

AN PHOBLACHT Republican News

IRELAND'S BIGGEST SELLING
POLITICAL WEEKLY



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● The junction of Mountpottinger Road and Thompson Street where Tony Dawson (inset) was murdered

Death of a teenager

BY KEVIN BURKE

THE MURDER on Monday this week of 18-year-old Tony Dawson in Belfast's Short Strand represents in microcosm the reality of Britain's presence in the North.

His story could be said to have started five years ago. At that time a BBC television crew arrived in Belfast with a 'good idea' for a programme. They took a group of Catholic kids from the Short Strand and a group of Protestant kids from the Woodstock Road and brought them to the Corrymeela Reconciliation Centre for a few days.

There the BBC filmed the kids 'making friends' with each other and finally filmed them crossing the Albert Bridge and waving goodbye as they separated once again into their

respective 'ghettoes', pledging to keep in touch.

The BBC film crew returned to London, happy with their glib solution of the North's problems. Ironically, the film

they made was shown again on BBC just recently... Ironically, because Tony Dawson was one of the Short Strand kids who appeared in it.

But for Tony Dawson the sectarian reality of British rule had long exposed the emptiness of such hollow posturing.

THREATENED

In the issue of *An Phoblacht/Republican News* of June 3rd 1982, we carried a not unusual story of two youths who had been threatened by the UDR. One of them was Tony Dawson.

We recorded how a UDR

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RUC ATTACK FUNERAL
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Death of a teenager

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man had warned one youth that he "should realise that they were not only members of the UDR but of the UVF as well".

We also recorded that Tony Dawson, who was walking with his Protestant girlfriend, had been dragged up an alleyway by a UDR man and told that if he did not stop meeting her he would be taken onto the Woodstock Road to be 'dealt with' by the loyalists there.

GUNMAN

On December 2nd 1982, AP/RN reported on how a group of five teenagers returning from a dance had just crossed the Albert Bridge and were turning into the Short Strand when a lone gunman emerged from the loyalist Ravenhill Road and fired four shots at them. Miraculously nobody was hit.

The young people did not want us to print their names because they were understandably frightened. One of them was Tony Dawson — it was the sectarian murder bid, having previously been fired at by a gunman operating from a car.

He was not so lucky the third time.

According to those who knew him, Tony Dawson was not a republican. He could not be described as an IRA supporter.

They say he voted Sinn Féin though, because, as he saw it, they were at least preferable to the rest of those looking for votes.

SHADOW

His story ended last Monday in the early hours of the morning on the corner of Thompson Street and Mountpottinger Road in the shadow of an RUC barracks.

The arrest of an RUC man in connection with the murder of Tony Dawson hardly came as a surprise to the people of the Short Strand — the only strange thing about it was that the arrest was made.

Presumably the blatancy of the action accounted for that, or perhaps the truth was about to come out in the press, as in the case of the Armagh UDR/UVF men — three more of whom were charged with the murder of Adrian Carroll on Wednesday this week, bringing the total number of UDR soldiers charged to seven, with five more members still being questioned.

MURDER

Wednesday was also the day when three RUC men were sent forward for trial for the murder of Eugene Toman (killed with Gervase McKerr and Sean Burns) in November 1982, and when another RUC man was sent for trial for the murder of Seamus Grew in December of the same year.

There has been a long and the sectarian murders of nationalists and the crown forces, but very few have been charged.

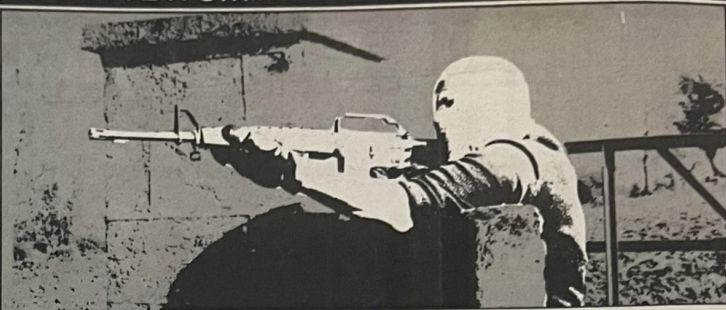
The cesspool of sectarianism in the crown forces now appears to be spilling over, but nationalists also remember that of those charged with such crimes very few indeed have been convicted and even fewer imprisoned.

The true nature of the repression of nationalists in the North is as clear this week as it has ever been.

But where is the outcry from those who usually have so much to say in condemnation of 'violence'?

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WAR NEWS...WAR NEWS...WAR NEWS



Bombs in Newry and Armagh

THREE bombs in milk churns, placed at the Modern Tyre Services premises in Newry's Bridge Street, on Wednesday evening, December 14th, exploded one hour later causing a major fire which spread to nearby commercial premises and caused extensive damage.

no risk to civilians.

COMMERCIAL TARGETS

Commercial property in Newry was also the target of a well-planned IRA bomb blitz almost a week previously on Thursday night, November 8th. In all, five premises were bombed.

Four bombs exploded at CARS garage and showroom on the Warrenpoint Road. Two bombs detonated at Gibbons' clothes shop, while two separate devices went off at One of two bombs exploded at Downtown Discount Stores.

The IRA in South Down, who carried out the attack, gave an adequate warning to ensure there was

TYRONE AMBUSH

The same night, an IRA active service unit of Tyrone Brigade ambushed a UDR soldier in Loughmacrory, County Tyrone. Several shots were fired but the UDR soldier escaped injury.

THREE RUC MEN INJURED

An IRA bomb attack on the RUC in Armagh city on Friday night, November 9th, left three members of that force injured.

In a statement the following day, the IRA's North Armagh Brigade described how three of their active service units were involved in the

ambush.

Two of the three units, armed with automatic weapons, took up positions around the Upper Irish Street/Ogle Street area. Their role was to cover the third unit as it placed the 14lb bomb in position. As soon as the three-man RUC patrol was seen moving up Ogle Street towards Upper Irish Street, the third ASU moved in and planted the bomb behind the wall of a derelict building.

According to the IRA:

"The location of the attack was carefully chosen in order to ensure there would be no possibility of civilian casualties. Immediately after the bomb was detonated, all Volunteers left the area and returned safely to base, despite a heavy RUC and British army presence."

The force of the explosion injured the three RUC men and demolished the front of the two-storey building.

Brit gunman walks free

BY SIOBHAN O'MALLEY

A 25-YEAR-OLD British soldier, from the Royal Marine Commandos, Stephen John Hartley, walked free from Belfast Crown Court on Wednesday this week, December 13th, after being acquitted of four charges of 'wounding with intent' when he fired 16 shots at a car in Beechmount Avenue, West Belfast, on October 30th 1981.

Fifteen-year-old Gerard Mullan, who was a back-seat passenger in the car driven by his father Michael Mullan, was seriously injured, losing his spleen and a kidney, and also suffered injuries to his lungs and liver. His father and his cousin, who were also in the car, were also hit and a 16-year-old girl, Anita McClelland, who was walking past at the time, was shot in the leg.

Michael Mullan was driving from his home in Lenadon to Locan Street, taking home his nephew, 13-year-old Frank Sewell. It was 10.15pm and dark when he turned into Beechmount Avenue.

"Suddenly a soldier jumped in front of the car. Everything happened at once," said Michael Mullan just after the incident.

"Shots came. They seemed to go on and on. I looked around and saw that my son had been hit."

It was admitted in court that the soldier who was knocked down did not have a torch, but Hartley claimed that he had ordered the soldier to wave the car down and had shouted at the driver to stop.

EYEWITNESS

Contrary to the British army



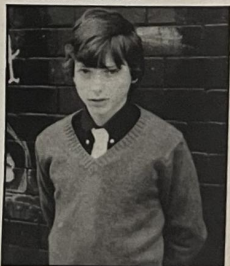
● GERARD MULLAN

claims that only Hartley had fired on the car, local people had heard 20 to 30 shots fired. Witnesses described at the time how people were diving into hallways for safety, and one eyewitness said that the Brits "seemed to have gone berserk".

Michael and Gerard Mullan were in court for the trial, but it must have been no surprise to them or to local people when Judge Roy Watt acquitted Hartley, saying that

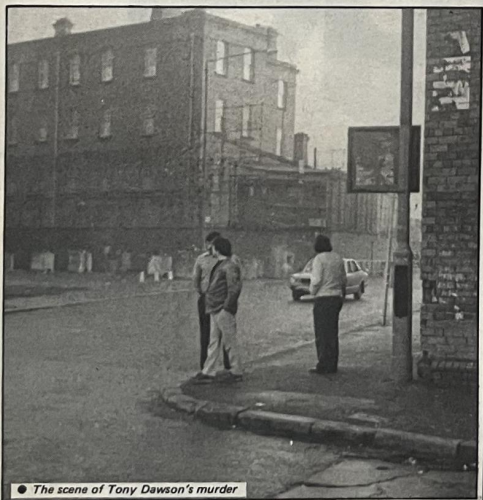


● MICHAEL MULLAN



● FRANK SEWELL

the crown had failed to prove their case that he fired at the car with intent to wound the occupants.



● The scene of Tony Dawson's murder

Prior threatens to disenfranchise 100,000 voters

BY HILDA MacTHOMAS

ON THURSDAY, December 8th, the day after the execution of unionist politician Edgar Graham by the IRA, British direct-ruler James Prior, hard-pressed to maintain some credibility in front of his Westminster colleagues, announced that he was "seriously considering ending contact between the Northern Ireland Office and elected Sinn Féin representatives".

During the biannual token debate on the renewal of the Emergency Provisions Act (attended by only a tiny portion of MPs), Prior called Sinn Féin's uncompromising support for the armed struggle "callous hypocrisy", and in a magnificent display of British hypocrisy criticised Sinn Féin for winning elections:

"What they (Sinn Féin) cannot do, and must not do, is to use the excuse of the ballot box and at the same time commit

themselves to the cause of violence and the Armalite rifle."

And on Monday, December 12th, Prior reiterated his threat that if Sinn Féin continued to support the right to take up arms, its elected representatives would no longer be recognised as "being in any way consistent with democratic institutions".

"We should then take the necessary action not in any way to give them the same opportunities as they have at the moment."

Of course, unionists who gloated in the recent murders of republicans and who advocate taking up arms against the IRA were not subjected to similar condemnations.

ATTEMPT

Prior's threat is yet another attempt by the Brits to change the rules of the game when the outcome no longer suits them. After years of dismissing the Republican Movement as a 'criminal gang' with no popular support, they reacted to the election of Bobby Sands by passing a law which would



● JAMES PRIOR

ban political prisoners from standing for elections. Following October 1982's Assembly elections, and a delegation to Stormont of West Belfast housing activists led by Gerry Adams, British officials insisted that elected representatives of other parties should be present, and wheeled in Joe Hendron of the SDLP and Will Glendinning of the Alliance Party. They then made it clear that no further meetings with Sinn Féin would take place. Prior's threat, therefore, changes very little about the present situation.

However, his later statement seems to suggest a will on the part of the British to curtail Sinn Féin constituency work, and in particular the work done by the many Sinn

Fein advice centres which are in daily contact with the British administration through its social services, the Housing Executive, Department of Environment etc.

Such a move, Derry's Sinn Féin elected representative Martin McGuinness said "would amount to disenfranchising over 100,000 nationalist voters" and was designed both to "placate loyalism" and "bolster the floundering SDLP".

And Mid-Ulster representative Danny Morrison warned against possible moves by the Brits to proscribe Sinn Féin or even reintroduce internment in order to preserve the Assembly and boost the SDLP in its electoral battles with Sinn Féin.



● NIELS HAAGERUP

EEC report opposes Irish unity

BY SHEILA DUFFY

THE preliminary report commissioned by the European Commission on the six counties was finally presented by the EEC rapporteur, Danish Liberal MEP Niels Haagerup, at a meeting of the political affairs committee in Strasbourg on Monday, December 12th.

The report, as expected, condemns the "tradition of violence among extremists", and rules out British withdrawal as it "would not end violence".

Following a trip to Ireland last September, during which Haagerup refused to meet Sinn Féin and was boycotted by the Official Unionists and the Democratic Unionists, the former advisor to NATO has produced a 70-page report in which he advocated power-sharing

and some form of 'Anglo-Irish parliamentary tier' to administer the six counties.

The report's conclusions must have pleased the British government, which comes out of the whole episode unruffled, and Thatcher's grumblings that it was none of the EEC's business, were really only for unionist consumption. Haagerup's report will be grist to the British propaganda mill.

Pleased also are the Free State

government and John Hume, whose Forum has been toying with the proposal the report for including the required dose of 'Irish dimension'. More importantly, the final report will be published nearer to the EEC elections, and will undoubtedly be used as one of Hume's electoral lifebuoys, although unlikely to capture voters' imagination.

TYPICAL

The unionist MEPs reacted in typical fashion: Paisley stormed out of the chamber and later declared that the report would bring "great comfort to the gunmen", and John Taylor duly followed suit by saying that the report would "en-

courage Irish unity by stealth".

However those comments must while making political recommendations, failed to mention the degree of repression which is meted out to the anti-unionist population.

The Haagerup report is decidedly pro-establishment, and while the debate on the report, which is to take place in the New Year, may help to maintain in the European Parliament an awareness of the war in Ireland, the final resolution will be nothing more than a pat on the back for the British and Free State governments.

A predictable ending to the whole episode, which had been heralded at the time by Hume — coincidentally just before the June Westminster election — as the beginning of EEC involvement in the Irish question.

'NO POLITICS' ON KINNOCK VISIT

BY HILDA MacTHOMAS

HARD on the heels of the British Labour Party spokesperson on the North, Peter Archer, the new leader of the British Labour Party, Neil Kinnock, flew to Belfast for a one-day visit on Monday, December 12th. Like Archer, Kinnock ignored Sinn Féin's request for a meeting.

Kinnock went even further, and met no political representatives at all, confining himself to talks with trade unionists, a tour of Shorts' aircraft factory, and a visit to a Youth Training Programme workshop in the Lower Falls.

The move was deliberate: 'economic initiatives' will be given priority over political initiatives by the new Labour leader. The implication is that the Labour leadership is going

to continue the 'normalisation' policy started by Roy Mason, that is maintaining the status quo — and the British presence — whilst trying to get both sides to 'concentrate on bread and butter issues'. Of his party's view that Ireland should 'ultimately' be reunited, Kinnock said: "Ultimately" can be a very long way away.

On talks with Sinn Féin, Kinnock remained suitably

vague, declaring that he might meet Sinn Féin "sometime in the future" if Sinn Féin were "directly engaged in the democratic process".

In Mason's day this would have meant taking part in elections. Now that Sinn Féin has elected representatives, Kinnock's precondition might mean taking part in the Assembly or Westminster — and amounts to a barely disguised refusal to meet with Sinn Féin.

CONTACT

West Belfast MP Gerry Adams, who unsuccessfully tried to contact Kinnock on Monday, criticised the British Labour leader's refusal to hear the political demands of the anti-unionist population:

"If Neil Kinnock is to responsibly fulfil his obligations to the British public — a majority of whom favour a British withdrawal



● British Labour Party leader Neil Kinnock concentrated on 'bread and butter issues' (and mince pies) during his visit to Belfast

— then he should be interested in that section of the community object to the British presence in meeting the representatives of who are oppressed and who most the North."

Solidarity in Tullamore

BY JACK MADDEN

FOR ALMOST a year a small group of workers have been on strike at Condrón's Concrete Ltd in Tullamore, County Offaly, seeking their right to join a trade union. In that time they have defiantly withstood intimidation and sometimes violence from their anti-union boss, John Condrón, and in recent weeks suffered the disappointment of watching their work colleagues stage a protest against the strike, blaming the strikers for the difficulties which now afflict the firm.

On Saturday last, December 10th, Tullamore Trades Council launched a counter-offensive and in conjunction with the Irish Transport & General Workers Union (ITGWU), organised a march and rally by trade unionists in the town. Support groups from Kilkenny, Dublin, Carlow, Athlone, Limerick and Longford joined local trade unionists in the demonstration.

Introducing the meeting, the chairperson of Tullamore Trades Council, Paddy Walsh, commented:

"At least we know the ideals of Connolly and Larkin won't be forgotten. They are still instilled in our members in the Tullamore area."

Reminding the crowd that besides its local repercussions, the Condrón's dispute had far-reaching effects, Sean Sheehan, branch secretary of the ITGWU, said:

"It is a dispute about the right of any person, in any part of this country, to join a trade union without fear of threats and intimidation. Generations before us starved, fought and died for this right. We will go to any length to defend that right."

Emphasising that other employees of Condrón's were "cajoled and coerced into giving misguided loyalty" to their boss, he

RECRUIT

Denying that the ITGWU had approached workers at Condrón's to recruit members, he said that following the dismissal of one of



● United and defiant: Tony Monaghan (left), Therese Delaney (sitting) and Leo Delaney (right)

their colleagues for a frivolous reason, the workers had approached him, seeking union membership. He added that, contrary to rumours, this was not an inter-union dispute, a point later supported by another speaker, Kevin McMahon of the Workers Union of Ireland, who said that his union had made it clear that they would not recruit members at Condrón's while the dispute with the ITGWU remained unsettled.

Representing the ITGWU, group secretary Des Geraghty said:

"There was a lot of weeping and gnashing of teeth as a result of this dispute. If anyone loses their jobs it is themselves who are responsible because they could have solved this strike six months ago by standing with their own comrades on the picket-line."

"Sometimes you're dealing with hungry and very evil employers and sometimes you begin to feel that there's a Mafia at large in

this country which has a determination to ensure that the strength of the trade unions is broken. It is important that we start on the streets of Tullamore to let the employers in this country know, and the government if necessary, that the trade union movement is not dead yet, whatever John Bruton might think."

Pointing out that there was a lot of talk about legislation to prevent unofficial disputes, he added that there was no proposed legislation and no outcry against the injustice being done to Condrón's strikers, who have followed and observed every rule in the book, used the Labour Court, and were still denied their legal right to join a trade union.

"There has been an unfortunate alliance. The Independent Concrete Manufacturers Association, who don't want to be in any other organisation, don't want to pay tax, don't want any control and don't want any influence from anybody that would attempt

to undermine their 'freedom of choice', in where they sell, what they pay and how they perform."

"There are people supplying oil, using front names to distribute the products of Condrón's Concrete, and I have found, even in very high places, even in the public service, people willing to do business with them."

Closing the meeting, Kevin McMahon reminded the crowd that had John Condrón accepted normal industrial relations standards the strike could have been prevented:

"Just as he is responsible for continuing this strike, he, and he alone, will be responsible if the Condrón's plant closes down."

PROBLEMS

After the meeting, Therese Delaney, a mother of five and wife of one of the strikers, explained the problems which the protraction has caused:

"I got a letter saying I was going to get an eviction order. I get £63 a week, and besides feeding five children, myself and my husband, I'm supposed to pay £8 a week rent, paying off what I owe as well. After a lot of hassle I got the free fuel allowance. It's terrible hard, especially coming up to Christmas, I'm supposed to buy Santa's presents out of that £63 and I'm depending on the good nature of other people to see me through."

Both the strikers and their families were disappointed when a benefit dance to be held in the local rugby club was called off without explanation. Therese Delaney believes it was called off "because of pressure from people around Tullamore who have connections. You know what I mean — big-shots".

One of the strikers, Tony Monaghan, added:

"Because of the generosity of the people who had bought tickets at £2 each, 90% of them wouldn't take their money back. The dance was to take place on Friday night and the rugby club called it off on the Monday beforehand, but whatever happened we didn't hear about it until Wednesday night."

Both Tony Monaghan and Therese Delaney's husband, Leo, along with the other strikers, suffered constant harassment throughout the strike. Leo Delaney was on one occasion arrested by the gardai, while Tony Monaghan has had rocks thrown at his car while following delivery trucks working for Condrón's, and he has even had his car rammed.

Despite violence and intimidation, both the strikers and the trade union movement are determined to continue their struggle for union recognition, tightening up the blacking campaign against Condrón to force him to recognise the Labour Court recommendation and bring him to the negotiation table.

RENT INCREASE ADDS INSULT TO INJURY

THE PROPOSED rent increases for Housing Executive dwellings in the North, to come into effect early in the New Year, have been severely criticised by Sean Keenan, Belfast Sinn Féin's spokesperson on housing. In a statement he said:

"This increase in rent by the Housing Executive has added insult to the injury felt by the Executive tenants in the West Belfast area. The increase comes at the end of a year in which the Executive's treatment of its tenants has been atrocious."

"The Executive has consistently refused to carry out necessary repairs to houses, and many major improvement schemes in areas such as Unity Flats, Andersonstown, Whitehall, Springfield and Lendadoon have been shelved."

"Not only does the Housing Executive have a deplorable record on repairs and improvements, but it has failed to house those people who are in basic need of housing, with the result that in many instances two or three families have to share one house."

"The Housing Executive now



● SEAN KEENAN

has the audacity to further burden their tenants with increased rents despite lack of repairs, the shelving of improvement schemes and gross overcrowding in West Belfast."

"With reference to British minister Christopher Patton's promises of increased expenditure on housing, it should be remembered that the people of West Belfast have had many such promises before. These promises have proved worthless. The people of West Belfast are still living in the worst housing conditions in Western Europe."



● Among the representatives outside Dublin City Hall were: Noel Sillery, Joe Humphries and Padraig McEnroe (Dolphin House); and Willie Ormonde and Christy Doyle (Charlemont Street)

WATER RATES PROTEST

A DELEGATION from community associations in the Dublin area went to Dublin Corporation's offices in City Hall on Wednesday, December 14th, to protest at the imposition of water rates.

At a meeting with Andrew McHugh, secretary to the city manager, the delegation returned water rates demands collected in

their areas to demonstrate the determination of the residents not to pay any such charges on essential services.

The delegation included representatives from Charlemont Street Community Association, Dolphin House Community Development Centre and St Theresa's Gardens Community Development Association.

Worse yet to come

BY DAMIEN O'ROURKE
& TONY BARRY

THE worst-off and weakest sectors of society were the targets for a vicious package of public-spending cuts, amounting to £460 million, unveiled by the Coalition government on Wednesday of this week.

But the cuts, which will be put into effect for 1984 in next month's budget, fall short of what Finance Minister Alan Dukes wanted and what was predicted. The difference is expected to be made up by further increases in direct and indirect taxation in that budget, with children's allowances tipped as likely to be brought into the tax net.

The cuts announced in Wednesday's Book of Estimates hit most severely in the areas of social welfare, health and education.

And, ironically, as an indication of the massive mis-spending of public money on collaboration with Britain, the mysterious 'secret services' fund is to be increased in 1984 by 88%.

In social welfare, the pay-related benefits floor for new claimants will be increased from £36 to £43, meaning less for claimants. The ceiling for pay-related benefits for unemployment and disability is reduced so that claimants can only get 75% of their previous earnings as opposed to the present 80% level.

HEALTH CHARGES

Increased health charges are coupled with a reduction of the amount which those regularly spending money on drugs and medicines can claim. No new hospitals will be built and spending on present hospitals is to be cut by 4%.

Far from seeking to create jobs, unemployment is planned to rise to



● Direct and indirect taxation is likely to be further increased in the Coalition's next budget

225,000 in Wednesday's figures — using it as an economic regulator. The Industrial Development Authority will not be allowed any further advance factories and the cut in the overall capital programme will also mean less employment, particularly in the construction industry. Civil service recruitment will continue to be banned.

Although the figures allocated to each department are marginally higher than last year's in almost all cases, when the inflation rate of over 10% is taken into account there are very real reductions. And in the key area of industry and energy the allocation is actually 5% down on last year's figure even before inflation is taken into account.

Commenting on the cut-backs,

Sinn Féin president Gerry Adams MP said:

"These measures disproportionately and cruelly affect the infirm, the young and the unemployed, who are ignored in this product of a government of accountants who have lost any legitimacy as guardians of the needs of Irish people."

"What credibility can the Labour Party have in their alleged defensive Cabinet role in relation to state intervention to improve the economy, when the already crumbling building industry will suffer most from the capital cut-backs which are at the centre of these estimates?"

UNWARRANTED ASSAULT

The proposals have been described by Fianna Éireann (Re-

publican Youth Movement) as an "unwarranted assault on young people, and indicates the lack of concern by the Free State government for the development of a coherent youth policy".

Among the proposals affecting youth are severe cut-backs in building grants to primary, secondary and vocational schools and regional technical colleges. Building grants to post-primary institutions and teacher-training colleges are being reduced by a massive 16% while there will be a 6% cut-back in grants for building, equipping and furnishing national schools. This, despite the fact that many counties are accommodated in one-fabricked buildings while others lack basic facilities such as running water, toi-

ets, typewriters and remedial teachers.

Enrolment in primary schools is rising by 5,000 on an annual basis, so the cut-backs, taken with the cut-backs from previous years, are making the South's education system a total farce.

THIRD LEVEL

The denial of working-class access to third-level education will be further strengthened by the cuts in total spending on higher education over last year and the 20% increase in third-level fees. The cut-backs will mean that universities and colleges must make up the deficit, which in turn will make the proposed new loans scheme inevitable.

The fact that there are no proposals for an increase in student grants also indicates the Coalition's intention in this regard.

Other cut-backs include the removal of medical cards from third-level students and an increase in school bus fares, which were only introduced last year.

In a statement condemning the proposed cut-backs, Fianna Éireann said:

"These cut-backs are the end result of a conservative government intent on imposing a Thatcherite solution to a problem that can only be solved by a fair and equitable distribution of wealth."

"The problems facing young people deserve more than savage cut-backs and pessimistic forecasts. We demand that this government abandons its reactionary proposals and implements a policy based on creating employment for school-leavers, and the running of a scheme which provide adequate recreational facilities for young people."

Law society slams intimidatory bill

BY SIOBHAN O'MALLEY

THE governing body of solicitors in the twenty-six counties, the Incorporated Law Society, has issued a statement expressing 'serious concern' about the main proposals of the Criminal Justice Bill currently being debated in Leinster House.

The provisions of the bill have already been criticised by the Criminal Law Reform Group and in an editorial in the *Irish Law Times*, as well as by civil rights groups.

The sections of the bill arousing most opposition are the undermining of the right to remain silent and the extension of the powers of detention for interrogation, which the Council of the Law Society describes as a serious invasion of the rights of innocent citizens and intimidation by the authorities.

INROADS

The Society says that it "cannot support

the extension of the gardai's powers of detention, nor the inroads on the right to silence contained in the bill" because "the conferring of powers of detention for the purpose of the investigation of a crime is a serious invasion of the rights of the innocent citizen".

The council continued: "There have unfortunately been some serious breaches of the existing limited powers of interrogation, which the courts have had to deal with. These examples do not encourage the council to approve of any extension of the gardai's power of detention."

"The proposals which would entitle inferences to be taken from the failure of an accused to mention facts, account for objects found in his possession (or on his premises), or his presence at a particular place, are unacceptable."

"These proposals, coupled with the detention provisions, lead the council to believe that they will lead to a situation in which



● The Incorporated Law Society's offices in Dublin's Blackhall Place

innocent citizens will find themselves subject to an intimidatory process as a result of which a person may be likely to confess to an offence solely in order to terminate the intimidatory process and regain his freedom."

RUC threaten Tyrone man

A 20-YEAR-OLD Coalisland man, Gerard McLarnon, a close friend of IRA Volunteers Colm McGirr and Brian Campbell, who were murdered by the SAS on Sunday afternoon, December 4th, was under intensive interrogation in Gough Barracks in Armagh at the time of the murder and was threatened by RUC detectives that he would also be killed.

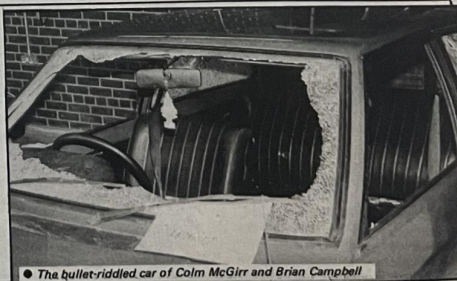
The interrogation was suddenly halted at around 3.15pm, coinciding with the time the two Volunteers were killed, and McLarnon was returned to his cell. He was left there for four hours and then taken back to the interrogation room, where he

was informed of Brian's and Colm's death. According to McLarnon, the RUC detectives "laughed, jeered and screamed with joy" when they told him and then threatened:

"Spanner" and Colm McGirr are dead

meet. You're next and you'll get the same."

McLarnon had been in Gough Barracks since Friday, December 2nd, under Section 11 following his arrest from his Ardmore home. This was his second arrest within the space of three months and he was finally released around 10pm on Sunday night, having known of the deaths even before the families of the deceased had been officially informed.



● The bullet-riddled car of Colm McGirr and Brian Campbell

BY JANE PLUNKETT

ABOUT 4,000 single people in the North were homeless at some time during the past 12 to 18 months, according to the voluntary organisation Extern. Every night in Belfast, some 500 single homeless people are estimated to be living in hostel accommodation, while many more are sleeping rough.

The British colonial administration's neglect of the problem is highlighted in the Christmas issue of Extern's magazine *Lynx*, and in the report, published last week, on the work of its Ormeau Centre, which provides a day centre, advice and emergency night accommodation for the single homeless, at premises on West Belfast's Grosvenor Road.

During the past six months, the numbers of young people, aged under 25, using the centre have grown significantly, an alarming development which Extern workers believe is reflected throughout the North, with an increasing number sleeping rough.

Some of these young people have been thrown out of their family home after a row. Others, brought up in institutions and unprepared for life outside, came to the centre after spells in psychiatric hospitals or prison. Emigrants returning to Ireland after a long absence are another important group. And many people become homeless as a result of marriage break-up or a drink problem.

Both reports usefully stress the complex social factors that may reject a man at the Ormeau Centre, points out:

"Men who have either lost their wives or their mothers, whether through death, divorce, separation etc are vulnerable to a decline in circumstances leading to eventual homelessness... The man, who has been looked after by women all his life with no need to manage his home, suddenly finds himself without support to do so. As the stronger sex, his capabilities to look after himself are assumed, but have little foundation in practice."

DEBT

Knowing nothing about paying rent or bills, over a period of time such a man may find himself more and more in debt, turn to drink and in certain circumstances 'opt out'.

The lack of counselling and support provided to homeless people by the British 'welfare' state is criticised in several articles in *Lynx*. The homeless also face a hard battle for supplementary benefits, special allowances and placement on the housing list, and often give up in despair.

The stereotype view that all hostel inmates are 'winos' is strongly disputed by McAleenan, who estimates that well under 10% of those who use the Ormeau Centre have alcohol-related problems.

"Most people who used the centre are just ordinary people. Anybody could end up homeless because of the lack of housing in Belfast and the lack of support from government agencies for people whose problems become so overwhelming that they have to leave home."

WOMEN

Battered women constitute a significant proportion of the North's homeless. In the past year, over 550 women and 1,300 children have fled to the handful of Women's Aid refuges in the six counties, seeking support and protection against violent men. In ob-

taining permanent rehousing, such women have an advantage over other homeless groups since, where young children are involved, the Housing Executive has to recognise a housing need. Yet even so, some women spend ten months in the often overcrowded refuges, and the average wait for rehousing is four

months.

Many more women undoubtedly continue to endure violence from their husbands because voluntary groups such as Women's Aid simply cannot cope with the need for refuge accommodation.

British government agencies make scarcely any stop-gap provis-

RIGHTS FOR HOMELESS —A HOPELESS CASE?



● Men who have lost their wives or mothers, whether through death, divorce or separation etc, are vulnerable to a decline in circumstances leading to homelessness



● Sleeping cubicles in North Belfast's Carrick House which couldn't be used because of cold and damp permeating the roof

ion for the single homeless. Nor have they taken any steps to eradicate the problem.

HOSTEL

The DHSS operates just one hostel for the single homeless, Carrick House in central Belfast. Carrick House provides long-term accommodation, in cubicles, for up to 101 men, some of whom have lived in its Victorian workhouse-style environment for over 40 years.

The state relies heavily on voluntary bodies, such as Simon, the Salvation Army and the Legion of Mary, to provide the bulk of hostel beds. The British direct-rule administration does not even provide meaningful statistics on the problem, and estimates of the numbers of homeless by the charities vary considerably.

Although both the Housing Executive and the DHSS may be involved with cases, neither has a statutory duty to house the homeless. Both have consistently refused to recognise that the problem even exists.

The Executive will not even consider placing a homeless person on their waiting list (which currently stands at over 23,000) unless they have an address. Hostel-dwellers receive no special priority. In West Belfast, in particular, their situation is made more hopeless by the chronic overall housing shortage.

RIGHTS

Frustrated by homeless people's lack of rights, several charities, including Shelter and Extern, have

fruitlessly pressed for legislation to give the North's homeless statutory rights to housing, such as exist in Britain under the 1977 Homeless Persons Act. But both the British government and its agent the Housing Executive have complacently argued legislation to protect the homeless is unnecessary, adding that they would, in any case, ignore it. As the Executive's chairman, Charles Brett, has arrogantly stated:

"If it were to be introduced, we would satisfy the legislation by simply offering anybody who was entitled to accommodation, accommodation in those areas where we have a surplus, for example Craigavon, Antrim etc."

This, despite the fact that Executive chief John Gorman has admitted that the Executive's 1,200 empty houses in Craigavon "are heavily vandalised, derelict and were badly planned in the first place."

Yet, if the single homeless refuse to uproot themselves from their own areas, from friends, relatives and (possibly) job prospects to live in houses that, according to Gorman, "should be knocked down", they are not — in the Executive's eyes — cases of genuine housing need.

In the context of such contemptuous colonial attitudes, clearly neither British laws nor British administration can be expected to provide the finance and genuinely caring approach that the North's many homeless people so desperately need.

INTERNATIONAL INQUIRY INTO SHOOT-TO-KILL

BY HILDA MacTHOMAS

THE British government and unionist politicians have launched a predictable attack on an international lawyers' inquiry into killings by the RUC and British army. The proposed inquiry, which was announced at a press conference in Belfast on Sunday, December 11th, was described as "nauseating" by Democratic Unionist Party spokespersons, who accused the panel of international lawyers of "trying to vilify the security forces" and of ignoring the "2,000 victims of the IRA" (sic).

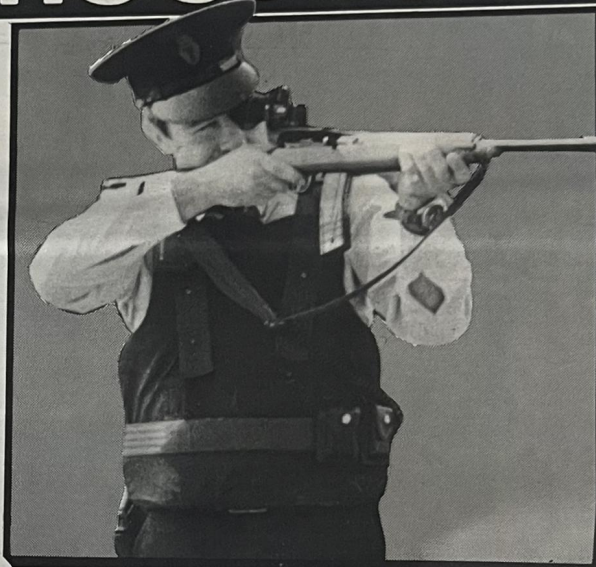
Official Unionist Party leader James Molyneux declared that the panel was 'obviously prejudiced and biased' — an accusation unionists level at all human rights bodies — and the British government, in a statement, rejected the inquiry organisers' invitation to make submissions to the panel and attempted to belittle the inquiry by dismissing its organisers, the Northern-based Association for Legal Justice, as "an entirely unofficial body" with "no legal standing", a claim which will cause some anger within the Northern nationalist community, where the ALJ is held in great respect. This British government refusal actually gets the British army and RUC off the hook of having to explain why they will not make submissions to the inquiry.

PANEL

Meanwhile, the "unofficial body" with "no legal standing" — the ALJ — made public last Sunday the details of the inquiry, which is endorsed by organisations

such as the British National Council for Civil Liberties, the Haldane Society of Lawyers (Britain) and three American law societies: the National Lawyers Guild, the National Conference of Black Lawyers and the Breton-Irish Law Society.

The panel of lawyers includes internationally recognised names such as Dean Kader Asmal, senior law lecturer at Trinity College Dublin and president of the Irish Council for Civil Liberties, who has conducted human rights inquiries on South Africa and the Middle East; Geoffrey Bindman, a British solicitor and former legal advisor to the Race Relations Board, Commission for Racial Equality, and former chairperson of the American International British Lawyers Group; William Booth, former judge in Brooklyn Supreme Court, New York, former New York Commissioner for Human Rights and chairperson of the American Commission on Africa, and who has been an international legal observer at political trials in South Africa, Nam-



ibia and Chile and Michel Zavrian, advocate of the Court of Appeal in Paris and a member of the International Federation on Human Rights.

All four have taken part in many human rights inquiries in other countries. The tribunal will be assisted by two legal counsel, Richard Harvey, representing the National Lawyers Guild (USA), and Marlene Archer,

representing the National Council of Black Lawyers (USA).

FIVE AREAS

The inquiry plans to examine four areas:

1. The official instructions for the use of firearms by the British army and RUC.
2. How the RUC investigated killings carried out by their own members.

3. The role of the coroners' courts.

4. The attitude of the Director of Public Prosecutions.

5. The effect of those killings on the community. Written submissions should be sent to the secretary of the inquiry, Richard Harvey, c/o Kader Asmal, Trinity College Dublin, no later than January 20th 1984.

The inquiry will also hold public sessions to hear oral testimony in Armagh, Derry and Belfast from Saturday 4th to Monday 8th of February 1984, after which the tribunal will issue a report on its findings.

Kader Asmal declared at Sunday's press conference that the panel was "aware of the grave public disquiet about the issue in the North" and that he thought "setting up an impartial inquiry was the correct thing to do". And ALJ chairperson Sean McCann stressed the fact that although there have been at least 15 deaths at the hands of the RUC and the British army since November 1982 and at least 120 since August 1969, there have been only nine prosecutions as a result of these deaths, and five of them ended in acquittals.

FOCUS

Summary executions of nationalists on the streets of the six counties are likely to continue as the British army and the RUC carry out the British government's policy of appeasing the loyalists while terrorising the already alienated nationalist population.

The holding of the inquiry is therefore unlikely to prevent further deaths. However, because of the involvement of the lawyers involved, it may help to focus international attention on the so-called 'peace-keeping' operations of the British government in the six counties.

SHOW-TRIAL CREDIBILITY SHAKEN AGAIN

BY JANE PLUNKETT

THOUGH uncertainty still surrounds the fate of four Belfast men still on trial in Crumlin Road Court on the sole word of paid perjurer John Morgan, the credibility of the show-trial proceedings has been severely undermined, morally at least, by the testimony of Morgan. During five days in the stand, the RUC hiring repeatedly admitted telling lies in court in order to present a consistent story, and also admitted to numerous 'mistakes' in his evidence.

One of the defendants, 35-year-old Joe McKee, walked free on Monday, December 12th, after Judge Murray acquitted him of charges of false imprisonment and assault. Another man, Patrick Fitzpatrick, was cleared of conspiracy to kill an RUC man but remains on trial on other charges.

Coming clean under cross-examination on a small fraction of his perjured statements, Morgan admitted deliberately attempting to deceive the judge, cynically adding: "It was very stupid, it was just to fit in with what the barrister, Mr Boal, was saying."

At the age of 16 Morgan killed his brother-in-law as he slept in bed. In court he admitted that although charged with murder he had been eventually convicted of manslaughter after psychiatric evidence that he was mentally ill. The RUC and crown lawyers nevertheless have not hesitated to use such a man in the hope of securing convictions.

BLATANT

The RUC attempt to frame Joe McKee was so blatant that, exceptionally, the judge had no alternative

identification parades that apply in British courts, incidentally exposing once again the sham legal standards that prevail in the six counties.

As part of the frame-up, prior to the confrontation, Morgan had picked out McKee's photograph from an RUC file of alleged suspects. When Morgan attempted to repeat the process in court, the prosecution collapsed. McKee recalls:

"Twice in a matter of minutes he picked out two photographs which weren't of me. Not only did he not recognise me, he didn't recognise the photographs he had already picked out!"

VICTIM

Joe McKee, a married man with

three children who lives in Turf Lodge, has been a frequent victim of harassment and detention by the crown forces. He was detained for several weeks in 1982 on the word of Dermot Perry but was freed when Perry retracted. According to McKee:

"During the past six years I've been in Castlereagh over 20 times, for periods of seven days, plus two attempts to charge me on the basis of perjured statements. It was internment by remand, it is even worse than internment because they have 'legalised' it and made it respectable."

"The RUC are going to continue to use it and I would be afraid of people being complacent about people like me being released."



JOHN MORGAN

'Lip service useless' - rally told

THE SDLP and the Workers Party were attacked for their "lip service condemnation" of the show-trial strategy, by Sinn Féin's Councillor Alex Maskey, in West Belfast last Saturday.

Speaking at a local Stop the Show Trials Committee rally in the Whitecock area, Maskey pointed out:

"Statements of condemnation alone cannot and will not end this pernicious practice."

Another speaker, Frank Cahill, explained

how he had been detained in Crumlin Road Jail on the basis of statements manufactured by the RUC, which were signed first by Robert Lean, and then, when he retracted, were transferred by the RUC to William Skelly. Cahill was released early in November after the RUC dropped all charges against him. Commenting on his own experience, Cahill said:

"Just because some victims of the paid-perjurer strategy have been released, people should not be under any illusion that the strategy has been broken. The show trials

are a policy decision by the British government and can only be broken by mass mobilisation on the streets."

Other speakers at the rally included local councillor Fergus O'Hare, Richard O'Rawe and Maura McCrory, both of the Stop the Show Trials Committee. Maura McCrory stressed that the committee is prepared to work with any political party that condemns the show-trial strategy.

A rally organised by the Andersonstown Stop the Show Trials Committee will take place on Saturday, December 17th, at the Busy Bee at 3pm.

Irish trade-union leaders seek discussion

"IT COULD very well be that it will be a Tory government that takes the quite cynical and economic calculation and decides to withdraw from Ireland," Ken Livingstone told an 800-strong audience at a meeting in Dublin on Labour and the Northern Crisis, organised by leading Irish trade unionists on Monday last.

Monday night's meeting and the visit of Ken Livingstone to Ireland were sponsored by ten trade union general secretaries, in their personal capacities, by Matt Merrigan, vice-president of the Irish Congress of Trade Unions, and by both the secretary and chairperson of the Dublin Council of Trade Unions.

Introducing the meeting, which attracted widespread interest and support from rank-and-file trade union members, Phil Flynn, acting general secretary of the Local Government & Public Services Union and a vice-president of Sinn Féin, explained that trade unionists "watched with anxiety the deepening crisis in the North and its horrific by-products" He added:

"It seems that each and every opportunity should be taken to increase awareness of the situation and to work towards a democratic solution to the crisis.

"All of us sponsoring this meeting have one thing in common. We believe that the ultimate solution to the Northern crisis lies in an independent and sovereign Ireland and that this course is in the interests of the working-class, North and South.

"Every approach to this problem to date has failed. They have failed, we believe, because they have been negative. They have been negative in concept in that they have all guaranteed the dialogue on change and in fact have given an incentive against change."

PRINCIPLES

Explaining that in reaction to this unionist veto nationalists had forged their own veto — armed struggle — he continued:

"There is no military solution to the Northern question and the treating of the problem as one of security holds no hope for a solution either.

"To us it is self-evident that Britain is central to a solution. While the Tory party is unlikely to ever give assent to a policy which would have the effect of leading to a united Ireland, for the British Labour Party such a course would be consistent with its principles and its interests and in that context we have watched with interest the debate which is ongoing in the British Labour Party and trade union movement."

Padraigh Ni Mhurchu of the Women Workers Union pointed out the extent of objections she had had to contend with in her support of the Livingstone visit, and her own involvement as one of the sponsors, from trade unionists who felt it was not the business of the trade union movement to become involved in such a debate. Refuting this, she continued:

"In Dublin we have a responsibility to discuss this issue, particularly when we have spent the last 60 years claiming a responsibility and a caring about what happens in the North. Coming from one of those Ulster counties not included in Northern Ireland, I don't have any difficulty understanding and accepting that sectarianism and discrimination have existed and continue to exist in Northern Ireland."

POLARISED

Pointing out that one of the saddest features in Irish history has been that many socialists have

polarised away from those who were nationalists and common ground was lost, Ni Mhurchu added:

"The existence of discrimination and sectarianism anywhere raises questions for socialists. Unlike El Salvador or Nicaragua, and even Poland, to which we devote enormous energy and research, we do not see anything like the same level of interest and research in a problem that is 80 miles up the road.

"Many of us who are socialists have engaged over the past ten years in a soul-searching process about where we stand on the national question. Unfortunately, many of these socialists who have engaged in that soul-searching have come to a conclusion which effectively throws out the baby with the bath-water, that conclusion being that unionists are the democratic majority and therefore, if you believe in parliamentary democracy, unionists should get the support of the people.

"The unionists, however, have shown very clearly for 60 years majority, and people who have abused power in that way cannot be handed power back again."

DEFENCE

Congratulating Ken Livingstone for his work in defence of the Irish in Britain, and reminding the audience of the stance taken by the Greater London Council in refusing advertising to a London newspaper because of its viciously anti-Irish campaign, Sean Redmond of the Irish Municipal Employees Trade Union evaluated the role of the Irish labour and trade union movement on the issue of partition, concluding that very little has happened:

"This is one of the greatest weaknesses in the overall situation that on the one hand we have seen a developing interest about Ireland in the British labour movement and yet in the labour movement in this country we are not paralleling this situation.

"There are historical reasons for the absence of discussion on the partition issue, but as a member of the Irish Labour Party I want to make the point that that party's policy on Irish unity and partition is particularly backward.

"In fact, it's very hard to know what its policy is. And, in fact, you might say there is no policy because although it's written into the constitution of the Labour Party that it stands for a thirty-two county socialist Ireland, there is no concept at any level within the Labour Party as to how we are to achieve that.

"Within the trade union movement the situation is not much better. Certainly some unions, and it is to their credit, have taken a stand on the unity of the country, but the movement as a whole has not done so, while the official stand of Congress is contained in the Better Life For All document."

OPPOSITION

Emphasising that there have

BY
JACK
MADDEN

been a number of positive contributions in the six counties, including the emergence of the civil rights campaign from a conference which was called by the Belfast Trades Council, the opposition of individual trade unionists to the loyalist strikes and that Congress, as a thirty-two county body, has held its last four meetings in Belfast, he added:

"There is, however, a negative aspect to this. We know that there is opposition in the North to Congress being a thirty-two county body. Over the past few years



● PADRAIGH NI MHURCHU

we have heard talk of the formation of an 'Ulster TUC' breaking away from Congress. That has been resisted, but one problem is that in our desire to preserve unity we have steered clear of the partition issue. It is simply not discussed.

"I am not suggesting that it should be raised in a divisive way. The unity of our movement is important and must not lightly be put in jeopardy but, having said that, I cannot help but think that the unity of our movement has become an end in itself, and this has tended to stultify debate. This is an undesirable position."

DEVELOPMENT

In the main address of the meeting, Ken Livingstone outlined the development of his understanding of Irish history and politics in the restricted and often racist context of an English education system.

He continued by quoting a sentence which, he said, encapsulates his perception of the British role in Ireland, a quote he received from an unlikely source — Sir Kenneth Mark, the Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police who was involved in the Hunt Commission on RUC malpractices:

"Only its association with the

Livingstone in Dublin



● SEAN REDMOND

United Kingdom and its representation at Westminster prevented it (the six counties) being seen in realistic terms as no different a relationship with Britain than Cyprus, Aden, or any other of the countless colonial countries from the great empire of the past."

Livingstone continued: "That would, as I see it, be a perfect analysis of the situation — pure colonial rule. While it is privately admitted that this is the last stage of a colonial war, this debate is essentially secretive, while publicly they say we are just there to keep two warring communities apart. This is a total distortion of the truth."

Outlining the difficulties for any British politician in challenging this distortion of truth in the face of vicious media hostility, Livingstone remarked that it is incredible that the leader of a London council which represents seven million people who are either directly affected by the problems of Ireland, as when bombs explode in London, or indirectly when many of the army recruits who actually serve in Ireland come from London, is nevertheless told that he has no right to speak out on the issue.

"Would anyone have said that about an American mayor discussing the war in Vietnam? It isn't in

any sense that I raise these issues, but what I say."

EXPERIMENTATION

Viewing British involvement in Ireland as a massive exercise of experimentation in civilian control, Livingstone then outlined three distinct phases in what he termed "the most sophisticated system of intelligence and monitoring of civilians that has ever been developed anywhere in the world."

The first phase was a programme of psychological warfare and black propaganda operated from Lisburn, headed by Howard Smith, who is currently applying his expertise as head of M15 in Britain; former British army press officer Colin Wallace, who is serving a sentence for manslaughter in Britain; and John Wyman, who controlled the Littlejohn brothers in their activities which were designed to aggravate Southern opinion.

Following the failure of internment, a second phase developed which saw Roy Mason "crawling out of a hole in the ground" to oversee operations which included intimidation, torture, and the desperate need for confessions, and the training of the RUC Special Branch in the techniques learned by British military intelligence

in Cyprus, Aden elsewhere. The dispersal of this phase with the findings of Amnesty International and the Bennet Report, the collapse of the IRA activity culminating in the Warrenpoint and Mountblow operations, led to the third, and potentially most dangerous, phase with Sir Maurice Oldfield being sent to the six counties to coordinate and unite the intelligence services in a new objective which targeted the twenty-six county government.

NATO "Besides the introduction of the 'supergrass' system in the North, they sought and got co-operation from the South in certain objectives, including the operation of legislation to prosecute in the South those implicated in illegal activities in the North and Britain, direct linking of policing and, most worrying in the long-term, they have started to bring the Irish people from their position of neutrality into the NATO defence network."

Pointing out the success of this policy, from Britain's point of view, in tying the Irish radar and telecommunications network to the NATO alliance defence needs, he added:

"Given that so much has actual-



● MATT MERRIGAN

Discussion on North in labour movement

Livingstone Dublin



MERRIGAN

...nd elsewhere.
...g of this phase
...of Amnesty In-
...of Bennet Report,
...Labour govern-
...eased IRA activ-
...the Warrenpoint
...operations, led
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...with Sir Maur-
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...defence needs,
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ly been done to integrate South-
ern Ireland into NATO's defence
needs, one of the main reasons for
retaining control in Northern Ire-
land has actually gone. And with
£9 billion being spent every year
to support Northern Ireland, we
must be getting very near the
point where the profits that Brit-
ain makes from Northern Ireland
are outbalanced by the cost of
maintaining control by force, and
it could very well be a Tory gov-
ernment that takes the cynical
and economic calculation and de-
cides to withdraw. There is a
strong possibility of a very short,
sharp position of withdrawal be-
ing adopted by the Tory govern-
ment."

POLLS

Stressing the consistent results
of opinion polls in Britain which
have shown massive majorities in
favour of withdrawal, Livingstone
commented that this mood, caus-
ed to some extent by the popular
conception of politicians like Ian
Paisley as being Irish, as opposed
to former Northern politicians
like Terence O'Neill who was
viewed as an aristocrat, provides
a base on which a campaign for
withdrawal can be built.

To achieve this "we must argue
and show quite clearly the benefits
that will accrue to working-class

Protestants following the with-
drawal of Britain and the re-uni-
fication of Ireland".

Pointing out that such a cam-
paign must be realistic and that the
Better Life For All campaign was
unrealistic in that it perpetuated
the lie, which has been exposed
even by Margaret Thatcher, that
the boom of the post Second
World War period would return
and that the piecemeal reforms
were enough for socialists, he ar-
gued that a radical socialist change
is required which will effectively,
and in contrast to Thatcher's
policies, re-distribute the
available wealth downwards to the
working-class.

LIMITATIONS

The need for Irish trade union-
ists and republicans to understand
the limitations in building a with-
drawal movement within many
British trade unions was essential,
Livingstone said, because many of
these unions, and in particular the
craft unions, had evolved in the
colonial period and had reaped the
benefits which ensued. There
is, he added, an inbuilt imperialist
ethos within many of the skilled
unions which becomes apparent in
racist attitudes and in the reaction
to events such as the Falklands/
Malvinas war.

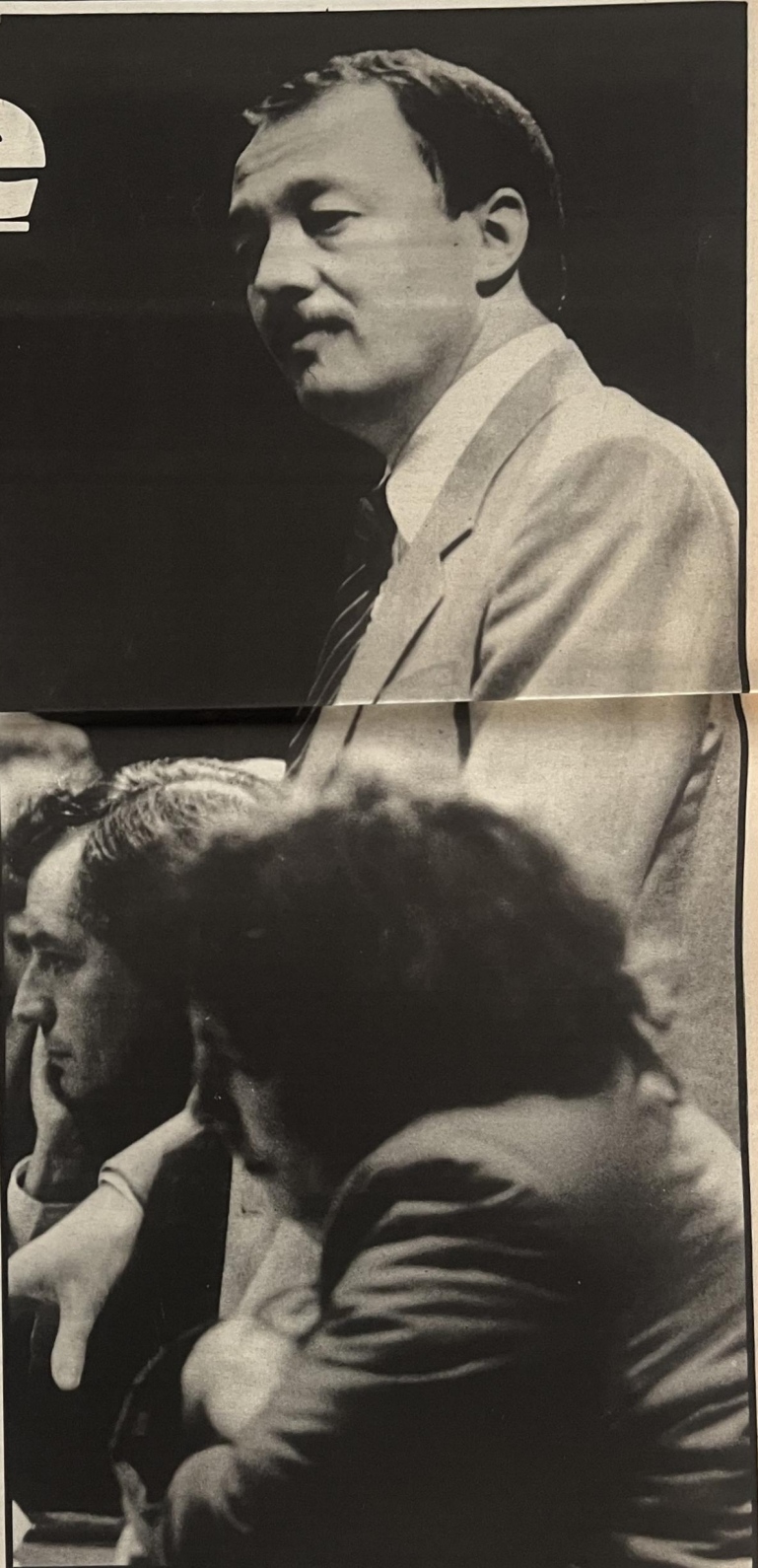
A further difficulty in winning
support in this area lies in the
strong representation of Northern
loyalists in these unions, who
effectively block any discussion
on the issue of withdrawal:

"It will be easier to win sup-
port in branches of the Labour
Party. The struggle to win the
trade unions to support withdraw-
al might indeed be more difficult
than that of winning MPs to the
concept since MPs are subject
much more to pressure from the
constituency parties."

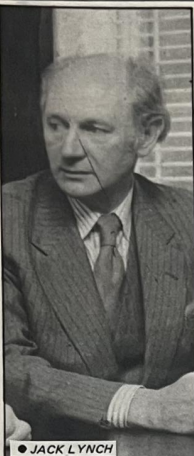
REVISIONISM

Closing the meeting, Matt Merri-
gan condemned the politics of re-
visionism in the South which not
only deny the right of people to
engage in armed struggle today
but have retrospectively revised
Irish history, denying the basic
fact that the twenty-six county
state emerged from violence. He
continued:

"I believe there is not going to
be an easy solution. But the fact
of the matter is this: we have to
confront the issues, regardless of
whether or not they destroy illu-
sions or the disparate concepts that
we might harbour, one against the
other, in relation to an approach
to solving this problem."



Ken Livingstone addresses Monday's meeting as Phil Flynn and Pdraigin Ni Mhurchu look on



● JACK LYNCH

You asked for it

A Chara,
Since Jack Lynch has seen fit to hold forth on Gerry Adams, Sinn Féin and Kilmichael, let's examine his right to speak for the patriotic men and women of West Cork — especially MacCurtain and MacSwiney, whom he especially mentioned.

First of all, to my knowledge, there is not a scintilla of evidence that Jack Lynch's relatives ever took the slightest part in the Tan War.

I am proud to say that Terence MacSwiney entrusted the 6th Cork Battalion (Bears Penin-1914).

Furthermore, Terence MacSwiney killed men in my native village of Eyeries in November 1915. The 6th Battalion did not 'stand idly by' either, being amongst the most active units in County Cork.

The late Liam O'Dwyer, former O/C of the 6th Battalion, was certainly not ambivalent in his support for the national liberation struggle. During the '70s, despite being advanced in years, he drove all of 70 miles to McCormack to act as bailsmen for a Sneem man who was facing trial on a political charge.

So, Mr Lynch, there are real Old IRA men and there are 'Trucers'!

When Jack Lynch was elected as Free State premier, being a fellow Cork man, I held some hopes. Sadly these hopes were dashed and in 1971, to mark the first open collusion between Free State forces and the British army of occupation, I sent the follow-

mála poist

DRUG ABUSE

A Chara,

Following a meeting of some people working in the community and representatives of the Coolmine Drug Therapeutic Centre, it was decided to set up a community support group in our area. The North Central Support Group has now been formed. It is presently comprised of local teachers, parents, youth leaders, tenants association representatives, community workers and others interested in working in the community.

While we have many long-term aims, our immediate concern is drawn to under-age drinking and drug abuse. We have written to and visited all the offices in the area, appealing for their help and co-operation.

While all this was going on we waited anxiously for the report of the special Dublin government task force on drug abuse. While we welcome any discussion document which highlights the evils of drug abuse, we feel the report is not concrete enough. It is riddled with words like "under consideration", "will be explored", "will be considered", "will consult" etc. We call for more positive action.

Of the drug abusers who were poorly educated, came from bad family backgrounds and nearly half had been in prison.

Prisoners sentenced to prison for crimes related to drug abuse



● Dublin has over 7,000 drug addicts, but the Jervis Street Drug Unit can only accommodate ten people

should be given proper therapeutic or rehabilitation services other than brief and inadequate detoxification treatment. This in itself would lead to a reduction in crime, prisoner addicts need treatment not just detention.

The concept of registering addicts should be examined in a humane way. Counselling centres based in the inner-city and other areas that have a severe drug problem. These centres should be manned by someone that addicts can identify with (e.g. ex-addicts). A large detoxification unit

should be built in Dublin city centre. As many people are aware, there are over 7,000 addicts in Dublin while at the same time Jervis Street Hospital, which has the main detoxification unit, can only hold ten people.

City councillors should be lobbied to make some rule that would allow the Corporation to evict drug-pushers without procedure of a notice to quit and an eviction order. Parents should be more vigilant and examine their children's arms and eyes and should look out for any unusual signs.

Many communities throughout the city have participated in protests, pickets etc to force pushers out. This in itself is a victory for the ordinary people. Local movements of people are essential in our struggle for a drug-free society.

Many recommendations are made throughout this document, some of which are quite constructive. For example:

"The government is convinced that youth services, if well-developed, can be very effective in a preventive strategy against drug abuse."

These youth-work projects are to be provided with the help of the Youth Employment Agency, the Health Education Bureau and Cosfóir. However, the point is made forcibly that these activities are to be financed within the constraints of their current budgets.

Already these bodies are unable to finance their existing programmes and to expect them to undertake, in any meaningful way, the sort of commitments necessary to provide community youth-work projects is off-hand, insincere and shows a lack of genuine commitment on the part of the present government when it comes to the problem of getting rid of drug abuse in this country.

Finally, all community activities have to be reinforced by government action. They must act now. Let them not plead the 'no money in the kitty' argument. Recent figures of £1.4 billion of uncollected taxes contradict this argument. Should a government evade its responsibility on the whole drug problem, it is an insult to the Irish people.

Finian McGrath (Chairperson), Christy Burke, Tom Dowling & Tony O'Flaherty, North Central Community Support Group, Dublin.

Scoring points

A Chara,
I would like to comment on the recent public statement by Seamus Mallon of the SDLP who, in the wake of the arrest of a number of UDR members in the Armagh area, called for the complete disbandment of this sectarian force.

Is Seamus Mallon not aware that any so-called 'security force' operating within the sectarian setup of the six-county state must, of necessity, be of a sectarian nature in order to enforce sectarian law on the nationalist population.

The six-county state was founded on sectarianism. Without this deliberate policy of bigotry, it could not have survived. The British government and unionist leaders were fully aware of this and therefore encouraged the subjugation of the nationalist population in the six counties.

Over the last sixty or so years, nothing has changed.

Today we have the UDR as the re-formed B-Specials. It would make no difference whatsoever if the UDR was disbanded. Members of Paisley's Third Force or the Protestant Action Force will wear any uniform or enlist in any 'law enforcement body' which guarantees a 'Protestant' parliament for a Protestant people.

The UDR is part and parcel of British rule, just as the RUC are and the B-Specials were.

What Seamus Mallon should be saying is that British rule in Ireland is sectarian. Instead of demanding the disbandment of the sectarian UDR, Mallon should be demanding the dismantling of the sectarian six-county state.

The question I'd like to ask is: Is Seamus Mallon really so politically naive or was he simply trying to score political points

Seamus Bradley, H1-Block, Long Kesh.

Felons Club donation

A Chara,
The oil painting of the 12 hunger-strikers who have sacrificed their lives in the present phase of the struggle for Irish freedom, and won by Anna Gil-martin of Clontarf, Dublin, in the recent McNulty/Cannon Sinn Féin cumann draw, has been kindly donated to the committee of the New Lodge Road Felons Club, Belfast.

Val Lynch, McNulty/Cannon cumann, Dublin.

Anti-social behaviour

A Chara,

The Sean Burns/Eugene Toman Sinn Féin cumann, Upper Bann, condemns the anti-social behaviour of a small number of youths in the North Lurgan area.

In one incident, an old age pensioner was injured by a group of youths while going to the local shops. In other incidents, property has been vandalised and windows broken.

Those responsible are playing into the hands of the occupation forces and local people are beginning to question the motives of the ring-leaders and wonder who is responsible for orchestrating this recent outbreak of vandalism, as it is obvious that only the British establishment benefits from it.

We would also like to remind those engaged in stoning the RUC that by doing so, in the middle of their own areas, they are only bringing hardship to their own people and destroying their own estate, and it should be obvious to them when they see the way the occupation forces play up to the stoning.

Sam Marshall, Chairperson.

Tans who burned his native city of Cork.)

It is easy to understand why Jack Lynch, who when elected moved in the monied circles of oil and whiskey barons, cannot relate to the people of Divis Flats or the Falls. Gerry Adams is certainly a lot nearer to the people of the North than the Conor Cruise O'Briens, Patrick Conneys or Jack Lynces.

Indeed, I think it highly unlikely that any of these people will speak on the hustings in the North.

Sorry, Mr Lynch, but you asked for it.

Diarmaid O'Suilleabhain, Guaire, Loch Garman.



● Albert Fry ag seinm i mhuilleann Conway

Oideachas sa mhuilleann

LE CIAN MacAOIDH

D'ÉIRIGH thar barr le 'Coláiste Ceithre hUair is Fiche' a eagraíodh i mBéal Feirste Thiar, Dé Sathairn 10ú Nollaig, mar chuid den fheachtas leanúnach ar son bunú coláiste iard-oideachais sa cheantar sin.

Ba istigh i seanmhuilleann línéad-aigh Conway, Bóthar na bhFál, atá á úsáid faoi láthair mar ionad oideachais, caidrimh agus tionsclaíochta bige ag an phobal a reachtáiladh an Chólaiste a tharraing corradh le 800 duine chun na háite.

Bhí ní ba mhó ná caoga séisíun bríomhar oideachais i rith an lae agus go minic níos mó ná trí chinn ag dul ar aghaidh ag an am amháin. Mar shampla, ar a trí a chlog d'fhéad-fadh duine rogha a dhéanamh idir

An Sóisialachas, Sláinte an Phobail, An Scribheoireacht agus Ceol Traidisiúnta.

Cuireadh an bhéim ar an chónas-cadh idir ábhair acadúla agus ábhair 'neamhacadúla' agus tugadh tús áite do mhnaí a bhíodh ag obair sa mhuilleann le cur síos ar na coinníollacha oibre a bhí san áit.

Mhínigh duine de na heagraithe atá ina thimire oideachais deonach i mBéal Feirste go raibh an Chólaiste 24 Uair á reachtáil le aird an phobail a tharraingt arís ar an chás don chol-

áiste breis oideachais: "Is léir nach bhfuil dóthain spáis sna trí chláiste iard-oideachais i mBéal Feirste le riadh ar an phobal agus glactar leis go bhfuil gá leis an cheathrú coláiste. Dar linn, ba chóir go mbunódai an chláiste nua sin sa cheantar is dearóla agus is mó dif-fothaíochta sa chathair — lathar Béal Feirste."

Chuir an t-urialbhraí síos fosta ar an sáit oideachais a bhí á chur chun cinn acu sa Chláiste 24 Uair.

"Tá rún againn a chur in iúl dona húdaráis go bhfuil oideachas úr nua, oideachas reabhóideach, de dhíth orainn. Ní hé 'Inneall Mharfa' eile, ina bhfuil gach rud dírithe ar scrúd-aithne, atá uainn, ach áit ina dtig le daoine eolas a mhálartú agus sult a bhaint as a gcuid foghlama," ar seisean.

"Sin an fáth," lean sé leis, "a raibh séisíun againn ar an chnóitáil, dhíth-aíocht, agus yoga chomh maith le síceolaíocht, polaitíocht agus ceist na mban."

Lean an 'Chólaiste' ar aghaidh i rith na hoíche le scéalaíocht, drámaí agus díospóireachtaí go dtí an naoi a chlog ar maidin Dé Domhnaigh.

MELLOWS' MESSAGE IN GALWAY

BY JACK MADDEN

"WE HAVE the right to be free and to be free as Liam Mellows defined freedom: to have a government of our own to institute the political and economic changes required by, and to meet the needs of, our people," Gerry Adams, Sinn Féin president and MP for West Belfast, told the Liam Mellows commemoration in Athenry, County Galway, on Thursday, December 8th.

It was not a day for long speeches in Athenry, where a parade, led by the Clonbony Pipe Band, marched in pouring rain to a monument erected in memory of Mellows. Besides the atrocious weather, Galway had to contend with opposition to the Adams visit from predictable sources, including Galway's lord mayor, Michael Leahy, and the local Connacht Sentinel which commented:

"We hope no Irish government will be swayed by wishy-washy liberalism to revoke the broadcasting restrictions on Sinn Féin."

Despite opposition from such quarters, the Adams visit went ahead, beginning in University College Galway where, following a showing of the film *The Patriot Game*, he addressed a packed hall of 300 students on Sinn Féin policies and the war in the six counties.

Speaking at the Athenry commemoration, Gerry Adams said:

ON this morning, December 8th 1922, Rory, Liam, Dick and Joe, Irish republican prisoners in Mountjoy Jail, one each from Ulster, Munster, Leinster and Connacht, were murdered by the Free State government as part of their policy of reprisals and summary executions.

The decision to execute them was a Cabinet decision, aimed not just at terrorising and demoralising republicans and their supporters but exterminating also those most able and most likely to lead any sustained anti-Treaty republican resistance.

In this regard, Liam Mellows was an obvious choice for the firing squad. He had long links with Irish resistance, joining Fianna Éireann when that organisation was formed, and later the Irish Volunteers. In 1914 he came here to Galway as organiser for the Volunteers and was frustrated during the 1916 Rising that Galway was one of the few areas outside Dublin to take part in that historic event.

Later he played a key role in organising public opinion in America and was elected as a TD for Galway in the First Dail and Second Dail. He was dogmatically opposed to the so-called Treaty and stayed with the republicans in opposition to the counter-revolution waged against the republic at that time.

Liam Mellows had a clear-sighted and a radically political view of the elements of Irish resistance and an equally sound grasp of the forces engaged against that resistance. He was, in the fullest meaning of the term, an Irish republican.

The Free State government used Mellows' *Notes From Mountjoy* in an attempt to brand the republicans as communists. As I have said, and as James Prior proved in his recent 'Cuban' outburst, nothing has really changed.



● A wreath is laid at the Mellows Memorial in Galway city by Gerry Adams

MELLOWS wrote: 'They (the British) will continue to make use of Irish men as long as the latter can be duped or dazzled by the Free State idea.'

We can see the truth of that statement today, when Margaret Thatcher and James Prior, in the wake of the great H-Block escape, were able to inform the world that every effort would be made to track down the escapees, not only in the six counties, but in the twenty-six counties as well.

What price claims by the Dublin government that it is a sovereign government when a foreign power can boast in this way? What price Irish freedom when the British partitioned the island? What price Irish freedom when British politicians can defend their government's presence in our country by pointing out that the Dublin government does not favour a withdrawal? Exactly as Mellows predicted:

'The British will not use British arguments to cloak their actions, but Irish ones, out of our own mouths. A political revolution in Ireland, without a coincident economic revolution, simply means a change of masters. Instead of British capitalists waxing rich on the political and economic enslavement of Ireland, we would have Irish capitalists waxing rich on the political freedom but continued enslavement of Ireland.'



● Adams addresses a 300-strong meeting at UCG on Sinn Féin policies and the war

TODAY, all around us we see the fulfilment of that essential political truth. Here in Galway we can see exactly what Mellows meant. A dark cloud hangs over Tuam, where the recommendation of the board of the Sugar Company to close down this vital factory at the end of January still awaits the decision of a ruthless Coalition government.

We have seen what the government has done in Scariff, County Clare — wrecking a village at one stroke. The Tuam closure, if it comes, will mean 500 men and women directly affected, but with thousands more also devastated by the removal of what has been the only solid piece of social and economic security in this area during the 1950s.

The system that permits this has totally failed to provide long-term agricultural planning which could support Tuam and hundreds more such factories around the twenty-six counties. Instead, we have an agricultural land importing food — our farmers are not allowed to feed our people.

Once again this week we have seen Dublin ministers going to Europe with the begging bowl and coming back with it empty. Why should we — a country rich in agricultural potential and natural and human resources — humiliate ourselves constantly before the bullies of Brussels and London? What right have they to attempt by super-law, or by any other of the tens of thousands of EEC rules and regulations, to restrict our agricultural

development for the sake of the greedy big brother in this rich man's club.

Sinn Féin believes, and we have the confidence in the Irish people to propose, that we can prosper without 'guidance' from Brussels; we can stand on our own feet, control our own independent economy and make our own independent decisions. We do not need multi-nationals to rape our natural resources as they did in this county at Tynagh.

It is this type of investment that the anti-national Coalition will be seeking to attract into the Gaeltacht areas when, as seems likely, it finally gets rid of Udaras na Gaeltachta. Only a fully democratic Gaeltacht authority, representing the people and responsible to the people, with all the necessary powers and resources, can protect the Gaeltacht and develop it economically, socially and culturally. We need not a weaker Gaeltacht authority, but a real Comhairle na Gaeltachta, to prevent the further decline of our language and with real powers to reverse the social and economic trend in the Gaeltacht areas.

OUR economic situation is disastrous and has not even advanced to the stage of Irish capitalist independence because partition and British colonial involvement in the six counties ensures British domination in all of Ireland.

1983 is the year in which the stalemate between republican and British forces can be clearly seen. That stalemate must be broken or we are doomed in 1984 and the years ahead to a continuation of death, destruction, division, economic instability and social deprivation.

It is the duty of our brothers and sisters here in the twenty-six counties, it is the duty of all Irish people, to use our united strength to shorten the war by ensuring that the question of British withdrawal is given its priority as the major issue facing the nation.

Sinn Féin in Galway and throughout the twenty-six counties must exert itself in making our party competent in broadening our

Following a short wreath-laying ceremony at the Mellows Memorial in Athenry, Adams, along with Sinn Féin county councillors Paddy Ruane and Frank Glynn, proceeded to Galway city for a short wreath-laying ceremony. Here, opposition by a single irate protestor who attempted to throw away the wreath laid by Adams, after being offered the opportunity to voice his protest from the platform, was virtually the only aspect of the ceremonies actually reported by the press, one paper ridiculously suggesting that Ruairi O'Bradaigh had called the gardai to deal with the protestor.

Groveside ceremony in Wexford

A TEN-STRONG colour party of Fianna Éireann and the Campile Pipe Band led the parade to Castletown Churchyard in County Wexford for the annual Liam Mellows commemoration at which Seamus Twomey gave the oration.

Introducing the commemoration, Diarmuid O'Suilleabhain denounced recent attacks on leading republicans in the establishment newspapers as evidence that they feared the rise of Sinn Féin as a political threat.

Before the main address, wreaths were laid at the grave of Liam Mellows by John Sheehan, chairperson of Gorey Town Commissioners, at the grave of Volunteer Den Kavanagh by Michael Kavanagh of Castletown, and on the grave of Volunteer Liam Kavanagh by Michael Sheil. A further wreath had been laid on the grave of Maire Comerford the previous day.

In the course of his address, Seamus Twomey recalled the life and brutal murder of Liam Mellows from his time as a devoted

worker in the Fianna Éireann when he came into contact with Tom Clarke, who recommended him to Sean MacDiarmada as a worker on the republican paper *Irish Freedom*.

"At the Fianna convention of 1913 Liam Mellows was appointed as its first organiser, and in November of that year, when the Irish Volunteers came into existence, he and his comrades Con Colbert and Sean Heuston were called to help in their drilling.

"In the winter of 1915 he was sent by Headquarters to organise and train the Volunteers in Galway and was appointed to lead Galway in the coming fight. Perhaps the greatest testimony to the success of Mellows as a leader was the fact that, despite Eoin MacNeill's countermanning order on

Easter Sunday, 1,200 answered the call on Easter Monday in County Galway. Some of these had to fight their way to Mellows' first headquarters at the agricultural college in Athenry.

AMERICA

"Following the ceasefire, every effort was made by the other leaders to save, not themselves, but Mellows, who would surely be most useful in the future. After several months he landed in America where he furthered the cause of Irish freedom, but although successful at gaining material and monetary support for the fighting men at home, he was very impatient to be back in Ireland.

"Explicit orders kept him in America and when he finally returned to Ireland to rejoin his comrades, great changes had taken place in the Ireland he left in 1916.

"The IRA was engaged in an

epic struggle against the British until 1921 brought peace-feelers from the British, followed by the sell-out of the republic. Traitors and gommeen men had bowed to England's will so that the British were able to boast about ruling Ireland with the economy of British slaves.

"Amongst the bestial crimes perpetrated by the Free State government was the planting of the landmine at Ballyseedy and the slaughter of unarmed prisoners, the pouring of burning tar on men on the run in the caves off the coast of Kerry, and, surely

the most bestial of all their crimes, when they took Liam, Rory, Dick and Joe and gunned them to death in Mountjoy Jail as a reprisal.

"We witness today the offspring of these same murderers calling for law and order, spending £500 million to bolster the border when unemployment is at record levels and the economy is in tatters.

ORGANISE

"It is up to us republicans to organise in the ranks of Sinn Féin so that we will be able to build a

political machine that will be dedicated to the welfare of the people, based on sound socialist principles, the principles of Tone and Connolly and of Mellows.

As Liam Mellows wrote in Mountjoy:

"The commercial interests so-called — money and the gommeen men — are on the side of the Treaty. We are back to Tone, which is just as well, relying on that great body of men of no property... We should recognise that definitely now and base our appeals upon the understanding and needs of those who have always borne Ireland's fight."



● A Fianna Éireann colour party salutes Liam Mellows at the Castletown commemoration where Seamus Twomey (inset) gave the oration

FA

Discrimination report watered down

BY HILDA MacTHOMAS

THE long-awaited report by the Fair Employment Agency on discrimination in the North's civil service, was finally released on Thursday, December 8th, by Bob Cooper, chairperson of the Agency, four years after the investigation started.

It is this delay which alarmed some of the Agency staff into releasing the main findings to the press in October 1982. According to those early, unofficial figures, Catholics had comparatively fewer chances of getting a job in certain politically 'sensitive' departments, and, throughout the civil service, fewer chances of promotion.

While those broad results still figure in the official report, their impact has been considerably lessened by one of the conclusions, not originating from the Agency staff's own research but rather from the civil services' own intervention: that religion is no longer a significant factor in recruitment patterns.

UNIQUE

Indeed, the civil service report is unique in the history of the FEA in that it includes with its own findings, figures and conclusions provided by the body under scrutiny: the civil service itself. Seemingly, the FEA, which since it was set up in 1976 has failed to make more than a few token representations to employers guilty of discrimination, has finally dropped its last shred of credibility by allowing the

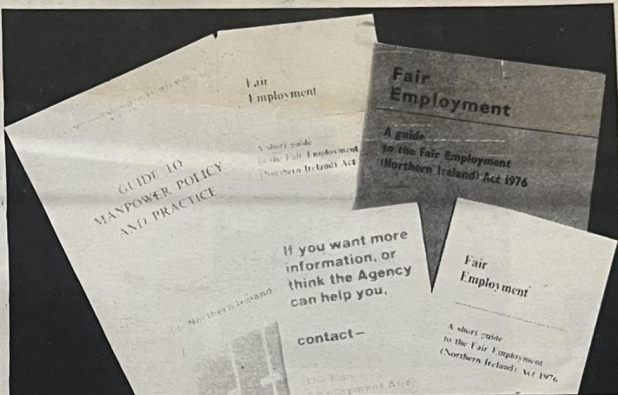
The report and the FEA significantly received a glow-

ing tribute from British Industry Minister Adam Butler, who emphasised that the imbalance between Protestants and Catholics had "changed radically" in the last number of years. Butler accepted the FEA's recommendations that an 'affirmative action plan' be implemented to attract more Catholics — that is, more advertisements in the *Irish News*, which represents no guarantee that more jobs will be given to Catholics. Such recommendations belong to the world of make-believe, in which direct rule is supposed to gradually erode the sectarian and undemocratic structures of the six-county state — half a million nationalists know different.

The report triggered the predictable knee-jerk reaction from unionist politicians, the same as for every other FEA publication. Paisley's Democratic Unionist Party declared that the report really proved that Protestants had been "badly discriminated against" and that the FEA merely sought to "perpetuate the myth" that Catholics were oppressed.

DISGUST

However, more seriously, some of the Agency's own research consultants expressed disgust at the original report had



been watered down and even disfigured by incorporating the civil service's own 'findings'.

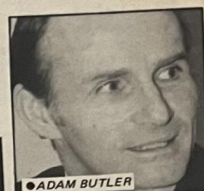
Robert Miller, of Queen's University, pointed to the fact that the two sets of figures, those of the civil service and those of the independent analysts, appeared undifferentiated in the report. And some of the research underlying the Agency's findings was also missing.

It is not the first time that the FEA staff have publicly

expressed their concern at Bob Cooper's eagerness 'not to make waves'. In 1979 one of the Agency's senior officers complained that a tally of at least 23 findings of discrimination could have been made from individual complaints, as opposed to the then total of 7. Cooper, his staff complained, had refused to discharge his obligations to the

start. Cooper had stated that he did not like the idea of

investigating employers, but favoured the 'educational approach', that is, gently advising employers to 'wise up' over a few drinks, and some months later delivering them a certificate of good conduct. The FEA's list of firms which have signed an undertaking not to discriminate, is a typical example of Cooper's tokenism. Meanwhile, of course, unemployment patterns tell a different story, with all the highest rates of unemployment concentrated in Cathol-



● ADAM BUTLER



● BOB COOPER

ic areas.

DIFFICULT

A decision by the FEA staff to investigate the civil service put Cooper in a difficult position, as the press soon got to know of the proposed investigation. The FEA's findings were bound to indict the British government and expose the lie behind the so-called 'return to democracy' and 'normalisation' of the six-county institutions.

In any event, Cooper allowed the civil service to interfere with the report and this desperate move by the ex-Alliance Party politician will make it very difficult in future for the FEA to recruit research staff.

To the thousands of Catholics on the dole, however, the FEA's absence would barely be noticed, such is the Agency's total failure in providing redress for the injustices of the six-county state.

Hair-raising conditions for young workers

BY MAEVE ARMSTRONG

A REPORT entitled *Apprentice Hairdressers in Northern Ireland, Trimmed, Cut and Conditioned*, compiled by the Northern Ireland Women's Rights Movement (NIWRM), has revealed alarming statistics on the high level of exploitation, low wages and lack of standardisation in the industry which has traditionally employed mainly women workers unaffiliated to any trade union and therefore highly vulnerable to victimisation from employers.

From completed questionnaire forms, the survey found that some 79% of apprentices receive £25 per week or less in wages, with rates of pay and conditions fixed totally arbitrarily and bearing no relationship to either the age of the apprentice, the length of service or the number of hours worked.

AP/RN talked to several apprentices who were terrified that their 'boss' would dismiss them if he ever found out they had aired such grievances about the conditions of their employment as many apprentices are simply dismissed at a whim.

One 16-year-old apprentice was given the task of painting and decorating the salon and even told to wash the boss's car when the salon was slack. Another apprentice left a well-known Belfast city-centre salon when she refused to work for nothing during late-night shopping hours. Both apprentices were earning a mere £15 for a 40-45 hour week.

FOOLED

Many young women are often fooled by the glamorisation of the hairdressing industry and find themselves working long tedious hours for little reward.

Sixty-six per cent interviewed had no contract of employment, while many received inadequate holidays and lunch-breaks.

The survey reported that there appears to be no recognised course of training applicable to all apprentices, little standardisation of qualifications, and no accepted period of apprenticeship.

With so many young unemployed women going into the industry through Youth Training Programmes — for which they receive a paltry sum while their employers pocket a sizeable amount in subsidies — there is no requirement for employers to create new jobs. Between January 1982 and July

1983 it is estimated that employers made 10,000 such applications for subsidised workers.

At the end of a subsidised year there is absolutely no protection for the young apprentice who can simply be dismissed and replaced with another apprentice. Thus the turnover in salons is rapid and any potential apprentice wishing to join a trade union or insisting on her rights can be dismissed and replaced almost on the same day.

DEMANDS

The NIWRM have specified a series of demands and recommendations, including the immediate establishment of a wages council to set minimum terms and conditions for hairdressers and apprentices, closer monitoring of establishments receiving economic development subsidies, and a guarantee that apprentices are not dismissed after the conclusion of the period of grant aid.

They also call for negotiations between all interested parties to attempt a standardisation of training levels and qualifications plus investment of time, energy and resources by relevant trade unions to achieve effective unionisation and representation to hairdressers and apprentices. Other demands include the provision of a contract of em-



● Many youngsters are attracted by the glamour of hairdressing, but the reality is very different: low wages for long hours and insecure employment

ployment and a thorough investigation by either or both the Equal Opportunities Commission or the Labour Relations Agency into the industry in relation to the status of female employees.

The NIWRM will, in the near future, embark on a leafletting campaign informing apprentice hairdressers of their rights as workers and of how they can join a relevant trade union.

BURKE'S AT THE BACK

By Kevin Burke

THE SPIRIT of Section 31 extends much further than the letter of the law, thanks to the spineless time-servers at RTE.

Ken Livingstone had been due to appear live on the *Today Tonight* programme on Tuesday night to expand on the reasons for his visit to Dublin.

But 'someone' decided that as Livingstone had met and spoken to Sinn Féin leaders in the past, he might be tainted and was therefore dangerous to the interests of the impressionable twenty-six county viewers.

So Livingstone did not appear.

★★★

Introducing another totally unbiased report on the North, on his morning RTE radio show *Day By Day* on Tuesday this week, John Bowman recalled how in recent weeks two young men had been 'shot dead by the SAS', and an elderly woman 'tragically killed by the RUC'.

"More serious," he continued, "was the murder by the IRA of Official Unionist Edgar Graham."

★★★

The *Argus* newspaper in Dundalk also enjoys a bit of censorship when it gets the chance.

On its front page last weekend it celebrated under the headline *Victory!* the securing of a pledge that an obstetrician/gynaecologist be appointed to Louth County Hospital and thereby ensuring the survival of the maternity unit there.

Every brand of politician is credited with winning this victory, in the front page article, but nowhere is there a mention of Sinn Féin or that party's county councillor, Fra Browne, who spearheaded the campaign.

To illustrate the article a photograph of a recent picket at the hospital, demanding the saving of the maternity unit, is splashed across the front page. It is captioned:

"Flash-back to the protest outside St Brigid's Hospital, Ardee, some weeks ago."

But somehow *The Argus* neglected to mention that every one of the dozen or so people pictured therein happens to be a member of Dundalk Sinn Féin.

★★★

The relegation of the Labour Party into fifth place by Sinn Féin in the recent Dublin Central by-election obviously struck the party's deputy leader, Barry Desmond, very hard.

In his role as Coalition Minister for Social Welfare he descended on the local office which deals with the disability benefit of Sinn Féin candidate Christy Burke and personally went through his file.

Burke was summoned for a medical examination — and when he could not make the first appointment and sent in a doctor's certificate to explain his absence, Desmond dispatched three members of his department to various Corporation departments to see if Burke had been there that day representing any local people. Desmond even had them going through the following day's newspapers to see if they contained any evidence that the Sinn Féiner had been out of his bed on the day in question.

Christy Burke has since attended a medical examination and awaits the next move from the vindictive 'Elder Lemon'.

★★★

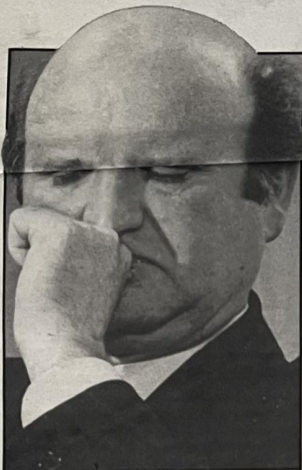
The garda Special Detective Unit was too busy last week to send one of their members from Dublin Castle to the Bridewell to interview *AP/RN* worker Tony Kelly, who had been arrested and delivered there.

Instead they sent ordinary Detective Garda Bailey with written instructions which, among other things, said:

"They want you to photograph him and photocopy anything he had with him and send over copies and then he can be released."

(Which seems to suggest that he wasn't arrested on suspicion, as the law requires, but merely out of nosiness.)

However, Bailey not only copied Kelly's few papers but when he returned them in-



● The 'Elder Lemon' — feeling bitter?

cluded with them his own written instructions, which make interesting reading.

Fair exchange is no robbery, as the man said.

★★★

I have received a few enquiries in recent weeks from readers who have had to suffer uninvited guests in their homes, as to what exactly are their rights — if any — against gardai who demand to search their houses.

It will come as no surprise to learn that the rights which do exist are very few. But rather than expound them here I recommend instead the purchase of the *Republican Diary 1984* which, amongst all other essential information, contains an informative section entitled *Know Your Rights* which states the position, both North and South, clearly and concisely.

The diary costs £1.75 from the usual outlets, or £2 by post from Sinn Féin, 44 Parnell Square, Dublin.

Surely you don't expect to get legal advice for nothing?

★★★

When it comes to 'community policing', Ronnie Scott of the Cookstown RUC can step forward with pride.

His contacts with the community include a regular Friday night visit to Fair Hill for a bullying session against any nationalist youths who come within arms-length and he is forever out on the roads attempting to spot the slight-

est defect in his neighbours' cars which might put them in danger.

A prosecution always follows as a friendly reminder to put things right.

Recently Scott amazed even his most constant admirers when he single-handedly arrested two 'hardened criminals' and brought them to charges against the two 11-year-olds who Scott had caught throwing mud at each other. Not that Scott was in the wrong, but the magistrate felt that the offenders "should have been merely cautioned".

It can be a dirty business, enforcing law and order in Cookstown.

★★★

UDR soldier William John Cahoon, who gave his address as Windsor Park, Belfast, was fined £125 at Belfast Magistrates Court last week for reckless driving.

The charge concerned an incident in July this year when Cahoon tried to run down two Ardoyne youths, Eamon McKenna (16) and Anthony McBride (18), on the Crumlin Road as they came out of Flax Street.

Presumably his driving was judged to be 'reckless' because he missed them.

★★★

Also a bit reckless was another UDR soldier, Samuel Joseph Holen of Enniskillen, who was fined £50 and banned from driving for one year by Irvinestown Court — which happened to have stopped at a UDR check-point.

I think that is what they call poetic justice.

★★★

I see that the British army has been taking full-page adverts in the press seeking officers.

The recruiting slogan is "Join the Peace Movement".

As well as describing the Brit officers "mediating in a land dispute" in Cyprus, and "feeling you're nobody's friend and everybody's Aunt Sally" in Lebanon, the advert continues:

"Closer to home, you could also spend some time in Northern Ireland.

"Some members of the community there are opposed to our presence. A few of them violently so.

"Yet there'll be no taking sides." The Brits begin their 'Peace Movement' advert:

"For the last 20 years or more, the British army has been involved in many peace-keeping missions around the world."

Unfortunately, the truth is that too many people now 'rest in peace' in the various countries where the British army has been.

Notes



WHAT'S ON

CHRISTMAS SOCIAL
8.30pm Friday 16th December
Chiefain Lounge
Park Street
MONAGHAN
Organised by Sinn Féin

UNEMPLOYED PROTEST PICKET
(against the denial of the double payment at Christmas)
12 noon Saturday 17th December
Barry Desmond's house
(Minister for Social Welfare)
2 Taney Avenue
(off Dundrum Road)
GOATSTOWN
County Dublin
Organised by the Dublin Unemployed Action Groups

MEETING OF PORTLAOISE PRISONERS' RELATIVES
1pm Saturday 17th December
PORTLAOISE
Details: 5 Blessington Street, Dublin 12

RELEASE NICKY KELLY RALLY
2.30pm Saturday 17th December
DUBLIN
Bring banners

STOP THE SHOW TRIALS RALLY
3pm Saturday 17th December
Bussy Bee
Andersonstown
BELFAST

VOLS BATESON/LEE/SHERIDAN COMMEMORATION
2.30pm Sunday 17th December
GAA Hall
March to Newbridge Graveyard
BALLYMAGUIGAN
South Derry

REPUBLICAN POWS' CHILDREN'S CHRISTMAS PARTY
3 to 6pm Sunday 18th December

Open to children up to 10 years old
Organised by the Prisoners Welfare Action Group

VIGIL IN SUPPORT OF REPUBLICANS POWs
2.30pm Monday 19th December
Courthouse
BALBRIGGAN
County Dublin
Organised by Fingal Sinn Féin

WOLFE TONES IN CONCERT
8.30pm Monday 19th December
Crofton Airport Hotel
Swords Road
DUBLIN
Taille E4

BALLAD SESSION & CHRISTMAS DRAW
Featuring Paddy McGuigan & friends
Tuesday 20th December
Murray's
LUSK
County Dublin
Organised by Fingal Sinn Féin

UNEMPLOYED PROTEST RALLY
(against the denial of the double payment at Christmas)
4pm Thursday 22nd December
GPO
DUBLIN
Organised by the Drumcondra Unemployed Action Group

PRISON PICKET
2pm Saturday 24th December
Wormwood Scrubs Prison
Du Cane Road
LONDON W12
(Nearest tube: White City)
Organised by Sinn Féin

CHRISTMAS EVE VIGIL IN SUPPORT OF REPUBLICAN POWs
5pm Saturday 24th December
Church Square
MONAGHAN
Organised by Sinn Féin

DUBLIN BUS TO PORTLAOISE CHRISTMAS TIMES
Sun Christmas Eve
12.30pm Stephen's Day
Bookings must be confirmed at 5 Blessington Street, Dublin (phone 308783), prior to travelling

TU

Toys for the boys

BY SIOBHAN O'MALLEY

GAY BYRNE'S *Late Late Toy Show*, on RTE1 on Saturday night, was described by a Limerick priest, Fr Vincent Kavanagh, as "rubbing the noses of the poor in their poverty".

His view was obviously not shared by the clergy in the audience, or by Monsignor Horan of Knock, who appeared on the show clutching a large baby doll and referring to the expensive toys on display as "expressions of a parent's love".

Does this mean that if you can't afford to buy your child the toys that filled the *Late Late* studio were nearly all very expensive, but Gay never mentioned a price. Three-storey dolls' houses, complete with swimming pool, were followed by dolls that walked and talked, car-chase games, construction kits, computers and bikes.

A miniature Rolls Royce was driven round the studio and Gay even managed to produce one of those *Cabbage Patch* dolls that people in America and Britain are fighting each other

for. Apparently you don't just buy a *Cabbage Patch* doll, you adopt it — and pay £25 or more for the privilege.

And just a few weeks ago a baby girl was abandoned in a doorway in Naas because her mother was homeless, and children still beg in the freezing cold in Dublin's O'Connell Street. But Gay and his team have their children — if we have a few hundred pounds to spare, of course.

The advertisements for toys on TV this Christmas have been concentrated at children's viewing time and they are mostly for sophisticated board games, like *Kensington* and *Pol-economy*, which is about getting world power through buying up economic interests in different countries.

A perfect gift for a child, reflecting as it does the Christ-



● Toys are still advertised in a totally sexist way — soldiers for the boys, dolls for the girls

mas spirit of peace and goodwill to 'all men'.

Toys are still advertised in a totally sexist way, an advertisement for a *Petite* typewriter and a printing set shows the little girl typing, while the little boy uses the printing set.

Dad and little son plays with *He-man* and *Castle Greyskull*, a horrible toy with a bright pink plastic hero that looks like a cross between *Giant Haystacks* and *Sylvester Stallone*. Its knees are permanently bent under the weight of the muscles.

Most of the advertisements are directed at dad, particularly

for the space invader type of video games and for computers. These ads suggest that mum could keep the week's menu on it, while dad and the (male) children experiment with advanced maths and educational research.

It's still mum, though, who stars in the *Paxo* stuffing and

Bisto gravy ads. There is one exception. The ad for Irish sugar shows a man icing a cake and a boy making for it is just eating?) toffee apples.

As part of their programmes of Christmas cheer, both UTV and RTE showed *The Day After* at the weekend, UTV on Saturday and RTE on Sunday night.

Much publicised, *The Day After* is a film about what happens when nuclear war starts. There were warnings before about it being distressing, but the after-effects shown were understated, and really no worse than any episode in *MASH*.

The hospital, for instance, in spite of everything, managed to cope and the injured were shown laid out neatly on stretchers.

Instead of urging people to force a stop to the stockpiling of more nuclear weapons, the message of this film seemed to be that if you stocked up enough food, had a cellar and stayed in it, you would be OK.

Where the farmers were being given useless and unworkable advice about their land was not strong enough.

It was a good advertisement for nuclear shelters, if you have anywhere to put one. The rich, with gardens to build shelters in or cellars under their houses, and enough money to stockpile food, apparently will survive.

Just forget it if you live in a high-rise flat and are on the dole.

H-Blocks in art gallery

BY TRISHA ZIFF

AN ART exhibition by two well-known English artists opened in Derry's Orchard Gallery this week. Rita Donagh and Richard Hamilton are both well-known artists and both are POWs.

While Hamilton's work is more immediate and accessible in the stark realism of his painting of the blanket man, Rita Donagh's more modernist work delicately executed, is no less powerful.

Rita, who is of Irish descent, has always reflected in her work her concern for the war here, and over the past 12 years it has been the main theme in her paintings. The work itself is a combination of painting, photographs, drawings, grids and maps, and whilst it addresses itself in a language of modernism and abstraction, it is not elitist or inaccessible, as so much of modern art is.

In showing the working drawings and the material which influenced her choice of specific subject matter (in this case cuttings from *An Phoblacht*), the viewer is able to see the development of an idea and the process through to the final painting.

However, while the work itself might be abstract the feelings behind it are clear. The natural map of the six counties, isolated from the rest of the country, re-occurs like a menacing shadow, reminding the viewer constantly of partition. The letter 'H' has also become a dominant theme and her most recent painting *Long Meadow* illustrates the layout of the H-Blocks. In another piece, the map of the six counties is overlaid onto a photograph of the Blocks clearly linking the occupation with repression.

REALISTIC

Richard Hamilton's work, in contrast, is bold and starkly realistic. He has on show one large painting and several drawings. The painting entitled *The Citizen* is taken from a still from a BBC documentary which showed Hugh Rooney in his cell during the 'no-wash' protest. The

ART

painting serves as a painful reminder of the protest and the fact that the artist was taken from a photograph of when he was on hunger-strike and is entitled *Finn McCool*.

While Hamilton insists that his work is primarily concerned with 'mythical imagery' and the history of painting, seen here its subject matter only reflects a recent reality and is seen within that context.

While there is something disturbing about walking around a gallery looking at this work which is so embedded in republican struggle, and to see images which reflect that struggle on the walls of a state gallery, it is still important that it is there. *The Citizen* was recently on show in the Guggenheim Gallery in New York and the curator tried to stop the painting being seen as a result of the controversy over this year's St Patrick's Day march, but Hamilton would submit no other painting.

While we might not choose to see the bourgeois art world as a platform for our struggle, it



● Rita Donagh stands in front of her painting entitled *The Long Meadow*

would be wrong to dismiss the work of artists like Donagh and Hamilton who do choose to work in this arena, because through their work more people become politicised regarding the situation here and the paintings on show here will also be seen outside of Ireland and will be

part of that process of continuing the breakdown of silence which has occurred for so long.

The exhibition continues in the Orchard Gallery until January 7th.

In West London's Pentonville Gallery, at 47 Lamb's Conduit

Street, there is an exhibition on show entitled *Irish Republican Images* and shows the work of Duncan Smith (from the Information on Ireland group), work by the Beechmount youth and Bob Corrigan, a POW from the H-Blocks. The exhibition ends at the end of next week.

Ceol nua is seancheol CEIRNIN

LE DONNACHA Ó DOIBHILÍN

IS e Seacht Nóiméad Déag Chun a Seacht an dara halbam le Philip King agus Peter Browne ag Gael Linn. Is an-deas ar fad an meascán de cheol damhsa traidisiúnta a sheinneann Peter ar an phib, ar an fheadóg stáin is ar an fheadóg mhór (6 rian) agus na hamhráin a chanann Philip, triúr acu i nGaeilge agus beirt i mBéarla. Tá tionlacan Arty McGlynn is Greg Boland oiriúnach agus cruthaitheach tríd síos.

Chuir a lán daoine aithne ar Philip King mar bhall de 'Scullion', a thuill clú measarthá mór mar ghrúpa. Tá cuid de na rian ar an cheirnín seo iontach cosúil le fuaim Scullion — go háirithe an rian a thugann a ainm don albam — ach le Peter Browne in éir Jimmy O'Brien-Moran ar an phib. Is prós nua é seo a chum Philip (le focail ó Mhicheál Davitt, file) agus tá an stíl nua-aoiseach ar fad ach go dtugann phib blas Éireannach do. Rud

the *Soonest* ach tá tionchar an lae inniu le blaisteadh an cheann eile, *Whole World Around*.

BUA

Is maith a chruthaigh Peter Browne le den tsaoil mar thear an tí ar an tsraith raidió *The Long Note* agus bhí measc mór air mar cheiltóir ar na Fléinn. Ag deireadh na seachtoidí d'imigh sé chun na Gearmáine agus ní raibh a tháisc na a thuirisc i bhfios anseo go ceann roinnt blianta. Taispeánann an t-albam seo náir chaili sé a bhua ar dhóigh ar bith nuair a bhí sé thall. Sílim gurbh é an rud is fearr a dhánann sé ná na píosaí cosúil le *I Buried My Wife* and *Danced on Top of Her* agus *An Ghaeth Aniar-Anas* a sheinn píobair riamh — Willie Clancy

agus Seamus Ennis nach mairseach go háirithe. Tá a chuid píobaireachta gan locht, gan smál agus bheadh sé deacair a sárú a fháil nuair a sheinneann sé féin (pib) agus Arty McGlynn (giotár) *The Dusty Miller*.

BRONNTANAS

Tríd síos rinneadh iarracht fireata agus lán de shamhlaíocht leis an rud traidisiúnta agus an rud nua-aoiseach a shnaidhmeadh le chéile agus slíim féin gur éirigh go maith leis an iarracht. Ba dheas an céirnín seo mar bhronntanas aimsir seo na Nollag.

● Seacht Nóiméad Déag Chun a Seacht, Philip King agus Peter Browne, Gael Linn, 26 Cearnóg Mhuirfein, Baile Átha Cliath 2.

PHILIP KING
PETER BROWNE

SEACHT NÓIMÉAD DÉAG CHUN A SEACHT



Sectarian slaying in Short Strand

BY MAEVE ARMSTRONG

AN RUC man is to be charged with the murder, last Monday morning, December 12th, of an 18-year-old nationalist youth, in direct view of Mountpottinger RUC Barracks in the Short Strand, an isolated nationalist enclave in loyalist East Belfast.

The latest sectarian shooting, this time, unusually, by a lone gunman, took place in the early hours of the morning in direct view of the barracks, which is fully equipped with remote control outside cameras (the one overlooking the scene was significantly pointing down towards the ground at the time of the attack).

Following the murder, the gunman apparently made an effortless getaway from the scene in spite of a heavy Brit/RUC presence on main access roads during a hoax-bomb scare.

A typical Sunday night for Tony Dawson included an evening's entertainment in St Matthew's Social Club followed by his usual nightly routine of chatting for a while to his friends at the junction of Thompson Street/Mountpottinger as the Markets area and joined his friends around 12.30am.

One of them, 20-year-old James 'Homer' Holmes, told AP/RN:

"We had just been talking about the fact that our district was due a turn next, that somebody was going to get shot. But you never think for a minute it's going to be you. The next minute we saw the car coming down from the Castle-rough Road and it was doing a normal speed."

"The guy got a good look at us, turned into Thompson Street, then drove up towards us again. It then slowed down, stopped within ten feet of us and the driver slowly rolled down the window."

Another friend, who wishes to remain anonymous, went across to the driver, thinking he required directions, but, he recalls:

"He never said anything, he just

pulled out the gun and pointed it straight at me. I shouted to the others to run and he fired three shots at us. Homer and I ran into Altcar Street and heard another three shots."

Tony Dawson was hit in the back of the neck, the bullet causing extensive internal injuries, and lay gasping for breath on the pavement. Local people thought he was merely in a bad state of shock as there were no outward signs that he had been so seriously injured. However, only a few minutes after being admitted to the City Hospital, he died.

LOYALISTS

Two years ago, another nationalist youth, Thomas McNulty — a next-door neighbour of last Monday's victim, Tony Dawson — was murdered by loyalists only yards from the same spot.

Consisting of nine small streets, has historically suffered numerous loyalist pogroms. In the last decade there have been a total of 30 attempted assassinations and 18 murders by loyalists of people from the area.

Commenting on the most recent murder and the arrest of the RUC man, local Sinn Féin spokesperson Denis Donaldson said:

"The reports that a serving RUC member is being questioned in connection with the murder of Tony Dawson confirms the widespread fears of the nationalist population and vindicates the Sinn Féin claim, immediately after the attack, of RUC involvement."

"Given the close proximity of Mountpottinger RUC Barracks, it would seem that there was some measure of collusion between the RUC inside and the attacker outside."



● Three men stand at the spot where Tony Dawson (inset) was gunned down by a loyalist assassin; Mountpottinger RUC Barracks is on the left

RUC ATTACK FUNERAL

BY JANE PLUNKETT

IN A CRUELLY calculated, pre-planned incursion last Thursday, December 8th, a massive force of RUC attacked, and effectively seized control of, the Belfast funeral of INLA Volunteer Joseph Craven, who was murdered in a loyalist gun attack the previous Monday.

Though the RUC's apparent aim was to prevent the INLA firing a volley of shots over the coffin of their murdered comrade, the main sufferers from this act of loyalist vindictiveness were the grief-stricken relatives of the dead man, two of whose brothers, John and Michael, were wounded in the gun attack and are still in hospital.

Joseph Craven's coffin was due to leave the family home on the nationalist Bawnmore Estate, in predominantly loyalist North Belfast, at 1pm last Thursday. Some 45 minutes earlier, the tiny estate was saturated by scores of RUC men, including more than 50 Divisional Mobil Support Unit personnel, with back-up from British soldiers of three different regiments.

The Craven home, inside which two INLA Volunteers stood guard beside the coffin of 27-year-old Joseph Craven, was completely surrounded, but the RUC made no attempt to enter, being apparently intent that their callous 'show of strength' should take place in full view of the television cameras outside.

The Craven family understandably refused to leave the house until the RUC withdrew. After negotiations conducted through a local priest, Fr McCaughan, the dead man's body was removed from the house some 30 minutes late, at 1.30pm.

SWOOPED

Within seconds, the RUC men

swooped. An RUC inspector advanced and removed the black beret and gloves from the Tricolour and Starry Plough draped coffin, provoking outrage from local people gathered outside the house. Many of them, men, women and children, attempted to defend the coffin.

In the confusion, several people were assaulted and wreaths were destroyed by the RUC. Two mourners, John Doonan aged 39, and 45-year-old Bernard Cash, both friends of the Craven family, were arrested and subsequently charged with assault and disorderly behaviour.

The dead man's widowed mother, 52-year-old Margaret Craven became distraught, fearing that the coffin might fall open in the melee, and she collapsed in the arms of a daughter.

The RUC's intervention has embittered local people. According to Margaret Craven's 22-year-old daughter Ruth, the RUC at no stage during negotiations with the family stated any objections to the presence of either beret or gloves on the coffin, insisting only that the coffin's coverings be removed at the edge of the estate. Ruth says:

"The RUC came for trouble, there wouldn't have been that many there if they didn't. They gave their word to the priest that nothing would be touched. You can't even get buried the way you want to now."

DIGNITY

Eventually, with some dignity restored, the mourners, hemmed in by a large force of RUC, followed the coffin to the nearby St Mary's Church. There,



● RUC men callously compound the Craven family's grief by snatching the Starry Plough from their son's coffin

Requiem Mass was said for the dead man, local priest Fr Brendan Magee, who had initially refused the bereaved family the comfort of a funeral service for the INLA murdered Volunteer, having backed down in the face of intense local indignation at his callous stance.

During his address, Magee, who hypocritically lamented "every act of violence and evil", predictably singled out the IRA's execution of Official Unionist Assembly member Edgar Graham the previous day for particular condemnation, but passed over that afternoon's violent attack on his own parishioners by the RUC.

Throughout the service, the RUC maintained an intimidatory presence within the chapel grounds.

When the coffin re-emerged, it was,

in the words of another sister, Elizabeth Craven, "hijacked by the RUC". For the Journey across Belfast to Milltown Cemetery, the hearse was re-routed along the motorway, escorted by ten RUC Land-Rovers, their sirens blaring. Only two car-loads of mourners were allowed to accompany the hearse and many people missed the burial because they were detained by the RUC on their way through the town.

All exits to the Falls Road were sealed off by the crown forces and about eight Jeep-loads of RUC were deployed within the cemetery, with many more in the surrounding area.

DENOUNCED

The wrecking of Joseph Craven's funeral was strongly condemned by Belfast

Sinn Féin, which denounced the hypocritical silence of establishment figures at this latest act of violence against nationalists.

In a statement, Sinn Féin pointed out:

"If the IRA were to attempt to remove the cap and gloves or the Union Jack from an RUC man's coffin, or were to stop and harass mourners, or were to drown out graveside prayers and the oration (as happened also in Coalisland on Tuesday), the IRA would be condemned by every clergyman and politician in Ireland."

"Sinn Féin is attacked for refusing to be hypocrites like these others, who all support the violence of the state, the violence of the SAS and the corrupt laws of a colonial power."