the Embassy March could not pass without somebody being done for it. Part of the Coalition’s law and order strategy is to keep any resistance down. Also, the national question is one area where Fitzgerald’s legitimacy could be seriously undermined. He sees the anti-imperialist movement as a real threat and it must be stamped out. Thus we have increasing co-operation with the Brits around the whole area of security. There are other elements to the campaign. People were being denied their "right to protest" (as were the Belfast 34) by not being allowed to march past the Embassy. The marchers were deliberately provoked by the presence of so many cops. This shamed us clearly whose side Fitzgerald is on. When people reacted to this provocation, they were mercilessly battered. Cops went after everybody, including elderly people and children. How many of them were charged? Indeed, it seems that the cops are above the law.

The Defence of the Embassy 20 must be a political defence. Legally, in the Special Court, the state will use any evidence it wishes to. We must all, North and South, support the 20 as we did during the H Block/Armagh campaign. We must focus on the Special Court and bring it into disrepute for being the circus it is.

The Defence Committee is looking for Statements from people who were present at the March. If you were with any of the defendants or saw Garda brutality, contact the Committee immediately. If you were assaulted, and can prove it, and are prepared to press charges against Gardai, we also need to hear from you. The Defence Committee can be contacted at:

30 Mountjoy Square, DUBLIN 1.
Tel: Dublin 747200.

On Tuesday Nov 10th eight Dublin workers committed to jail by the High Court, they were found to be in contempt of court for refusing to obey a court order restraining them from picketing and trespassing at the factory where they work, Ault and Wilcox Ltd.

The workers had been occupying the factory after a six week dispute. The workers wanted to transfer from the Irish Transport and General Workers Union (ITGWU) to the more militant Automobile, General Engineering and Mechanical Operatives Union (AGEMOU). Both the company and the ITGWU were refusing them their right to do this. The details of the dispute are not as important as the precedent that has been set by this case. This is the first time since 1966 that an injunction has been enforced. Workers are being denied their so-called "right to protest". The injunction not only covered the occupation of the factory but also the picket on the gate. Two workers were sent to jail just for picketing the factory. All the people that I talked to, who were involved in the dispute, did not seem to know on what grounds the injunction against picketing had been granted.

The case is particularly important if one looks at the economic situation in the South. With the recession getting worse, more and more jobs are going to be sacrificed. Any fight-back against redundancies could be squelched by the use of the Courts and prison.

Secondly, the fact that there is no National Understanding (the centralised agreement where bosses, government and unions decide on the size of wage increases) this year is significant. Already some unions have lodged claims for 20% increases. The bosses & government are totally against these kinds of rises. The Coalition Government has recommended that people should get a 6% increase. They will try to enforce this especially within the Public Sector. This can strengthen their position in trying to do this. As well as the threat of unemployment, workers now have the threat of jail hanging over them.

The workers spent only one night in jail and decided to pursue that contempt (say they were sorry) after the ITGWU said it would release them so that they could join the AGEMOU. When they did they were treated with total contempt by the Court. The judge wanted them to beg while the Barrister for the company kept suggesting that they must have had a leader. In his eyes, workers are not capable of organising themselves. When they did say sorry and decided to go back to work they were then told there was no work for them. Of course there were still jobs available for the non-striking workers.

This case shows that the state is willing to use its repressive machinery to keep workers in line. This willingness can only increase as the recession gets worse. Workers and unions must realise this and start taking effective action to fight back now. If workers are jailed, strikes should be organised until they are released - and that's without being sorry for taking on the bosses.

**STUFFING CHRISTMAS!**

"Christmas is coming, the goose is getting fat;" ... and the turkeys, chickens, pheasants, deer, etc., ready for the mass slaughter that is part of what this "festeve" season means for animal life. All over the country, animals and birds are being crowded into already cruel and intensive factory conditions, ready for the knife, or stun gun, or worse. Transportation becomes an even more oppressive facet of this trade of butchery, as birds are packed tightly into cages with no room to breathe, resulting in even more distress – all in an atmosphere of pressure and competition, when handlers are more prone to abuse the life they are transporting. As if this were not enough to add to the suffering, the traders in "pets" are stocking shops and breeding establishments, ready to sell their merchandise to any caller. Stock not sold is often abandoned, sent for slaughter or to vivisection and testing laboratories. Pets, bought as "toys" for households totally unprepared and uncaring, are often abandoned or thrown out onto the streets to die, when they have served their amusement value, or when people become bored or irritated by the new arrival making extra demands. Yet, Christmas is coming, and amongst the orgy of self-indulgence and consumerist values, we could well reflect on what it means for the most oppressed and powerless part of life on earth – the animal species.

**POISON GIRLS**

I saw you shave that hormone down your trousers so you can sliver with something to shake I'm gonna rip the buttons off your tshirt I'm gonna peel the wrapper off your face Obsessive Sexuality.

Another first in Belfast? London based punk/Anarchist band "Poison Girls" will be playing at the Long Lane "A" Centre, on the afternoons of the 19th and 20th of December, along with Just Destiny, Staley 17, The Defects and the Dogmatic E!"
The Belfast Education and Library Board has just released two 'discussion documents' about the future of both primary and secondary schools in the Belfast area. Although they are being presented for discussion it is clear that all the board's officers have given the proposals unanimous backing, so it is likely no matter the public response, that most of the proposals will be put into practice in the near future. The proposals deal only with the controlled schools, those owned and managed by the board, the maintained (Catholic), and the grammar schools are not as yet involved. What the board proposes to do is to close down 12 primary schools, reallocate some nursery schools, and close about four secondary schools. The reason given for the closures are the falling rolls in Belfast schools in particular in the North and East of Belfast. The number of children has fallen by 40% in school since 1968, partly because of emigration from Belfast, but also due to a falling birth rate. (In Catholic schools the drop has only been 21%). According to the board many schools are becoming too small to provide adequate facilities for the pupils, and it is seemingly difficult to attract new teachers to schools which are getting smaller and smaller, their solution then is to make plans for fewer schools with much larger rolls, hence giving children most opportunity for development. There is of course another reason for the closures which don't have as much too do with concern for the pupils as with the dictates of the Thatcher government, namely the BELB have been asked to make a 2 million pound cut in their budget in the coming year and one way of cutting your budget is to close your schools. Obviously the fewer schools you have the less costs in terms of running. For example you need fewer caretakers, cleaners, and caretain staff. Your running bills are also smaller, heating, lighting and fuel. Of course you also need less teaching staff, and that a big saving also. Given that in Northern Ireland the teacher-pupil ratio is higher than anywhere else in the UK, then a rise in this figure represents a loss to the children in these schools and not a gain as the BELB is trying to make out. Already there have been many protests against the proposed closure. One group of mothers who are losing their nursery-the McArthur on the Newtownards Rd, have blocked the road and stopped traffic to bring attention to their situation. Women will in fact be the hardest hit by these closures because for many children they will mean more travelling and larger fares, and it will be their mothers who will have to deal with these. Some of the primary schools have nurseries included, and there has been no mention of their replacement in new schools, so childcare falls back on the mother. Many of the redundancies brought about by the closures will also involve women workers. Another problem also not dealt with in the documents is the community focus of many of these schools that open their doors in the evening to community groups and activities, when the schools shut the BELB has no plans for their use on any other bases as they say the costs would be too high. At the bottom of the list come the children who will have to endure larger classes, less attention, bigger more anonymous schools, while the government continues to subsidise private education to the tune of £168 million per year. Its clear to see where the priorities lie!
That there is a massive housing problem here with up to a third of the housing stock, sub standard must have sunk in just about everywhere and a few weeks ago the papers were full of the unprecedented EEC grant of £400 million to help finance new housing in Belfast on top of all the other grants coming from Westminster. So what exactly is being built, is it any better than the notable past disasters of Divis, Turf Lodge, and Shankhill flats that working people have been forced to live in long after they should have been pulled down?

A half hour drive around Belfast should answer that one. You could live in York Street in a new house with easy access to the motorway—after you’ve scaled the ten foot wall outside your back door—applicants should be dead and immune to lead pollution. Or a 2 or 3 bedroomed house in McClure St for those wanting to live parallel to a proposed major link road with the East, and a railway line—double glazing was thought to be unnecessary—or further down the road in a new house with a windowless bathroom, condensation and green mould. Families are living in so much worse that they are gratefully moving into these houses. A new house is seen as a fresh start and a social advance. It is an excuse to get new furniture, even at the risk of getting into debt, because the old is too shabby for a new house. After having lived, maybe all their lives, in damp, sub standard, overcrowded houses, everyone feels a tremendous relief to get out, that being the tragedy of the situation.

Designing houses, architects and planners follow the fashion of the times. High rise flats are out, in comes maisonettes and “village” type housing. In other words, small box houses with square rooms which encourage a cubic mentality—boxy sofas, boxy tables, boxy units, a uniform for the modern age.

Apart from the well cited observation that architects are usually men and can afford not to live in what they create, estates built in the last two decades lack the sense of community found in the terraced housing of the inner city. Much of this is explained by the fact that planning did not include shops, schools, health centres, doctors surgeries, recreational centres etc. as in Twinbrook for example, or was too heavily in favour of the motor car and like Craigavon, a large shopping block was built on its own outside the estates. Although housing standards are higher than they were in Victorian times, variety has disappeared, attics and cellars, five or more bedroomed houses are an exception and there is a cut down on space all round: this is likely to get worse with this government’s intention to reduce the recommended minimum space and heating standards proposed by the Parker Morris Committee in 1961.

A few months ago, a woman with a large family was allocated two houses side by side to live in because nothing had been designed and built to suit her needs in the area. Houses are created for the ideal family; a neat unit of two parents and two children, all able bodied, father employed and mother in the home. That planners must know fewer people than ever fit this crude description does not stop them from designing these houses. Introduce children or old people or handi capped people and modern housing design falls short of desirable.

Children for instance don’t figure in the design. Their allocation is a small bedroom and our way of life makes all other areas technically out of bounds. The kitchen, that streamlined small space is used for storing and cooking food and messy activities like children baking cakes, painting, playing with water are more often than not, discouraged. The lounge is generally a bit of a showpiece. It is very much an adult area and the said adults get annoyed falling over unempted bits of coloured plastic, cars, trains, balls, or children racing around playing hide and seek so tend to encourage more passive activities like drawing, reading books, watching television, building lego or playing with dolls.

Adults, more particularly those without children, can take themselves off into town and go to a movie, shopping, swimming, drinking or whatever but children have to make their own entertainment within the confines of the home for much of the time.

The lack of child orientated space is frustrating even though most children are able to create the magic with fertile imaginations (and anything else they can get away with when you are not looking). It is also a strain on the parent, usually the mother, to try to keep some semblance of sanity about the place. It is not just a question of changing parental attitudes, the whole framework of the house is not suitable for children. They need more space, their own space which they would prefer to have anyway and there needs to be much more emphasis placed on leisure activities outside the home, again mainly an adult preserve.

Houses should be built for the needs of the people who live in them, for the old, the handicapped, the single person, each house being integrated into the community and not having old people for example being shunted off into sheltered dwellings.

Housing, what goes into a house or doesn’t and the surrounding environment is a perplexing subject for feminists. We don’t want to reinforce ourselves in the role of housewife and carer of all things yet we do, want to end the repetitive drudgery which is the nature of housework. Work which is clearly seen as women’s domain.....
The poor quality of housing puts an extra burden on women who have to deal with the injuries and illness resulting from it, from the depression which isolation within the home can bring. Bad design, like the height of units and sinks results in bad backache, the problems of noise, the lack of insulation, the inability to control or pay for heating—some houses fail to bits if a certain temperature is not maintained—all these resound on the woman. More pressure is piled on because it should be possible to maintain a perfect home in a new house and to consume more and more labour 'saving' devices. In order to do so. Some do save time, others tend to create work in them. The sharing that went on in the terraced housing is seen as a sign of poverty so every house must have a vacuum cleaner, a washing machine, etc....we have the technology to do almost everything—to throw the dirty washing down a chute and have it returned washed as one woman said—yet we persist in buying individual items like washing machines for our individual families. Such consumerism is forced upon us from all sides and without a change of planning and design where, what and how we are to live, we are not likely to see a drink in the chairs, communal utility rooms, canteens, cafes, sitting rooms, play areas, after-school services, teenage areas, communal transport, gardens, plots, verandahs, advice centres, law centres, meeting places, pubs, film, shops, health centres, some of these can be found in or around inner city areas, all and more should be incorporated in the building of new housing—they are what changes a dead estate into a living imaginative community. People are not looking to live in houses encased in circuits of high speed roads, such designs are inhuman, they are looking to live in communities and houses that are designed for people.

I started to read Margaretta D'Arcy's book 'Tell Them Everything' predisposed to disliking it. I had this bad reaction to the idea of an international playwright, sailing off to Armagh for a few months imprisonment, and then returning to the real world, to tell her story, and incidentally make some money and get a lot of media attention out of it. Thats how I approached the book, but by the end of the 122 pages I felt a lot different about D'Arcy, her motives, and I suppose about Armagh, if only in the sense that I felt I knew a bit more about the lives of the women who inhabit the cells of Armagh Prison. This is not the first book about Armagh, Nell McCafferty, and T.P.Coogan have both dealt with the subject, but it is the first one written by someone who has actually been serving a sentence in the prison, and so it goes deeper than anything I have read before.

What D'Arcy does is to document the events leading up to her sentence in Armagh, and then to tell the story of her time in the prison among the republican prisoners there. At the time of her sentence these women were on the dirty protest and she choose to join the protest with them. The book is a fairly honest account of one woman's coming to terms with all the paradoxes and contradictions that the political situation here throws up, and in particular the whole question of the relationship between feminism and republicanism, a sensitive subject with the women's movement in Ireland, and a constant point of conflict between them and the republican movement.

She does not offer solutions, simply and very insightfully she points out clearly these paradoxes - she sees that Armagh is a feminist issue but ultimately that means no more than that, whilst she believes that feminists should be active in supporting their

sisters in Armagh she realises that many of those women are not interested in feminism nor even are the need for women to make demands in their own right. That all the women she spoke to saw their loyalty to the republican movement, and that many were very hostile to demands about abortion, or the family. She saw clearly that there was a huge gulf between herself and the women she shared cells with. Some commentators have argued that for these reasons she thought herself above the women but I think that to be a misunderstanding of the text. She often speaks of their courage and their tenacity with admiration, and with love. She shows how in the context of the prison she the intellectual was incapable of answering the easiest of questions about current films or novels and was teased by the others as a moron most of the time, she shows how her awareness and experience of the world is not theirs and as such the book is always open and honest. She emerges at the end having spent months in dirt and filth with few answers, but with a total respect for the woman she had spent her time with. If you wish to understand these women then you must read the book.

If on the other hand you want to understand nothing about Ireland, republicanism, and the women's movement, and you also like dreadful novels then go out and buy 'Blood Sisters' by Valerie Miner, I would be paying it a compliment if I said it was awful. It is atrocious. Under researched, oversimplified, with poor characterisation, and badly written, the story tells of two cousins one an American feminist, the other a leading light in the London Prolies. It goes downhill after that! Miner has tried to analyse the relationship between feminism and republicanism by taking a sledgehammer to it, the result is a disaster. If your interested in the problem stick too Margaretta D'Arcy!
The Women's Right to Choose Group organised their first conference in the South of Ireland. About 80 women from the north and south met for a whole day on December 5th in Dublin's Liberty Hall, exchanging ideas and information, new strategies getting to each other.

The conference was well attended and a from the split up workshops, anti-abortionists were present.

The anti-abortionists are much stronger in the South than in the North. They disrupted abortion meetings and held pickets outside. Since feminists in the South started talking and working on the abortion issue the SPUCERS and LIFERS are slowly gaining new territory in the South of Ireland.

Backed by the mainly Moslem Catholic Church and by the Conservative government, all groups like LIFE and SPUC are trying to prevent women having control over their own bodies by any means possible.

Through easy access to schools, parish halls etc., they continue unashamed to tell their lies (with distorted media like their films and pictures) that abortion is MURDER, and that a woman's life is a SIN. Not only are they against abortion, but they don't even give a fuck about sex education, contraception or housing for single pregnant women. They are going to build one of their shelters in the South, if it looks at first sight very good of them to build a house where single and unmarried women can stay when they are pregnant and after they have given birth. It's worth remembering that the option that they give you is either to get the child adopted, or if you keep the child they kick you out.

IS ABORTION A FEMINIST ISSUE?

Most of the women agreed that the struggle for the right to choose is a fight for and supported by feminists. If a woman wants to control her own life and body, she needs to have control over her own fertility, needless to say control whether or not or when to have children. It's the doctors, the government and the clergymen in this male dominated society who are stopping women from having the choice of abortion.

In the afternoon session there was discussion and talk about post-coital contraceptives, abortion rights in Ireland, single parents and male involvement in the struggle.

Doctor Pete Brownhill, a gynaecologist and lecturer in human reproduction at Birmingham University gave widespread information on post-coital contraceptives, such as tablets for oral contraceptives to be taken within 72 hours after suspected conception, or other new methods such as Vitamin C, various herbal remedies and menstrual extracts. Post-coital contraceptives are taken after unprotected intercourse, and before its known that conception has occurred. As there are at present no contraceptives freely available in the South, except if you are married and even then only on prescription, it seems like a long time yet before post-coital contraceptives are available, as like abortion they prevent a full pregnancy once conception has occurred. And the conservative forces won't be quiet.

THE SPIRIT IN THE EYE.

To get into the abortion conference you had to literally beat your way through a fanatic crowd of men, chauvinists and bitter women (SPUC for the protection of the unborn child) and LIFERS who came picketing outside all day. They must have nothing else to do!

In the afternoon we all had great fun recognising Anetta Brown - a SPUC-Woman and well known anti-abortionist. She wouldn't admit who she was until some woman thought it a bit much and tore her ridiculous purple wig off. The embarrassed woman fled, swearing to send us to hell.

-- We assume she is still anti-abortion, although she was very keen on telling us that she signed the pro-choice petition. Near the end, the picketers made their way downstairs, with crosses, rosary beads, singing "Abortion is murder!"

But maybe it was a good sign for the future of the abortion campaign that the women in the conference plunged on through unperturbed - showing them to be what they are. Women expressed the need for more cooperation between North and South to strengthen the movement in the fight for legal abortion.

There needs to be a lot of work done by women in the South such as campaigning the issue, given what they are up against and I hope that the conference helped to create stronger unity between sisters in the North and South and with more co-operation will strengthen the movement for safe and legal abortion on demand.

The review of French Lieutenant's Woman

As I had anticipated, the recently released film version of John Fowles' novel "The French Lieutenant's Woman" is a visual treat, and after a long period of almost unrelied city living, I went along to see the film partly for that quality alone.

The evocation of period atmosphere and detail is excellent, particularly in the sharp division between life as lived in Victorian London "Club Lane" and that in slums. I was also interested to see how well the film interpreted the splendid novel, but in respect success was not solely won. The addition of a 20th century story line— that of the relationship between actress and actor involved in the filming and of the way in which involvement with the central characters of the novel came to affect their lives— did not help, as it detracted (in a rather trivial way) from the intricacies and subtleties of Fowles' work.

The character of the title, Sarah Woodruff, is a complex and a remote one—remote from her contemporaries and remote from us. Grippled by melancholy, longing and the knowledge that she is "different" from other women of her time, dourness of the fact that she is "a remarkable person" (as she at one time admits), she spends hours alone on the Dorset coastline, staring to the south. Fowles describes her face as "ordinarily not a beautiful face, by any period's standards or taste". But it was an unforgettable face, and a tragic face, its sorrow welled out of it as purely, naturally, and unstopably as water out of a woodland spring. There was no artifice there, no hypocrisy, no hysteria, no mask; and above all no sign of madness". In this respect, Mary Stropdown's own beautiful face was a traitor to her in the role of Sarah, although her excellent acting ability helped to convey some of the character's prim madness.

Charles Smithson, the other central figure in the book, is reduced to a pale shadow of Fowles' art by the film's screenplay and direction. Anyone looking for the tortured academic mind, the dutiful conforming gentleman of Victorian England gripped in genteel chains of sexual repression will be disappointed.

The film does not do much to express his real fears and dilemmas— his realisation of the truth of Darwin's theory of the survival of the fittest, and the ability to change and to adapt, and his own fear to do just that. Faced with desire for and love for Sarah, he bays his way out with cash and cowardice. Whilst adequate in itself, in terms of visual brilliance and an adequate screenplay, the film does nothing more than introduce the story to those previously unfamiliar with it and acts as a reminder to those who read the book some time ago. I advise those who know the novel well, and who respect its intentions, to avoid this film, but for those who require only introduction to or reminder of this story of one woman's liberation from the sexual and social oppression of her time, then this is a beautiful and haunting film that will serve them well,