

the irish people

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An Choismhuintir

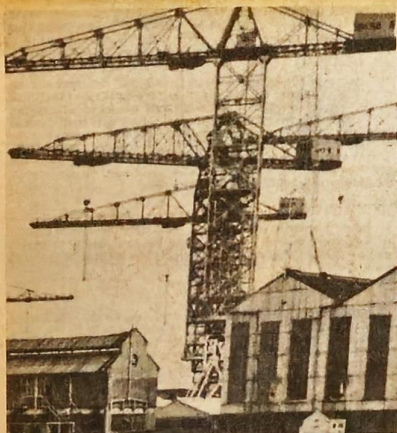
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FRIDAY, MAY 25, 1973

The story they could not print!

SHIPYARDS FACE CLOSURE



Belfast Shipyards: "10,000 workforce may be laid off."

The Ministry of Health and Social Services in Northern Ireland is doing everything in its power to break the steelworkers' strike which is disrupting work at the Belfast Shipyard.

Over 2,000 steelworkers have been on strike for over a month now because they claim the management refused to honour an agreement and make bonus payments for increased production.

The management's argument is that production hasn't increased enough yet. As the strike continues the management has warned that a large section of the Yard's 10,000 workforce may be paid off.

And in the meantime the Ministry of Health and Social Services is trying its own hand at strike-breaking by bluntly refusing to pay single workers any social security benefits.

Married men with dependants get social security payments for their families, but a shock decision in the new Westminster-controlled department has refused to give anything to bachelors living alone.

And already many of these single men have been warned that since they have not paid rent for four weeks they may be evicted from their homes or tossed out of their lodgings.

Divide

The idea is to divide the strikers by getting the younger men in such dire financial straits that they will force the married men to call the whole thing off and bow to the Harland and Wolff demands.

The Westminster Government which took over control of the Ministry of Health and Social Services with Direct Rule has a vested interest in the Belfast Shipyard — in recent years it has acquired 40 per cent of the shares and obviously it doesn't want to see its investment spoiled by a few thousand striking steelworkers.

(Continued on Page 7)



Kitson: identified as evil genius behind Derry massacre.

THIS WEEK we print the story written about the mass killing in Derry on January 30, 1972, by The Sunday Times journalists Sayle, Humphry and Pringle but never published by that paper. Filed on Thursday, February 3, four days after the Derry killings, publication was held up initially because of the rapid setting up of the Widgery Inquiry which made the whole matter sub-judice and since then, we believe, by a British Government "D Notice". "D Notices" prohibit the publication of anything not in the public interest i.e. Britain's, in this case.

Why it was not in the "public interest" to publish is clear from the account of the Derry happenings — printed on page six inside. A lengthy preamble is not included because of lack of space. The final verdict of The Sunday Times journalists reads: "We have no choice than to conclude that this was a Parachute Regiment special operation that went disastrously wrong". This represents the considered verdict of the first professional Englishmen to reach the scene after the Parachute Regiment had left and stands in sharp contrast to that of the next professional to reach the scene — Lord Widgery. In a copy note attached to the story Sayle, Humphry and Pringle say they "are all agreed to stake their professional reputations on total accuracy".

According to The Sunday Times journalists the plan which led to the Derry massacre was worked out by Lieut.-Colonel Derek Willford of the Parachute Regiment on theories of counter-insurgency propounded by Brigadier Frank Kitson. Willford has since been decorated by the Queen while Kitson was promoted to the rank of General on transfer back to duties in England.

While not in a position to confirm or deny the details of the account THE IRISH PEOPLE publish the authentic story sent from Derry that the world can know what the Sunday Times could not print.

Fishermen to Boycott nets auction

Net fishermen from all over Ireland are likely to travel to an auction of nets belonging to Jimmy O'Connor of Waterford, Secretary and P.R.O. of the National Fishermen's Defence Association. They will come not to buy but to boycott the auction. O'Connor's nets were seized following a protest "fish-in" against the 1972 Salmon Order restricting the issue of licenses to draft-net fishermen.

Since the seizure of the nets O'Connor has led the highly successful campaign of the netmen against the Order which culminated in a new Order from the Department of Agriculture and Fisheries restoring last year's status quo. This victory has allowed many bona fide netmen to return to the sea.

Date not known

While the date of the auction is not yet known the decision to auction them is seen by the netmen as a challenge and a provocation. Lismore Board of Conservators, under whose aegis the seizure of the nets, valued at about £200, took place, is dominated by the fishermen's agitation in lifting the restriction placed on them by the Salmon Order of last year. One of the strongest influences on the Lismore Board, through his agent, is

the Duke of Devonshire, whose Castle at Lismore was the target for one of the protests during the campaign. It is generally felt by the netmen that the decision to auction off the seized nets is one of four gags following the rescinding of the Salmon Order.

Victimisation claim

Another element in what is claimed by many fishermen to be a campaign of victimisation against their P.R.O. is the June 1st Court Case when O'Connor faces charges of "fishing without a license".

In a speech during the week O'Connor pointed out that the amendment of the Salmon Order had "prevented a serious miscarriage of justice" and restored the confidence of Irish salmon fishermen in their future.

The amendment of the Order came after a delegation from the N.F.D.A. met with the Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister for Agriculture, Mr. Michael Pat Murphy, said Mr. O'Connor.

"The recent Order now carries provision for further review and revision of the present situation again next year", he added. "We sincerely hope that these future discussions will be carried out in consultation with the N.F.D.A."

the irish people

An Choimhuintir, Friday, May 25, 1973.

The fear of poverty

In terms of spending by Government the £1 increase in old age pensions represents a distinct thrust towards a new social frontier in our society. In terms of the living standards of the recipients, however, it is not too early to question the actual effects of this largesse.

At the last reckoning there were 160,000 persons in the O.A.P. category. Their incomes vary from £5.15 to £5.65 each week. The £1 increase, operative from July onwards, will be expected to do them until the next Budget comes around. But will it? In the past year alone a 16 per cent rise in food costs knocked 82p value out of the existing pension of £5.15... and it is no exaggeration to say that a pensioner would spend the full value of the present pension on food alone. This leaves the pensioner 18p better off from July 1 and facing into a year of certain inflation on the food front alone.

If you were a pensioner totally dependent on this income would you be apprehensive of the coming year? Most definitely, yes: and your apprehension could only be increased by the general public opinion that full social justice had been achieved in your case at last.

The point of the argument is this. It is futile to attempt to alleviate poverty by fixing annual arbitrary increases at a time of unprecedented inflation in prices. No fixed upper limits should be placed on social welfare outlay. Instead, there should be a fixed minimum with provision for monthly increases or decreases in line with the cost of living index.

It were far better for this year's pensioners that they receive an increase on such a scale for the month of July, be it more or less than the £1, with the guarantee of being kept in step with the cost of living in the June increment, etc., than the Budget £1 they have been given.

The present Budget £1 might alleviate poverty — but for how long? It must be recognised that apart from actual poverty there is the fear of poverty. This very real fear has not been removed by this Budget.

Late convert

George Colley is a late convert to theories of free speech. His protest at the massive coverage accorded Tom O'Higgins's Mansion House rally by R.T.E. must have brought a smile to many a face. The memory of the blatant bending of the air waves to suit Fianna Fail's political hegemony during their term of office is still too fresh in Monroese where the atmosphere of fear and apprehension provoked by Mr. Collins's unexplainable ukase still hangs like a pall in the air.

And the massive coverage, whatever the R.T.E. motivation, proved a theory of Conor Cruise O'Brien. His theory, that groups with little to say will be exposed by television coverage, was amply borne out by the splash given to the tedious, mediocre and self-congratulatory Mansion House display.

It is unfortunate that this theory, enunciated by O'Brien when he re-affirmed all the censorship grips put on R.T.E. by the former Government, is a "private" one of his own and not official Government policy. Other groups, who might fare better than Fine Gael did under exposure, will never be shown to the public by R.T.E.

Dr. O'Brien's attitudes towards free speech seems to be undergoing a strange metamorphosis. First we had the confirmation of R.T.E. censorship. Now we have the petulant refusal to speak at the Skeffington Memorial Lecture because the two other guest speakers, Michael O'Riordan of the Communist Party and John Mulcahy of Hibernia, are suspected of holding views contrary to those of the long-dead Skeffington! One begins to wonder how he brings himself to attend meetings of the Coalition Cabinet.



● Armstrong's Plant, Ringsend Road. Irish People pic.

Motor workers demands will be resisted

Even if General Motors goes ahead with its stated plans to open a Special Components manufacturing plant at Tallaght it is certain that less than one third of the assembly workers to be made redundant with the closure of McCairns and Reg Armstrong Ltd. can hope to find employment there.

No hope of alternative employment exists for the several hundred wholesale distribution workers employed by both firms.

The new plant where electrical wire harness of Vauxhall and Opel cars will be manufactured is, according to the multi-national corporation, due to reach full production by 1977 when it is hoped employment will be provided for 300 workers. Sixty per cent of this work force will be female.

Workers and union representatives preparing for pre-closure talks with Arm-

strong's, McCairns and General Motors are sceptical about the Tallaght project. With the closure of the Vauxhall cars will move to Britain and the Opel cars now assembled at Armstrong's will be imported from Germany. The workers see a certain illogicality in General Motors plan to manufacture components here for cars which in future will be assembled in Britain and in Germany.

This scepticism allied to the knowledge that General Motors have warned both McCairns and Armstrongs that demands for extra-

statutory redundancy payments are to be resisted could see a long hot summer of recrimination in both plants. The resistance of both concerns to worker demands will be galvanised by the General Motors' guarantee of compensation for any losses resulting from industrial disputes caused by the takeover talks that might occur up to the closures which are scheduled for the end of next year.

Waterville's Boulders

The traditional right of way to Inny Strand, Waterville, Co. Kerry has been re-established by the local Civil Rights Organisation. The re-establishment consisted of removing boulders, some of them weighing up to seven tons, which have blocked the entrance to the strand last September.

Mr. John A. Mulcahy, the American millionaire and friend of President Nixon, who is opening a golf course in the vicinity has denied involvement in closing the entrance. At one stage last year he threatened to get a Ministerial order to prevent local farmers from removing sand from the strand. However, the Kerry Co. Manager at the time assured the farmers that there was no coastal erosion there.

"We don't know who brought the rocks here", the Secretary of the Civil Rights Organisation, Mr. John O'Sullivan, said last week. "One thing is sure — they didn't fall from the sky. Mr. Mulcahy has disclaimed all responsibility in the matter. We have nothing against Mr. Mulcahy. He has done a lot for this place. We are not accusing him of blocking the passageway. Anyone who used the strand would not put these rocks there".



● John Mulcahy

Half pay

The average weekly income of women in industry is less than half that of their male counterparts. Figures released by the Central Statistics Office show that in December last men averaged £32.40 per week as against £15.59 for women.

Women, however, tend to work a shorter week, the average being 35.3 hours giving them an average hourly income of 40.8 pence. The average working week for men is 45 hours with an hourly average of 72 pence.

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LABOUR CONDITIONS ON O'HIGGINS VOTE

A declaration of intent by Fine Gael on three measures would ensure the Labour vote for Mr. O'Higgins in the Presidential Election.

In a letter published in "The Irish Times" on Thursday last, Mr. Patrick O'Higgins, a leading member of the Labour Party in Tralee, listed these measures as the public control of financial institutions, public control of all building land as well as the major portion of the building industry and the nationalisation of the mines.

These measures would, he said, effectively end exploitation of the country by a minority and concluded "the conservatism of the Government is admirably suitable for implementing progressive measures".

Mr. O'Higgins is also chairman of the Tralee Council of Trade Unions.

COUNTDOWN

A Medical Card holder requiring prompt medical attention did not get it until her relatives offered payment to the doctor. This was alleged by Mr. O. J. Flanagan, T.D., at the last meeting of the Leas Health Committee. Mr. Flanagan who named neither the doctor nor the patient said that the matter made him feel "depressed, disillusioned and disappointed". Mr. Flanagan's complaint that Medical Card holders were being treated as "second or third class citizens" is to be investigated by the Committee.

Mooincoin

Tenants of six County Council cottages at Polerone are on rent strike. They are demanding the provision of toilet facilities in their homes which contain bathrooms but have no running water. Up to two years ago the residents were able to dispose of the contents of bucket toilets in fields behind their homes but the building of a scheme of houses there has removed this facility.

One of the tenants says that he now has no option, when the need arises, but to use the toilet in the local pub. "Every time I go it costs me the price of a drink," he says.

Ballinrobe

A Credit Union has been formed in Ballinrobe, Co. Mayo. At the inaugural meeting held last week the first Board of Directors was elected. The Board Chairman is Mr. Michael Murphy of Neale Road.

Sligo

The State-owned fishery at Glencar Lake, Co. Sligo has been leased for a further five year period to a private syndicate. Sligo Angler's Association, angered by the fact that members are prevented from fishing there and that a tender from them to the Department of Agriculture has been rejected, hope to have the matter raised in Leinster House.

Shannon

The latest U.S. proposals regarding landing rights at Shannon are at present under consideration and he did not propose to say anything further at the present time, the Minister for Transport and Power, P. Barry, told deputies in Leinster House last week.

Drogheda

Residents at Brookville Park, Drogheda are ignoring reminders from landlords, Elop Ltd., to pay their ground rent. The failure of the landlords to fulfil a promise that there are recreational areas would be provided at the site is given as the reason for the strike by the Residents' Association. Residents claim that this promise was a big incentive in influencing them to buy houses in the scheme initially.

Kells

An attempt to organise a Council of Trade Unions is being made by the Kells branch Bakers, Confectioners and Allied Workers' Union. Mr. Thomas Grimes, Secretary of the local branch of the union, has organised a meeting at the Town Hall for Tuesday, May 29 and has invited all Trade Unionists in the town to attend.

Galway

People from rural areas working in Galway city factories are being intimidated, claims Mr. Patrick Naughton, chairman Galway Branch I.T. & G.W.U. and member of the Union's N.E.C.

In a statement Mr. Naughton points out that certain personnel managers on Galway Industrial Estate are carrying out anti-union brainwashing particularly in rural workers who are "sometimes regrettably willing victims of management's anti-union psychology".

BUDGET

Mr. Ryan did not take up challenge

In the last three weeks "The Irish People" has dealt with three types of taxation. If all or any of these had been included in last week's budget package it would have marked a new departure in Government policy towards some of the basic economic and social issues in our society. We called for a tax on the massive profits being made by foreign mining companies through exporting our mineral resources. The twenty-year export profits tax relief was extended to these companies in 1967 after many of them had been in production for some years. This relief is a positive incentive to the companies to export unprocessed ore to Continental smelters, rather than an encouragement to set up smelting facilities and give employment here at home.

Gains tax

We urged the introduction of a Capital Gains Tax to counter the economic and social evils of speculation and inflationary business transactions. The rising price of building land and, consequently, housing, the mergers and takeovers which encourage asset stripping and leave workers redundant — these are only some of the effects the man in the street must suffer while the speculator has a free hand. "The Irish People" called for a wealth tax which would both increase revenue and be a first step towards redistribution to the men of no property, the grossly inequitable holdings of the 5

per cent of the population who control 72 per cent of the wealth.

Unfortunately, none of these taxes figured in Mr. Ryan's Budget. What we were treated to was a much trumpeted distribution of the spoils of the EEC Common Agricultural Policy which, while it may have meant a saving of £30 million to the Exchequer, has also meant a 16 per cent increase in food prices in the last year.

Milk and water

In this Budget the challenge of real Government action on economic and social issues was not taken up. We got a milk and water set of proposals aimed at ameliorating the evil effects of our economic and social system rather than an attempt to grapple with the structures and forces which cause these evil effects.

Thus instead of employment-creating policies to encourage the smelting of our mineral ores at home we got a 11 increase in unemployment benefit, bringing it up to the below starvation line total of £5.35 for a single man living in an urban area and 30 pence less for his not so 'lucky' country cousin.

We got increased charges on drink and cigarettes — forms of indirect tax aimed at poor man's usage rather than at the rich man's increased income. And if the Coalition was concerned for their vaunted "socially just state" they did nothing to equalise the inequality of income and wealth which are at the basis of many of the economic and social ills of our society.

All in all, not a world shattering budget from Mr. Ryan.



● Minister for Finance, Richie Ryan.

CONCERN AT JOB LOSSES IN JACOBS

An estimate of how many of the 2,000 jobs in W & R Jacob, the biscuit manufacturers, will go under the redundancy axe may be known on Friday, May 25. A meeting between the Company and Union representatives at which Dr. Murray, Production Manager at Jacobs, has promised to outline rationalisation plans is scheduled for that day.

The redundancies will occur when Jacobs complete the transfer of operations from their Bishop Street premises to a modern production plant at Tallaght. The Bishop Street premises has been sold for an estimated £1 million and 40 per cent of the workers have already been moved to Tallaght.

Twenty male employees have already been let go and a similar number will be laid off in the next few weeks.

Some of the shop stewards who attended last Thursday's meeting have expressed dissatisfaction at the performance of some of the Union officials present. One shop steward who feels that many of the 600 male jobs may go has expressed alarm at the apparent acceptance by the major unions of the redundancies as a fait accompli. He pointed out that while a representative of one of the smaller Unions present was

insisting on seeing the rationalisation plans and studying them before Friday's meeting he got very little support for this demand from the others.

Neither, the shop steward says, did the Union representative press Dr. Murray to give a definite indication on whether Jacobs are to be taken over by a British biscuit concern. Dr. Murray did admit that such a concern will be acquiring a shareholding but didn't say whether this would be a majority one.



Samuel Dash, who wrote the pamphlet "Justice Denied: A Challenge to Lord Widgery's Report on Derry", has been appointed Chief Counsel to the Senate Committee investigating the Watergate Affair in America. Author of the book "The Eavesdroppers" — an examination of wire-tapping practices — and a former District Attorney in Philadelphia, he heads a staff of 39 and will be the chief questioner for the Committee. His devastating attack on the Widgery findings is available from the Civil Rights B.O. 2 Marquis St., Belfast at 35p.

WIDGERY/ copinac dunder

It is difficult to disagree with the meaning of a newspaper heading summing up the appointment by Mr. Cosgrave of his 11 nominees to the Senate. "Business chiefs top Cosgrave Seannad 11" said the headline — and that's just it in a nutshell.

Lord Iveagh, head of the Irish section of the Guinness empire, and Mr. Paddy McGrath, Chairman of Irish Hospitals Sweepstakes and director of Waterford Glass and other companies, must be two of the most financially-powerful men in the country. The questions obtrude: why has Cosgrave appointed two such powerful business magnates, with no apparent political ambitions, to seats in the Senate where any two Fine Gael hacks would perform the necessary functions? Do the appointments reflect Fine Gael gratitude for financial favours rendered — or to come?

I am not alone in posing questions like these. A political commentator in "The Sunday Press" remarks: "It is said that very big firms like Guinness contribute as a matter of yearly routine to the three Dail parties, shifting the big slice in line with shifts in power." Political insurance of this kind, while normal in a party-political set-up such as ours, is nothing short of cynical and blatant jobbery.

Condoning operation?

Almost as serious is the implication that Cosgrave, in making a Senator of Paddy McGrath, is condoning the present operation of Irish Hospital's Sweepstakes, an operation which has come under suspicion since a detailed investigation by journalist Joe MacAnthaigh in "The Sunday Independent" last January.

It is now known that for two years before he left office the former Minister for Justice, Mr. O'Malley, was investigating the operations of the Sweepstakes with a view to getting more out of the Sweepstakes, he is quoted as saying (since he left office, of course). As well he might, seeing that the hospitals get less than ten per cent of the value of all tickets sold for each Sweep.

The current Minister for Justice, Mr. Cooney, with an eye on Cosgrave's new pet in the Senate, no doubt, was less enthusiastic about probing the Sweepstakes operation, but nevertheless admitted that it was a matter into which he would look in due course. Poor Mr. Cooney could not go any



● Lord Iveagh.

further than that, of course, or he would bring Cosgrave's wrath down on his balding head. What price an investigation into the Sweepstakes while Paddy McGrath sits in the Senate? You can lay any odds that there won't be one.

New arms trial

An interview with Charlie Haughey in "Sunday World" lately disclosed that Charlie took delivery of a 22 repeater rifle and ammunition while the newspaper's reporter was present.

I seem to remember Charlie's erstwhile colleague Dessie O'Malley rounding up of 22 calibre and upwards some time ago "in case they might get into the hands of sub-servives".

Art: we take it that Charlie has special immunity from the application of the law of the land, or shall we see another, this time, miniature, Arms Trial with Mr. Haughey pleading guilty on this occasion to possessing illegal arms? Over to you, Mr. Cooney.

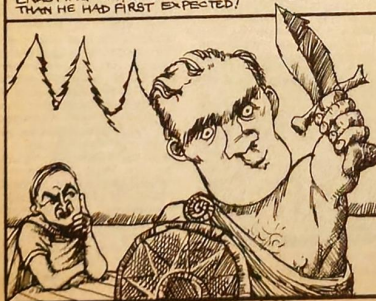
Cork has a word for it

A poster being used by Fianna Fail in the Presidential election campaign in the Co. Cork area is 'causing some mirth in political circles. Advertising Erskine Childers' presence at various centres in the county, the poster tells voters: "Bí ann chun chaint leis".

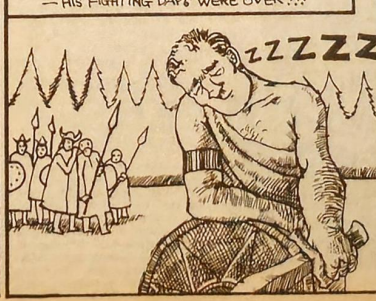
Regarding the attempt at defecation implied in the capital L of the word "leis", it is apparent that the poster is aimed at Irish-speakers and invites them to come along and have a chat, in Irish, with Candidate Childers. Which would be all right, say the political cynics, except that poor Erskine hasn't a word of Irish. Who is trying to cod whom?

★ THE DAILMATIONS ★★★★★★

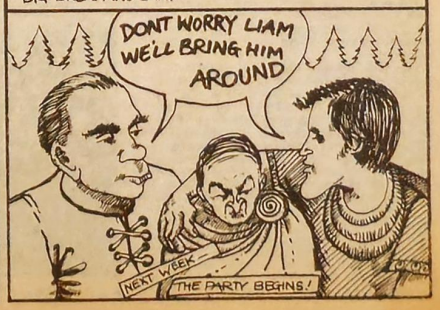
WHEN LIAM ARRIVED HE FOUND THE TASK OF ENLISTING BIG BRENDAN'S HELP MORE DIFFICULT THAN HE HAD FIRST EXPECTED!



BUT BIG BRENDAN WAS GETTING OLD, HE WAS TIRED OF WANDERING AROUND IN THE WOODS — HIS FIGHTING DAYS WERE OVER !!!



LITTLE LIAM SOON FOUND HE HAD FRIENDS IN BIG BRENDAN'S CAMP —



THE RIDDLE OF THE SILENT COUNCILLORS

If, as seems likely, there is a successful outcome to the negotiations between the National Association of Tenants' Organisations and the Minister for Local Government on Differential Rents and other contentious issues pertaining to Local Authority housing, the effectiveness in dealing with such issues by members of Corporations, County and Urban Councils will be seriously questioned.

Although the 1966 Housing Act passed unopposed through Leinster House, many representatives of all political parties on Local Authorities had reservations about it. Indeed the public support by the majority of local representatives for the revision of the Act was a feature of the early stages of the Rents Campaign.

However, with the first rash of tenant prosecutions the support within the Council chambers dwindled and soon disappeared. It is only in the past fortnight that supporting noises are again being heard from the Councils.

At its last meeting, Dublin County Council unanimously decided to adopt a resolution which contains identically the NATO demands on tenant purchase. The Dublin resolution, like ones earlier adopted by the Meath and Kildare County Councils, is being forwarded in the form of a recommendation to the Minister.

In Drogheda, scene of a particularly bitter Corporation/Tenant confrontation, a leading member of the Corporation, Alderman Peter Moore, apparently anticipating NATO success is calling for retrospective to 1967 of any new purchase scheme introduced. Mr. Moore, who lives in a local authority house himself, told a recent meeting of the Corporation: "If we do not get the same crack of the whip (as NATO members), I will lead the next deputation myself".

Post prosecution silence

To write off the renewed visibility of local politicians merely as another example of political opportunism would be an oversimplification. Nor would political expediency totally explain the post tenant prosecution silence in the Council chambers. Why did not even a minority of the initial support for the tenants campaign survive in the Councils? Surely nothing could have been lost politically by supporting a campaign that had massive support?

The answer, like the cause of the campaign, could lie in the Housing Act of 1966. Many local councillors are also tenants in local authority houses. Like their neighbours they were affected by differential rents. As long as they supported the campaign non-tenant political colleagues and opponents recognising the political potential of the campaign could not oppose. Then when the local authority tenant councillor fell silent the house owning 'independent' also entered the neutral 'cone'.

"It is easy to sleep on another man's wound" is not just a literary term. It is a fact of life. When striking tenants are brought before the courts the mass sympathy which their campaign has engendered immediately increased. Local politicians, ambitious or otherwise, showed no interest in cashing in on the 'wound' — champions of the 'oppressed' failed to show up in the chambers and in the columns of the local newspapers!

Studied like bible

The Housing Act of 1966, like other Kevin Boland creations, is a complicated bit of legislation. Councillors, like many other people, would have been no experts on its total contents. On the other hand, County Managers who had to operate it would have studied it like a Penticostalist studies his Bible.

It was under Section 61 of the Housing Act that County Managers prosecuted striking tenants. This section has been argued upon in almost every courthouse in the country and is well known.

However, another Section of the Act, 115, has never been mentioned in all the furor. It is a highly relevant section in that it specifically forbids councillors who also are tenants of local authority dwellings from participating in any decision relating to local authority dwellings. No proviso is made that County Managers or Town Clerks are obliged to inform councillors of this 'beneficially interested' prohibition. Councillors who had not studied the Act could not have been aware of this facet but no allowance for such ignorance is allowed for in the sub-section which specifies: Any person who votes in contravention of this section shall be guilty of an offence and shall be liable on summary conviction to a fine not exceeding fifty pounds. Contravention would also result in

automatic disqualification from membership of the Authority.

The following section, 116, states that, under the Act, "an offence may be prosecuted by the Housing Authority in whose functional area the offence has been committed".

Tenant Councillors who voted in favour of Tenant demands were therefore guilty of an offence. The initiative to prosecute them lay with the official heads of the respective housing authorities, the County or City Managers. The question is would county or city managers, using section 61 of the Act to prosecute striking tenants, be likely to overlook Sections 115 and 116 which allowed them to prosecute and/or disqualify councillors who voted for and were widely publicised supporters of the tenant cause?

Blackmail worked

No councillor was ever prosecuted under these Sections. Yet their votes and their supporting voices ceased with the first prosecutions against tenants. Did the County Managers 'educate' the Councillors on the Housing Act — were they then reminded of the committed offences the punishment for which was spelled out in black and white?

The fact that local politicians suddenly appeared to lose interest in the voting harvest that was to be reaped from supporting publicly the tenant struggle suggests that threats of action under Sections 115 and 116 were made and that the blackmail worked.

Tenants conscious of the lack of support in Councils are likely to put pressure on NATO to put forward candidates to replace the 'silent' councillors at next year's local government elections. This pressure will increase if the NATO negotiators bring home the bacon from the present discussions with the Local Government Minister. These negotiators are aware of the restrictions imposed on public representatives by Section 115. They are unlikely, irrespective of future electoral plans, to leave the negotiating table without a guarantee of its amendment.



● Kevin Boland

the ground rent story



● Captain Galsford St. Lawrence's Howth Castle. Irish people pic.

From Castles to Office Blocks

Before going on to discuss the effects of the 1967 Landlord and Tenant Act (Ground Rent) something should be said of the ground rent geography in Dublin about that time. The passage of the 1967 Act has meant that, while they still exist, the great ground rent estates are now a prey to disintegration and are rapidly becoming a thing of the past. The impetus for this change has come mainly from the big estates themselves, who, seeing the writing on the wall, are tending to realise their assets and go into property speculation or other forms of business.

In Dublin, the estate of the 17th Earl of Pembroke, successor to Strongbow, who entered the city in 1171, includes considerable portions of Ballsbridge, Mt. Merrion, Ringsend, Sandymount, Donnybrook and all of Ballinteer and Dundrum. Centre city properties of the estate — Fitzwilliam and Merrion Squares, are joined to the Ringsend portions by Upper Baginot Street, also on the estate. The 17th Earl lives at Wilton House, Salisbury, England.

Pembroke estate

Recently the Pembroke Estates have set up a new company — Pembroke Estates Management Limited — and have gone into the office block business. Their first big investment, a 1,500,000 office building along the Grand Canal in Dublin, will soon be occupied by the Northern Bank. In ground rents alone the Pembroke Estate collect an estimated £250,000 each year.

The Proby Estates, main owner of which is the baron of Eton College, Windsor Castle, Peter Proby, including most of Dalkey, parts of Sandycove, Dun Laoghaire, Blackrock and most of Stillorgan. Seventeen major city properties also belonged to the Proby. Portion of this property, the 4½ acre South City Market, was sold in May, 1966, for 1,650,000 to a London speculator on mortgage money advanced by the Norwich Union Insurance Company.

The Longford and De Vesci estates extend from Seapoint, through Monkstown to Dun Laoghaire, where they own by far the greater portion of the lands. J. R. Stewart & Sons are their land agents managing things for Christine, Lady Longford and for the 7th Earl of Longford. The Earl is ex-Lord Privy Seal of England, an ex-member of the British Labour Movement and is famous for his worldwide campaign against pornography. He is also well-



● The Irish Life Assurance Office at Mesplil Road. Irish people pic.

known as a biographer of Eamon De Valera.

The 6th Viscount de Vesci, son-in-law of the Earl of Rosse, has a terrace called after the family name in Dun Laoghaire where they own ground rents. The family also owns a big estate in Abbeylax including the town itself.

In Dublin County, the estate of the Vernon family, who got their land from Charles II, extended from Fairview to Raheny and included the lands of Clontarf. It was the sale of portion of them at Marino Crescent to some unknown developer which has led to the recent agitation in that area. Apparently the Vernon estate share the opinion of the Pembroke estate about the future of ground rent.

Howth estate

The Howth estates spread northwards from Raheny to Howth and include St. Lawrence Road, cutting through the middle of Clontarf. Captain Stephen Galsford St. Lawrence is the present owner of the Howth estate and is a direct descendant of Amory Tristram, who effected a landing at Howth in 1177.

North of Howth lies the Malahide estate of Lord

Talbot de Malahide, recently deceased. British Ambassador to Laos in 1955-56. This estate dates back to Henry II. Speculation sparked by Noel Lemass that Lord Talbot de Malahide had left his castle and estate to the nation was squashed by a statement from the Bank of Ireland and trustees pointing out that while the proposition might have been discussed no final decision had been made.

Irish life

To the west of the Raheny-Howth spread of Captain St. Lawrence lie some of the biggest housing estates built in the last twenty years in Beaumont, Santry and Whitehall. It is in estates like these that the quickening interest of insurance companies in ground rent investment manifests itself.

Greenfield and Beaumont estates in the Whitehall-Santry area now pay ground rent to the Irish Life Assurance Company which is 90 per cent Government owned. Among its directors on the private 10 per cent holding is numbered Sean MacEntee, ex-Fianna Fail T.D., many ex-Fianna Fail residents in the Coolock-Raheny area pay to the New Ireland Company which numbers the Fianna Fail Ryans among its directors.

The fourth and final article examining the activities of the Building Societies. The whole series will be presented to the National Prices Commission investigation during the week.

The function of Building Societies should be to provide home loan finance at the cheapest possible rates for home purchasers. Our investigation has revealed that they do not perform this function. Too much of their money is invested in office blocks and the land speculation which drive up the cost of a house to the prospective home purchaser. Too much — far too much — of their revenue goes on advertising and public relations. They are too heavy with directors.

Management costs in relation to assets managed are frequently double what they are for Societies of equivalent size in England. The vast number of offices and agencies throughout the country seem to add more to management expenses than they do to investment inflow.

Their accounts make it impossible to distinguish amounts paid to Directors and Auditors from wages paid to staff.

1. All Building Societies professing to make money available to home purchasers to amalgamate into one Society with a vast rationalisation of offices and other expenses. Failing that, the Government, acting in the public interest, should take over the Building Societies and, using funds invested in the Post Office or raised the normal manner, provide low-cost loans to home seekers.

2. Make it illegal for the Societies to provide loans other than for bona-fide house purchasers.

3. Have the accounts, in particular the advertising expenditure, of Societies examined each year by the Registrar of Friendly Societies or some Auditor specifically charged with this function.

4. Make it a legal requirement on the Societies to publish the payments to Directors as a separate item in their published annual accounts: also, that they itemize fees paid to auditors, solicitors, staff, and that they differentiate between amounts paid out as commission, in advertising and public relations.

5. Set a fixed upper limit for Directors' fees and limit by law the number of Directors permissible relative to a Society's assets.

6. Establish an ethical code for Directors and high Executives of Societies.

CODE OF ETHICS FOR SOCIETIES



O'Keefe's Advertising Agency.

Our opinion

It is our opinion that connections between the Societies and agencies with which they do business should be carefully watched by the Societies themselves.

For instance, Raymond O'Keefe sits on the Board of Directors of the Irish Permanent and is managing O'Keefe's Advertising Company which does most, if not all, of the Permanent's advertising.

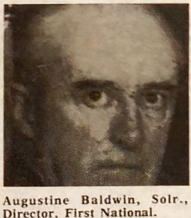
Then again, Edmund Farrell, Managing Director of the Permanent, is a Director of Freehold Estates Ltd., a company first registered in 1954. The original Directors all belonged to the Irish Permanent as well — Edmund Farrell himself, Colm Gallagher and Patrick Doran. By 1959 Mr. Gallagher had died and Mr. Doran resigned to be replaced by Jessica Farrell.

In 1959 a mortgage was registered at the sum of £20,000. The mortgage came from the Irish Permanent and the security was three blocks of property: lands known as Elm Park, Beaumont Road, Dublin; lands at South Hill Park, Booterstown and lands at Harmondston, Coolock. On the 21st December, 1961, a further mortgage of £20,000 on the same properties was given by the Permanent. Particulars of the indebtedness of this Company gave an amount of £20,300 in December 1970. The Farrell Trust Company was founded in 1964 with Edmund and Jessica Farrell as Directors. In 1970 a mortgage from the Irish Permanent was charged on premises and grounds at Walshestown, Co. Wexford. The mortgage amounted to £8,500. A mortgage was registered on February 1, 1972, in the sum of £29,000 from the Irish Permanent on a house at 28 Lower Baggot Street, Dublin.

The vast bulk of the £50,000 share capital of the Company both in 'A' and 'B' shares are taken up by eight members of the Farrell family with only five shares each held by P. V. Doran and Raymond O'Keefe (both of the Irish Permanent).



Edmund Farrell, Managing Director, Irish Permanent.



Augustine Baldwin, Solr., Director, First National.



P. V. Doran, Director, Irish Permanent.



Mrs. Kathleen Lemass, Director, Provident Building Society.

An Dream Arb i Eire a n-Impireacht

Ceist agam. Ceist go bhfadfad na mílte duine ar fud na tíre atá ag iarraidh ualach mhorgaiste a chur. Iócann Eireannach 10% ar mhorgaiste agus tugann na Cumann Tógála 6% dóibh siúd a dheineann infheistíú sna Cumainn. Rud a dhágnann 4% ag na Cumainn lena gcuid costais i ghlanaidh. An bhlaithiúil. Ach sa Bhreatain (agus is cuid de chóras airgeadais na Breataine muide) tugann na Cumainn Tógála 6%-8%, agus gearraíonn siad 91% (Tá deontas sealladach acu chun an ráta a choinneall taobh istigh den 10%).

Is léir go bhfuilid ag feidhmiú ar níos lú airgid ná na Cumainn anseo. Agus anois tá na Cumainn abhus ag iarraidh tuilleadh faoisim cinch on Rialtas! Ce'n fáth? Sin í mo cheiste. Agus tá tuairim agam gur d'fuarastal na Stúirbhóir, sa chaitéachas ar dhógafocht, iirl, a d'fheadfaí cuid mhór den bhfreagra a aimsiú. Ar aon nós, is breagach é béal bocht na gCumainn Tógála in Eirinn.

Connolly

Dúimaraíodh Seamas O Conghaile i bpríosún Chill Mhaighnean ar an 12ú lá Bealtaine, 1916. Cothrom an t-ainm i mbliana labhair a iníon, Nora Connolly O'Brien, ag searmanas cuimhneacháin sa bpríosún.

Baisteach agus b'aduin an piosa cainte a rinne sí. Ní hé gur dhúirt sí aon rud nua. Dúradh a leithid go minic; ach ní sé a rá le blianta beaga anuas ag 'ceannair' na tíre. Dúirt sí go raibh an ceart ag a h-athair sna rudaí a dúirt sé agus sna rudaí a rinne sé. Ní a leithid de thuairim sa bhfaisne níos mó.

Lean sí ar aghaidh uaidh sin agus dúinsaigh sí lucht ceannais na tíre anois ag iarraidh a chur ina lui ar dhaoine go gceathair imeacht o phrionsabail Uí Chonghaile mar go bhfuil toscaí an tsaoil athruithe anois. 'Ní feidir', ar síse, 'le toscaí nua na bun-thric a chur o mhaith . . .



Charles Haughey

bhfuilimid athruithe chomh mór sin ag toscaí an tsaoil go mbeimis, mar dúirt aor o threimhe 1916, 'civilised, neat and clean and well-advised' agus siata ar neamh-spleachas a dhíol . . . tá comheighle an le mion-phobal a chéanamh asain . . . ná ligimís do na 'wise men' ar n-intinní a chur trína chéile . . .

Is iontach an piosa cainte sin toisc gur anamh anois a leithid i mbéal an duine údaráis. Níl an dubh curtha ina gheall fós ar iníon Uí Chonghaile.

Na h-Impirí

Ba é an cháinfhaisneis ab fhearr é riamh, dar leis na b-uaidir mhóra. Tugadh níos mó cinnaidh do na dreamanna is laige agus is boichte ná mar tugadh in aon iarracht amháin riamh. Máf mairt is mithid. Cé fofaídh as? Daoine atá reasúnta maith as, sa Mheánaicne, fofaídh siad as i bhfoirm cáinacha de chinéal amháin nó de chinéal eile. Agus sin mar is cóir é. Ach tá mion-dream amháin nach n-fofaídh, agus cé go bhfuilimid mion in uimbreacha táid mór i gcumhacht agus i saibhreas. Leithidí Tony O'Reilly, Charlie Haughey, na Gallaghers, na McInerneys, na McGraths, na Beltons, etc. Níor baineadh aon chraicheadh as a n-impireacht siúd, Mar is Éire a n-impireacht pearsanta. Agus is iad féin na h-Impirí a meast na mion-daoine amháin atá an chorraíl.



Mr. G. Cooper

Mr. J. McCracken.

A tale of total commitment

A strange new sect, of Anglo-American origin, has appeared in Dublin. Its services are called 'Opportunity Meetings', the theme is 'Total Commitment', its high priests 'Master Distributors' and its acolytes pay dearly for the privilege of initiation into its mysteries, some of them to the extent of £3,000. The name of this new apparition is the 'Pyramid Sellers' although any connection with the religion of the Pharaohs is purely coincidental; this operation is strictly 20th Century A.D. One such company is Holiday Magic, a subsidiary of Holiday Magic Great Britain Ltd., of Holywell Industrial Estate, Greenhills Crescent, Watford, Herts, England. Of the three directors, Jack Sanders, Gordon Mackle and Michael Goddard, none live in the Republic. Their operations in the Republic are run by a Scotsman, James McCracken, assisted by Mr. Giolla Cooper, of 78 Connaught St., Philsboro'. The Company's address is inclined to wander but at present, the enterprise is settled in 13 Dawson Street, Dublin.

The ostensible purpose of the Pyramid Sellers is to purvey medical or cosmetic products door to door, an operation requiring a simple grounding in basic sales psychology and technique. The actual emphasis of the companies, far from preparing its agents for dealing with the public to whom they will be attempting to sell the product, is on persuading the agents towards a vertical advancement in the complex hierarchy of distributor and instructor grades within the company structure. Such advancement is governed solely by the subjects ability to raise money, three days can do it. The real 'hard sell' goes on within the company itself among its agents, rather than with the public to whom it presumably wishes to sell its products.

Fantastic wealth

Initiation into the company's operations is through an 'opportunity meeting' but far from sales technique, the whole weight of company propaganda is to persuade the novice (distributor) of the fantastic wealth to be made by becoming a master distributor — the Nirvana of the Pyramid sellers.

The state of master distributor is attained through a variety of qualifying courses, all of which have to be paid for immediately. If the applicant has to borrow to do this, all the better, it makes the acquisition of ultimate riches a necessity as much as a desire. There are two basic courses of 'Trainer General' and 'Instructor General' costing £27 and £105 respectively. Lasting for hours, they consist of concentrated and intense psychological pressure on the subjects to make a 'total commitment' or become master distributors. Where words fail, wads of bank notes waved under gullible noses have proved more effective. The state of euphoria induced by such methods soon evaporates when the financial implications of total commitment become apparent.

The master distributor course requires an investment of £900 — £850 in cash. Payment of the balance involves a further turn of the company screw. They loan the £250 balance which is then repaid at a rate of £37 monthly.

Our tale is not yet ended. The original £900 investment entitles one to £400 of company product (the nearest some subjects actually get to selling). Another £1,000 worth is promised but for some unexplained reason, this must remain in storage with the company — for a fee of £18 monthly. Import duty and V.A.T. is also payable on this. Since a master distributor theoretically recruits independently for the company, £18 monthly is required for the use of company premises for opportunity meetings, whether used or not. Is this some strange new form of tithe?

Starry eyed applicants

At this stage, a starry-eyed applicant may be faced with a debt of hundreds of pounds, sometimes within a space of weeks. One of these is Mrs. — (recruited by Mr. Cooper), who has sunk £1,500 into Holiday Magic's bottomless well. Altogether, her family has lost over £3,000 in their search for the promised treasure. If one escape route is open to her.

A master distributor gains a percentage of the fees of any of their recruits who become masters in their turn. To recoup her losses, Mrs. — need only recruit more prospective distributors, but, as she puts it 'We were conned and to get our money back, we would have to con more people and put them in the same predicament as ourselves'. This she has refused to do. With her monthly repayments in arrears, she has recently received a curt letter from the company address in Greenhills Crescent, Watford, Herts, England, to the effect that if arrears are not repaid immediately, her ownership of the £1,000 of product promised in the Master Distributor Course will be terminated, leaving her with nothing but towering debts.

The letter concludes 'I must point out that one of the principles of Holiday Magic is total commitment. It is up to you to honour your commitment or suffer the consequences'. Already several hundred pounds in debt, the threat of further consequences (unspecified) seems rather hollow to Mrs. —. But it's a far cry from the good shepherd and his flock.

the Irish people

SPECIAL



THE IRISH TIMES

The verdict they could not print

Thursday, February 3, 1972 — Sunday Times Journalists Sayle and Humphry.

The military appreciation which has been going out to Faulkner and Heath in the past weeks is that the IRA is all but beaten in Belfast where indeed there have been no serious riots since the weeks of internment, and where the Parachute Regiment has claimed that its tough street-fighting tactics, built on delivering hard, unexpected blows at high speed to groups of IRA suspects, have achieved success.

This, according to the military planners, left only one major problem, the nest of IRA militants in the Londonderry Bogside. Military intelligence asserted that there were about 80 hardcore militants. If they were killed or locked up, the IRA problem would be, according to the reports, as good as over.

But tactics were difficult. If one of these men were "lifted" in a surprise dawn raid, the other 79 would flee over the border, only a few miles away. If the Army invaded the Bogside in strength, a blood bath like that of the Ardoyne in Belfast last August would probably result, and in the ensuing political protest British Embassies might be burnt all over the world.

The Parachute Regiment staff planners believe they had the answer in the last weeks of the old year — a blution which in fact produced the massacre.

The idea — worked out, we believe, by Lieutenant Colonel Wilford on lines of thinking propounded by Brigadier Frank Kitson, British Army counter-insurgency expert — was based on the military principle that the way to bring your enemy to battle is to attack something that, for prestige reasons, he will have to defend — the Germans attacking Verdun in the First World War or the same firm attacking Stalingrad in the Second. Brought to battle, he will then be annihilated by superior strength.

The Civil Rights march, the Parachute Regiment planners believed, was just such an objective. The IRA would have to defend or lose its popular support in the Bogside — either way the IRA would be finished.

If the IRA gunmen could be induced to stand and fight while other demonstrators fled, a snatch squad — but it would have to be a large one — would be able to kill them or take them in. So, for some weeks the paras have been drilling and rehearsing the company-size snatch-squad — at about 100 men, the biggest one ever used in the present Ulster fighting.

So it all came together: the Civil Rights people wanted to continue pushing their cause, the IRA wanted to show support, Faulkner wanted to get tough with Catholic militants, and the parachutists wanted to use their well-rehearsed war-winning plan — they had proposed using it against a previous demonstration but permission was withheld.

From this point, the story is well documented by ample eyewitnesses. The marchers came down William St. just before 4 p.m. and came to a halt at a barbed-wire barricade near Waterloo Rd. At the head of the march came 40-50 youths tossing stones and shouting abuse, as is usual in Londonderry riots.

Equally accustomed to this, and running very little risk from stone-throwing because of their protective anti-riot gear, were the soldiers on the barricade and around the walls. Most of them had been in Londonderry a long time: The 1st Royal Anglians, 2nd Royal Greenjackets, 22nd Light Air Defence Regiment, and the 1st Coldstreamers.

None of the organisers of the march had ever thought it would go any further than this point. "We thought we'd get some rubber bullets and a bit of gas and then we could go to a meeting with the feeling that we had fought for our beliefs", one of them told us. "There was some abuse and stone-throwing, as there always is, but even the RUC have taken ten times as much provocation without opening fire as the British Army did last Sunday."

At this point the demonstrators had no reason to suspect that the army reaction was going to be in any way out of the ordinary. They could see the Army snipers posted on the walls of the Bogside looking down menacingly on the Bogside, but this was quite normal. "They could also see the Saracen armoured personnel carriers parked on the other side of the Army barbed-wire barricade, which was a proven fact, the situation going any further down William St. towards the traditional objective of Guildhall Square. Indeed, the march organisers sent two young girls through the barricade to report the parked Saracens and return with a report

Observant demonstrators did see something unusual; on the boundary walls of the Presbyterian Church in Great James Street, on the roof of the G.P.O. sorting office in Little James Street, and in the ruins of Richardson's Factory (burnt out in 1970) they noticed paratroopers, easily recognised by their distinctive red berets, stationed with FN rifles. This, unknown to the demonstrators, was a part of Col. Wilford's mass IRA lift operation; the paratroopers belonged to the 1st Battalion of the Paratroop Regiment.

These soldiers had arrived by Army trucks in Derry that morning; the battalions had never been in Derry before. They had come from Hollywood Barracks near Belfast and were to return, the operation completed, that same evening.

A water cannon came up and sprayed dyed water across the barricade onto the marchers. Some rubber bullets were fired, followed by C.S. gas. Word immediately went down the mass of the march — at this point the procession was backed up for more than a mile. "Back to Free Derry Corner for a meeting".

A demonstrator, Seamus Morrison, 44, unemployed barber, describes the first rubber bullet to be fired: "After the instruction from the march organisers to assemble at Free Derry Corner for a platform meeting, we moved across a vacant lot in William Street. A few stones were thrown at the church and on the post office, but nothing excessive. Suddenly, there was a report, quite different from a rubber bullet going off, and a young boy screamed — 'I'm shot, I'm shot'."

This was Damien Donaghy, who fell near the Grandstand Bar in William Street. A high velocity bullet had fractured his femur (the thigh-bone) according to Dr. Raymond McLean, a Catholic doctor and demonstrator who was later asked to examine the dead or wounded by Cardinal Conway, Catholic Primate of Ireland. In the event Dr. McLean was present at most of the examinations and got a good view of the wounds.

This was in no sense a leader of the march, and was hit well back from the march leaders. He was in no way remarkable, except that he was dressed in blue jeans and a Campari waterproof jacket — not an unusual dress in Northern Ireland, but, combined with his youth, just possibly what an Army brief might describe as the likely appearance of an IRA man. We are confident that in fact he was certainly not.

One official IRA man was, however, nearby in a burned out building opposite Richardson's factory. He had been posted there as an observer, and was armed with a .38 pistol — although his orders were that he was to be unarmed. After Damien Donaghy was shot he says he fired a single round at the soldiers on the sorting office (GPO) roof. We make the range fifty yards — an impossible range for accurate shooting with a pistol. This is the only official IRA shot we can trace during the afternoon. As Donaghy lay on the ground, a stranger to him, John Johnson, 57, manager of a drapery shop in the Strand, the main shopping centre of Londonderry, ran to his assistance.

The spirit of mutual help is strong in the Bogside; Johnson was one of a score or more of demonstrators that ran towards the wounded boy.

Another shot rang out — and Johnson was hit in the leg. Seconds later there was another shot and Johnson was hit in the shoulder, by what Dr. McLean says was a ricochet. We have no doubt that the Army fired both these rounds. The two wounded demonstrators were carried by people near them to nearby houses, again an automatic reaction in the Bogside.

But stone-throwing, shooting, and the firing of rubber bullets continued, and not more than a hundred demonstrators in the immediate vicinity were aware that people had been shot. (There were, by this time, several thousand people in Lower William Street.) However, many demonstrators have told us that from about this time they began to feel that something was going very wrong, that the Army reactions were very different than those shown in a "normal" Derry riot.

No more shots were fired for between ten and fifteen minutes. This was the period when, according to the Army plan, they should have been returned by the IRA, or fire should

have been seen running home for their weapons.

However, no engagement developed and demonstrators, still not unduly alarmed, continued to press through Rossville Street, Chamberlain St., and across the nearby empty sites towards Free Derry Corner where traditionally they would be safe and the riot would have run its normal course. At this point the demonstration was no longer a march and transforming itself into a crowd going towards the forthcoming meeting. All movement towards Guildhall Square had ceased and there was no further pressure, except for sporadic stone-throwing, on the Army barrier in William St. At this point another shot rang out and Jack Duddy, 17, a weaver in a Derry textile mill, fell dying in Chamberlain St. A Catholic priest ran to him, and as Duddy's body was carried away, walked in front waving a blood-stained white handkerchief.

Almost simultaneously, Mrs. Peggy Deery, 37, mother of fifteen children, was hit in the back of the thigh by a high velocity bullet which almost severed her leg (the Italian photographer, Fulvio Grimaldi, witnessed Mrs. Deery being hit). She was carried into a house at the top of Chamberlain St. and is now in a serious condition in Belfast Hospital.

Almost immediately, the serious Army operation began. Soldiers lifted the central section of the knife-resistant barbed-wire barrier in William St., opening a path for movement towards the demonstrators.

From Little James St., running into William St., seven Saracens led by a Ferret scout car emerged and raced up Rossville St., at a speed which trained military observer, ex-Sgt. Major James Chapman (see separate statement) puts at 40 mph. All witnesses agree that the Saracens, which frequently appear at Ulster demonstrations, have never driven at this speed before.

Within the next few minutes a dozen more people were shot down and many more wounded. Civilian witnesses describe a scene of horror in which the Saracens pulled up, apparently at random, soldiers jumped out and began shooting, apparently indiscriminately at the panic-stricken crowd running frantically for their lives. The trained military observer, Sgt. Major Chapman, describes exactly the same scene in terms equally shocked and horrified but clearly disclosing the military plan such as it was behind this exercise.

The Saracens took up rehearsed blocking positions along Rossville St. and next to Rossville Flats. Paratroopers, wearing combat and not anti-riot gear, jumped out and dropped into standard British Army firing positions in spots clearly selected in advance for the purpose of the operation.

This clearly was to ambush the supposed concentration of IRA men in the Harvey St./High St./Eden St./Chamberlain St. area, pinning them against the Army defences in Waterloo Rd. This area is usually a battle ground between the Army and stone-throwing demonstrators in "normal" Derry riots. Another platoon ran through the narrow alleys and walkways of the Little Diamond area, also a traditional battleground.

Executing the normal fire-and-movement tactic used by British Infantry (the trained and untrained witnesses agree exactly on this, using different terms), the paratroopers cleared the barricades in Rossville St. by shooting everyone on it or near it. Kelly, William Nash, Young and McDaid were killed here — Sgt. Major Chapman saw three people hit and slumped on the barrier.

Everyone at the barrier, considered by Bogside people to be their main line of defence, was either dead or wounded. Nash senior raised his arm to try and stop the shooting, was hit in the arm and lay shouting for an ambulance. A section of paratroopers running through the Little Diamond to link up with their comrades at the barricade got behind it — there was no one left alive to stop them — and began laying down a field of fire behind Rossville St. flats. In this shooting, Gilmore was killed; McGuigan, who ran up to him, was killed, and Doherty, crawling along at some distance to escape, was shot dead in the same line of fire.

Paratroopers leading the Little Diamond pincer movement ran into Glenfadda courtyard where a handful of demonstrators had taken refuge, and began shooting — a normal street-fighting tactic when entering a possible ambush area. In this shooting, Wray was killed and Friel wounded. This section continued through to Abbey Park and repeated the clearing fire, killing Gerald Donaghy, Gerard McKinney and Wray McKinney. The three bodies were piled up on top of a short flight of steps in Abbey Park. People under fire ran out from nearby houses and dragged the bodies in and Dr. McLean, who was present, at once pronounced them dead.

Meanwhile, the attempted encirclement of the Rossville Flats/Chamberlain St. was continuing. A Saracen raced into Rossville Flats parking area, the crew realised that they were not in the spot allocated by the operational plan, and the driver reversed the vehicle against a low retaining wall (crushing Alana Burke) and raced out to its allotted position. McElhinney was shot dead about this instant in the centre of the same parking lot; we have not been able to find an eyewitness to his death but medical evidence is that a high velocity bullet entered the left buttock an inch from the anus and carried the length of the body and exited at the right side of the shoulder — a wound only possible if he was shot on hands and knees while crawling.

As McElhinney fell, Michael Bridges, a Civil Rights steward, wearing a white armband, ran up to him, saw he was dead and, overcome with rage, turned towards the Saracen standing at the entrance of the parking lot, raised his arms and shouted: "You murdering bastards". A soldier standing next to the Saracen, he says, shot him in the thigh. We have studied a photograph of this incident taken by an Army official photographer; Bridges can be clearly seen with his arms outstretched in the attitude of someone shouting abuse. His hands are visible and they are empty.

Meanwhile, the paras were blocking the entrance to Chamberlain St. A young French photographer, Gilles Peress, who works for the famous Magnum photo agency, was running up Chamberlain St. behind fleeing demonstrators when, as he passed Eden Street, he saw a paratrooper kneeling by a burnt-out car, he raised his camera over his head and shouted "press". The soldier fired a single round at him. We have placed this incident described by Peress and discovered a bullet-hole in the front of the house on the corner of Harvey Street and Chamberlain Street which confirms his story and indicates the bullet went a few inches wide of his head.

Seconds later, paratroopers burst into a house at the end of Chamberlain Street — the same house to which Mrs. Deery had been carried — and began shouting "Get an ambulance". Inside the house they arrested 22 men, demonstrators who had taken shelter, and marched them down Chamberlain Street — the bulk of the mass roundup of IRA militants — which lay behind the whole operational plan. All these men have since been released.

After the shooting stopped the paratroopers began loading the dead, dying and wounded into the Saracens; lining up demonstrators against walls and searching them; and leading arrested groups away at gunpoint, accompanied by, in some cases, blood-soaked gun-buttis and batons. The activities were all over-looked by Rossville Flats, where IRA snipers, had there been any, would have had easy targets. No eyewitness reports any shooting at the soldiers at this stage.

One soldier was admitted to Almagelvin Hospital after the Sunday shootings. The hospital management have been instructed by the Army not to disclose either the regiment to which the soldier belonged, or the nature of his injury.

The IRA did, however, enter the picture after the Army shooting ceased. IRA men on the march included the head of the Bogside Provisional organisation, name to come, who was seen by a number of witnesses early on the march. The IRA provisional group had a hasty conference when the shooting began and, according to a young woman who was present, decided to do nothing. The official group of the IRA, however, sent at urgent call for gunners, one "active service unit" arrived some minutes after the last Army shots were fired. This consisted, like all IRA active service units, of four men and armed with two .38 pistols, a .303 Army rifle and a .22 hunting rifle with a telescopic sight.

One of these men fired one pistol shot at long range towards the Army, but does not claim to have hit any soldiers. This shot was the last one fired in the engagement, and we believe the only one fired at the Army — we can find no witnesses, among dozens, who heard or saw any other. Every Catholic present at the demonstration to whom we talked and they include priests and doctors, and people opposed in varying degrees of vehemence to the IRA, are unanimous that the IRA played no part whatever in provoking the any operation or fighting back, other than the shot mentioned above. In the atmosphere of grief, shock and horror which has followed the shootings (see Sayle story) it is inconceivable that the tightly-knit Bogside community would not lay at least some of the blame on the IRA, if in this case they deserved any.

We have no choice then to conclude that this was a Parachute Regiment special operation that went disastrously wrong.

The North

letter
from
belfast

Some things in North which elections never change

The candidates are ready, the parties are prepared and their constant canvassing is setting the scene for the North's first local government elections in six years. With polling day now less than a week away the final push is on, as politics and policies are explained in a final effort to attract the voters. There are more than 1,200 candidates in the field, an unprecedented number, and they constitute a unique blend of old and new in Northern political life.

The old is to be found in the Unionist Party, which has propounded the same old policies and presented many of the same faces which are politically and physically beyond their prime. Men like William Kennedy, Jack Webster and David McNarry, all from Belfast, are typical of the middle-aged group which constitutes the mass of Unionist Party membership. The new can be seen in the Republican Club candidates whose relative youthfulness may be indicative of a new era in Northern politics. Candidates like Sean Flynn and Anthony Dorman in Belfast, Malachy Toal in Armagh and Gerry Burns in Warrenpoint are contesting an election for the first time, but it is expected that their lack of experience in electoral politics will be well compensated for by their record of social and political agitation over the past few years.

Between the old and the new lie the Alliance Party and the S.D.L.P. — old figures in new clothing. Neither party has contested an election since their formation and both will need to do well, because their performance in the June Assembly election will depend a lot on the results of next Wednesday's poll. The Alliance Party has managed to attract some candidates who are politically new and physically middle-aged, William Jeffrey and Mrs.

Muriel Pritchard in South Belfast are typical examples. In a last minute effort to have an Alliance candidate standing in every area in the Six Counties the party urged a motley assortment of individuals into their ranks days before nominations closed, and this has resulted in people like Anthony Williamson, Chairman of the South Down G.A.A. board, seeking election on an Alliance ticket in the Newry area.

Candidate trouble

The S.D.L.P. have been having similar trouble in finding suitable candidates. Paddy Devlin, M.P., will be standing in the Lower Falls, having failed to find a more suitable candidate, and in rural areas where no candidate could be found they were poached from other parties. Typical of this type of person is Jim McCart, formerly an Irish Labour Party councillor in Warrenpoint, who refused to adopt the Civil Rights policy of non-participation when internment was introduced in 1971. He was picketed by the local S.D.L.P. for his attitude and now stands as an S.D.L.P. candidate. Again this party has relied largely on the middle-aged section of the community for candidate material.

In most cases the candidates are known only locally. Party political labels



Paddy Devlin, S.D.L.P.

will be included beside the candidate's name on the ballot paper, but in many areas a quick glance at the name is enough to reveal political affiliation. In Belfast's Area 'C', for example, Robin McDonagh is inevitably an

Alliance candidate, Patrick O'Callaghan represents the Republican Clubs, and Mrs. Daisy Preston could only be the Unionist standard bearer.

There are some things in the North which elections will never change!

The local government Elections in the Six Counties take place next Wednesday, 30th May, and on the anti-Unionist side it is probably true to say that the main issue is Internment. There has been some vicious debate and mudslinging over the question of whether the Civil Rights Peoples' Pledge is a deliberate attempt to frustrate any new local government structure. The Pledge, taken by all Republican Club candidates and thousands of the electorate, supports non-attendance until all internees are freed and special powers ended. What effect this will have on the results is hard to estimate now but certainly imprisonment without trial is still one of the North's major problems.

In some ways this is unfortunate for as the London Times pointed out there has not been much in the way of genuine election manifestos apart from the Unionist Party (Official) and the Republican 13-page proposals on everything from amenities to light industry. The numbers still in Long Kesh and I think also, local personalities, are the chief guides for anyone interested in forecasting next week's results.

The Lower Falls have ex-Chairman of the Central Citizens' Defence Committee and life-long opponent of Unionism, Jim Sullivan, campaigning on the Republican ticket. Sullivan has had plenty of public experience, particularly as the main spokesman in negotiations with the British Government after August '69. Talking last week to some of his election workers they reflected his confidence and enthusiasm. Their favourite story claims that a local bar-tender greeted Jim with the information that he intended to vote for an S.D.L.P. opponent. "Great", snapped Sullivan, "You never backed a winner in your life". Gambling men will appreciate the point.

In North Belfast, veteran Republican, interned Frank McGlade should prove favourite with many of the people in the Oldpark Road area. Frank, whose record of service to the people stretches back into the thirties, is known to thousands throughout the country as 'Fear Malth', a title which many of the more professional politicians would give their eyeteeth to have but will never earn. It would be tragic if the big party machines and their finance prevented a man like Frank McGlade from being returned.

Publicity, propaganda, access to the media and nowadays in particular a Tele appearance constitute a vital part of elections. Southern readers, accustomed to control of RTE by Government Ministers, may be surprised to learn that Republicans can be seen on both Northern channels debating issues considered too controversial in Dublin by the political censors. UTV if anything has a slightly more liberal attitude than BBC but both stations, much to the embarrassment of resident RTE journalists and the occasional visiting Southern producer, are free from secret internal directives and lists of contaminated individuals who might pollute the atmosphere.

S.D.L.P. fund raising meeting in Dublin

The fund-raising meeting held in Dublin's Mansion House during the week filled the hall to about half its capacity.

Mr. John Hume said that political parties in the South had a duty to spell out to their electorate just how they intended achieving a united Ireland and what form the new Ireland would take. In reply to a question as to whether the S.D.L.P. would form branches in the 26 County area, Mr. Hume said that the party had "enough on its plate" with regard to the North at the moment.

Hungry North

Hume was followed by Austin Currie, M.P., who described himself as "a better reuser of the hungry North than John". In what proved to be the most direct fund-raising speech of the night, he urged his audience "to recognise the job we've had to do in the North". Referring to the members of the S.D.L.P. Parliamentary group, he spoke of "the great burden that has been borne by these six individuals" over the past few years. He reminded his audience that violence had been used "against us" on October 5 in Derry, at Burntollet, and on Bloody Sunday. "When", he asked, "has violence, used by us, been successful?"

During the meeting, listeners were asked to fill in the cheque forms which had been distributed earlier, and a silent collection was taken in. Mr. John Hume stated that he would rather wait fifty

years for a solution to the northern problem without the loss of a single life than have it in fifty days with bloodshed. Summing up, Mr. Currie asked: "Who in the North is likely to get the best deal from Britain at the conference table?" He answered — "the S.D.L.P."

Army opens second front

The British Army is finding itself harassed on more than one front. The latest assault comes from the weary wives, who increasingly object to their husbands serving in the North.

The Army's counter-offensive, according to a statement by the Anti-Internment League, ranges from boosting pensions for Northern casualties, payable to wives, to initiating enquiries by the Special Investigations Branch of the Military Police into the private affairs or perhaps, more accurately, the private behaviour of troublesome wives. Special marriage counselling facilities are provided, presumably linked in some way to the activities of the Special Investigations Branch.

Meanwhile, British Army recruitment has dropped 25 per cent over the past year, according to figures released by the Ministry of Defence. In 1972-73, 15,385 recruits entered the force, a substantial fall in the figure of 20,730 for 1971.

Shipyards to close down?



(Continued from page 1).

Although there has been optimistic speculation that the present strike could end shortly — future trouble lies in store.

For the workers feel that the Scandinavian Yard boss, Ivor Hoppe, who was brought in as a new troubleshooter for the company, actually wants the yard to close for a short time.

Reorganisation

They say that this would enable him to carry out a reorganisation which he has planned and at the same time would force the employees to return on his conditions.

Company economists have assured him that a short stoppage would not affect orders and would be more than offset by increased

production under the new reorganisation.

The reorganisation itself would consist of a pure hatchet job. For a start, many of the older men — including quite a few top executives — would be axed and then the night shift would be dropped.

Instead, Hoppe wants to introduce a double day-shift — the first from 7 a.m. until 3 p.m. and the second from 3 p.m. until 11 p.m. He maintains the men working on the present night shift have a much lower production rate than men on day shift and yet receive more money.

The general consensus of opinion at the Yard is that if Hoppe tries to introduce his latest brainchild he might as well go ahead and close the Yard anyway because no one will want to work his new shifts.

The men, from shop

stewards to workers on the factory floor, claim that the new General Manager is too dictatorial and arrogant in his dealings with them.

Since Victorian days this attitude of 'yard bosses has meant a long history of bad industrial relations between workers and company.

Bit of tact

And the directors actually brought Hoppe in and gave him wide-ranging powers which none of his predecessors had, on the understanding that he use a bit of tact and discretion to stop the work-in habit spreading from the Clyde to the Laganbank.

At first he did institute weekly meetings between management and shop stewards, but then these became more and more in-

frequent until they stopped altogether.

Workers' participation in the affairs of the 'Yard' reverted to 'decree by memorandum on the notice board' in the words of one shop-steward.

Now the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, William Whitelaw, conscious of growing grass-roots talk among shipyard workers of "take-overs" and "work-ins" and quietly ordered a discreet investigation into the causes of the disharmony.

And Mr. Hoppe may shortly find that if the Government think he is responsible for the worsening labour relations and consequently putting their £40 million investment in jeopardy he may be the one who gets axed — and he needn't go looking to the Ministry of Health and Social Services for help.

HACKING ON TO FINISH



— BY OUR RACING CORRESPONDENT

Excitement mounts in the inner enclosure as the winning post comes into sight in the Great Presidential Handicap Chase. But the enthusiasm has not spread into the stands. At the present moment, stable hands and grooms are rushing furiously to and fro trying to wake up the spectators; already it looks like a poor gate with public interest at a record low, and this is expected to be substantiated when figures are published after the race.

It is certainly a sad state of affairs when the traditional sporting interest of the citizens of this land cannot be aroused by such a great spectacle as the "Presidential", especially when the organisers have gone to so much trouble, with publicity, and side-shows and the like.

Out on the course COALITION has steadied somewhat for the run-in after an almost disastrous piece of bad timing at the Bishop's Plate Hurdle. Childers, quick to spot the mistake, whipped FIANNA FAIL smartly inside and led through Protestant's Hollow. A flashy ride through the Ard Fheis straight,

however, very reminiscent of the style of COALITION'S dam FINE GAEL, recovered the lost ground in convincing style.

It is now thought that FIANNA FAIL'S owner, a wealthy English grocer, will not be coming over for the finish; suggestions that this decision shows a lack of faith in FIANNA FAIL'S performance can be overruled by the disclosure that the Englishman has boasted to his fellow sportsmen that he is "on a winner no matter which horse finishes first, and simply can't lose".

Blood pressure will be high in the inner enclosure as the two horses thunder into the final furlong, for many of these horse types stand to win a bundle.

However, for one of the contestants this will be the last hurrah; for the winning jockey and mount it will be a healthy purse, and a cushy retirement out in Phoenix Park, where at least some old horses live to eat grass.

For the loser, alas, it will mean one last ignominious ride... to the knacker's yard!

Limerick manager knuckles under

The intervention of the Department of Local Government has halted action by Limerick Cor-

poration against tenants in the city and thereby averted the withdrawal of NATO from negotiations to end the National Rent Strike.

The Limerick action confirmed fears expressed by some NATO leaders that individual City and County Managers, unhappy with the Department of Local Government's recognition of the Tenant Body, might attempt to sabotage the talks.

On learning of the Limerick City Manager's action in issuing notices to quit on striking tenants, returning deposits to tenants availing of a tenant purchase scheme, imposing a 25p rent on pre-1958 houses, and the initiation of court proceedings against 24 tenants, the NATO executive contacted the Department. The Department was informed that the consequences of the Limerick Corporation action would be felt not only in that city but in every NATO area in the country.

A quick response from the Department ensured that the Limerick Local Authority would observe the Government Tenant "ceasefire" terms and leave the way open for the settlement of the dispute at National level.

It is understood that the Department are at present undertaking a costing on the alternative Differential Rents

scheme suggested by NATO and when this is completed final negotiations will take place.

The Department is also endeavouring to get an accurate estimate of how much of the 14½ million rents withheld since the commencement of the dispute will be recoverable.

Molloy's last days

The Department of Local Government was swept by a gust of efficiency in comparison to its usual gentle breeze, in the two weeks after the General Election, the last fourteen days of Robert Molloy as Minister of Local Government.

In the final fortnight of his tenure of office, Mr. Molloy dealt with over 100 per cent more planning appeals, a total of 164 or about 82 per week. The normal average number of appeals dealt with is 40 per week.

Galway City and County figured prominently in the rush of last minute decisions.

cut out

THE COST OF BORROWING

The growth of Credit Unions is one of the major factors responsible for the decline in straightforward hire purchase agreements in recent years, according to a recent report of the National Prices Commission.

The Commission was reporting on an investigation carried out comparing the costs of acquiring consumer durables on hire purchase as against buying for cash.

The investigation showed that consumers availing of 24-month Hire Purchase Agreements could pay up to 35.86 per cent in excess of the list price on Television sets, 58.33 per cent on vacuum cleaners, 33.55 per cent on carpets and 40.09 per cent on furniture items.

While the Commission did not compare the purchasing power of the Credit Union member as against the hire purchase customer (they may do this in a future, more comprehensive report), their statement on the Credit Union effect on H.P. business will come as no surprise. In provincial towns where

Credit Union organisation is strongest many branches of firms operating H.P. schemes have been closed in the past few years. Trading cheque companies have also been affected in these areas and are being forced to concentrate their activities in areas not yet organised by Credit Unions.

In the examples cited for a 24-month period by the Prices Commission, the savings on list price to the Credit Union Member would be: television set, 23.86 per cent; vacuum cleaner, 46.33 per cent; carpet, 21.55 per cent and furniture items, 28.09 per cent.

This saving is calculated on the assumption that the member was repaying a loan to his Credit Union at the maximum interest rate of 12 per cent and disregards any remission of interest which he might receive. Disregarded also is the likelihood of a reduction on list price which a cash customer can bargain for.

Figures on this table are based on a survey carried out in Kilkenny earlier this year.

Credit Union Loan	Hire Purchase Agreement	Trading Cheque Company Loan
Total Borrowed £100	Total Borrowed £100	Total Borrowed £100
Repayments :	Repayments :	Repayments :
50 at £2 per week £100	12 at £10.21 per month £122.52	20 weekly repayments at £5 £100
Interest paid £ 5.96	Interest paid £ 22.52	Interest paid £ 30
Total Repaid £105.96	Total Repaid £122.52	Total Repaid £130
Income tax relief (when applicable) £ 1.53	Income tax relief nil	Income tax relief nil
Total Cost (1 year) £ 4.43	Total Cost (1 year) £ 22.52	Total Cost (20 weeks) (This represents a charge of about £63 for 1 year.) £ 30

mines in ireland

CUT-OUT SERIES

no. 3. tynagh

Situated about half way between Loughrea and Portlanna, just a few miles west of Kiltimore, is the village of Tynagh. Looking west from Tynagh the Slieve Aughty mountains meet the eye. To the south lies Lough Derg and Tipperary.

The area around Tynagh has another much less visible landmark. The whole district straddles the meeting area of two differing geological rock formations — a region where the possibility of mineral ore is always good.

The discovery in 1961 of rich lead zinc silver deposits at Tynagh sparked off the Irish Klondyke and by 1965, when Tynagh was coming into production, fifty other mining companies had entered the field. Irish Base Metals Ltd., which made

the discovery, is a wholly-owned subsidiary of the Canadian Northgate Mining Group.

Between commencing production in 1965 and the end of 1970 over 3,000,000 tons of high grade ore had been extracted from Tynagh giving a profit for the period of more than £15,000,000. And by that time 76 per cent of the ore still remained to be mined.

A feature of mining at Tynagh up to recent times has been the fact that it is "open cast" i.e. being scooped out of the surface of the ground without the necessity of tunnelling underground. From this year on mining at Tynagh will have to go underground and an increase in overhead costs will result.

If the present rate of extraction — 2,000 tons per day — can be main-

tained it is projected that the entire Tynagh ore field will be exhausted by 1983. A Resources Study Group projection of the net profit to be made on the mine by 1983 stands at £71,000,000.

At the moment these profits are untaxed while the pay of the mine workers is taxed. However, the recent Budget announcement that a Finance Bill is to be introduced in the current year to make mining profits liable to taxation means that henceforward mining profits will make some contribution to taxation revenue in the years ahead.

NEXT WEEK

NO. 4 IN THE SERIES

AVOCA IN CO. WICKLOW