

# An Phoblacht

## REPUBLICAN NEWS



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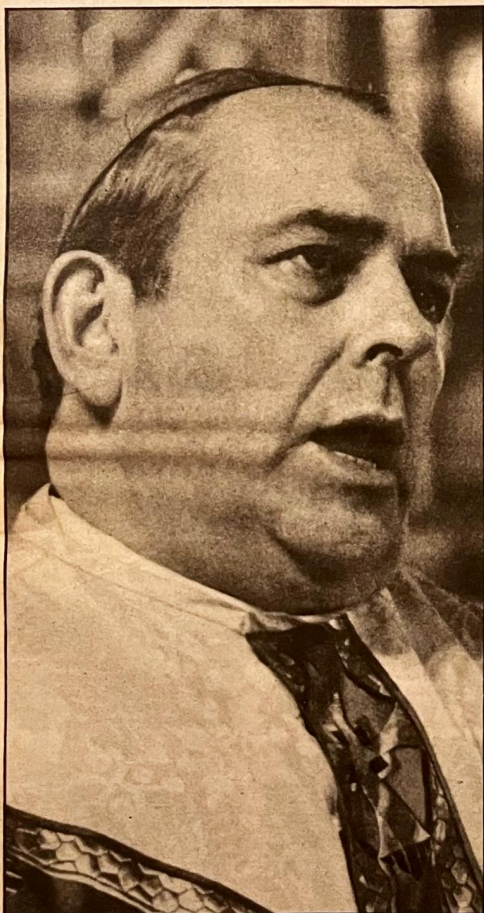
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### O'FIAICH/ATKINS TALKS END IN FAILURE

# H-BLOCK HOPES

## DASHED

### Blanket men on the brink of total frustration



CARDINAL O' FIAICH — issued his first major statement on talks

A FEW DAYS after the H-Block blanket protest entered its fifth year, last week, Cardinal O'Fiaich and Bishop Daly issued their first major statement on the outcome of their series of talks with direct-ruler Atkins.

Despite much republican cautioning against optimism, it would have been impossible for the blanket men and their women comrades in Armagh jail, for the relatives and for republican supporters, not to have invested some hope for a successful resolution to this crisis.

As it is now, no matter what favourable interpretation is put on the British response, the fact is that hopes of a solution from these talks have been dashed, that the British are adopting an intransigent position and that the blanket men, on the brink of total frustration, have exhausted almost all avenues of resolving the protest.

Over the last six months — the talks began in early March — confusion reigned as to what actually the British administration were conceding that could take such a long time in discussing.

It was thought that they used the first meetings for their own ends — to influence the European Human Rights

Commission, then sitting in judgement on the H-Block cases, into believing that they were attempting to reach 'a domestic settlement'.

Also announced during the talks were a series of meaningless, so-called 'concessions' on receiving an extra letter and exercising in prison-issue sports vest and shorts. However, the Brits even made more inroads into political status

by declaring that those sentenced for political activities committed before March 1st 1976 were to be put in the H-Blocks and denied status.

Prior to this those sentenced for pre-March '76 activities, no matter when they were arrested, would be accorded political status in the Long Kesh cages.

As time wore on, and the talks looked as if they had become permanent, H-Block supporters wavered between getting very worried and getting very optimistic: hopes being raised by the Cardinal's statement in August in which he said he thought there had been a 'breakthrough', only to be

(continued on page two)

### Inside this issue

THIS week's special 16-page edition of An Phoblacht/Republican News includes a 4-page H-Block/Armagh supplement.



## H-BLOCK HOPES DASHED

(continued from front page)

extinguished by Tuesday's statement in which between the lines evident failure could be read.

The Cardinal said that he and Bishop Daly believed that "the H-Block impasse could be solved in the context of a general prison reform in Northern Ireland regarding prison dress and prison work... However, we have failed so far to secure any substantial changes on these two central issues but our proposals have not been rejected."

Of course, for Atkins and his officials (who have measured the negotiating potential of the two prelates) to have unequivocally rejected these proposals would have been to slam the door in the



BISHOP EDWARD DALY

Cardinal's face and risk provoking a condemnatory statement along the lines of the one he issued in August 1978.

Instead, they responded with a two-sided statement, one to satisfy loyalists and the other to presumably let the Cardinal see a faint light drifting through a barely open door.

"It was clearly understood," said the first part of the British statement, "that the Secretary of State was not prepared to discuss or negotiate the principle of Special Category Status."

On the other hand, "some of the points raised by the Cardinal including questions of clothing and work which he has said are central to the problems which have arisen" are "being given very careful consideration within the context of continuing prison reform."

This statement is mere subterfuge and means nothing, since it commits the British to nothing and ensures that the Cardinal cannot become critical because he has not been told firmly, 'NO!'

If the British are going to make changes then they should move now while they have room for manoeuvre. They can dress up defeat with all the semantics of a face-save, or, they can be publicly defeated, but at risk to the prisoners, by the weight of opinion in a showdown.

Nobody, repeat nobody, wants the latter, though the continued intransigent, almost vengeful attitude of the British appears calculated to provoke, out of the pains and despair of the H-Blocks, just such a response.

# Derry and Strabane report confirms sectarian pattern of employment

BY SEAMUS BOYLE

**HARD** on the heels of a report by the Fair Employment Agency (FEA) which showed that Catholic school-leavers in Belfast have less opportunities than their Protestant counterparts in finding employment comes another FEA report on male school leavers in Derry and Strabane which confirms the same pattern.

The report is the sixth undertaken by the FEA and was researched in January, April, and May of last year, in a Catholic school, a Protestant school and a technical college in Derry, and a Catholic school and a Protestant school in Strabane.

The unemployment rate in Derry — which is two-thirds nationalist — was 18% at the time of the study (it has now risen to 21%), and for Strabane — which is more than 80% nationalist — it was 23% (it has now risen to 29%). These overall figures, when broken down for nationalist areas, reveal an actually much higher level of unemployment in these areas.

### FATALISM

The report states that the high unemployment has clearly produced a degree of fatalism amongst young people. School leavers were asked to fill in a questionnaire, and from the differences between their job aspirations and actual job expectations the researchers concluded that there was an acute awareness among the boys of their dismal work prospects.

Many of the Catholic youths, who were more pessimistic about work opportunities than their Protestant counterparts, went into government training centres (GTCs), thus postponing the unemployment situation, whereas Protestants did not consider GTCs or such schemes as either alternatives to employment or aids in the attainment of

future employment. Once again, confirming the pattern of the earlier report, Protestant boys are shown to generally depend on influential family contacts already in employment, for work opportunities; and since only 14% of their fathers are unemployed, (in comparison to 33.7% of the Catholic fathers) then it is inevitable, as the report shows, that the result of their advantage is structural discrimination against nationalists, perpetuating higher levels of unemployment.

### EXPLOIT

The report also finds that employers are able to exploit the high level of unemployment through paying low wages. The overall gross weekly wage for those boys who

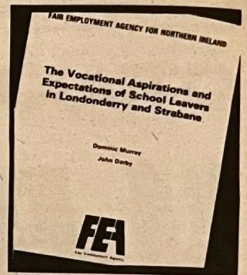
had managed to get jobs was £25.97. This ranged from one Strabane shop assistant on £12 per week to a boy employed as an apprentice engineer at Du Pont's on £53 per week.

The report does not reveal the respective religions of these two boys but one can make an educated guess as to who got the Du Pont job (over 80% of available manufacturing jobs for men in Derry are sited on the loyalist eastern side of the river).

Nevertheless, with present British government economic policies, and the decline in the textile industry, even Protestants are now starting to experience serious unemployment, which has formerly been the traditional preserve of nationalists.

### CONCLUSIONS

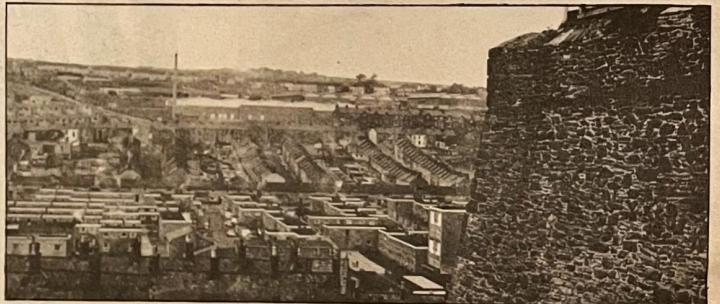
In its conclusions the report says that the government training centres "perform a significant role in keeping Roman Catholic unemployment figures down." Nevertheless, "there seems little chance in the near future of rectifying the imbalance in employment which seems to



FEA REPORT

exist between the two main religious groups."

Finally, the report says that there is little likelihood of any economic improvement in the near future (last Tuesday the latest unemployment figures for the North showed that there are now almost ninety thousand people without work) and that the proportion of young people in employment is likely to decline even further.



Whilst Derry's unemployment rate is 21%, this figure when broken down reveals a much higher level of unemployment in nationalist ghettos such as the Bogside, pictured here from the city walls

## Sinking economy Thousands of jobs lost

BY PETER HAYES

**DESPITE** the walk-out by politicians attending a function at which direct-ruler Humphrey Atkins was present, in protest against the British government's spending cuts and economic policies, it is unlikely that the economic hardship which is now beginning to even effect supporters of 'the Union' will turn them into socialists or six-county separatists.

Last Tuesday evening as Atkins arrived to open a £2½ million Leisure Centre on the Shankill Road he was jeered by more than 150 women and children protesting against the increase in school meals and the ending of free milk. At a function in the City Hall to mark the opening of the centre about ten councillors (including Paddy Devlin, the Sticks, and loyalists with UVF connections) walked out in protest against the British government's cuts in health,

education and the social services.

It is almost routine now to hear of factory closures and more redundancies in the North every week. The construction industry (which is nationalist dominated) has been hit severely by cutbacks

in building and housing programmes, and now the manufacturing industry in the North is collapsing as a result of the crisis in clothing and man-made fibres.

Three weeks ago Du Pont's in Derry announced 400 redundancies

in the Rochester shirt factory in the Waterside, and last week a further 300 job losses were announced at shirt factories — 230 in Waterside and 80 at the Star Factory on Foyle Road. In South Derry, 200 workers at Upperlands have been put on a two day week.

Furthermore, on September 30th the British government's short-term working compensation scheme will end and the sinking manufacturing industries will shed about 2,500 more workers.

Most of these job losses will be sustained by members of the loyalist population, who, unfortunately, are unlikely to be disillusioned with their British 'way of life' or to look to a more progressive political philosophy for comfort. They are more likely to even more jealously guard their relative privileges — to fight more bitterly to protect Protestant jobs in a Protestant state.



Belfast city councillors give Atkins the thumbs down



# No IRA intimidation of informer's father

TWELVE MEN from Belfast, picked up by British troops and the RUC in dawn raids three weeks ago have been made the victims of a paid crown informer. The men have all been charged in relation to a number of attacks claimed by the IRA — including the killing of an RUC man in Andersonstown last April and the execution of an assistant prison governor outside Crumlin Road jail last year — or in relation to imprisoning the witness.

Despite having made no statements during seven days of interrogation at Castlereagh and denying all the charges the men were put in the dock where at a preliminary hearing begun on Friday 19th September, James Kennedy, a twenty-three-year-old taxi-driver from Corby Way in Andersonstown, has been incriminating them in the incidents, in two of which he said his car was used.

The day before the preliminary investigation began, an assistant Director of Public Prosecutions stated in Belfast High Court, where one of the accused was making a bail application, that Thomas Kennedy, the father of the crown witness, had fled his home after being threatened by the IRA.

## ACCOUNT

The IRA has denied this and has issued a comprehensive account of their relationship with Mr. Thomas Kennedy which reads:

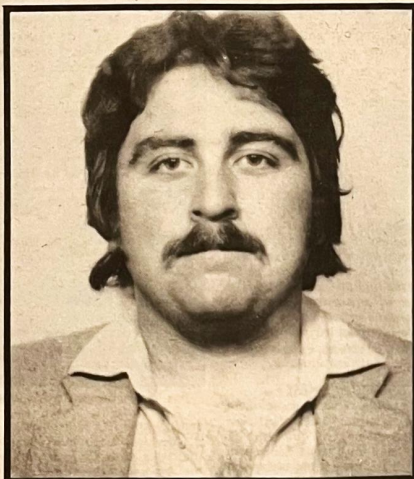
"The statement made in court to-day, and successfully used to prevent a man from getting bail, alleging that Mr. Thomas Kennedy was 'kidnapped, interrogated and threatened that he would be shot' if his son James gave evidence against twelve men is a lie.

"Earlier this week the IRA was approached by Thomas Kennedy of Corby Way in Andersonstown about his son James. Mr. Kennedy told us that over a fortnight ago James, who was agitated and worried about being arrested by the RUC, went to the 'Peace People' to attempt to get out of Ireland. Instead of helping him, said Mr. Kennedy, the 'Peace People' sent him to the RUC who then took him into custody.

"Mr. Kennedy told us that the RUC at first denied having James but then admitted that he was with them, but refused to let the father speak to or meet the son. Mr. Kennedy believed that James was not in Crumlin Road jail but was held at Knock RUC barracks.

## WITNESS

"As we now know James was held incommunicado and is to be used as a witness in the forth-



JAMES KENNEDY — a British informer

coming trial. Mr. Kennedy told us that what the RUC alleged James would be doing (i.e. being a prosecution witness) was totally out of character and that he believed that James was being blackmailed and held under duress. Mr. Kennedy was even considering publicly challenging the RUC to produce his son.

"We told Mr. Kennedy that James was a liar and that according to our information he was prepared to convict a number of innocent men for the sum of £25,000. We told Mr. Kennedy that if James could be contacted then to tell him to tell the truth and he would be in no danger from us.

"Mr. Kennedy came to us freely and left freely. He was not intimidated and no threats were made against the family. Then last Wednesday evening a huge force of British soldiers and RUC men arrived in Corby Way, sealed off the streets, and took Mr. and Mrs. Kennedy away".

Thus the family, either through collusion with their son or because

of RUC pressure, have fled their home.

## SCUFFLES

On Friday, James Kennedy spent hours in the witness box making false allegations against the men, his motivation — the reward of money and a traitor's passage to a foreign country under a new identity. As the morning session opened ten of the defendants refused to stand for the judge. Scuffles broke out and the RUC removed two of the prisoners.

In the afternoon session again broke out. Kennedy was shouted at by friends and relatives of the defendants. The RUC attacked the eight handcuffed prisoners who refused to stand and protesting relatives were also punched and kicked by the RUC.

When the scuffles broke out an ash-faced Kennedy leapt from his seat and ran from the court through a special exit, accompanied by his RUC bodyguard.

At Monday's hearing friends and relatives of the defendants were barred from the court. The preliminary hearing continues.

## Car accident kills Fermanagh republican

A YOUNG Fermanagh republican, Kevin Gleeson of Lisnaskea, was killed in a tragic car accident early on Saturday 18th September. Two of his friends also died in the crash and his sister was seriously injured.

Eighteen-year-old Kevin, a son of well-known local republicans Jimmy and Loreto Gleeson, was a member of the Sean South Sinn Féin cumann, Lisnaskea. In his lifetime, Kevin was constantly harassed by British forces and so it continued at his funeral on Sunday evening, when the RUC halted the cortege carrying the remains of the three

victims as it entered Lisnaskea. Their attempts to remove the tricolour from the coffin of Kevin Gleeson were repulsed by the mourners, and they eventually withdrew.

Kevin was buried on Monday 15th September after mass at Holy Cross Church. A guard of honour comprised members of the Republican Movement.

Fermanagh Sinn Féin have offered sincere sympathy to his sorrowing parents, brothers and sisters. I maeas laochra na nGael go raib a nam.

## RUC MAN SHOT DEAD

AN RUC MAN was shot dead by the IRA in County Fermanagh, in the late evening of Tuesday 23rd September. The RUC man, who had been a full-time Reservist for eight years, and who was returning home from Rosslea barracks, was ambushed by two armed IRA Volunteers at about 11 p.m. The Volunteers fired about fifteen shots at him in the driveway of his home, at Lisrace, near Magheravee. The IRA active service unit returned safely to base.

In a verbal outburst on Wednesday, local Official Unionist councillor Jack Leahy bemoaned the British government's inability to defeat the IRA and exposed loyalist demoralisation in the face of armed republican resistance. He complained, "It is the government to blame. They ask men to join the security forces and then they just don't care if they live or die." He pointed out that six members of the crown forces from the area have been killed this year. The Reservist killed on Tuesday, had narrowly missed death six months previously when a landmine exploded under a land-rover which he was following, killing two RUC men in the land-rover, and injuring him, causing him to be off duty for several months. According to Jack Leahy, dozens of RUC and UDR men are now on the verge of leaving Fermanagh because "they are living every minute of the day in fear."

## Lisnaskea bombing

THE ORTINE HOTEL at Lisnaskea in County Fermanagh was severely damaged when three IRA Volunteers took over the reception area of the hotel last Saturday night, September 20th, and planted three bombs around the building, just before 9 p.m. The Volunteers gave a warning before leaving. A Spanish industrialist, to whom the owners of the hotel did not pass on the warning, was warned through a loud-hailer by a Spanish-speaking German guest, to evacuate the building. He safely did so before the bombs began exploding around 10 p.m. The bar, reception and dining room were destroyed and the flames swept up through the building and brought down the roof. The front of the two storey building suffered the worst damage. No-one was injured.

## Beechmount ambush

A BRITISH ARMY colonel got a taste of the battlefield when he ventured into a nationalist ghetto in west Belfast last week.

Early on Thursday 18th September, five IRA Volunteers occupied a house in Iris Drive and lay in wait for a patrol. At around 10 a.m. a two vehicle patrol drove into Beechmount Avenue and into the line of fire. The soldiers in the two land-rovers belonged to the Scots Guards and a colonel in the second Battalion is believed to have been in the first vehicle. An IRA Volunteer, armed with a rifle, opened fire five times on the patrol, which sped to safety before radioing for reinforcements which then spent several hours fruitlessly combing the area in search of the Volunteers who had withdrawn safely.

## Flying the flag

THE IRISH TRICOLOUR which was replaced shortly after having been removed from the roof of the Falls library in Belfast two weeks ago, was again taken down last Monday morning only to be replaced again! Involved in the latest incident was a large force of British soldiers who sealed off streets around the library in the early hours of the morning. However, by tea-time another flag was hoisted up and two British army saracens and two RUC jeeps which appeared on the scene were stoned by local nationalist youths before retreating.

## Punitive action

DAVID ADAMS, a remand prisoner from the Beechmount area of Belfast, imprisoned in Crumlin Road jail, was seen by warders to be washing his socks in the bath last Saturday, and, apparently as a result, was put 'on the board' for three days — a ludicrously punitive action by the prison regime for what was obviously a completely trivial matter.

On Monday, while still in solitary confinement, David Adams was subjected to deliberate needling by warders, who searched him twice, and then told him to strip for a third search. He naturally refused to be subject to such harassment, whereupon four non-swearing warders jumped on top of him and beat him, badly bruising his back and pulling his hair out whilst ripping his shirt and pulling over his back in the process. When David Adams' wife visited him on Monday she overheard one of the warders threaten him, "If you mention anything more about what happened, the visit will be stopped."

## Brit fined

A BRITISH SOLDIER was fined £30 with £40 costs at Magherafelt court, County Derry, on Thursday 18th September, for beating and kicking a man in military custody. Twenty-one-year-old Marine Nicholas Jupp was convicted of assaulting Michael Groogan during the early hours of October 21st last. That night whilst an eight-man Brit patrol was manning a check-point in Draperstown, Groogan came out of a petrol and chip shop with his hair out whilst ripping his shirt and pulling over his back in the process. When David Adams' wife visited him on Monday she overheard one of the warders threaten him, "If you mention anything more about what happened, the visit will be stopped."

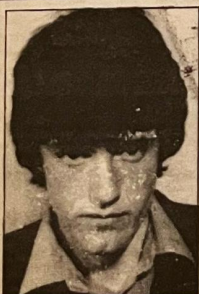
Convicting Marine Jupp, the resident magistrate, in a gross under-statement, added that the patrol's corporal — who admitted hearing Groogan cry out with pain in the back of the land-rover — did not appear to have played a 'meritorious part' in the incident. Marine Jupp, whose punishment is hardly severe, is appealing against his conviction, and its reversal would not be unexpected.

## Housing about-face

IN YET ANOTHER about-face, following only five days after a housing condition survey was published which claimed that 15% of all houses in the six counties need to be pulled down, the Housing Executive has warned that the desperately-needed Poleglass estate development in Belfast will be seriously delayed by spending cut-backs, despite their promise made only a month ago that existing housing schemes would go ahead.

The report, published by the Housing Executive itself last Thursday — based on 1979 figures — says that 30% of the North's 471,000 homes already being work done to prevent them becoming uninhabitable; 66,000 homes already being 'unfit for human habitation', and generally needing to be demolished. The worst hit areas, predictably, are Belfast (with 40% needing attention, and 29% lacking at least one basic amenity) and the nationalist west of the six-counties. The impact of this report has been increased in the light of continuing cut-backs and broken promises by the Housing Executive, which already, this year, has meant the axing of 'new' building schemes and the freezing of home loan and improvement grants. In addition, the so-called 'three-tier' repair system introduced only six weeks ago — and itself a 'cut-back' — has now been further slashed in the wake of the report.

The 'final' blow is the news that, despite assurances to the contrary, further stages of the two thousand home Poleglass scheme in West Belfast — reduced from an original four thousand because of loyalist opposition, and already delayed since the early seventies — will now be even further 'delayed'.



KEVIN GLEESON



## Monaghan harassment

RESIDENTS of Mullaghmart housing estate, Monaghan, are complaining of continual harassment from the Garda Special Task Force since the beginning of September.

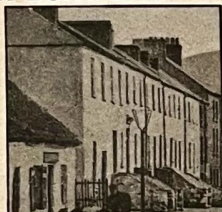
The first sign of the Task Force presence was on Thursday 4th September when local man Tony Ginley was stopped and questioned as he was entering his house just before midnight by Special Branch men claiming to be Task Force members.

The following Saturday, another local man Peadar Callan was also stopped and questioned when he was crossing some fields at the back of the estate. Later that day, discarded food packets were found in the field where, local people claim, gardai had spent some time observing the estate.

On Sunday morning, another resident of Mullaghmart, a man named Quigley, was searched and questioned when his car was blocked by a Task Force car as he waited for his wife and daughter outside the local supermarket. His demands to see identification were ignored and, when two neighbours, Willie Crawley and John O'Leary, asked what was happening, they too were searched, questioned, and abused.

Sinn Féin in Monaghan have condemned the continual harassment of the people in the estate.

## Historic houses in Buncrana



Lower Main Street, Buncrana

CONSERVATION was caused in Buncrana, County Donegal, recently, when a team of local government planners, all strangers to the town, announced from the stage of the Plaza Hall that the Urban Council may demolish several houses in Lower Main Street, having evicted the residents, in order to develop a car park.

Local people have now organised a petition calling on the council to refuse planning permission for the scheme, which menaces the future of their neighbours many of whom are elderly. They also urge the Society of Vincent de Paul, who own one of the houses concerned, No. 23, to modernise the house (which they have allowed to remain empty for years), in order to provide much-needed accommodation for some of those seeking houses in the town.

The petition also points out the great historic interest of the buildings concerned, one of which housed Wolfe Tone when he was landed at Buncrana on November 3rd, 1798, after his capture at sea by the British Navy. From Buncrana, Tone was taken in irons to Derry Jail, before his transfer to Dublin and eventual death.

## Wood Quay strike continues

THE STRIKE by thirty-five members of the ITGWU at Wood Quay in Dublin is now entering its twelfth week with no sign of a solution. The strikers are employed by John Paul Ltd., who are building the new Dublin Corporation offices on the site which has been constantly in the news because of its major Viking settlement remains.

The dispute, which began on July 3rd, arose because of the refusal of a specialist fitter, employed from Britain, to join a union — at the prompting of management, who wanted him to work outside union/management agreements.

This, say the workers, is a typical example of John Paul's continual anti-union activity. A spokesman for No. 5 Branch of the ITGWU also accuses the company of having prevented shop stewards on the site from carrying out their duties.

Forty staff of the National Museum are now being allowed the pickets to continue the archaeological dig on the site, after they had been temporarily laid off by the museum, when they refused to pass the pickets in solidarity with them.

# Reject 'Understanding'

BY JOHN DOYLE

AFTER WEEKS of taking a hammering on the economic front (adding to the problems he had amassed on the national question through his pro-British collaboration) a somewhat relieved Free State premier, Charles Haughey, sits back in satisfaction this week as trade unionists in the twenty-six counties suffer a three-fold bombardment aimed at an acceptance of the 1980 'national understanding.'

Not only the Fianna Fail government and employers but also their own trade union bureaucrats are bringing maximum pressure to bear for a 'yes' ballot when the pay deal terms come up for a vote at a date yet to be fixed.

Centralised pay deals in the Free State, which have in the last two years blossomed into 'national understandings' by virtue of non-pay sweeteners, have over a decade caused a continual, and increasingly severe, cutback in workers' living standards. These cuts in real wages and massive unemployment clearly show who bears the burden of worsening economic conditions.

The appeals for us 'all to pull together in these difficult times' are all part of the sham which lures pliant trade union bureaucrats into cosy partnership with those whose interests must always conflict with the interests of trade unionists. The maximisation of profits must by definition hold down wage costs.

### PAY

The wage increases provided in the offered pay deal are clearly inadequate. The first phase of eight months will mean (dating for most workers from June/July 1980) an 8% increase plus £1 per week; and the second phase allows a 7% rise over six months.

This increase of 1% per month, taking into account the unacceptable but still included one month pay pause, contrasts with a predicted inflation rate of 2½% per month.

Not even the usual extra token rise for the lower paid is included

this time around. This group, spending all their income on basic necessities, suffer an exaggerated inflation rate.

Nor is the pay-deal indexed and losses in real income suffered in the last pay-deal have not been compensated for, even though this was an important part of the union negotiators' brief. As some kind of a sop there are slightly improved holidays — but these are still below EEC recommendations and are subject to discussions with individual employers.

Employers also have an escape clause included in the deal and can plead inability to pay the increases. Trade unionists have no such escape, any union who does not comply with the terms "cannot expect to secure the support or assistance of congress or other unions", and "this agreement precludes strikes or any other form of industrial action by trade unions or employees in respect of any matter covered by this agreement."

The supposed icing on the cake, or non-pay clauses of the offered deal, are equally shallow.

### EMPLOYMENT

The section on employment piously aims for "the earliest possible attainment of full employment," and the Fianna Fail government promises a net increase in jobs by the end of 1981 of 22,000. Because 44,000 jobs are officially expected to be lost in that period, this requires the creation of 66,000 new jobs — a miraculous turn round on the 1979 'understanding' which promised a 25,000 increase and



Any 'national' understanding is likely to lengthen, not shorten, dole queues

ended with a 13,600 decrease.

The union negotiators went into the talks with "full employment the primary objective," yet is coming out with an offer of three thousand less than last year's failed target.

### INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

Although the ICTU representatives on the Commission on Industrial Relations were withdrawn by a resolution of the 1979 annual conference, the new agreement promises co-operation between trade unions, government and employers in the 'problems of industrial relations.'

The spectre of trade unions policing agreements is again raised and the section also states that the 1906 Trades Dispute Act is to be amended "in consultation with the ICTU" — a sure indication of an attack on picketing in industrial disputes.

Various other factors such as paid maternity leave, hours of work, worker participation, access to information and child-care for working parents also figure in the industrial relations section of the proposed agreement. Such improvements offered are far from concessions, representing over-long delayed compliance with minimum European standards.

### SOCIAL WELFARE

The promise by the Fianna Fail government to increase social welfare payments in line with the cost of living (with an extra week's payment in December thrown in as a typical Haughey PR touch) is totally inadequate when reports indicate that 30% of the Free State population exist below the official poverty line.

Merely promising index-linked rises can never improve this appalling statistic.

### HEALTH/EDUCATION

There are plenty of promised improvements in the health services, but with this year's public spending already cut to 40% in real terms of the 1979 spending in this area, such promises are clearly window-dressing and will have no real effect

apart from giving back less than has been taken.

The same arguments apply to the promises on education and training and the past record in this field does not offer much encouragement. The funds necessary for comprehensive retraining programmes are not being provided.

### HOUSING

The Fianna Fail government merely promises that they "will reach firm decisions as soon as possible on the actions to be taken so as to curb the rising costs of development land." The obvious decision — to take state control of all building land and cut out the speculator — is not one which appeals to Charles Haughey, himself a millionaire from the benefits of property deals.

The real direction of state policy in this area can be gauged from the fact that although a housing emergency was dramatically declared in Dublin twelve months ago, there are still seventeen thousand people on the waiting list for houses.

### TAXATION

The monster PAYE marches, which for a brief moment seemed to threaten the prevailing system of economic inequality in the Free State, are very much a distant memory in the proposed agreement.

Fianna Fail merely promise to "increase the special PAYE allowance of £400 introduced in the 1980 budget to £600 in the 1981 budget." Tinkering with a tax allowance was hardly what the PAYE rallies were about, but all parties appear to see no problem in easily dismissing them. There is certainly no mention of a realistic wealth tax or any part of a major redistribution in the tax burden to which the ICTU are supposedly committed.

Whatever way this new pay-deal is dressed up it does not look any way attractive, the pay terms are an insult and the restrictive clauses on industrial action would turn back decades of struggle. This new 'national understanding' must be totally rejected.



## Big profits: no petrol

THE petrol tanker drivers' dispute, which on Wednesday looks close to a possible solution, has been fanned by media and politicians into an all-out worker-bashing session. Both John Kelly of Fine Gael and David Andrews of Fianna Fail took the opportunity to call for repressive legislation to be brought in against those who dare to strike. Unfortunately those forced to spend hours queuing for petrol have not always clearly pin-pointed the correct target for their anger either.

The petrol tanker drivers are obviously not treating the situation trivially being hard hit financially since the dispute began on September 1st. They have shown considerable determination in sticking to their guns. Because the drivers union, the ITGWU, are committed at executive level to a new 'national understanding', action in pursuance of pay claims prior to a new deal was inevitably going to be unofficial. Yet the petrol tanker drivers themselves had followed all agreed procedures in lodging their claim for a wage increase.

The oil bosses simply refused to negotiate the claim because they saw a massive bonus for themselves in a new 'understanding' which would drastically restrict any pay increases. With major increases in profits in 1979 already under their belts and further increases again due for this year, the oil companies can only be further assisted by a trade-union policed pay-deal.

The anger of the drivers is clearly understandable with the companies well able to pay realistic increases. They are, even after return to work and negotiations, unlikely to see why they should accept a cut in real wages. If the proposed 'understanding' does go through, the petrol tanker drivers could yet be the first to severely shake it.



# Loyalist victims

BY B. SLOANE

EVER SINCE a loyalist terror bomb transformed their peaceful existence into a living nightmare, Brian and Anne Hillick have been struggling to rebuild their shattered lives.

Their night of terror began earlier this month, on September 3rd, when a window-sill firebomb turned their children's bedroom into a roaring furnace where five youngsters — aged seven to twelve — had stood terrified and screaming with their nightclothes ablaze. The children were rushed to hospital where it was discovered that twelve-year-old Jennifer and eight-year-old Orla suffered the worst burns. Seven-year-old Roisin was almost suffocated by the dense smoke and her twin Brian, and nine-year-old Colleen, were also treated for burns and shock.

Three weeks later, Orla and Jennifer are still in hospital where they are visited daily by their grief-stricken parents at Belfast's Royal Victoria Hospital. The two children are still undergoing intensive skin-grafting. Their father Brian is uncertain about the outcome: "Even the doctors can't tell for certain how long it will take before the operations are all completed or how successful they may be. The younger child, Orla, seems not to have the will any more so her skin-grafts have not taken at all."

Meanwhile the rest of the family are living together again after having to stay with various relatives for the past three weeks, and hope to move in the near future. Another Catholic home in the Oldpark Road was attacked on the same night as the attack on the Hillick family and as a result have been driven out of the area.

Using the cover name of the UFF, the legal loyalist paramilitary organisation, the UDA, claimed responsibility for the no-doubt 'courageous fire-bombing of republicans.'

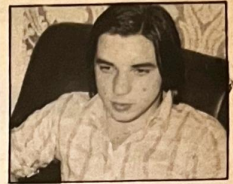


The attack, however, was not discriminate, but was motivated purely by sectarianism, and is typical of the UDA whose practice is to cut throats and pitch-fork people to death, but who preach a grandiose plan of six-county 'independence' which they expect nationalists to fall in with.

ABOVE: eight-year-old Orla, still in hospital three weeks after the attack; inset: Orla, before the attack; below: seven-year-old Roisin and twelve-year-old Jennifer



## Portadown intimidation



AIDAN STARRS

A PORTADOWN youth, seventeen-year-old Aidan Starrs, was dragged from his car onto the street by the UDR, at 10.30 p.m. on Sunday 14th September. This was the third similar act of harassment he has suffered at the hands of the uniformed loyalist hooligans based at Mahon Road UDR camp, since they recently took over patrolling the area from regular British army units.

Aidan Starrs had been driving home along Obins Street with an eighteen-year-old friend, Kieran Loughlin, when their car was stopped by a UDR patrol. Both were ordered out of the vehicle and forced to stand against a wall while one of the patrol searched the vehicle.

During this search Aidan was sent back to the car and told to hand over his wallet from the glove compartment. He refused permission for a detailed examination of his trade union card and bank book, taken from inside the wallet but was told by an aggressive UDR man: 'I'll do whatever I want.' When the UDR man then started to tear the bank book Aidan tried to snatch it back; and it was then that he was seized by the throat and dragged out of the car, causing severe bruising to the neck.

He warned his assailants that he intended to make a complaint about his treatment, but he was threatened, that if he did so, he would be reported for drunken driving. In spite of this he has lodged a full statement and a medical report with his solicitor.

## Belfast intimidation

TRACY Lavery, a thirteen-year-old from the nationalist St. James district of Belfast, was arrested by the RUC in the city centre last Saturday, badly bruised and shaken, and held in Musgrave Street barracks for two hours, all for 'just looking'.

Tracy, and her fifteen-year-old friend Catherine Duffy, were standing in Cornmarket Street, waiting for Tracy's mother who was shopping in a nearby store, and watching the RUC questioning some children nearby. Suddenly they were approached by an RUC man and woman who snarled at Tracy, 'what are you looking at?'

When she tried to walk off she was grabbed by the throat and arm by the RUC woman (leaving bruises visible days later) and trailed into their car. Refusing to give any reason for the arrest, Tracy was driven off to Musgrave Street barracks by the RUC.

Once there, and in a highly distressed state, she was asked for information on her father, what he looks like, and whether 'he belongs to any organisation'. When Tracy was asked for her address, the RUC woman exclaimed, 'St. James — is that where all the murderers come from?' Tracy became so nervous and distraught because of the intimidating treatment that she began to vomit repeatedly, until finally she fainted.

When her uncle and aunt arrived at the barracks they were eventually allowed to take her away, after being informed that Tracy had been arrested for 'disorderly behaviour'. She was later taken to the Royal Victoria Hospital where she was X-rayed and sedated.

Predictably, when Tracy's mother later went to the barracks to complain, the RUC denied that any abuse or threats had been used to the girl.



TRACY LAVERY

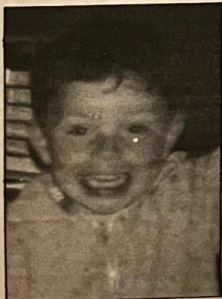
## Loyalist terror victims



AP/RN, September 6th 1980

## RESIDENTS BLAME HOUSING EXECUTIVE FOR DIVIS BOY'S DEATH

# Tragic fall



JOHN MADDEN  
— Four years old —

A FOUR-YEAR-OLD BOY, John Madden, fell forty feet to his death while he played an innocent game of hide-and-seek in the Divis Flats complex in Belfast's Lower Falls on Wednesday 17th September.

He was playing with several friends in the Milford Row complex when he crawled out to hide on a ledge on the second floor. He lost his balance and plummeted to his death. Eight-year-old Sean Conlon who was passing below at the time tried in vain to break the boy's fall by catching him but John slipped through his hands.

John gained access to the ledge, which lies beyond a barred protective screen, by crawling through a

gap below the bars. Angry residents claim that the Housing Executive was repeatedly told about the gap and the danger it presented to children. Typically the Executive failed to act until it was too late: hours after the child's death maintenance men plugged the hole.

Responsibility for the child's death must rest firmly at the door of the Housing Executive, not only for its indifferent attitude to carrying out repairs, but for its failure to provide any playing facilities for the hundreds of children who daily roam the flats' balconies.

The dead child's mother, Patricia, was in a grief-stricken state when she told of her fear, since moving into the flats eight years ago, that such a tragedy would befall her family. "This is what I always feared. These flats are a death-trap for children. I have had my name down to move for several years now and only last week the Housing Executive told me that they forgot to put my name on the list. Now I'm at the bottom of the list and God



The spot where Sean Conlon tried to catch his friend as he plummeted to his death

knows when I will be allocated a house out of this place. I don't know what I'm going to do. I can't take any more of this place now after what happened to my boy."



# THE FREE STATE'S ACT

## Haughey to use the Criminal Law (Jurisdiction) Act

BY KEVIN BURKE

### HISTORY OF THE ACT

#### Sunningdale remnant resurrected

THE Criminal Law (Jurisdiction) Act became law in the Free State in May 1976. Its conception goes back to the Sunningdale Agreement of December 9th 1973 which followed four days of talks between the British and Free State governments. Faulkner's Unionists, the Alliance Party and the SDLP.

The purpose of the Agreement was to underpin the 'power-sharing' Executive in the North which had been formed on November 22nd.

The Sunningdale agreement included a two-tier Council of Ireland (a Council of Ministers — seven each from North and South and a Consultative Assembly of thirty Leinster House members), which would operate in the area of economic and social co-operation. The Council of Ministers was to be consulted on appointments to the Northern and Southern police authorities.

The British government undertook also to 'review' internment.

In return for this the Free State government publicly accepted that there could be no change in the status of the six counties until a majority of the people of Northern Ireland desired a change in that status. They also agreed to further co-operation between Gardaí and RUC against the IRA. To this end an 'Anglo-Irish Law Enforcement Commission' was set up to recommend ways of dealing with 'fugitive offenders' and get round the extradition problem.

#### REJECTED

The Sunningdale Agreement was to be officially ratified by all the parties concerned early in 1974, however events moved fast and the ratification never took place.

On January 4th 1974, the

Unionist Party rejected the Sunningdale Agreement and Faulkner resigned as party leader to form his own party (UPNI). By the end of January Faulkner had only seventeen members in the Assembly compared to the SDLP's nineteen.

On February 28th, there was a Westminster election, the Paisley/West Craig United Ulster Unionist Council (UUUC) won eleven seats, the SDLP one, Faulkner was totally humiliated.

On March 4th, Faulkner announced that there would be no Council of Ireland unless Articles 2 and 3 of the Free State constitution were repealed — abolishing the claim to jurisdiction of the North.

On April 23rd, the UUUC met with the UDA and Enoch Powell to plan the end of the North's Assembly.

On May 14th, the Ulster Workers' Council called an indefinite strike. The UDA set up roadblocks, beat up workers and stepped up their pub-bombings and assassinations against the nationalist population, as the RUC and British army stood by.

On May 17th three car-bombs exploded in Dublin and one in Monaghan killing thirty-three people. The day before William Craig had promised 'further action against the Irish Republic' if the Sunningdale Agreement was not scrapped.

The British government continued to ignore, or were unable to respond to, Faulkner's pleas for support. On May 28th Faulkner resigned, the Executive collapsed and with it the Sunningdale Agreement died. The loyalists were once more on top.

#### COMMISSION

Meanwhile, the Law Enforcement Commission, as envisaged at Sunningdale, had first met in Belfast on January 15th 1974. Its members were Mr. Justice

Walsh, Mr. Justice Henchy, T.A. Doyle SC and D. Quigley, from the Free State side; and Sir Robert Lowry (Lord Chief Justice of Northern Ireland), Lord Justice Scarman, Sir Kenneth Jones and J.B.E. Hutton QC, from the British side.

They continued to meet over the next month and had their report and recommendations ready for the end of April. Jack Lynch warned that legislation being prepared to enact these recommendations would not have an easy passage in Leinster House.

The report of the Law Enforcement Commission briefly considered and rejected the idea of an All-Ireland Court as taking too long to implement. The British side proposed extradition as the solution, the Free State rejected it. The two sides did agree on and recommend, what they called the 'extra-territorial method'.

Under this method each government would confer, on its own domestic court, jurisdiction to try under domestic law certain offences when committed in the other part of Ireland. It would not apply to Britain, only to the North.

In practical terms it meant that people could be tried and sentenced in the South for political offences in the North. Offences for which they had previously been immune from extradition.

The report of the commission was made public on May 23rd, five days before the Executive fell. It was presumed that it was buried along with the rest of the Sunningdale Agreement.

#### BILL

Six months later to the day, November 18th 1974, Patrick Cooney, Coalition Minister for Justice, introduced the Criminal Law (Jurisdiction) Bill into Leinster House. Two weeks later

SINCE Charles Haughey came to power he has embarked on an ever-escalating train of collaboration with Britain and the Northern loyalists.

The most staggering example of this to date is the use for the first time of the 1976 Criminal Law (Jurisdiction) Act against three men arrested in Monaghan in July of this year: Aidan McGurk, Laurence McNally and local Sinn Féin councillor James Lynagh.

The three are scheduled to appear in the Dublin Special Criminal Court on Tuesday 7th October charged with the killing of a former UDR man in Armagh last March. It will be the first time that anyone has stood trial in the Free State for an alleged offence in the North.

Fianna Fail opposed the Bill throughout its passage



Free State Ministers, on the right of the picture, at the collaborative Sunningdale

a reciprocal Bill was introduced by the British government at Westminster, by March 6th 1975 it had passed all stages through the House of Lords.

Although Cooney had promised a second reading of the Bill to take place a fortnight after its introduction, nothing was heard of it until April 9th. In fact the long delay associated with the Bill, with accusations at various stages that the Coalition were actually filibustering their own Bill, added weight to the contention that they had been forced to provide legislation by the British, but, at the same time, were afraid of the consequences, for themselves, of its enactment.

However on April 9th, Cooney announced that he was withdrawing the Bill and re-introducing it in the Senate. This caused uproar from Fianna Fail with cries of 'jackboot' directed at Cooney. What would normally have been a simple procedural move took more than two hours to get through the House.

#### PASSED

The following day the Bill was introduced into the Senate and passed its first reading. Fianna Fail opposition to it was lengthy, vituperative and emotional. Michael Mullen of the Labour Party voted with Fianna Fail against the Bill and against his party.

Fianna Fail rhetoric continued against the Bill throughout May, June and July as it continued successfully on its way through the Senate, passing its final stage on July 31st 1975.

The following day, August 1st, the British Bill passed its final stages in the Westminster parliament.

Opposition to the Bill was not confined to Fianna Fail and the Labour Party's Michael Mullen, who is also general secretary of the Irish Transport and General Workers Union. On July 25th

the Irish Congress of Trade Unions, at its annual conference in Cork, passed a resolution calling for the Bill to be dropped.

From the Free State Senate, the Criminal Law (Jurisdiction) Bill was re-introduced into the House on December 3rd 1975, for its second reading. Fianna Fail opposition was as strong as ever with Jack Lynch leading the attack. The Bill continued through its various stages, opposed all the way by Fianna Fail until it was finally passed on March 6th 1976.

#### CONSTITUTION

Five days later Free State president Cearbhall Ó'Dálaigh announced that he was referring the Bill to the Supreme Court to

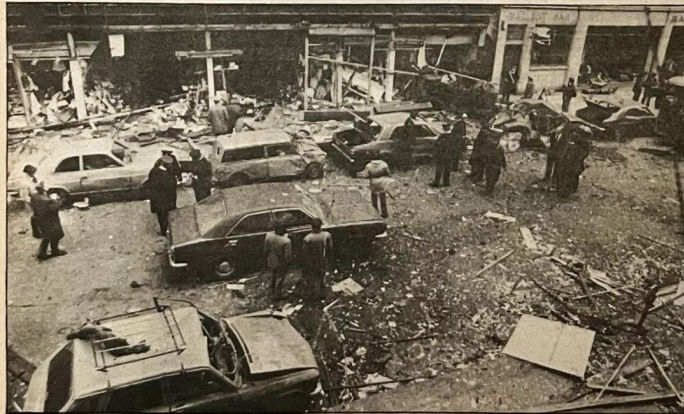
through Leinster House determined opposition that the appalling reality of the judiciary in the collaboration in the determinedly pursuing

'History of the Act' examines every sun Law (Jurisdiction) Act Law extended to cover main provisions of Fianna Fail's cynical Act' examines just the

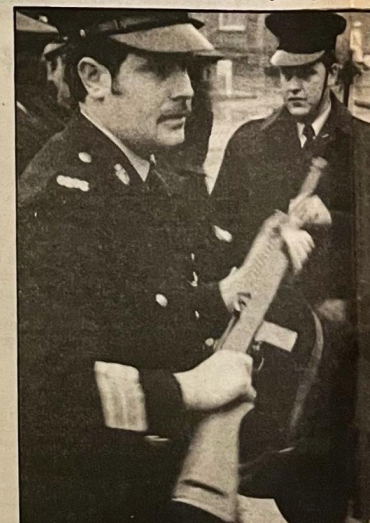
test its constitutionality was finally signed by him 6th 1976. The Supreme Court dominated in any Coalition appointments found nothing 'regional'

The anger of the government at Ó'Dálaigh was compounded later when he also referred Emergency Powers Bill to Supreme Court. Coalition for Defence Paddy publicly abused Ó'Dálaigh these two referrals, at a Army ceremony, and resigned.

Nothing more was heard of Criminal Law (Jurisdiction) for a long time. N Cosgrave government,



On May 17th 1974 three car-bombs exploded in Dublin and Monaghan, killing thirty-three people



The Criminal Law (Jurisdiction) Act provides for the operation between Gardaí and the RUC against the IRA



# OF COLLABORATION

## (Jurisdiction) Act against three Monaghan men

Leinster House. Haughey himself was its most opponent. At that time they were adamant in their record of the RUC, the British army and the police in the North was such that it precluded any possibility of such collaboration. Today they are pursuing such collaboration.

of the Act: *Sunningdale remnant resurrected* the provisions of the Act: *Free State to cover deeds done in North* details the provisions of the Act; and *Catalogue of hypocrisy: cynical and opportunist opposition to the Act* just that.



ist Sunningdale talks... Lynch government had used the Act in the four years it had been in the statute book.

Then early in July this year the Haughey government resurrected the Act when three men living in Monaghan, Aidan McGurk, Laurence McNally and local Sinn Féin councillor James Lynagh, were charged with the killing of a former UDR man in County Armagh, last March. They were remanded in custody to appear in the Special Criminal Court on Tuesday 7th October.

Charles Haughey, one of the most vocal opponents of the Bill as it went through Leinster House has become its first user, in his ever-escalating collaboration with Britain.



## CATALOGUE OF HYPOCRISY

### Fianna Fail's cynical and opportunist opposition to the Act

FIANNA FAIL's opposition to the Criminal Law (Jurisdiction) Bill throughout its passage through Leinster House was typically cynical, hypocritical and opportunistic. However the record of what they said in that period, between April 1975 and March 1976 stands indisputably in the reports of the parliamentary debates.

There is no reason why their words should not be hung in their faces now that they have chosen to be the first to use the very Act which they so volubly opposed.

Fianna Fail were in emotional mood on April 9th 1975 when Coalition Minister for Justice Patrick Cooney announced that he was withdrawing the Bill from the House to put it first through the Senate, because of the need for urgency. 'Jackboot' was the cry from the Fianna Fail benches.



DESMOND O'MALLEY

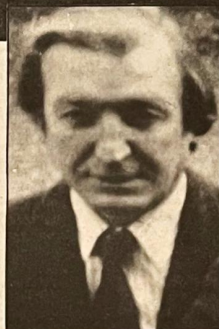
be so mealy-mouthed about saying it as some people." Flor Crowley: "Mr. (Harold) Wilson has cracked the whip."

**WITHDRAWAL**  
Desmond O'Malley (now Minister for Industry and Commerce): "We are all in favour of the withdrawal of this Bill from the Dail, provided it is not being re-introduced in any other House."  
Michael O'Kennedy (now Minister for Finance): "We want to see human rights and human life in particular, being protected and we believe that this Bill cannot do that."

Major Vivion de Valera: "We are worried about your attempts at concealment and your attempts to sell out to the British. I will not

#### COLLABORATOR

The following day the Bill was



CHARLES HAUGHEY



BRIAN LENIHAN

to the Bill was left almost exclusively to the party's big noises both in the Senate and the House: Lenihan (then in the Senate), O'Malley, O'Kennedy, Collins and Haughey.

The latter as ever, was not quite following the party line. Arguing long and hard against the Bill through all its stages Haughey was not only against the letter of the Bill but would not support the spirit of it either. But the others also, as much as they tried to keep to the 'responsible' line set down by Lynch, could not resist launching into the familiar vote-catching rhetoric so dear to the heart of the party faithful.

Brian Lenihan (now Minister for Foreign Affairs): "To invite as this Bill does, the participation on the part of our police with the soiled and sullied police and security forces that exist in the North, and their various paramilitary and murky offshoots..... is a totally wrong thing for us to do."

Padraig Faulkner (now Minister for Defence): "The minority (in the North) are unable to identify with the police force and for good reason."

George Colley (now Minister for Energy): ".....the most fundamental principles of the rights of an accused in criminal law are being breached in this."

David Andrews: "We suggest the Bill is impure, wrong and unjust."

Gerry Collins (now Minister for Justice): "We believe that this Bill can only be implemented if the integrity of the RUC, the 'B' Specials, the SAS and all the others can be accepted. I say no it cannot."

#### FACTION

Some of the Haughey faction did get the occasional word in as well, however.

Ray Burke (now junior Minister for Industry and Commerce): "Legislation is being drafted for the bullboys of the Shankill and their veto only."

John Callanan: "We have this new gang down there at the moment (the SAS) with a right to kill, first-order Black and Tans. They are the type we will be calling in to give evidence against our people."

Charles Haughey himself identified the purpose of the Bill to be an attempt to placate the loyalists. He described it as "unpalatable and repressive", and stated that it would "have the effect of institutionalising the Special Criminal Court." He went on: "Surely it is not anything short of madness to persist with these proposals when a great cloud of uncertainty hangs over the future of the North and when no one can guarantee that a return to Stormont policy is not an immediate possibility."

And further, "Anyone listening to the frightening chilling outline of the psychological terror and physical torture that were practised there must surely have felt compelled to turn away in revulsion from this legislation."

This from the man who has become the first to use that very legislation.

## PROVISIONS OF THE ACT

### Free State Law extended to cover deeds done in the North

THE OVERALL OBJECT of the Criminal Law (Jurisdiction) Act is to extend the criminal law of the Free State to cover deeds done in the North: it provides for the collection of evidence from witnesses in the North for use at trials in the South (and for the collection of evidence in the South for use at trials in the North). In short the Act circumvents the impossibility of enforcing the existing extradition laws against those accused of political offences.

It also includes anyone who 'aids, abets, counsels or procures' such an action - an extremely wide net. Anyone who impedes the capture of such people is also liable to severe penalties under the Act.

The Act also applies to anyone who escapes from custody in the North and flees to the South. Whether awaiting trial or already convicted, such an escapee is punishable by up to seven years imprisonment in the Free State. This, in spite of the notorious 'conveyor belt' system of conviction in the North.

The Act also takes the opportunity to extend a variety of previous Acts and increase the penalties for charges related to explosive substances, robbery, burglary and the possession of firearms and ammunition. It also creates a new offence of hijacking vehicles, with a prison sentence of up to fifteen years on conviction.

The Act details the arrangements for taking evidence in the North for trials in the South by a Northern judge. If the accused wishes to be present at the taking of evidence to question witnesses he must surrender himself into the custody of the RUC. The Act purports to give him immunity during this time, although a Free State Act cannot possibly bind the RUC. Evidence taken in the North, in this way, can then be used in the Free State court without the witnesses being present there.

Moreover the court can prohibit the publication of names and addresses of any witnesses whether they appear in court or make statements in the North. Similar provisions are contained in the Act for the unlikely event of a trial under the Act taking place in the North, and also allows a person charged under the Act to opt for trial in the North.

Finally, the Act empowers anyone whether Garda or not to arrest anyone they suspect of an offence under the Act without a warrant. It allows a Garda to enter a premises by force and search it, again without warrant, if he suspects such a person to be there. A Garda may also arrest without warrant anyone he suspects is about to commit an offence under the Act.

The Act makes an action done in the North which would constitute an offence in the Free State, liable on conviction to the same penalty as if it was committed in the Free State.

#### RHETORIC

From then on, the opposition



# MÁLAPOIST

All letters should be addressed to the Editor — An Phoblacht/Republican News, 51/53 Falls Road, Belfast or 44 Parnell Square, Dublin.

## Marching

Dear Sir,

We all know that there is mass support for the protesting Irish Republican prisoners. But how is it that the protest marches, especially outside Belfast, fail to be as large as expected or desired by the organisers?

Could it be the fear of being set up for British army, or RUC harassment and arrest?

Or, could it be the fear of getting caught up in the stone-throwing that commonly accompanies the anti H-Block protests?

Or, could it, even, be the fear of turning up to march and finding that very few people had come out?

No doubt these are some of the reasons that sympathisers have, or give, for not protesting. But if they really do support the protesting prisoners then they must know that their inactivity is completely useless and will never in any way help smash the H-Blocks.

If they really do fear being arrested because of openly showing themselves to be against British torture then do they not realise that there are innocent nationalist people being arrested almost every day anyway?

And if they do decide to march and don't want to get involved directly or indirectly in any trouble after the march then surely they know that they could, understandably, leave the march if they feel trouble is brewing, or perhaps, leave with the sections of people not involved in militant stone-throwing?

So if any one has any support for the demands of the prisoners let them show that support by coming out onto the streets.

K. Montgomery, Belfast.

A chara,

Firstly we must say how saddened we are at the lack of concern shown by ex-prisoners from the Strabane area towards the terrible conditions prevailing in the British hell-holes such as Long Kesh. The ex-prisoners are the people who have come through similar conditions and we in Sinn Féin are dismayed that we must remind them of this fact.

The marches and all other forms of protest are organised with the objective of gaining political status for the men and women in the custody of the British war-machine.

We ask all ex-prisoners to ask themselves:

- 1) Have you not got friends or relatives still living in British jails?
  - 2) Are they not imprisoned by the same repressive system and laws which imprisoned you?
  - 3) Is it too much to ask you to attend marches or protests? We do not ask the impossible nor do we ask ex-prisoners to make any great sacrifices. We simply ask them to rally round the prisoners and give them their support. The prisoners' fight is a just one and people can best help them through joining Sinn Féin or any other body which has the interests of the prisoners at heart.
- At all future protests we shall hope to see the people of



Strabane, including relatives and friends giving their fullest support to the Republican prisoners.

PRO,  
Tobias Molloy / Eugene Devlin  
Sinn Féin cumann,  
Fountain Park,  
Strabane,  
Co. Tyrone.

## Galligh

## Co-operative

A chara,

Galligh is one of the newly-built nationalist, largely working class, housing estates outside Derry. It was built to handle the overflow of families after the redevelopment of the old nationalist slum ghettos. This itself was forced on the authorities by the militant civil rights action of the late sixties and early seventies.

For many years, the Housing Executive promised the people of Galligh their own shopping area. Naturally, this never materialised. In the words of the 'Galligh Co-op News': "Hundreds of families have over the years, been obliged to live in an area, miles from the city centre, totally devoid of basic shopping amenities. The fact that the Executive refused to provide the Galligh people with proper shops is made worse only by the fact that when the people decide to build the much-needed shop themselves the Executive demand that we must bid in a public auction for the land, a situation which can only result in the Galligh community paying a grossly inflated price for a plot of land which many identified as their own anyway."

The going District Valuer's rate has been estimated at less than £5,000, but already the minimum possible bid has been set at £15,000. The difference between the actual valuation and the proposed bid is equal to the total amount of money collected by the Co-op to date.

John Gorman, Chief Executive of the Housing Executive, explained in writing to the Co-op Committee that the Housing Executive were unable to give the Co-op first refusal of the plot of land at the going District Valuer's rate.

He wrote: "I regret that even if this undertaking were given the Executive would still be obliged to treat your Co-operative on the same basis as other traders, particularly as other traders who have inquired about the site before the formation of the Co-operative were promised the opportunity of submitting a tender."

However, the 'Galligh Co-op News' pointed out that: "There are 1,460 households in the Galligh area. During the past six weeks

# THE R.U.C.'S RECORD

A chara,

Following a conscious effort on the part of the RUC to create an impression of impartiality and the comments of Paddy Devlin and others, it would be useful to remind ourselves about some of the facts regarding this Force.

The RUC was established on April 4th 1921 by the Stormont regime, and three days later the infamous Special Powers Act, which the RUC enforced with great zeal, was introduced. Michael Farrell, in his excellent book, 'The Orange State', says of the RUC: "The tone of the force was set early, when, in August 1922, Dawson Bates gave permission for a Special Orange Lodge to be formed."

The British National Council for Civil Liberties in 1936, in commenting on the Unionist Party, its judicial system and its police force, said that they (the Unionists) had created, "under the shadow of the British Constitution, a permanent machine of dictatorship."

In the 1930s, the Outdoor Relief Movement (ODRM), which for the first time in decades brought Catholic and Protestant workers together to confront imperialism in Ireland, met with the typical RUC response, baton charges, rifles and armoured cars. Workers died and the ODRM shattered on the carefully manipulated rock of sectarian fear and hatred.

Between the thirties and the late sixties, the RUC continued on its merry way as the paramilitary arm of Unionism and countless examples exist of deliberate bias and sectarianism on its part.

One such example occurred when Orangemen from Annelong in County Down announced that they intended marching over the Longstone Hill, a small nationalist area in County Down. The Unionist Party at first banned it, but, after considerable pressure, on July 12th 1955 fifteen thousand Orangemen led by Brian Faulkner paraded not once, but twice, along the road. Needless to say the RUC were there in force to make sure they got their bigoted way.

The late sixties saw the birth of the Civil Rights Movement and, for the first time, massive media exposure of RUC brutality as they tried to baton peaceful protesters off the streets. The battle of the Bogside followed in August 1969 and as the Unionists vainly tried to maintain control, the RUC and its auxiliary force, the 'B' Specials, started killing.

That the first people to die were innocent nationalists, among them children, murdered by the RUC is a fact that those who took part in the recent series of RUC seminars would like to conveniently forget; as is the fact that those who pulled the triggers are still free.

Following internment in August 1971 the RUC proved their



judicial system is.

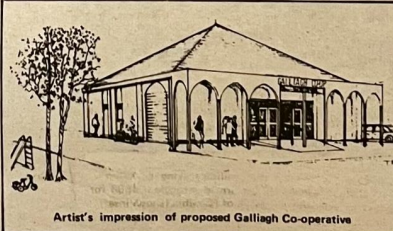
Recently, Jack Hassard, a former member of the RUC Police Authority, has forced the Authority to hold a tribunal into the torture almost four years ago of Tyrone man James Rafferty, in spite of extensive efforts by the RUC to have the tribunal blocked.

However, Hassard has said that the RUC Police Federation have told him that no RUC man will ever give evidence before the tribunal and Hassard, in a statement reminiscent of ten years ago, claims that there is "a conspiracy of silence before the tribunal even sits."

The RUC has changed. With Ulsterisation being the British policy it is important that the RUC is more acceptable, and are capable of containing the situation. Consequently it is now better armed and trained, and has an efficient propaganda machine. However, it exists today, as it has over the last almost sixty years, to defend British interests in Ireland. It is of necessity, therefore, a sectarian armed force.

Among others, either Paddy Devlin is easily fooled or, like those other middle class 'nationalists' who took part with him in the recently exposed series of secret RUC seminars, he is prepared to overlook the history and present behaviour of that force, in order that the struggle for Irish national liberation and working-class solidarity be defeated.

Richard McAuley, Belfast.



Artist's impression of proposed Galligh Co-operative

some 1,100 have become shareholders in the Co-op buying over £1,000 worth every week. The phenomenal success of the Co-op has demonstrated that the people of Galligh believe in each other, believe in their community, have development plans for their community and have the confidence, ability and responsibility to control all the major activities in their area.

"The Housing Executive has openly encouraged private investors to use their capital to bid against the Galligh people. Surely the wishes of so many cannot be ignored in favour of a few; surely, by definition, anyone who attempts to outbid the Galligh people for this land cannot have the best interests of

## Federalism

A chara,

The circumstances in the war of liberation have changed considerably since 1971. At that time federalism was definitely politically opportune, a tactic not just to soothe the loyalist population, but to give British and loyalist politicians a back door, a compromise.

Today, however, things are different. The struggle is clearly anti-imperialist, thus incorporating thirty-two counties, and the working-class nature and origin of it is becoming more and more evident. This struggle therefore cannot have the hypocrisy of a compromise, that is, federalism.

Some ask, what policy is to be put in place of federalism? The answer is — nothing. We stand for maximum de-centralisation. Let us build our society on the community. This will be achieved without federalism which would be nothing but a bureaucratic tier in the structure of government.

Federalism would also divide up natural regional areas (a problem the Brit-imposed border has made us aware of). For example, Waterford would be cut off from its hinterland. We would also undoubtedly

be presented with the ludicrous situation of different laws for different provinces. This, in turn, would necessitate borders and check-points. How ridiculous!

Before going into what federalism would really mean for our country let us consider a few points.

Federalism would not be a democratic solution. Federalism would not be a peaceful solution. Federalism would not woo the loyalist. However, it would woo the capitalist and imperialist by guaranteeing that the socialist policies of Eire Nua could not be implemented effectively.

In fact it would be a sell out of not only our people in the six-counties, but of our revolution as a whole.

Bear in mind that the provincial parliament would have responsibility for education, the judiciary and most district, regional and provincial employment. To be realistic one should not presume that a central government could over-ride the provincial one.

In these circumstances would federalism mean greater democracy? No, it would not. How could it, guaranteeing, as it would, a majority to a group who as long as they remain cocooned will not change their views one iota.

Would it give power to the people? No, it would not.

Not in a society where power is rigged and gerrymandered into the hands of those who fan the flames of bigotry. It would also maintain the present political boundaries which would enable Fianna Fail and the loyalists to fight, and possibly win, an election without having to make an alliance which would be unacceptable to both groups of supporters.

What else would federalism guarantee?

It would guarantee that the nationalist people in the North, who are unemployed through discrimination, would remain unemployed through continued discrimination.

It would guarantee that the servile Brit politicians, North and South, would maintain their support in a nation divided in class, race and structure. It would guarantee that the wealthy would keep the wealth. It would guarantee discrimination in education. It would guarantee many more injustices.

And, as if that were not enough, according to federalism we would have Cavan, Monaghan and Donegal to the rule of bigotry and hatred.

Niall Taylor, Dublin.

## Clonard short-cut

A chara,

In recent months there have been a number of accidents, involving young children, in the Dunmore Street / Kashmir Road area of Clonard in West Belfast, resulting from speeding cars and heavy lorries attempting to bypass traffic lights at the junction of Springfield Road and the Falls Road by taking the short-cut through Clonard. During that time two children have been knocked down in Dunmore Street, and one in Kashmir Road — all three requiring hospital treatment.

Local residents are understandably sickened by this dangerous use of a residential area as a short-cut, especially since the lack of play amenities in the area effectively leaves children with nowhere but streets to go in.

Sinn Féin calls on the Department of Environment to erect signs limiting vehicle speeds to 10 mph in Dunmore Street, Oranmore Street and Kashmir Road, and to prohibit the use of commercial traffic of these streets except for access. This must be done as a matter of urgency to prevent further serious injury to children.

PRO,  
Clonard Martyrs Sinn Féin cumann, Belfast.



# KICK THE HUMP

Evenin' all,

I must say how disgusted I was at the treatment I received on Tuesday at the hands of people who, — loyal to what, I might ask? And then some of those crawling city councillors crept out of one of the many slap-up banquets they get given.

Having given these ungracious people a two-and-a-half million pound leisure centre up the Shank Hill, wherever that is, there they were trying to molest my wife and I, and making all kinds of outrageous suggestions about Old Blue-rinse herself — the only printable contribution was: 'We want Humphrey with a rope around his neck with Maggie hanging on.' Imagine that!

Another thing, I'm a mild mannered fellow, as you all know, but sometimes my blood boils when I read yet more unfair comment and criticism of me. One of the latest to jump on the 'Kick the Hump' bandwagon is columnist Barry White. This wretched 'Belfast Telegraph' hack has had the effrontery to refer to me as looking 'like a rather well-preserved actor in West End farces.'

I know that these endless discussions with that creep Hume and that buffoon Paisley, and various other nondescripts, are a complete farce but I did think I was putting rather a good face on it all.

Not only this but White's whole column, last Thursday, was a description of the secret British Irish Association conference at Brasenose college in Oxford, and was an

obvious breach of confidence by the wretched hack.

Even worse, that wretched Dublin magazine 'Hibernia', which I'm extremely pleased to see is being closed down, had the effrontery to reveal that the British Irish Association is nothing but a front for all those 'Maurice the Mole' chappies, and was set up by the M16 — sponsored Institute for the Study of Conflict.

Another breach of security. Where will it all end?

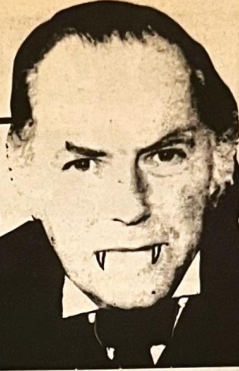
## CHICKENS

On to brighter things. My attention has been drawn recently to the good work in native subjugation which some enterprising troops have been doing around Killucan in County Tyrone.

In addition to the usual smashing up of farms and homes, it appears that they have been molesting the livestock and this gave me an idea. A TV campaign: 'Join the chicken stranglers!' Bored, fed up with football hooliganism and standing around the dole queues? You needn't be! Enlist today and soon you can be strangling chickens and molesting poultry in Sunny Ulster!

I called up the GOC, Dickie Lawson, who has been keeping a rather low profile (about four feet high actually), but he didn't think

## By The Incredible Hump



much of the idea. He had been crying into his hot toddies about missing all the fun and war games out in Germany where so far our lads have only succeeded in killing the odd civilian, besides one or two of themselves, and causing several million pounds worth of damage to German farms. (Compensation, as usual, will of course be paid out by the silly old British tax payer.)

## DISQUIETING

Finally, on another disquieting note, I see that at a special sitting of Magherafelt court, Resident Magistrate Roddy O'Connor had the nerve to fine one of our lads £30 with £40.49 costs for beating up some drunk who wouldn't give him a chip.

He even reprimanded the Corporal (suitably named Armour), in charge of Marine Nicholas Anthony Jupp, stating that he did not appear to have played a meritorious part in the incident.

I must have a word in the ear of

Lord Chief Justice Lowry about O'Connor (a suspiciously foreign sounding name that one), for the old bigot is more than useful to us in these cases and will insure that when our man comes up on appeal he will get off scot free.

Bye for now,  
the Hump.

P.S. I see that wonderful weepy woman Mairead Corrigan came up with an absolutely topping suggestion last week. That her Majesty and the President of the Republic (or was it the Pope?) should have a get together here in Belfast somewhere near my bunker. As failed journalist Ciaran McKeown puts it in his front page comment in 'Peace by Peace' 'Surely this noble idea can be more than a dream.' I only do hope so, my wife really loves corgis.

P.P.S. I would like to strongly discount rumours that my sacking, at the hands of old Blue-rinse, is imminent, and that I am retreating back to the corridors of Westminster.

## WHAT'S ON

### NIGHT AT THE RACES

8 p.m., Friday 26th September  
Martin Forsythe Club  
BELFAST  
Featuring a top group  
Entrance £1  
Organised by  
Irish Republican Prisoners Welfare  
(Transport)

### FOLK NIGHT

Saturday 27th September  
O'Neill's Arms Hotel  
TOOMEBRIDGE  
Co. Tyrone

The draw for the traditional Irish spinning wheel which was to have taken place in July will be held.

### H-BLOCK MARCH

3 p.m., Sunday 28th September  
Assemble Thornhill shopping centre  
TWINBROOK  
Belfast  
Organised by  
Belfast Central RAC

### H-BLOCK MARCH

2.30 p.m., Sunday 28th September  
Leaves Sinn Fein centre  
NEW LODGE  
Belfast  
Organised by  
Seamus McCusker Sinn Fein cumann

### COMHAIRLE ATHA CLIAITH

NEXT MEETING  
8 p.m., Tuesday 30th September  
5, Blessington Street  
DUBLIN

### H-BLOCK MEETING

8 p.m., Wednesday 1st October  
Conradh na Gaeilge  
Harcourt Street  
DUBLIN  
To organise collection of signatures for international petition.

### H-BLOCK MEETING

8 p.m., Wednesday 1st October  
Town Hall  
DUNDALK

### COMHAIRLE CUIGE LAIGHEAN

PRE-ARD FHEIS MEETING  
2.30 p.m., Sunday 5th October  
5, Blessington Street  
DUBLIN

Two delegates from each Comhairle Ceantair to attend. Observers welcome.

### DUBLIN SINN FEIN

#### EDUCATION WEEK

Monday 6th October  
Lecture by Tony Ruane on 'Republican history and the prison struggle'  
Tuesday 7th October  
Lecture and slide show by Mick O'Mahony on 'Community Affairs'.  
Wednesday 8th October  
Debate: 'Federalism, the correct policy?'  
Thursday 9th October  
Political lecture  
Saturday 11th October  
Final of Sinn Fein 'Education Quiz', followed by presentation of trophies and 'Music Night'.  
All events will be held in No. 5 Blessington Street, Dublin, starting at 8.30 p.m. each night. All republicans are invited to attend the events. Enquiries to Dermot O'Hara, Dublin Education Officer, 5 Blessington St, Dublin.

### PRISON PICKET

Saturday 11th October  
ARMAGH JAIL  
Organised by Sinn Fein's  
Ulster Executive & POW Dept

### AONACH NA NOLLAG

Christmas Fair  
5th, 6th, 7th December  
Mansion House  
DUBLIN

### GET WELL SOON

REILLY, Jim. Get well soon, Jim (St. Mary's Hospital, Luton). You are always in our thoughts. Love from Eilish and your friends in Louth Strand.

### THANKS

The Irish Republican Prisoners Welfare Department (Transport Section) Belfast wishes to thank an 'Anonymous Old Age Pensioner' for a £1 donation.

### DUNGANNON MUSIC LESSONS

Anyone in the Dungannon area, County Tyrone, interested in receiving music lessons on the tin whistle, the accordion, the mandoline, or the drums, should apply to Jimmy Kane, the Warren, Drumco, Dungannon, a new band, the Thomas Clarke Memorial Band, is being formed in the area.

# SWAPO POISED FOR VICTORY

REPORT BY SINN FEIN FOREIGN AFFAIRS BUREAU

AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE in solidarity with the struggle of the Namibian people was held at UNESCO headquarters in Paris, France, from September 11th to 13th.

It was attended by delegates and observers from one hundred and fifty nations representing government and non-government organisations. Sinn Fein was represented by Sean O'Bradaigh, director of publicity and Richard Behal of the Foreign Affairs Bureau.

The president of the South West African People's Organisation (SWAPO), Sam Nujoma, welcoming all the participants said: "This collective manifestation of your support for and solidarity with the just cause of our people and the struggle for national and social liberation being waged by SWAPO in Namibia is a living testimony that our cause is a universal one and that our people are not suffering and sacrificing alone. It tells us that imperialism and colonialism are enemies of all mankind."

## SANCTIONS

The conference was held prior to the start of the thirty-fifth regular session of the United Nations general assembly.

In relation to Namibia, the UN has managed to play a progressive role, although thwarted repeatedly by the

Western powers who veto UN resolutions and break the trade and arms sanctions against the racist government of South Africa in order to protect their economic and military interests. It is estimated that 40% of South Africa's manufacturing industry is wholly or partially controlled by British capital.

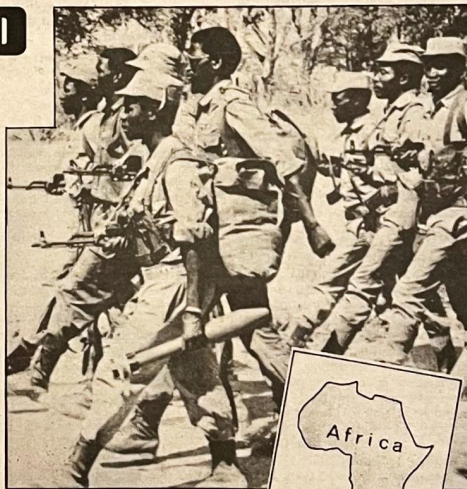
Namibia has assumed great strategic importance because of its mineral resources; and the rape of these resources is being accelerated at a terrific rate. Britain for example has £100 million invested in the country's Rossing uranium mine, the largest in the world. Its supply is critical for South Africa's own nuclear programme as well as European industries.

## OCCUPIED

At the turn of the century Namibia was a German occupied colony. During the First World War, South Africa invaded the area and was afterwards granted a mandate to administer the territory on behalf of the League of Nations. South Africa abused this mandate by introducing more settlers and cruelly suppressing the native population, driving them into the desert areas.

On the foundation of the UN in 1945 South Africa retained control, but was instructed to prepare the country for independence. The continued oppression by South Africa of Namibia, however, led to the UN general assembly withdrawing the mandate from them in October 1966.

Since then South Africa has refused to leave but the UN has been prevented from taking decisive and forceful action by the blocking tactics of the Western powers. The Free State government



PLAN, the military wing of SWAPO, launched its armed struggle in 1966 for the liberation of Namibia (shown inset)

has played a shameful part by its silence and abstinences on the issue.

The United Nations did however create a United Nations Council as the theoretical administration for Namibia and appointed Sean McBride as Commissioner. At this month's Paris conference the Council re-affirmed that: "As the legal administering authority for the territory it will continue to fulfill its mandate to obtain South Africa's withdrawal from Namibia and to support SWAPO, the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people."

## STRUGGLE

SWAPO was officially formed in 1960 to seek through political means, if possible, the liberation of Namibia. But after six years of increased repression from South Africa, with bannings, jail-

ings, torture and killings, SWAPO's military wing PLAN launched the armed struggle on August 26th 1966.

This struggle has brought SWAPO to the verge of victory with the Western powers desperately trying to impose an internal settlement with a 'puppet government' and plans for a variety of UDI as attempted in Zimbabwe.

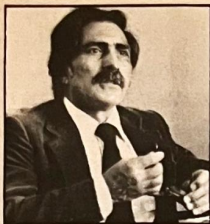
The United Nations general assembly has rejected these moves, and the unity of all parties on the side of SWAPO was clearly expressed by Oliver Tambo, president of the African National Council (S.A.) in Paris when he said: "Comrades in arms and fellow comrades in this conference, we call on you to in effect declare war on the South African racist regime. The African continent stands poised to shed the final impositions of colonialism."



Richard Behal (left) and Sean O'Bradaigh representing Sinn Fein at the SWAPO conference in Paris



## Chilean week of action



RICARDO FIGUEROA

A WEEK of action was organised by Chilean exiles in Dublin starting on September 11th, the seventh anniversary of the fascist coup which overthrew the elected Popular Unity government of Salvador Allende, and ending on September 18th, Chile's national day and the anniversary of that country's liberation from Spanish colonialism.

Events during the week included a token hunger-strike at the GPO and a picket on the American Embassy drawing attention to the oppression of the Pinochet regime. At a public meeting in Liberty Hall on September 18th, Ricardo Figueroa, former vice-chancellor of the University of Chile and an exile in England for the past six years, reminded his audience that Bernardo O'Higgins, Chile's liberator from Spain in the 19th century had been of Irish origin.

He said that Chileans are now suffering and in exile, because they are fighting for the same causes as O'Higgins — freedom, democracy and the dignity of man. The military dictator in Chile, General Pinochet, is trying to deceive international opinion with his recent illegal plebiscite, said Figueroa. While the fundamental part of the struggle against Pinochet will be fought by people inside the country, no matter how heroic they are they would need international solidarity.

John Carroll, vice-president of the ITGWU, pledged that his union will apply pressure to see that a proper trade union attitude is adopted towards the Pinochet regime.

Richard Behal of Sinn Féin's Foreign Affairs Bureau expressed the solidarity of the Republican Movement with the just struggle of the Chilean people.

On Sunday September 21st, Ruairi O'Breigh and Joe O'Neill of Sinn Féin's Ard Chomhairle represented Sinn Féin at a special mass offered in the Jesuit church, Gardiner Street for the victims of oppression in Chile and all of Latin America.

## Palestinian meeting

A PUBLIC meeting in the Shelbourne Hotel, Dublin, on Thursday 18th September, supporting the Palestinian people was addressed by Marion Wolfson, Scottish journalist and author of "Prophets of Babylon". The meeting was organised by the Irish-Arab Society, was attended by sixty people.

Marion Wolfson, herself a Jew, has recently returned from the Middle-East, and she described the appalling conditions which the Palestinian people are enduring in the refugee camps, as well as under Israeli rule in the occupied areas. She also detailed the historical events which have led to the present situation.

Marion Wolfson spoke at length in differentiating between Zionism and Judaism. She stated that the extreme right-wing nationalist Zionists can be compared to the Nazis. In particular she explained how the Zionists were responsible for, and later acknowledged, the bombing of synagogues and Jewish businesses in Iraq causing fear among the one hundred and thirty thousand Arab Jews of an Iraqi pogrom against them, and thus effecting an exodus to Israel. In Israel these Arab Jews are treated as second-class citizens by the elitist Askenazi (European) Jews and they in turn discriminate against the Palestinians.

Marion Wolfson also spoke of an encouraging increase in the number of Jews who are now criticising Israeli policy, sickened in particular by Zionists' constant use of the "holocaust" to justify their actions. Such people now sympathise with the Palestinians and wish to show their solidarity.

# SEPTEMBER MEMORIES

BY EAMONN MacTHOMAS

WHEN we were transferred from the Glasshouse to the Curragh Concentration Camp, we were packed into the Tintown huts like sardines. We slept on trestle beds, three planks of wood held up on trestles at both ends. The beds were about three inches from the floor. The men each side of me were so close that if they turned over in their sleep they knocked over my trestles and the rest of the night was spent on the floor.

Later on, the International Red Cross got us proper beds and each prisoner had a certain number of floor planks and wall planks. To make this division noticeable we stuck our various pin-ups and photos on our wall planks. Among my pin-ups was a painting which I had cut from an American magazine. The painting showed a young girl standing in the sea, paddling. The title of the painting was 'September Morn'....

The lights of Dublin flickered in the wind, the bells of Christ-church cathedral rang out in a muffled tone. The tri-coloured coffin entered the cathedral and was carried to the high altar to the awaiting ministers. Down Wine-tavern Street hill another tri-coloured coffin entered the Franciscan Church of Adam and Eve. The title of the scene was 'September Night'.

The year 1948 was a strange year in Ireland. It was the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the 1798 Rising. Youngs and men dressed in the costumes of Wolfe Tone and the United Irishmen paraded in the streets with flags, pikes and horses.

### DISPLAY

Revolutionary Dublin in the Liberties area put on a great display. Banners, flags, bunting, pictures of our Irish heroes, and several houses and places laid claim to the great historic events.

Republicanism was in the fashion. Everyone was anti-British. Remember Tone, remember Emmet, remember Lord Edward. As the six tri-coloured coffins left the city churches, the people lined the sidewalks. Those, who knew the story, wept and prayed. Those who did not, asked, 'who are they? How did they die? Why are the coffins draped in the tri-colours?'

It was in September 1948 that the Coalition government of the Free State decided to hand over, for re-interment, the mortal remains of six men who had been executed by the Fianna Fail government of the Free State.

Out of the gates and burial grounds of Mountjoy jail and Portlaoise jail came the remains of six who have never died: Commandant General Charles Kerins, Chief of Staff, IRA; General George Plant, GHQ, IRA; General Paddy McGrath, GHQ, IRA; Commandant Richard Goss, GHQ,

IRA; Staff Captain Maurice O'Neill, IRA; and Staff Captain Thomas Harte, IRA.

The names of McGrath and Harte will always be linked together. They were executed in Mountjoy jail on September 6th 1940.

### BATTLE

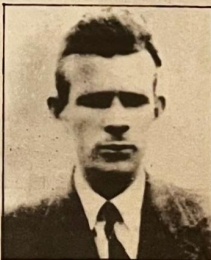
McGrath and Harte, one from Dublin and one from Lurgan, Tommy Harte, born in 1916 joined the IRA in his early teens. In 1940 he was appointed staff officer under Paddy McGrath. On a morning in mid-August 1940 their Rathgar office was surrounded by Special Branch police. A gun battle took place. Two Special Branch men were killed.

McGrath could have escaped but he went back to help Tommy Harte who was wounded. They were then both captured and the Military Tribunal sentenced them to death by execution.

Paddy McGrath was, a 1916 veteran who fought with Ned Daly and the Four Courts garrison in Easter week 1916. He was on several IRA raids during the Black and Tan War and carried over his heart a Black and Tan bullet which could not be removed. A few short months before his arrest he had been released from jail after a prolonged hunger strike.

### DEV

One evening on a visit to Joe Clarke, the 1916 veteran of the



MAURICE O'NEILL



CHARLES KERINS



JOE CLARKE

Battle of Mount Street Bridge, I noticed a big black Rolls Royce outside Joe's hall door. Just as I opened the gate, the hall door opened and out came a Free State army officer. He brushed past me, quickly got into the black Rolls Royce and sped away. Joe was standing at the door, his fist clenched.

"Who's yer man?" I asked. "Come in," said Joe, "and I'll tell you who he is."

I let Joe take his time as I could see he was very upset.

After a while he looked at me and said, "Yer man was Dev's ADC. Guld Dev sent me an invitation to go to a dinner in the Park for the members of the 3rd Battalion."

"There's the invitation," he said, handing me a large white gilt-edged card, "he sends them cards every year. I throw them in the fire. But this year as well as the card he sent down his ADC to get me to go to the Park. I told him I'd never set foot in the Vice-Regal Lodge."

"Why?" the ADC asked. "I'll tell you why," said Joe, "because he shot Paddy McGrath." I wonder what the ADC told Dev that night. I wonder what old Dev's thoughts were if he heard the name Paddy McGrath.

### BREAK

The last time De Valera and Joe Clarke were together was in Suffolk Street Sinn Féin offices in 1926. Dev was getting ready to make the break with Sinn Féin and set up Fianna Fail.

Dev was talking to a man as Joe worked at the desk. The man suddenly turned on Dev shouting and cursing and then rushed out the door. Dev turned to Joe and said, "Well Joe, it seems like that's

another man we've lost, but I think he's the last."

"Oh no!" said Joe, "you have one more to lose."

Dev looked surprised, he glanced down the list of names in his hand and then said, "You're wrong Joe, he's the last."

"No," said Joe, "I'm the last." Joe picked up his books and walked out of the office leaving De Valera struck dumb and standing like a statue.

By September 1926 the break with Sinn Féin was well and truly made.

### GOSPEL

During the years that followed the written republican gospel was kept alive by Joe Clarke and Brian O'Higgins. It was Brian who gave the oration over Paddy McGrath's grave. Brian and Joe continued the separatist tradition with the 'Wolfe Tone Weekly', the Irish Book Bureau, and the 'Wolfe Tone Annual'. Banned, stopped by censor, imprisoned, the pens still flourished.

Mary and Anne McSwiney, Scéil J.J. O'Kelly and his name, sake the late Seamus G O'Kelly, the Spark, Resurgence, newsletters, lectures and bulletins. Only a handful of men and women, boys and girls, to hand on a tradition of no surrender.

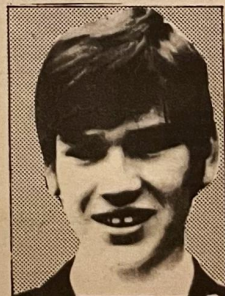
### LONG

September is Emmet's month and the month of Emmet's men, the Irish working class, Tone's 'men of no property', who made the supreme sacrifice for Irish freedom in 1803.

It's a long way and a long number of years from Emmet's scaffold in Thomas Street, Dublin on September 20th 1803 to Tommy Williams' scaffold in Crumlin Road jail, Belfast, on September 2nd 1940. One hundred and forty-three years of unbroken links of Irish republican separatists.

Again in the 1940s, another martyr, Paddy Dermody, killed in action in Cavan on September 30th 1942. Republican memories are made of this, names of the fallen, Jimmy Quigley, Michael Quigley, Michael Kane (I remember his lovely poems), James Bryson, Francis Dodds, Joseph Comiskey, and yet another Anne, like Anne Devlin, Mary Anne McCracken, Anne Hutton and now Anne Pettigrew.

The last name in my mind, as I conclude these memories, is the name of Fr. Livinus OFM Cap., the republican priest who died on September 28th 1974 and whose story I'll tell in next month's memories, linking his name with Frs. Albert and Dominic and all the great Capuchin republican priests.



JIMMY QUIGLEY









# THE LABOUR MOVEMENT AND NATIONALISM



THE LABOUR MOVEMENT has historically played an important and progressive part in the national liberation struggle, although since partition it has obviously tended to withdraw from this struggle. In a series of three articles, being published in AP/RN over three weeks, Ciaran Dowd examines the historical development of today's relationship between the Labour Movement and the national question. Part Three looks at 'From the Thirties until today'.

## Part 3

# From the Thirties until today

IN THE early thirties, Republicans were in the forefront of the struggle against fascism, and in the countryside they became involved with land agitation.

BY CIARAN DOWD

One development was the IRA decision of 1931 to set up a political party — Saor Eire — which was aimed to bring together workers, both urban and rural, and the small farmers. It explicitly posed itself as a revolutionary alternative to the by now quite obviously reformist trade union leadership.

Then a new movement was formed in 1934 — the Republican Congress. Its founding declaration asserted: "We believe that a Republic of a United Ireland will never be achieved except through a struggle which uproots capitalism on its way. We cannot conceive of a free Ireland with a subject working class; we cannot conceive of a subject Ireland with a free working class."

### FAILED

But from its promising beginnings the Congress went from a split, to a declining involvement in social and economic issues, collapsing after two years. Its most significant action was its internationalist commitment to the Spanish Republic to where it sent two hundred volunteers under Frank Ryan.

Why it failed is still a point of contention, but in first place must be its serious underestimation of the national question in practice. This made it virtually irrelevant for Republicans.

The reason was that unity between republicans, social democrats and communists could only be achieved on a 'bread and butter' basis. This was, in fact, just the Comintern's Popular Front policy applied mechanically to Ireland, and does much to explain Republican hostility to 'communism'.

### DISARRAY

Labour moved into the 1940s in disarray as the trade union movement sank into a long internal dispute caused ultimately (as always) by the unresolved national question.

In 1945, the ITGWU split from the Irish Trade Union Congress over the issue of this body affiliating to the 'communist' World Federation of Trade Unions. The underlying issue was the long-standing division between Irish and British-based unions.

In 1941 the Free State government had passed a Trade Union Act, which favoured Irish-based unions, but which also aimed at setting up a corporatist-type union structure. The ITGWU opportunistically refused to join in the campaign against this anti-union legislation, and earned the opposition of most other unions.

When it split from the main union body it formed the Congress of Irish Unions together with some other (mainly craft) Irish-based unions. The unification of the two union bodies

finally came in 1959 when they merged into the Irish Congress of Trade Unions.

### REVIVAL

Beginning around 1960, the Irish Labour movement experienced a great revival of syndicalism. In fact, in 1964 and 1965 the Free State topped the international strike 'league table'.

From the foundings of the Free State to the late 1950s the working class experienced only limited growth and the 1950s was a period of high unemployment and migration, stagnant wages and a general decline in militancy. However, during the 1960s there was a great economic expansion with industrial employment growing from 22% in 1960 to 45% in 1973. A massive strike wave led to an increase in real wages of nearly half and trade union membership had doubled since the fifties.

Whilst the economic situation was buoyant wage increases were possible together with increased profits, but by 1970 workers were demoralised and confused by the argument that 'excessive' wage demands led to inflation.

What happened in the 1960s was a real resurgence of the syndicalism promoted by the young Larkin, but with none of



Frank Ryan (back row, third from left) and some of the 'Irish Brigade' who fought with Spanish Republicans during the Spanish Civil War.

the political content of the 1909-1914 struggles. The workers were able to gain unprecedented social and economic gains without a political confrontation with the neo-colonial capitalist ruling elite of gombeen men. The South's domination by imperialism was not obviously apparent and even the North faded from view.

### NORTH

But in 1969 the North exploded as the Civil Rights movement led inevitably to the re-emergence of the national question. Labour was faced once more with the choice of 1916 — to throw its weight behind a progressive resolution of the national

question, or to turn its back.

The commitment of the trade union movement in the North to Civil Rights in the early stage soon gave way to a total political impotence when faced with the conflict between on the one hand imperialism and its loyalist allies, and on the other hand the Republican Movement at the vanguard of the anti-unionist people.

### INDIFFERENCE

One often hears of a supposed indifference of the southern working-class to the crisis in the North on the basis that the national question is considered irrelevant in the South. In fact, although activity by the labour

movement directly on the national question has been sporadic it has continuously shown itself in a variety of ways since 1969. And this year a number of prominent trade union leaders have committed themselves to support the National H-Block Committee's campaign in defence of Republican prisoners denied political status in Northern jails.

But what is most significant in the working class struggles of the late 1970s in the South is that they began to relate to the continued imperialist domination of the island. Thus, in 1978 a long and bitter fight against the closure of the foreign-owned Ferenka plant in Limerick, posed clearly the need for all Irish workers to confront imperialism.

And imperialism in the South meant essentially confronting the neo-colonial gombeen men who came to power through the Civil War. Workers have also been prepared to take industrial action against repression in recent years, often led by republicans.

### RE-EMERGED

So, in the 1970s, as the economic struggle entered a relative decline, the national struggle re-emerged onto the scene. The social and economic demands of the Southern workers could no longer be absorbed and defused by the state. Again the incomplete national revolution loomed large amongst the tasks of the Irish working class.

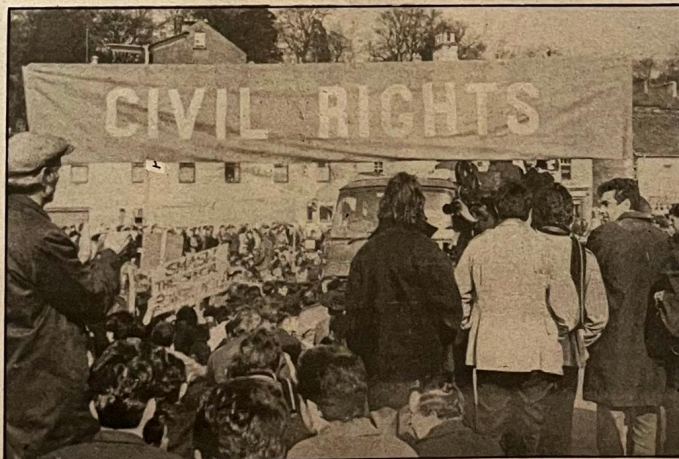
Timid attempts by the left in the Socialist Labour Party to raise the national question to the forefront of socialist politics led to a fierce backlash by the 'socialist' trade union leaders and political figures at the head of the party. The failure of the SLP shows yet again that there is no political space in Ireland for organisations 'between' traditional social democracy, the Labour Party, and the Republican Movement.

### RADICAL

The level of movement in the 'socialist' camp is practically nil. The demise of the SLP has left the incredibly reactionary Free State Labour Party free to carry on its course, the Communist Party has minimal influence and the ever-multiplying far left mosquito groups buzz around impotently on the fringes of the labour and republican movements.

In conclusion, it is only a radical republicanism which can today answer the needs of the working-class. A movement which will break imperialist domination over our country; a movement which is radical because it looks to the root of our oppression both national and economic; and a movement which draws in the best traditions of struggle of the men and women of no property.

(Series concluded)



'In 1969 the North exploded, as the Civil Rights movement led inevitably to the re-emergence of the national question'.