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IRELAND'S BIGGEST SELLING
POLITICAL WEEKLY

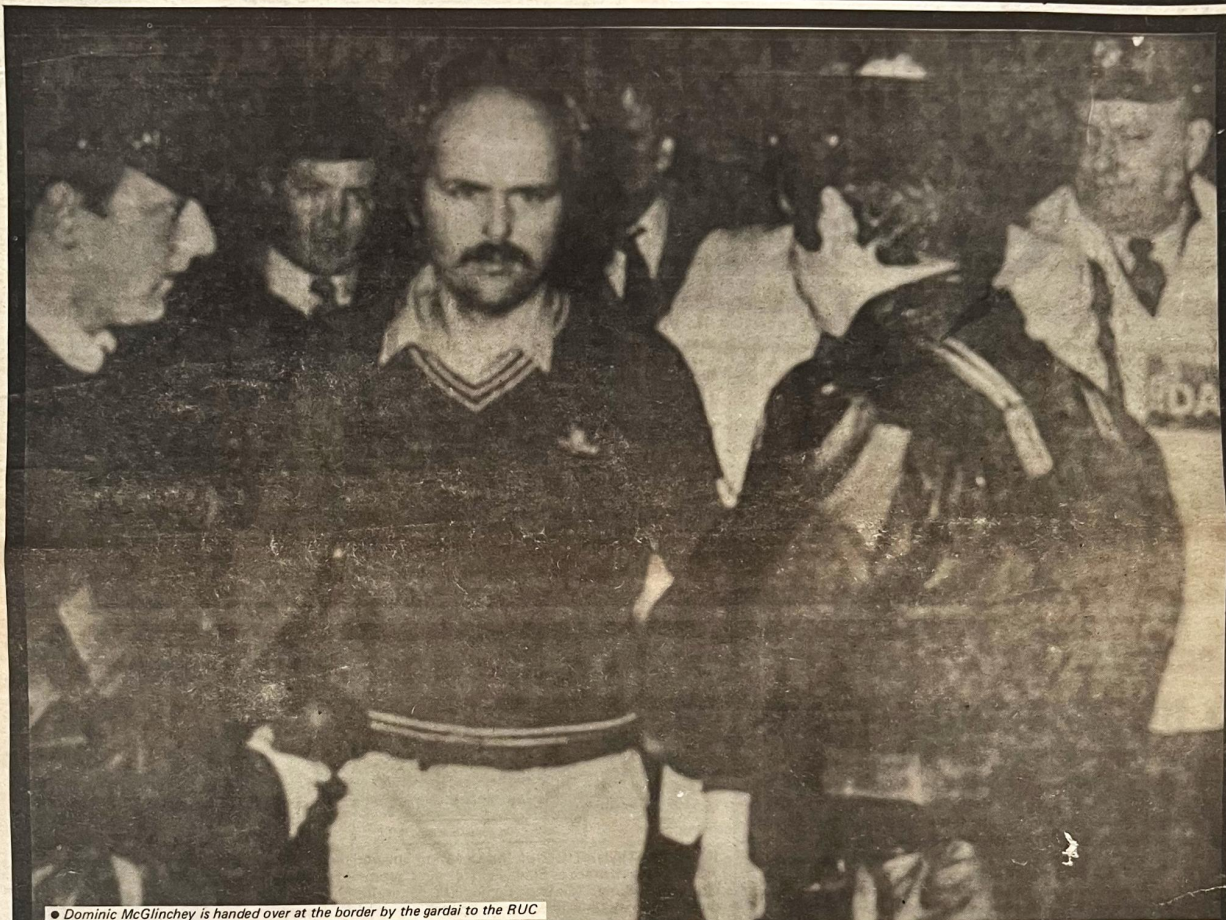


ANTI-EXTRADITION RALLY

2.30pm Saturday 24th March
AN UAIMH
(NAVAN)
County Meath

NO COLLABORATION WITH RUC SHOW TRIALS!

Sraith Nua Iml 6 Uimhir 12 Deardaoin Marta 22nd Thursday 22nd March 1984 (Britain 30p) Price 25p



● Dominic McGlinchey is handed over at the border by the gardai to the RUC

TREACHERY

THE EXTRADITION of Dominic McGlinchey — passed over the border from gardai to RUC in the last dark hours of St Patrick's Day — marks one of the blackest spots in all the long years of Free State collaboration.

Whatever fine legal distinctions are drawn or judicial sophistry is engaged in, the reality is a piece of political treachery which lies squarely at the door of the Coalition government.

Over the last decade, British and the final submission of a Dublin loyalist politicians have clamoured for this ultimate collaboration as

In spite of the most repressive legislation in the form of the Offences Against the State Act, in spite of the harassment and imprisonment of countless republicans, in spite of the disastrous financial cost of guarding the British-imposed border from the South, in spite of Section 31 censorship, in spite of the political hounding of Sinn Féin, in spite, even, of the Criminal Law (Jurisdiction) Act, they have always demanded this final capitulation in the form of ex-

tradition.

CRAVEN

And the reason is that extradition means that Dublin is acknowledging the sectarian and brutal RUC as an 'impartial police force'; it is giving its official blessing to the infamous Diplock courts, show trials and all; it is accepting Britain's attempt to criminalise the Irish struggle for freedom; it is finally cementing a joint Dublin/London approach to the North

as fundamentally a 'law and order' or 'security' problem, rather than a political one.

All of this, in short, amounts to the craven acceptance by Dublin of Britain's presence as unchallenged occupier of six counties of Ireland and the abandonment of the national objective.

What further step is necessary for the Free State government to drop all pretence and apply for readmission to Britain's 'united kingdom'?

OPINION SUPER-FLOP

THE BUNGLING diplomacy of Coalition leader Garret FitzGerald was clearly demonstrated on Tuesday of this week during his performance at the failed EEC Brussels summit.

In recent months, FitzGerald and his agriculture minister, Austin Deasy, have toured European capitals to implore their European 'allies' to give special consideration to the problems of twenty-six county agriculture in deciding the future of the Common Agriculture Policy and, in particular, the introduction of a milk superlevy.

FitzGerald agreed that milk production in the Free State lags far behind the levels produced in other EEC states and that any levy on this basic sector of agriculture would have serious and long-term repercussions.

He would have known that the farmers, whose interests he claimed to represent, were encouraged to develop the dairying sector and indeed that many borrowed heavily to improve their herds.

He had been well-warned that, far from accepting a milk superlevy, the dairy industry would need a 32% increase spread over four years if it was not to go into immediate and irreversible decline.

So FitzGerald went to Brussels armed with all this knowledge and, of course, the advantage of being a 'Europhile' who has a 'special affection' for the EEC — indeed he has been one of the most forceful proponents of the Common Market idea.

First came the betrayal of twenty-six county farmers when, despite all that had been said, he agreed with President Mitterand of France that they should be given a mere 5% increase to last just one year — a far cry from 32% over four years.

And then came the humiliation of having even this abject climb-down rejected by his 'allies' from Britain, Denmark and Holland.

The British rejection must have come as the unkindest cut of all, after FitzGerald bending over backwards to accommodate Britain in other respects and in the very recent past.

By walking out of the summit after this rejection, FitzGerald simply emphasised his disastrous failure and, even more than this, he showed clearly that he accepts that, ultimately, any and every policy decision that affects the twenty-six county farmer is made by the politicians of other European countries. So much for 'sovereignty'!

Besides tearing the mask off 'FitzGerald the statesman', Tuesday's events exposed the falseness of any assertion that the EEC is designed to create economic unity and equilibrium.

Has the economic gap between the Free State and West Germany narrowed since entry to the EEC? Has Britain ever shown the slightest inclination to act otherwise than in its own interests?

The answer to such questions is a resounding 'No!', and the reason is that the EEC is a rich nations club which doesn't care a whit for the Irish people, North or South, and will actively impede the economic interests of Ireland if its own interests are threatened.

If we are to determine our own political, cultural and economic future, withdrawal from the EEC is a vital first step.

CUIRIMIS CHUN OIBRE

TÁ TEIPTHE GLAN ar an iarracht a deineadh an tseachtain seo caite le dul chun chinn Shinn Féin a chosc trí imeagla agus fóirgean. Chuir an t-iarracht leis an t-uachtarán agus ceathrar ball den pháirtí a mharu treise ar an eagla atá ar pholaiteoirí na sé chontae fíchead agus Rialtas na Breataine.

Tá tuairimíocht láidir ann toisc an tsárlán thárla an t-úchán go raibh réamh-eolas ag Faisnéis na Breataine faoin ionsaí. Meastar freisin gur mó ná comtharlú go raibh oiread sin ball d'fhórsaí an choróin ar an láidir.

Pá faoi líric ar scéil seo, tá roinnt fíricí nach bhfuil aon amhras in aon chor ag baint leo agus atá léir do gach poblachtánach.

Ó stailceanna ocras na Bliocanna H i 1980-81 agus ón tacaíocht atá léirithe do Shinn Féin ó shin, is cinnte go bhfuil fóir eagla ar Rialtas na Breataine agus ar Rialtas an tSáorstáit faoin bhforbairt polaiticiúil atá i ndán do Shinn Féin ná leanann an obair dhian ar a súil anois ar fud na tíre.

Léiríodh ó dheas ó leis an deacaidh a ghlac páirtí an Lucht Oibre tar éis d'iarthóir Shinn Féin, Chéas Burke buachtair ar a n-iarthóir síúd i dtoghchán dháileach-eantair Bhlaí Clath Láir le deanaí.

Ní ghlacadh aon duine, ach dream atá scannraithe go smíor an cinneadh atá glactha ag pholaiteoirí sinsearach dá goid, agus atá tógtha ar bórd ag an gComhairleas ar fad, diúltú buadhach le baill, bídis tofa no a mhalairt, de Shinn Féin. Fiú meáin chumarsáid an tSáorstáit, aontóinn siad gur gníomh coanta orthu féin ó seo ag páirt atá ag éag agus nach ndéanfaí a leithéid in aon stát daonlathach faoin spéir.

Tuigeanann Rialtas na Breataine nach féidir leo a mhaíomh (mar a dhéanann gach sé mhí nó mar sin) go bhfuil buaite agus ar an goimhlínt poblachtánach. Tá tacaíocht chomh forleathan anois léirithe ag gach uile toghchán do pholasaíthe Shinn Féin — ina measc lán tacaíocht do cheart Golaigh na hÉireann chun troda in aghaidh na Breataine — do dtuigeanann siad go bhfuil pobal náisiúnach na sé chontae ag léiriú dóibh i síl eile fós nach bhfuil siad sásta cur suas le harm gallda ó gcur faoi chois.

Anois le teacht toghcháin um Pharlaimint na hEorpa agus Sinn Féin san Iomaíocht ar bhonn 32 chontae tá sé níos tóbhaicht ná riamh go gcuirfeadh poblachtánaigh uile a gcois an obair agus go mbhead toradh a goid oibre le feiscint nuair a thiofadh na toghcháin áitiúla an bhlain seo chugainn.

Ar imeacht d'arm agus do Rialtas na Breataine as á dtír, mura dteastaíonn uainn 32 chontae a bheith faoi mhíchlíocht. Charles Haughey nó Garret FitzGerald, tá sé rianachtach na gbeadh eagraíocht bíormhar laidir againn chun á goid polasaíthe a chur i bhfeidhm. Gan obair dhian ó chéim go cásim, ní shroifimid an neart is gá.

Ní mór dúinn a bheith ullamh don uair go dtiofaidh ár fá.



● A UDR major was seriously wounded by Belfast Brigade IRA Volunteers on Monday, March 19th

UDR major shot

IRA VOLUNTEERS in Belfast shot and seriously injured a UDR major in Durham Street on Monday morning, March 19th.

The attack took place as the UDR man arrived for work at the Blood Transfusion building. Two IRA Volunteers were waiting for him as he arrived in his car and parked it in the staff car park, which is overlooked by British troops permanently based on top of Divis Tower in the Lower Falls, only a few hundred yards

away. Using handguns, they fired at the major, who, although hit several times, ran into the building. The Volunteers pursued him and fired again before making good their escape.

MAGHERAFELT INCENDIARIES

On Thursday night, March 15th, IRA Volunteers planted several incendiary devices in Nicholl's Furniture Store in Rainey Street, Magherafelt, after forcing their way

into the back of the store. Over £100,000 worth of damage was caused by the resulting explosions.

ARMAGH BOMB

On Saturday, Volunteers of the IRA's North Armagh Brigade placed a remote-control bomb in a portakabin on Cathedral Road, Armagh. While the Volunteers were waiting for crown forces to come within range of the device, it detonated prematurely. There were no injuries.

BOYCOTT ANTICS CONTINUE

BY JACK MADDEN

IN A CONTINUATION of the Coalition government's official attempts to ostracise Sinn Féin elected representatives, Environment Junior Minister Fergus O'Brien refused to meet a delegation of Galway county councillors which arrived at Leinster House on Thursday, March 15th, because it included Sinn Féin's Councillor Frank Glynn.

Last Thursday's boycott had its origins last month when, at a meeting of Galway County Council, Glynn was unopposed as one of eight councillors chosen to visit Leinster House to demand funding for local development schemes.

O'Brien's action was all the more ridiculous given that two of his colleagues, Junior Ministers John Donnellan and Paul Connaughton were amongst the Fine Gael councillors on the Galway Council and neither raised any objections to the choice of Glynn on the delegation.

At the invitation of Noel Treacy of Fianna Fáil, Glynn was eventually allowed in as a visitor to Leinster House, but throughout his short tour of the building he was shadowed by a member of the garda Special Branch.

In a television interview later, Noel Treacy denounced what he termed the Coalition's 'double-standards' in refusing to meet Frank Glynn who had 'arrived to make a contribution on behalf of his people' only to be refused admission by a government which saw

no difficulty in meeting representatives of British interests in Ireland. Frank Glynn said:

"If this policy was brought to its logical conclusion, then people like Paul Connaughton on councils throughout the twenty-six counties would either have to resign or force Sinn Féin members on these councils to resign, because they wouldn't be allowed to sit with us."

And in a statement condemning the Glynn boycott, Sinn Féin said:

"Given the anti-democratic antics of the Coalition, the possibility that they may change the electoral rules to prohibit participation by Sinn Féin, and ultimately all dissident political parties, in elections may become a reality."

PLATFORMS

In an extension of its boycott policy, a number of Coalition politicians actually did their best to score party political points on St Patrick's Day by refusing to stand on review platforms with Sinn Féin representatives.



● FRANK GLYNN

This latest twist in the boycott policy followed the example of Coalition Defence Minister Patrick Cooney, who earlier last week announced that Free State army units would not participate in parades which Sinn Féin representatives had helped to organise.

As a result of Cooney's decision, the Longford St Patrick's Day parade was abandoned and FCA reservists were refused permission to parade in Tuam, Gorey and Wexford.

In a follow-up to his betrayal of Frank Glynn at Leinster House two days earlier, Paul Connaughton went even further in refusing to share the parade review stand in Tuam with the same Frank Glynn.

In Gorey, where Sinn Féin representative John Sheehan, who is chairperson of the town commission, reviewed the parade, Forestry and Fisheries Junior Minister Michael D'Arcy made the same boycott decision.

COALITION FACES BACKLASH ON McGLINCHEY EXTRADITION

A POLITICAL DECISION

BY SIOBHAN O'MALLEY

THE CLEAR political direction behind the extradition of Dominic McGlinchey has been underlined by the revelation that the Coalition cabinet's security committee had made the decision, on the eve of his arrest, that he would be handed over to the RUC immediately.

This completely contradicts the official claims that it was an independent, non-political decision by the courts, arrived at after serious considerations of points of law.

In fact, the Free State government knew that McGlinchey was about to be arrested, having been informed by the gardai that the house in County Clare was surrounded.

The security committee normally consists of Garret Fitzgerald; his deputy Dick Spring; the Attorney General, Peter Sutherland; the Free State Ministers for Foreign Affairs, Justice and Defence — Peter Barry, Michael Noonan and Patrick Cooney; and Garda Commissioner Laurence Wren. Because of St Patrick's Day junkets abroad, only three members of the committee met on Friday to take the decision: Spring, Cooney and Sutherland.

They ruled that McGlinchey was to be handed over at the earliest opportunity.

INJUNCTION

After McGlinchey's arrest in County Clare, the injunction delaying his extradition, granted by the Dublin High Court on Saturday afternoon, was speedily challenged by the state in the Free State Supreme Court, which overruled it, and Dominic McGlinchey was rushed to the border and into the hands of the RUC.

In the last 15 months, the gardai, willingly backed up by the media's sensational creation of the 'Mad Dog' image, have held McGlinchey responsible for nearly every armed incident in the twenty-six counties. Yet the Free State government was so anxious to please the Brits that surrendering their so-called sovereignty was secondary to handing him over to them as quickly as possible.

REJECTED

Dominic McGlinchey's extradition was originally ordered by the Dublin Supreme Court in December 1982, when they rejected an appeal against an order made in the High Court. The decision was hailed as a 'breakthrough' in the Coalition's campaign to get around the constitutional ban on extradition for political offences. But McGlinchey's counsel had in fact withdrawn the defence that the charge was political, relying instead on other arguments. Therefore the central issue of extradition for political charges was not part of the judgement itself.

However, Chief Justice O'Higgins made observations on the issue indicating the nature of future rulings, saying:

"It should not be deduced that if the victim were someone other than a civilian, who was killed or injured as a result of violently criminal conduct chosen in lieu

of what would fall directly or indirectly within the ordinary scope of political activity, the offence would necessarily be classified as a political offence or an offence connected with a political offence.

"The court is invited to assume that, because of widespread violence organised by paramilitary groups in Northern Ireland, any charge associated with terrorist activity should be regarded as a charge in respect of a political offence or an offence connected with a political offence. I am not prepared to make that assumption."

BORDER

Dominic McGlinchey, who had jumped bail before O'Higgins' judgement, was eventually delivered into the hands of the RUC by a large force of gardai at Carrickanron on the border, in the early hours of Sunday morning, March 18th.

He was charged, with the killing of Hester McMullan in Toomebridge in 1977, at 6.20pm on Monday at a special court in Ballymena.

He denied the charge, and the RUC, which had not needed to produce evidence in the Dublin courts before securing his extradition, would give no indication of the nature of evidence they are relying on.

CONSTITUTION

Whilst McGlinchey was still in garda custody in the South, Sinn Féin elected representative Danny Morrison issued a statement, in which he said:

"Despite the Dublin Supreme Court's ruling on Dominic McGlinchey's extradition to the occupied six counties, his extradition blatantly flies in the face of the Free State constitution on political refuge. And despite

the fact that McGlinchey could be charged with committing an offence in the twenty-six counties, the Dublin government will be only too anxious to grovel to the British and the loyalists and will send him back to the RUC.

"It is by such joint-security actions that the Dublin Forum hopes to secure joint-sovereignty and it shows that joint-sovereignty is just one more sell-out and prolongation of the North's agony.

"I challenge the SDLP to state if they agree with Dominic McGlinchey being handed over to the RUC."

DOWNFALL

At a press conference on Monday, March 19th, Sinn Féin president Gerry Adams MP said:

"I think that, in the long-run, as was proven during the Coalition government with Cooney, Donegan and Conor Cruise O'Brien, the repression by them of republicans led to their downfall and I think that this very weak Coalition is heading in the same direction.

"People don't like to see the Dublin government, the so-called sovereign government, handing over people to an RUC, to an Orange judicial system, and I think that we'll see the fruits of that in the next two or three years."

DELIGHTED

James Prior, who, just before McGlinchey was handed over, had said he was 'confident' that the extradition would take place, afterwards declared himself to be 'delighted'. And Official Unionist Party MP Ken Maginnis said he was 'pleasantly surprised at the swift transfer'.

Garret Fitzgerald also announced himself well-pleased and even 'relieved', pledging that, now that the 'principle' had been established in the McGlinchey case, other extraditions would follow.

But DUP leader Ian Paisley made it clear that however much the Free State government crawled, he would remain unmoved and dismissed the move as a 'propaganda exercise' for the forthcoming Forum report.

Sean Farren, speaking as party chairperson on behalf of the SDLP, approved the extradition, observing that McGlinchey had been handed over "following the due and public process of Irish law".

REACTIONS

But there were differing reactions in Fianna Fáil, with Niall Andrews stating that McGlinchey should not have been

extradited and that nobody could get a fair trial in the North, whereas a former Free State Minister for Justice, Desmond O'Malley, was very pleased with the news.

On Wednesday, Fianna Fáil leader Charles Haughey was ruled out of order in Leinster House when he demanded to know why McGlinchey had been so speedily removed and why charges had not been brought against him in the South.

EDITORIALS

Signs of discomfort with the move were very clearly displayed in the Dublin media.

The editorial in Monday's *Irish Press* referred to Dominic McGlinchey being "pushed across the border like a hot potato" and asked did "our police and jurisdiction not have an entitlement to at least question McGlinchey?"

The editorial in Tuesday's *Irish Times* expressed "much puzzlement" over the decision to not even question McGlinchey and said:

"All the circumstances point to the taking of a high-level political decision to move McGlinchey at the earliest possible opportunity."

The *Irish Independent*, however, welcomed the news of McGlinchey's capture and had no qualms about the speed of his extradition.

PROCEEDINGS

There are, at present, four more people facing extradition proceedings in the Southern courts.

Phil McMahon is awaiting the ruling of the Dublin Supreme Court in his appeal against extradition on a charge of escaping from Newry Courthouse in 1975, an extradition charge already beaten by five of his fellow escapees in 1975 and 1976.

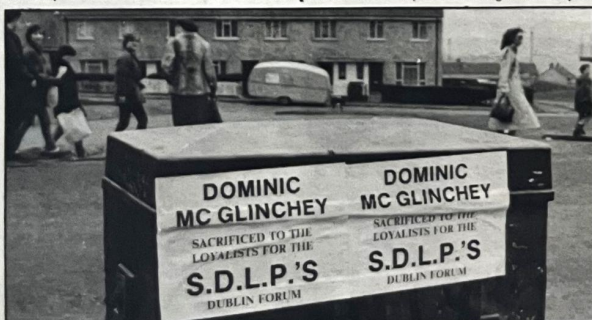
Seamus Shannon, arrested last July on an extradition warrant charging him with the killing of Sir Norman Stronge, former Stormont speaker, and his RUC Reservist son, is in Portlaoise Prison waiting for his appeal to be heard by the Dublin Supreme Court.

A district court order granting the extradition of Hugh Torney is being challenged in the High Court. Torney has been charged by the RUC on the evidence of paid perjurer Harry Kirkpatrick.

And a district court has also ordered the extradition of Brendan Burns in connection with an ambush of a British army patrol in South Armagh. This too is being contested in the High Court.



● DOMINIC MCGLINCHHEY



ANGER IN POLEGLASS

BY EAMON TRACY

AFTER MONTHS of fruitless meetings angry tenants on a housing association development in the Poleglass area, on the outskirts of West Belfast, are taking legal advice and threatening to disrupt an adjacent building project if their housing association, Habinteg, does not immediately take steps to put right major design and construction faults which have come to light within the estate.

The Springbank housing estate is the responsibility of the Habinteg Housing Association (Ulster) Ltd, which in its blurb claims to be "a specialist housing association which provides purpose-built accommodation within the community for disabled people and their families". At Springbank, they have built 59 dwellings, 15 of which are bungalows and have been especially designed and built for disabled tenants. The development cost £1½ million and commenced in April 1982, with the first homes opening in January 1983, nine months ahead of schedule.

The speed with which the contractors, the O'Hagan brothers, completed the estate have inevitably led to many problems. The tenants have repeatedly accused the contractor of using second-rate materials and of shoddy workmanship, and the Habinteg Association and their architects, Sykes, Able & Trotter, of bad management and callous indifference to the hardships of tenants — especially the disabled tenants — must now endure in homes which are damp and draughty.

SERIOUS ILLNESS

Mr and Mrs Toner, of Springbank Close, have four young children, one of whom, Rosemary aged 12, suffers from the very serious illness of 'brittle bones' and asthma and is consequently confined mostly to a wheelchair. The Toners moved into their new home last September, three weeks after the previous tenant who, unable to face the many problems in the house, had moved out. Workmen had allegedly corrected all of the faults in the house. Mrs Toner, however, told AP/RN of her family's experiences:

"We moved in in September 1983. In October, the shower-room floor (that's the only one Rosemary can use for getting washed) started lifting because it wasn't grouted in properly. It meant there were squares here and there with no tiles and when she was going in on her crutches to have a shower or to get a wash I was terrified of her falling. If she falls she spends months in the hospital.

"I had this problem put in the book and kept reporting it to Habinteg. I couldn't get it fixed at all until I stopped paying my rent about six weeks ago. It was only then that they started the repairs. They came out and supposedly fixed the floor but it is still not grouted in and is very unsightly and difficult to keep clean.

"When we moved in, six months ago,

we were guaranteed that the steps at our back door would be ramped to allow access for Rosemary, who otherwise would have to go through the house and round the side to get to the back. We are still waiting."

Mrs Toner also had to repeatedly complain about the loss of several lengths of guttering which fell off in January, with the result that water running off the roof came in through gaps in the windows, causing damp in two of the bedrooms:

"They didn't do anything until I stopped paying my rent. I had to fight them the whole way, and as things stand now I couldn't stick another winter in this house."

Mrs Toner also complained bitterly of the heating system which has failed to heat the big back bedroom Rosemary was sleeping in:

"I've had to move her into the single bedroom and put one of my wee boys in with the other wee girl just to have a room for her. The room was really freezing."

NEGLIGENCE

A second tenant explained how, only months after installation, all of the solid fuel fires had to be repaired. It was discovered that the flue pipes had not been connected nor sealed properly, and the fire-box containing the boiler had not been bricked up. Heat was therefore escaping up into the roof-space and into the cavity wall. Every house had to get the chimney opened up in order to have the repairs carried out. This fault led to massive coal bills for which Habinteg have refused to compensate the tenants, just as they have refused compensation for inconvenience and damage caused by their negligence.

The heating system itself has proven inefficient, with, in the larger bungalows, the end bedroom radiators not heating at all.

Mrs Betty Smedley is a single parent with three children, two boys and a girl now living at home. The eldest of her three is Christopher (14) who suffers from muscular dystrophy. Mrs Smedley moved from Divis Flats into what was, she thought, a new and more positive environment. While she likes her new home, the many problems she has had have soured her attitude of Habinteg as a caring organisation:

"In Divis I never had draughts. The main problems I'm bothered with are the draughts from the windows and the smell from the damp cupboards. Every time I have to use the pots I have to boil them first.

"Parts of my floors are lifting, such as some of the tiles in the bathroom. The cupboards are not ventilated and the water taps have come away from the wall. The area under the sink has been very badly covered and this allows dirt to gather behind the so-called screens.

"I have a swimming pool out my front where I now have two manholes and six gully drains, which still don't work, and I'm using almost five bags of coal a week on my fire."

TENANTS' MEETING

On Thursday night, March 15th, a packed meet-



● The Toner family's shower-room provides a daily hazard for 12-year-old Rosemary, who suffers from the very serious illness of 'brittle bones' and asthma

ing between local residents, Habinteg, and their architects, was held in the small community centre in Springbank. The tenants presented Habinteg with a detailed six-page breakdown of major and minor repair faults in the estate. Page after page was read out, with the Habinteg representative, Mr Daly, and the two architects doing a neat job of passing the questions to and fro between themselves but never giving a clear answer to any points directly put to them.

Peter Lowe, a local resident, accused Habinteg of hypocrisy, pointing out that for such a 'caring organisation' they are slow to deal with any of the many legitimate complaints lodged with them. Others echoed this view and the frustrated tenants were so disgusted by the condition of the houses that they unanimously voted not to have the original contractor back on the site and for Habinteg to find a new contractor.

There were many calls for immediate action to publicise Habinteg's scandalous management of this project and for protest action to pressurise the association to initiate the necessary repairs. However, it was reluctantly decided to give Habinteg one final week to come forward with fresh proposals and a real programme of action.

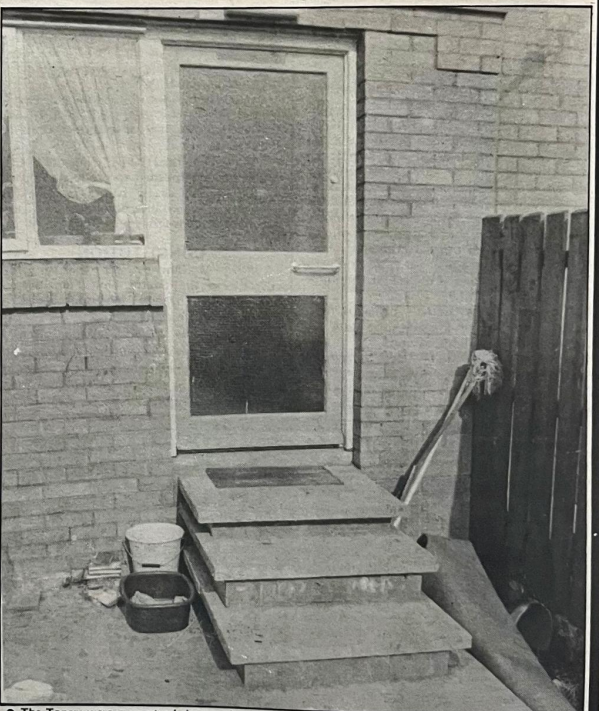
Richard McAuley, Sinn Féin's constituency representative for the area who was present at the meeting, said:

"Never have I seen such bad and untidy workmanship. I am amazed that the clerk of works could have accepted it and I am shocked that the architects and Habinteg can blandly justify accepting such low standards.

"The Springbank development is a scandal and the tenants are deserving of all the support which can be mustered in what promises to be a long and difficult struggle to have proper housing standards introduced."



● The sink area in Betty Smedley's kitchen allows dirt to gather; pots have to be boiled before they can be used



● The Toners were guaranteed six months ago that these steps at their back door would be ramped to provide easier access for Rosemary — they're still waiting for the ramp

ENCOURAGING RESULT

BY MAEVE ARMSTRONG

IN AN IMPRESSIVE result which reflects Sinn Féin's growing appeal to the nationalist electorate as a realistic alternative to the stagnant politics of the SDLP, and displaying the increasing efficiency of its electoral machinery, Peter Sherry, standing for the vacant seat in Dungannon District Council — for which polling took place on Tuesday, March 20th — won 1,607 votes, which represents 67% of the nationalist vote and 34% of the poll.

His only other opponent in the campaign, agreed unionist candidate David Murphy, solidly backed by the loyalist majority in the electoral area, took the council seat with 3,154 votes.

The loyalists fought a bitter campaign, whipping up sectarian hostility in order to maximise their vote in an anti-Sinn Féin hysteria.

This hostility was evident when, on polling night, a mob of around 30 loyalists surrounded and overturned the car of the Sinn Féin elected representative for Armagh, Jim McAllister, who was electioneering for Sherry outside Moygashel polling station. Fortunately, McAllister and another election worker were uninjured.

On the nationalist side, the SDLP, ever eager to criticise Sinn Féin and desperate to minimise the Sinn Féin vote, engaged in a backbiting and undermining propaganda

campaign which, in the light of Sinn Féin's impressive vote, failed miserably.

After the result, announced at lunch-time on Wednesday, March 21st, Peter Sherry, who had conducted his campaign on the issue of sectarianism and discrimination in employment, deeply rooted in every state body in Dungannon, thanked those who had voted and his election team, saying:

"The nationalist voters have once again democratically demonstrated their complete opposition to the discrimination and injustices in this state which will be dismantled by this generation of young people."

BELFAST

And, as *AP/RN* goes to press, Sinn Féin in Belfast, where Sean McKnight is fighting a vacant seat in Area 'F' of Belfast City Council, eve-of-poll electioneering reached its



● Sinn Féin's Peter Sherry, with his director of elections, Seamus Cassidy, outside Dungannon polling booth on Wednesday

climax — after weeks of hard campaigning — in a flurry of activity with car cavalcades, bands, loud-hailing and walkabouts being carried out in the electoral areas from early morning until late at night.

Sinn Féin are confident of maximising, and indeed topping, the

nationalist vote for this seat, which has an electorate of 16,568, relatively evenly balanced between nationalist and loyalist voters and which includes the Falls, Clonard, Markets, Donegall Road and Cromac districts.

Gerry Adams, MP for West Bel-

fast, who because of his injuries could not canvass with McKnight, called upon Sinn Féin supporters to "come out and vote for Sean McKnight on Thursday 22nd March. This is a marginal seat and every vote will count to ensure that Sean is elected".

BY JANE PLUNKETT

LAST WEEK'S VERDICT in the County Antrim 'contract killing' case highlights the dual standards which prevail between jury trials in the North and cases heard in the colonial Diplock courts, Maura McCrory of the Stop the Show Trials Committee told a Belfast press conference last Friday.

The press conference, held in the Forum Hotel, was organised jointly with two other groups, Relatives for Justice and Concerned Community Organisations, which campaign against the RUC's political use of paid perjurers to imprison anti-unionists.

Two days earlier, on Wednesday, March 14th, a jury in Belfast Crown Court rejected the evidence of an alleged accomplice and acquitted 53-year-old Whitehead woman Ethel Harman and 49-year-old Charles McBrien of the killing of Mrs Harman's husband in May 1980.

The main crown witness in the case was her youngest son (who was not named in court), who was granted immunity from prosecution by the RUC in return for his evidence. The son claimed he had paid McBrien £1,000 on his mother's behalf to carry out the killing.

Following a summing-up by Judge Carswell, in which he warned of the dangers of convicting anyone on the uncorroborated evidence of an alleged accomplice, pointing out that such an individual "has an axe to grind", the jury had little hesitation in throwing out all charges against the defendants. Their clear rejection of Harman Junior's evidence was scarcely surprising, as, for example, in England, as the DPP has long recognised, juries will not convict on the word of paid perjurers.

By contrast, as Maura McCrory and other speakers pointed out at Friday's press conference, in the Diplock courts, where the judge acts also as 'jury', scores of men and women have been convicted in recent years on the basis of evidence no less insubstantial than that produced by the crown in the Harman case, and on the word of men who had compelling motives for lying in court, having been offered immunity, money, and/or a reduced jail sentence in return for their evidence.

Yet another discrepancy between the North's jury and non-jury courts was highlighted by the acquittal of Ethel Harman, who in Castlereagh had signed a statement agreeing with her son's story, but later retracted it, claiming that it had been made in order to obtain an amnesty for him.

By contrast, Lord Chief Justice Lowry, in his verdict on the McGrady show trial, made

Jury rejects paid perjury



● The CAST banner leads the St Patrick's Day rally in Derry

it clear that in the Diplock courts, such an admission by a defendant, whether retracted or not, is treated as ample corroboration of the word of a paid perjurer — even when the defendant swears in court that the statement was in fact extracted through inhuman or degrading treatment during RUC interrogation.

Meanwhile, presided over by a single loyalist judge, the show trial of the remaining 11 Derry men facing charges ranging from IRA membership to conspiracy to kill on the sole word of paid perjurer Robert Quigley reached its 44th day on Wednesday.

Originally, 16 defendants faced a total of 84 charges but one man was acquitted of the two charges against him earlier this month, and four others were granted a re-

trial after the disappearance of their senior counsel.

Fortunately, despite the vague nature of many of the charges laid on Quigley's word, and the long time which has elapsed since the alleged incidents took place, numerous defendants have been able to both remember and provide detailed proof of their whereabouts during the dates in question.

Defendant Eamon Doherty, for example, is a member of the Dungloe Fishing Club and on Thursday last, contradicting Quigley's earlier evidence, a hotelier from Ballina, County Mayo, testified in court that members of the club had stayed at her hotel during a five-day period in July 1982. Mrs Mary Maguire then identified Doherty from

a photograph taken during that time at the hotel.

Further substantiation of his presence on the trip was also provided by a CIE bus inspector, although two gardai called as defence witnesses have so far failed to appear in court, being presumably unwilling to embarrass the RUC by disproving their lies.

On Wednesday last, March 14th, defendant Gerard O'Brien gave evidence that on March 31st 1982, at a time when he is accused of throwing hand-grenades at British soldiers, he was in his home on the Creggan Estate, which was being raided by British soldiers.

An officer in the Royal Anglians, attempting to refute this testimony, stupidly admitted that, in his view, O'Brien and his several brothers 'looked alike' but insisted that the defendant was not present during the raid. Then, betraying further mental confusion, the Brit referred to another brother by the wrong surname, as Adrian Coyle.

On Wednesday, crown lawyers finished their submissions against the accused and defence lawyers are expected to conclude their case during the next week, after which there will be an adjournment to allow trial Judge Hutton to elaborate on his verdict.

CAST rally

OVER a thousand people attended a march organised by Citizens Against Show Trials (CAST) and supported by Sinn Féin in Derry on St Patrick's Day.

The rally, chaired by Kathleen Gallagher, was addressed by Danny Friel, a local trade union activist, and Sinn Féin elected representative Martin McGuinness.

In the course of his speech, McGuinness compared the trial of Fr Niall O'Brien in the Philippines to the show trials in the North. He spoke of the hypocrisy of the Irish establishment, which shed crocodile tears about the fate of Fr O'Brien whilst consistently ignoring the plight of Irish prisoners.

Derry post office

THE GPO in Derry was occupied for 30 minutes last Friday afternoon, March 16th, by 30 Creggan residents, several members of Creggan Sinn Féin and elected representative Martin McGuinness in protest at the decision of Post Office headquarters in Belfast to close the sub-office in Creggan after a recent attempted robbery.

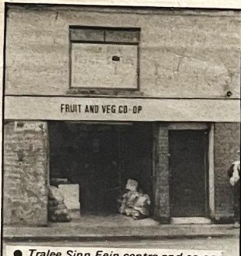
During the protest, a delegation of residents, led by Martin McGuinness, had discussions with the head postmaster, Frank Thorpe. He was told that Creggan people were very angry at the attempted robbery but were infuriated by the decision to close the sub-office.

It was pointed out to Thorpe that hardship and inconvenience was being inflicted on old age pensioners, the infirm, the blind, young parents and single-parent families who must now pay the extra cost of travel to and from the head post office in the city. Old age pensioners were particularly hard-hit because such a journey for them could be quite hazardous.

Thorpe was also informed that the decision to close the sub-office was unjustified when it was remembered that the sub-office in Pomeroy and Killinchy remained open after two elderly ladies were killed by the RUC and loyalists. The delegation said that there would be further protests and closures at the head post office unless the Belfast authorities rescinded their decision.

TAXI SERVICE

Until the Creggan post office re-opens, the Derry Taxi Association (black taxis) will operate a free service from the Creggan Estate for pensioners who must now travel to the GPO in the city centre to receive their benefits. All pensioners who produce some form of identification (for example, their pension book) will be entitled to use this service, which will be in operation each Monday and Thursday. Pick-ups will be at Central Drive and William Street.



● Tralee Sinn Féin centre and co-op

Tralee centre opens

A NEW community advice centre has been opened by Tralee Sinn Féin at Moyderwell in the town. Its opening times are 7 to 9pm Wednesdays and 5 to 8pm Saturdays.

It is planned to extend the service from next week to all day Saturday and one hour full day during the week.

The centre is staffed by two full-time voluntary Sinn Féin workers who also run the fruit and vegetable shop on the same premises. The shop, which is run by Sinn Féin, has been in operation for over a year. It has been selling goods to old age pensioners and unemployed people at almost cost price and has been very successful in keeping prices down in other shops in the town.

Next year, it is hoped that the shop will be completely self-sufficient, with Sinn Féin cumann from outside Tralee growing the fruit and vegetables to be sold there.

The shop is open six days a week, from 9am to 6pm.

Easter cards

AN EASTER 1916 commemorative card has been issued by the Sinn Féin National Finance Committee.

The card, which shows Padraig Pearse affixing the Proclamation of the Irish Republic to Dublin's GPO, carries the James Connolly quotation:

"We believe in constitutional action in normal times; we believe in revolutionary action in exceptional times. These are exceptional times."

Prices are 20p (plus postage) for individual cards or £2 for ten (including postage), from either the Sinn Féin NFG or the Book Bureau, both at 44 Parnell Square, Dublin; or Republican Publications, 2a Monagh Crescent, Belfast.

Gardai target anti-drugs groups

BY MAIRE DE BARRA

SINCE THE disappearance of Thomas Gaffney from the Crumlin area of Dublin on Sunday, March 11th, the Concerned Parents Committees (formed to combat drug pushing in Dublin) have once again become a target for threats, garda harassment and media sensationalism.

Gaffney was seized by four men outside a pub in the Harold's Cross area on the Sunday evening and bundled into a van. There has been no news of him since.

It is believed that the missing man may have been involved in some way with a group of so-called 'concerned criminals' which emerged in opposition to the anti-drugs committees when they found that the community anti-drug work in various areas was also affecting their activities.

The central committee of the anti-drugs campaign has stated that none of its area groups had any involvement in the abduction of Gaffney. In a statement, they said:

"We would like to see the media taking a more responsible attitude towards the anti-drug campaigners as sometimes their reporting leaves us wide open to intimidation and retaliation. We are a non-violent

group of people and we will continue to be so.

"We would like to express our disgust at the stepping up of the harassment against our members by gardai in the past few days. We would like to see the gardai stepping up, their campaign against the drug pushers, not the anti-drug campaigners."

GARDAI

In the past week, the gardai have raided the homes of six committee members in St Teresa's Gardens, Crumlin and Tallaght and the Special Branch have been stopping and harassing committee members.

On Wednesday, March 14th, a group of about 40 men, wearing balaclavas — members of a so-called 'concerned criminals' group — marched into the St Teresa's Gardens Flats, escorted by a large force of gardai, who stood

● Whilst working-class communities combat the drug menace, they find themselves vilified by the media and the gardai protecting so-called 'concerned criminals'

by and allowed threats to be issued to local residents.

Since the emergence of the anti-drugs committees, the Free State media, instead of highlighting the realities of heroin abuse and the commendable work being done by the committees, has focussed its attention on the participation in the campaign by some Sinn Féin members.

As has been pointed out by these members, their involvement is strictly on a personal basis or in their capacity as members of tenants' or residents' groups.

RTE's *Today Tonight* programme has, on several occasions, made unfounded allegations about Sinn Féin involvement in the campaign. In their most recent programme they trivialised the very serious heroin problem by carrying an

interview with two members of the farcical 'concerned criminals' group.

The *Irish Times* and *Evening Press*, in articles in the past week, have continued to sensationalise the involvement of those residents who are also Sinn Féin members. A string of inaccuracies and unsupported allegations attempted to link Sinn Féin with the Gaffney abduction.

In a statement issued on Friday, March 16th, Dublin Sinn Féin denied any involvement in the abduction. The statement said:

"We deplore attempts by the media to claim Sinn Féin manipulation of the concerned parents committees and call on them to focus their attention on the exemplary work being done by those communities worst hit by drug pushing."

PRECEDENT IN H-BLOCKS

BY MAEVE ARMSTRONG

REPUBLICAN POW Gary McNally, from Strabane, serving a 20-year sentence in Long Kesh, set a legal precedent in the North's jails on Tuesday, March 20th, by successfully arguing his case to have legal representation present during a Board of Visitors' hearing. This follows a favourable English High Court ruling to grant legal representation during Board of Visitors hearings to prisoners facing mutiny charges in the aftermath of a roof-top protest in Albany Jail in the Isle of Wight last May.

McNally, appearing at the hearing accused of assaulting a warden in H8-Block last October, was warned by self-appointed Board 'judge' John Bach, that if he was found guilty he would receive another year in jail, loss of all privileges, association, and three months in solitary confinement. McNally refused to take part in the sham proceedings, stating that he was entitled to legal representation and apparently, after a lengthy discussion, the Board reluctantly conceded.

The Board have already meted out excessive punishments to a number of republican POWs relating to incidents during the six-week period following the escape from H7-Block when warders deliberately provoked incidents in an attempt to justify their call for more repressive measures to 'control' republican POWs. To date, a number of these prisoners have lost months in

remission, association time and privileges, and have been sentenced to lengthy periods of solitary confinement.

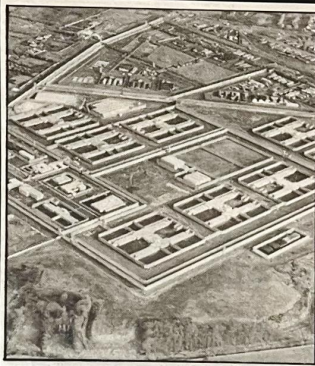
Although it will be interesting to see the final outcome of Gary McNally's case, it should be remembered that only a few weeks ago, in Armagh Jail, remand prisoner Marie Wright, brought up on a similar charge, was tried by the prison governor, acting on direct orders from the NIO, which effectively by-passed her legal right to a solicitor during the hearing.

LANGUAGE

Republican POWs in Long Kesh also issued an urgent call this week to all groups and individuals involved in the promotion of culture and the Irish language to "highlight and register their concern at the current situation" existing in the jail.

Since last September's escape, all Irish books, newspapers, magazines and Gaelic football games have been banned in what the prisoners view as "the stiffest period of suppression" in the jail's history.

Letters signed in Irish, or which even include a Gaelic expression, are confiscated by the prison censor and placed in their property without their knowledge. Correspondence courses in Irish have been refused. Prior to this strict censorship, the high success rate in O-Level and A-Level examination results proved the tremendous emphasis prisoners placed on their native tongue and culture, which is yet again coming under attack by the same system which has oppressed the Irish nation for centuries.



Solitary confinement

THE USE of lengthy periods of solitary confinement to punish prisoners in Portlaoise Prison has been condemned by Sinn Féin.

According to Dublin Sinn Féin's PRO, Aine Nic Mhurchadha, Barney McGinn from Castleblayney, has endured two months' solitary confinement, which ended on February 29th, when warders tried to forcibly strip-search him.

When he resisted he was told that he would remain in solitary for a further two months and also lose two weeks' remission. While in solitary confinement he receives no letters or visits and gets only one hour's exercise per day. He is locked up for the remaining 23 hours.

Colm Lynagh, of Monaghan town, also resisted a strip-search, on Monday, March 13th, and he too was thrown into solitary confinement for two months.

BRIT ROLE IN MURDER BID

BY HILDA MacTHOMAS

THE MURDER BID on Sinn Féin president Gerry Adams and three other members of Sinn Féin — Joe Keenan, Sean Keenan and Kevin Rooney — which was claimed by the UDA under its cover-name of the Ulster Freedom Fighters, was followed, within seconds of the shooting, by the arrest of three men who were trying to leave the scene of the attack in a car.

The arrests were carried out by what was described variously in RUC statements as 'an off-duty UDR man', 'two off-duty British soldiers', and 'an off-duty RUC man' — all, by chance, driving through the city centre in their respective cars at that particular time.

The fact that so many 'off-duty' Brits happened to be on the scene was questioned by many nationalists, who are accustomed to seeing their areas patrolled by unmarked cars which they know to be part of the British army's surveillance operation. The presence of those cars at the scene of the attack suggests that British intelligence knew of the attempt, indeed possibly had helped set it up, through their contacts with and infiltration of loyalist paramilitary groups.

In the event, the three UDA men seem to have been set up, as the plainclothes Brits made to arrest them, hoping, as Sinn Féin Director of Publicity Danny Morrison pointed out, to have 'the advantage that Gerry Adams would have been shot dead and the credit for arresting his assassins'.

The UDA themselves were not long in issuing a statement claiming they had been set up, although, obviously reluctant to admit to possible infiltration and manipulation by British intelligence, they put a ludicrous interpretation on the presence of plainclothes Brits — namely that those were a British army undercover team assigned to protect the West Belfast MPI.

VERSION

But a stronger pointer to Brit/RUC involvement in the attempt is the change in the RUC version of events between Wednesday, March 14th, and Thursday, March 15th.

On Wednesday the RUC admitted to the presence of three cars at the scene, the first with the UDR man, the second with the two Brits, and the third with the RUC man. They also admitted that one car chased the UDA murder squad

down Howard Street, then, as they continued and turned left into Fish-erwick Place and back up Wellington Place, the pursuing car turned into Queen Street and, driving against the traffic, managed to cut the attackers' route in Wellington Place. Eyewitnesses confirmed the presence of three cars, one of which had a siren, and drove down Queen Street the wrong way.

That particular aspect caused Sinn Féin's Danny Morrison to question how the driver of the car following the attackers would know that the UDA gang would take one particular route, Wellington Place, out of three possible escape routes.

Significantly, that particular detail was changed the next day by the RUC. They denied that any car had driven down Queen Street the wrong way in pursuit, in spite of eyewitness accounts. The RUC also said that the two British soldiers were off-duty military policemen. Meanwhile, the British army stated that they were on duty 'on an unrelated mission'. Furthermore, the RUC said, the off-duty RUC man was on foot when he came to help in the arrest of the three UDA men — and therefore two cars only would have been involved in the pursuit, again contrary to eyewitness accounts.

CONTORTIONS

Meanwhile, establishment politicians and editorial writers continued their contortions about the attempted murder. Apart from gloating by some DUP members, and complete silence from the Brits and the Official Unionists, all other reactions seemed to condemn the attack while, at the same time, blaming Adams for it, or implying that he somehow deserved it.

This style of 'balanced' condemnation is exclusively reserved to attacks on republicans.

"He (Gerry Adams) and his assailants are both on the same wrong road" (Irish Times).

"It would be difficult to comm-



● Gerry Adams and Danny Morrison at Monday's press conference in West Belfast

ent without sounding insincere" (London Times).

"All human life is sacred...." (Joe Hendron, SDLP).

The attempt "shares the same murderous mentality as that which callously planned and ruthlessly carried out the murders of UDR men in recent weeks" (Bishop Cahal Daly).

"I would like to take the opportunity to reiterate that I am totally opposed to the politics of Gerry Adams" (Will Glendinning, Alliance).

Wholehearted, unequivocal condemnations are, it seems, reserved for UDR soldiers, Brits or RUC men killed by the IRA.

The reactions, or lack of them, to the attack on Sinn Féin personnel were criticised by Gerry Adams as he left the hospital on Monday, March 19th.

"They show up," he said, "the fallacy of the media's position that people like ourselves are blocked from TV panels and from TV discussions because of our position on the use of physical force. Everyone, as we have said repeatedly, in the six-county situation, supports physical force from some position or



● Belfast's Howard Street, where the murder bid took place

other. They call upon us, with great moral righteousness, to condemn the IRA, and when it comes to it they are even more vitriolic than any republican spokesperson ever was, because we at least have never, and will never, gloat on the fact that people are killed or injured."

At a press conference later in the day, in West Belfast, the Sinn Féin president said:

"It was quite obvious that Brit-

ish intelligence were aware of an operation like that. The follow-up, the arrest of the people involved, the availability of plainclothes people, the contradiction in the first RUC story as opposed to the second RUC story, all indicate — quite clearly to me anyway — that they wanted myself and my colleagues out of the way and, as I have said previously, the added kudos of arresting those involved."

'Shoot-to-kill' in court

BY MAEVE ARMSTRONG

AN RUC MAN, one of the RUC's undercover shoot-to-kill squad, appeared in Belfast Court on Tuesday, March 20th, charged with the murder of Armagh man Seamus Grew on December 12th 1982 while he and his friend Roddy Carroll were stopped at the entrance to the Mullacreevie Estate in Armagh.

RUC man John Robinson, giving his address at RUC headquarters, Belfast, denies the charge, which does not include the joint murder of Roddy Carroll.

During the hearing, the court heard that Robinson had been a member of a special unit which had Carroll and Grew — two well-known republicans — under surveillance because, the RUC claim, they believed that on the night in question both men were going out on an assassination attempt. The deceased were, in fact, returning from Monaghan, where they had dropped Carroll's sister home following the funeral of their grandfather earlier that day.

The RUC, which took four hours to concoct a statement following the shooting,

said that Grew's Allegro car had accelerated through a checkpoint at Girvan's Bridge on the Armagh-Keady Road and that another RUC car gave chase.

However, as the prosecution pointed out, neither Grew nor Carroll were armed and the evidence would not suggest that either was in any position to offer resistance or, for that matter, attack the RUC as no weapons had been recovered.

SHOTS

Robinson fired a total of 10 rounds, 15 into the passenger door of the car, killing Carroll, re-loaded his magazine, walked around the car and then fired another four



● SEAMUS GREW



● RODDY CARROLL

shots, killing Seamus Grew. It was the circumstances surrounding the firing of these four shots which led to the murder charge. Forensic tests clearly showed that Grew had been shot by bullets which did not travel through the body or the car door, otherwise they would have been distorted. In fact, Grew, the court heard, had been shot while the car door was open and he was either in

the process of getting out or had just stepped out when he was shot.

The prosecution said that because of the exceptionally close range of the shooting — a distance of 30 to 36 inches — Robinson must have been in a position to know, before he fired, that Grew was unarmed. It is expected that the trial will continue for several days.

FIGHTING THE JOBS BATTLE

AS A DIRECT consequence of rising unemployment in the twenty-six counties, there was a perceptible, if slow, increase in workers' resistance to job losses in 1983.

Given the extent of unemployment, such resistance should surprise nobody, and yet when workers started to occupy their factories and say, 'No, we won't accept redundancy', it caused a mild sensation and exposed both the reactionary nature of the state and the weakness of the organised trade union movement in countering job losses.

It wasn't as if job losses hadn't happened before, but in other years redundancy payments were usually generous and alternative employment opportunities existed. This was not the case in the last year.

As a movement designed to protect the interests of workers, trade unionism seemed at a loss in coping with rising unemployment. Well-intentioned parades were, in previous years, organised by the trade unions to highlight the problem, but these were invariably poorly attended and were not part of any overall strategy. As long-established industries with

a tradition of trade union membership began to collapse, the reality and extent of the problem was driven home. Many of these industries had existed for 20 years or more.

Tell-tale signs of this collapse had been demonstrated earlier, with the seemingly inevitable collapse of the entire motor-assembly industry in Ireland. The Talbot occupation, in March 1981, was a portent of things to come in this sector. Similarly, the collapse and subsequent occupation of Clondalkin Paper Mills showed that even long-established and seemingly unassailable companies could be axed overnight.

SEQUENCE

There began a sequence of such closures as multinational companies pulled out of Ireland as part of 'rationalisation' schemes. In many cases these companies took with them the assets and grant-aid which had been manufactured and paid for by Irish

workers and taxpayers.

The marathon struggle of the Ranks workers in Phibsboro, Dublin, underlined the bias of the law in favour of property-owners during occupations. By granting an injunction against this occupation, the Free State courts made it clear that workers' rights begin and end where employers decide they should begin and end.

At Ranks also a trade union found itself in conflict with a section of its own membership who decided that they would not accept enforced redundancy under any circumstances. This unhappy conflict has yet to be resolved and trade unionists would do well to consider whether the right of a majority to accept redundancy supersedes the right of a minority to resist redundancy and whether indeed both positions can be accommodated.

ADVANCE

Towards the end of last year, the Dublin Council of Trade Unions began a campaign to educate shop stewards in the politics of unemployment. This is a significant advance in that it

recognises that the interests of workers and the unemployed are inextricably linked.

Only through a recognition by workers and the trade unions that redundancy payments, however large, are only short-term sweeteners and are not a long-term answer, will the example of last year's occupations become a feature of the fight against unemployment.

With the active and unconditional support of their trade unions, their families and their communities, workers in factories throughout the twenty-six counties have shown that resistance to job losses is not only possible but, with a properly organised campaign, can be successful as well.

Below, APN reporter Jack Mulvaney returns to three factories, one in Dublin, one in Cork and the other in Kerry, where workers have refused to accept redundancy in the past 12 months. Their experiences illustrate both the necessity of resistance, the pit-falls and the opposition which are encountered and, most of all, the potential for success, not only in saving jobs but in bringing workers and communities closer together.

WORK IN THE PIPE

"OCCUPATIONS bring out the best in people," according to Tralee man James Hussey, who has acted as spokesperson for the former employees fight against job losses in the Kerry town.

This sentiment, which was reflected in the comments of workers engaged in other occupations I have visited, is not shared by the twenty-six county industrial agency, the IDA. In their view workers' militancy, even in the desperate battle to save employment, is counter-productive in that it frightens off potential foreign or native investment.

Throughout the long protest at Kingdom Tubes, the IDA has repeated the allegation, even though the ITGWU, which represents the factory workers, has found that the occupation has not bothered prospective buyers — what did bother them was the size of the factory.

Recently the IDA began negotiations with an Austrian state-owned company and, according to ITGWU official Kevin Connor:

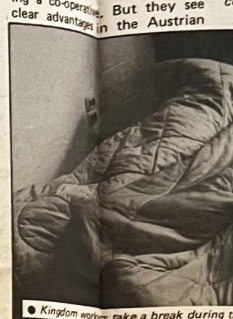
"Most of the package which the IDA is giving them seems to be agreed on and the results are expected within a month."

Once again the IDA were making noises about the occupation, and to avoid any possibility that the workers might be blamed in the event of a collapse in the Austrian negotiations, the Kingdom Tubes workers decided to end their sit-in. According to James Hussey:

"Although we ended the sit-in, we still have a foothold in the factory. The union and the workers' committee sat down with the receiver and secured maintenance jobs within the factory for ten of our people. We picked the ten, on the basis of seniority, and besides maintaining a presence in the factory these are people who haven't worked for 13 months and are now getting a proper wage."

OTHER OPTIONS

Even if the Austrian deal is not concluded, the Kingdom Tubes workers have not ruled out other options such as establish-



Kingdom workers take a break during the sit-in.

ON THE ROAD AGAIN DATSUN

THE STRENGTH of trade union solidarity in protecting jobs was recently demonstrated by the victory of 28 workers who refused to accept lay-offs from their jobs in the Datsun motor assembly plant on Dublin's Naas Road.

Only two months after they tried to enforce redundancies and close down their Datsun factory, the giant Nissan Corporation of Japan has surrendered to the resistance of 29 workers who would not accept their dismissal.

And in a recent agreement signed with the Datsun workers' union, the ATGWU, Nissan has guaranteed these workers their jobs "for as long as Nissan motor vehicles are sold in Ireland".

The Datsun occupation was successfully concluded largely because of the co-operation which was given by trade unionists in dockyards throughout Ireland to the protestors in the Naas Road factory. Since all Datsun imports were being blocked by dockers everywhere, the parent company, Nissan, had no option but to accommodate those in occupation.

According to workers' shop steward Albert McCready: "We could stop them trading because we sought and got support from all the docks in the country, North and South. Although the company had a stock of cars prior to the strike, we knew they'd run out eventually."

SETTLEMENTS

There were, in fact, two settle-

- In March 1983 Datsun (Ire) announce the end of car assembly in Ireland and the loss of 213 jobs at the Naas Road plant, Dublin.
- Twenty-nine workers refuse all offers of redundancy. The managing director, Gerard O'Toole, makes settlement proposals which he withdraws before they have been considered by the 29 workers.
- On December 15th 1983 the 29 are sacked. They immediately occupy the factory, preventing the removal of assets worth £3 million.
- Workers discover that management are continuing attempts to close the factory from a private address. A picket of these premises results in a court injunction restraining further pickets, but days later this and a second injunction against occupation are withdrawn.
- Three ships carrying Datsun cars are blocked by Belfast dockers. Similar support appears throughout Ireland.
- Feasibility study on the viability of a co-operative is begun by the IPC.
- On February 13th the protestors return to work after achieving settlements based on two options — continued and guaranteed employment within Nissan or inclusion in a co-operative with a two-year guaranteed work contract from Nissan.

drawing less and less benefit from the lucrative motor trade.

Albert McCready recognises other benefits in the course of action taken by the Datsun 29:

"It was the experience of a lifetime to see the determination of those around you to resist dismissals and closures and to see them, day in and day out, conducting a united campaign."

ORGANISING

The Datsun workers established a committee to co-ordinate the occupation. This they divided into smaller committees for organising pickets, boosting morale, publicity and food. In this way they gave direct responsibility and some involvement to everybody. McCready continued:

"People have a concept of sit-ins, that they must entail real hardship. With proper control of things, such as the food supply,

this shouldn't be so. We had a morale committee who put on plays. After serious consideration of a revolutionary theme, we decided on Jack and the Beanstalk — it was hilarious.

"One of the best things was that people discovered the talents they had (and we discovered four good cooks!). Within a few hours of the start of the occupation we had televisions, a small snooker table, a video, chess-board and Scrabble, etc."

"People have the impression that occupations are run by mad militant lunatics, but these are just ordinary blokes whose protest against job losses wouldn't be successful without the support of their families."

ONLY ANSWER

Recognising that "the only real answer to unemployment is a socialist transformation of society", McCready sees the role of the shop steward as being larger than simply doing everyday union work and extends to recognising the "political dimension of employment" and therefore resisting redundancies.



It was the experience of a lifetime to see those around you resist dismissals and conduct a united campaign.

WHEEL TURN

THREE YEARS after buying County Cork, out of receipt of Cork Art Pottery, Lutz Kiel, abandoned his Irish wheel-uidator.

Although his involvement in Kiel had ensured that it would be of the generous state grants used to the twenty-four counties, he had potential profitability out of Cork to another factory which he owned.

Kiel simply sold the produce of the Carrigaline factory to himself (at a massive discount rate, of course) and exported container-loads to Germany. Up to two containers a month would leave Ireland and, according to one source, Kiel made £30,000 to £35,000 on each load.

With such a drain on its assets, the collapse of Cork Art Pottery was inevitable. Realising this, some workers had already mooted the idea of establishing a co-operative, months before the eventual collapse on February 2nd 1983.

At a workers' meeting which followed the closure, it was decided to occupy the factory to highlight the need to save jobs in Carrigaline and to examine the possibility of opening a workers' co-operative.

One year later, the success of this strategy is to be seen as pottery is again produced in Carrigaline and 42 people, who might otherwise be unemployed, have jobs. And, according to Barry O'Donoghue, one of those who organised the campaign to save jobs:

"We are geared to increase to 65 jobs after three years, but I'd be even more optimistic than that. In fact, this could turn out to be the biggest co-op on these islands."

Such optimism reflects the extent of detailed background re-

BATTLE

THE PIPELINE?

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KINGDOM TUBES

deal, which Kevin Connor outlined:

"If the Austrians come in, we feel that that would be an answer to 13 months of frustration. Besides creating employment, the Austrians would provide both job security and a bigger market because of their international connections."

"If the Austrians decide against



● Marching to save jobs in Tralee

coming in — and this is their first venture outside their own country — then we have not ruled out the idea of a co-op and we will go through Coras Trachta (the Free State export agency) to find an international sales agency. The problem with a co-op, however, is that it would have to start off very small."

Whereas the Austrian deal, if successfully concluded, will offer a quick solution to unemploy-

ment at Kingdom Tubes, the twenty-six county experience of foreign control of our industry and resources would suggest that such solutions are dangerous in the long-term.

That foreign companies have to be solicited as industrial investors in the twenty-six counties shows the failure of the IDA to develop the sales potential of native industry internationally.

An international sales agency is vital if a re-opened Kingdom Tubes is to survive. Such an agency did exist through a British firm, ICT Metals, but, in a move which has seriously damaged the viability of Kingdom Tubes, the German parent company managed to buy the rights to this sales agency from the Kingdom Tubes receiver for £80,000, without the knowledge of the workforce or the IDA.

Because of such experiences in the past, the Kingdom Tubes workers and the ITGWU in Tralee are determined that they are not left in the dark by any company which takes over. James Hussey added:

"There should always be work-

● On December 9th 1982 the German owners of Kingdom Tubes announce that they intend to close the Tralee factory — this bank loan the previous September.

● Even though they are in debt to the tune of £2 million, the German company offers to open a new factory at Kingdom Tubes if their debt is cancelled and they are given further finance.

● Vast stocks of assets are moved from Kingdom Tubes by the company days before the Bank of Ireland sends in a receiver. It is later discovered that more than £109,000 already known to have been 'moved' may be only the tip of the iceberg.

● On January 21st the factory closes, the workers are left without any redundancy and their pay cheques bounce. A sit-in by 200 workers begins.

● The ITGWU meets both the IDA and the County Development Team to discuss the Tralee closure, while an IPC study suggests that a company employing 95 workers would be viable. It emerges that the receiver has sold the international sales rights of Kingdom Tubes to former German owners for £80,000.

● Workers apply pressure on both the IDA and local politicians to prevent job losses. Two public meetings are held and three marches, which attract widespread local support.

● Negotiations begin with interested Austrian company and the sit-in ends to avoid charges that it might dissuade the Austrians from coming to Tralee. Regular meetings of workers continue and ten are employed as maintenance workers within the Kingdom Tubes plant. Confidence is high.

ers' representatives on the board of any company. We could have worked to avoid the situation in Kingdom Tubes today, if the employers had been straight with us employees."

NO REGRETS

James Hussey has absolutely no regrets about the stance he and his colleagues took in starting a sit-in, and he points out:

"To other workers, I would say 'If your factory closes, don't just accept it — fight it!'"

Hussey recognises the advantage in fighting such a campaign in a small community like Tralee "where everyone is tightly-knit" and adds that some of his fellow protestors actually regret that they are not sitting in at the factory any more:

"You meet them and they say: 'Wouldn't you miss the oil' sit-in?' Of course, it was only one night

every two weeks you had to stay there, because there were so many of us, but there was fun playing cards and darts and as the thing went on we became united as a workforce, more than we ever were while working."

FIGHT CONTINUES

Although the Kingdom Tubes occupation is over, both James Hussey and Kevin Connor were at pains to emphasise that the fight for jobs continues and that assets have not been moved from the factory grounds. Adding that he is still very confident of success, James Hussey concluded:

"We have not just packed our bags and walked away from the sit-in. We have meetings every Friday at Newman Hall in Tralee, with a full attendance, and are more interested in the factory than we ever were — you might say we are in a ceasefire situation."



take a break during their occupation

EL TURNS FOR POTTERS

ARS after buying Carragaline Pottery, out of receivership and renaming it Carragaline Pottery, Lutz Kiel, a German industrialist, called in a liq-

involvement in Carragaline had been brief, and that it would be profitable. Besides availing of state grants used to lure foreign investment in the six counties, he had steadily drained any possibility out of Carragaline and transferred it to a company which he owned in Germany.

search upon which the new Carragaline Pottery Co-operative Society Ltd has been formed. This research was either commissioned or conducted by the workers themselves. As market researcher, Barry O'Donoghue had to travel thousands of miles looking for potential customers.

CONTRAST

Although the Carragaline workers are happy that their efforts were successful, and delighted at the level of local support for their project, this success has been hard-won. In stark contrast to their welcome and encouragement of foreign investment, the state employment agency, the IDA, demanded stringent advance research from the Carragaline workers. According to ITGWU branch secretary Brendan O'Neill:

"The campaign took nearly 12 months and involved a lot of time and a lot of pressure. Social welfare benefit was stopped during the first week of the occupation and I had to write to the employment exchange, informing them that our people were available for any work they might find for us."

It is typical of this red-tape mentality that when engaged in an occupation to maintain or create employment, or when canvassing

CARRAGALINE

for future orders for a potential factory, it is actually illegal for a person to collect unemployment benefit.

As the person responsible for conducting the market research for Carragaline, Barry O'Donoghue feels that such voluntary work should be allowed and encouraged: "How else can you do this research except on a voluntary basis?"

Referring to the lack of any state aid for this research, Brendan O'Neill added:

"Besides having to put continuous pressure on the IDA, one of our members had to pay over half the fee for the feasibility study by the Irish Productivity Centre."

"Later we had terrible trouble and a lot of meetings before getting an employment subsidy entitlement (£50 per week for each married worker and £30 for each single worker) which had been introduced. In fact, when we first



● Carragaline is back in business, despite the Free State government's red-tape mentality

met the minister responsible, Liam Kavanagh, about his employment subsidy scheme he didn't even know what we were talking about."

POTENTIAL

Despite these problems, Carrag-

● On February 2nd, Carragaline Pottery is put into voluntary liquidation. Workers decide to occupy plant and examine potential of a co-operative enterprise.

● A feasibility study is commissioned by the occupation steering committee. The Irish Productivity Centre (IPC) undertake this study and within two months prepare a favourable draft report.

● IPC report shown to the IDA but the IDA demands further sales and marketing research.

● Final report, including marketing research, completed by July and presented to IDA, who give approval in principle for the scheme but demand that £133,000 be raised by workers.

● Forty-seven workers due to be employed in first year contribute £1,000 each. Campaign to collect balance of £86,000 from private sources begins on September 26th and within three months all the money is collected.

● On January 23rd work begins officially.

● By March 12th, 42 workers employed but external financial loans and grants have not been received because of continued legal hold-ups.

dhoun Pottery has opened and nobody doubts its potential commercial success. Credit for this belongs to the workers, their union and to widespread local support for the campaign to save the pottery industry in Carragaline.

As a co-operative within a capitalist economic system, Carragaline will be forced to trade along private commercial lines. This, and the fact that 65% of the shareholding of the co-operative is held by what Barry O'Donoghue calls "merchant princes", will put pressure on the co-operative members to think and act in their dealings as managers rather than workers.

This inordinately large shareholding by private individuals and businessmen was forced on Carragaline by the IDA, who insisted that share capital account for £133,000 of the total funding. Grant aid amounted to a mere £63,000 — a small amount com-

pared to the millions wasted on multinational fly-by-night investors.

As if to redress the shareholder imbalance, workers have retained majority representation on the co-operative's board of management, with six nominees compared to three for private interests. Even this majority is weakened, however, with a proviso for allowing the nomination of two extra board members whose "commercial skills" may be needed.

If these dangers are avoided and new recruits to Carragaline continue to enjoy equal status as members of a co-operative then the Carragaline experiment will encourage similar developments elsewhere. Or, as Barry O'Donoghue says:

"At the moment it's a dream, but we have to make that dream a reality."

NICARAGUA

A REVOLUTION IN TRIUMPH



● Victorious Sandinista fighters parade through the Nicaraguan capital of Managua

BY FR BRIAN O CEILEACHAIR

RECENTLY I spent ten days in Nicaragua through the hospitality of the Protestant Council for Development there. My visit included the large rally in Managua for the fiftieth anniversary of the death of Augusto Cesar Sandino, 'father' of the Sandinista revolution. Nicaragua has many parallels with Ireland, and the Nicaraguans are very sympathetic to the Irish struggle for liberation led by the Republican Movement. I brought along almost a hundred posters — mostly in memory of the hunger-strike martyrs of 1981 — and could have used a lot more.

Particularly interesting were the achievements of the revolution, the important part played by revolutionary Christian clergy and faithful (accompanied by tensions with the hierarchy), and the international position of Nicaragua.

The revolution triumphed on July 19th 1979, bringing down the US-sponsored dictatorship of Anastasio Somoza. Somoza fled the country with his followers and as they left they carried on massive 'decapitalisation', taking all the money and everything else that could possibly be removed, leaving the new revolutionary government with debts of US \$1.5 billion.

Nicaragua is an agro-export country, exporting beef, coffee, cotton, sugar and other farm products to the rich countries, especially the US. The revolutionary government immediately nationalised the banks and took strict control of foreign exchange; the property of Somoza and those who fled with him was confiscated at once. Much of the confiscated land has been turned over to poor farmers as part of the land reform program (and in Nicaragua, land reform has resulted in increased agricultural production).

Some 600 wealthy families who remained in Nicaragua still own large ranches which produce for export, they may keep their landholdings so long as they use all the land productively and pay their farm workers, who are now organised. However, since the

government controls all foreign exchange, such wealthy ranchers are paid in cordobas (the Nicaraguan currency) instead of US dollars — so that while they may still make profits, they must spend their money within Nicaragua.

Likewise, with what little industry there is, what belonged to Somoza and his allies was confiscated, the rest is still in private hands. I visited a textile works in Managua (the Helinica factory, making underclothing), spoke with the workers, the trade-union activists and the managers, and noticed particularly that the plant has been reorganised for safety and health — lighting and ventilation are excellent.

LITERACY

In 1979 more than half the Nicaraguan population could not read and write. The Sandinista revolutionary government, together with Church organisations, mounted a mass literacy campaign led by Fr Fernando Cardenal. With the help of volunteer teachers from Cuba, the successful campaign reduced illiteracy from 53% to less than



● July 1981: Five hundred thousand people celebrate the second anniversary of the revolution and the twentieth anniversary of the founding of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN)

12%, and new schools are continually being built (I saw several).

Public health is a major concern of the revolution, and public health campaigns are held periodically. Two days before I arrived there had been mass vaccinations against polio; posters and slogans could still be seen everywhere. Health teams stage sessions in villages on hygiene and preventive medicine. Doctors and dentists are brought even to the remotest areas, so that popular health care has improved dramatically. Abortion 'on demand' is not available — free Nicaragua values youth.

Many other revolutionary measures are important for health — I took part in the dedication of a joint government-church project to bring purified running water to a mountain village. Besides making life infinitely easier for the people of the village, this would create better hygiene as well.

CHRISTIAN

The role of Christians, both clergy and laity, is crucial in this revolution. Nicaragua is a strongly Christian country (85% Catholic and 15% Protestant). Four cabinet ministers (including the Foreign Minister, Fr Miguel d'Escoto) are Catholic priests, an American priest (Fr Peter Marchetti) is a high official in the Ministry of Agriculture, and so on. Priests and ministers have formed many of the Christian believers in 'base communities', as they are called, to understand the demands of the Christian faith for justice and freedom, for liberation, and to apply these teachings in the Nicaraguan context.

I took part in a Mass in one of these parishes in Managua with the parish priest, Fr Antonio Castro, and the Archbishop Sergio Mendez Arceo of Cuernavaca (Mexico), who had been invited by the govern-

ment for the anniversary of Sandino. I met with one of the cabinet ministers, Fr Fernando Cardenal, and with several Protestant liberation theologians. It was interesting that until very recently the Protestants in Nicaragua tended to identify with the 'Protestant' USA and to look down on Catholic Nicaraguans as 'backward', 'lazy' and so forth.

The combination of strong Christian belief and strong commitment to liberation and the revolutionary process of these people was overwhelming. Almost twenty years ago Che Guevara said that if the Christians ever realised the meaning of their faith, the revolution in Latin America would be invincible — and it has come true in Nicaragua.

But the Pope and many Roman Catholic bishops are increasingly opposed to the revolution, and are attacking the revolutionary clergy. When John Paul II was in Managua last year he refused even to pray for Nicaraguan soldiers who had been killed by the US-sponsored counter-revolution. In other ways also, the Pope caused serious tension in Nicaragua. However, Fr Fernando spoke for all the Christian believers in the revolution when he said to me that the Church belongs to all the people and they did not intend to leave the Church regardless of how their superiors might feel about the revolution.

'CONTRAS'

The United States is making strong efforts to bring the revolution down, by arming and 'advising' counter-revolutionary forces operating from Honduras and Costa Rica, and by financing and encouraging 'opposition' within Nicaragua. But so far — thank God — these efforts have come to very little. The 'contras' have not been able to establish a base within Nicaragua.

As for the domestic opposition, the revolutionary government has announced elections on November 4th of this year and lowered the voting age to 16 at the insistence of the Sandinista youth. They are virtually certain to win these elections, and the right-wing, pro-US opposition will fail, if popular enthusiasm is any sign.

Nicaragua reminds me of Ireland in so many ways — the strong Christian faith of committed revolutionaries, the determination to be free of colonial-imperial power, the popular enthusiasm in struggle... there is a great deal for our two peoples to share. But I thought especially of home when one young Sandinista organiser working far out in the countryside told me 'to be a revolutionary means to sacrifice one's life for the people'.

● Fr Brian O Ceileachair is an Irish priest working in Toronto, Canada, where he is chairperson of the Irish Prisoner of War Committee. He is currently writing a book on liberation theology and the Irish struggle. He was in Nicaragua from February 14th to 24th this year.



● Soldiers of the FSLN honour their martyred comrades

SHAMROCK ROSETTES

BY HILDA MacTHOMAS

ST PATRICK'S DAY, a day which Irish people all over the world have chosen to celebrate their Irishness, seems increasingly to be the day on which members of the Irish establishment will fly abroad to publicly beat their chests and rattle the begging bowl. And this year, no less than 13 Free State Coalition ministers, and their numerous entourage, left the country to its celebrations and flocked to the United States, England or Australia.

On a daily basis, obliging press correspondents reverberated their every word to the public back home — at whose expense the trips were financed, of course. SDLP leader John Hume and his deputy, Seamus Mallon, were also in the United States, fulfilling the usual 'speaking engagements' — the polite phrase for junketing.

Such a mass exodus on a national feast-day rings like a vote of no confidence in their country by those so-called constitutional nationalists. Indeed, the three-point propaganda drive by Coalition ministers in the States — 'End support for the IRA, support the Forum, invest in Ireland' — is a reflection of the type of 'New Ireland' those politicians would welcome. In other words: repression of all who oppose British rule in Ireland, promotion of those politicians ready to accommodate British interests, and increased exploitation of Irish workers by fast-buck firms attracted by tax-exemption schemes and low wages — a three-point recipe for national disaster.

HONOUR

The key speech was delivered by Free State premier Garret FitzGerald on Thursday, March 15th, in Washington, when he addressed a joint session of the US Congress: an 'honour' rarely bestowed, he pointed out, and which he shares with Parnell 104 years later. Hume, the other contender for the title of 'Parnell 1984', must have been, appropriately, green with envy.

Unlike Parnell, however, FitzGerald was very clearly willing to 'set a boundary to the onward

ion being: how many extraditions are needed to make the unionists feel 'understood'?

FORUM

Having attacked Noraid and those who give 'moral support' to republicans, FitzGerald intoned the praises of the Dublin Forum, concealing with difficulty the embarrassment of not being able to produce a final report. Seeking support for something which does not yet exist, and whose significance depends on Britain's giving it credibility, this is definitely not the best way to fire listening Congress members into action.

However, by and large, the code words pointed Congress towards the 'real enemy': the Forum represented, FitzGerald said, 'the only constructive alternative to the violence and terrorism in Northern Ireland'. And since, it seems, the term 'violence' does not apply to the Brits or the loyalists (or, indeed, the US government), the last remark confirms what Sinn Féin has said all along: that the Forum is to be supported by establishment parties as the last-ditch attempt to counter militant republicanism. On those terms, and whatever the outcome of the Forum may be, it is bound to get support from all those American politicians who, Reagan included, view a united Ireland as a potential threat to NATO's def-

march of a nation'.

After a heartfelt appeal for more dollars, FitzGerald presented his own brand of Irish history, with 'two apparently irreconcilable traditions within a small piece' of Ireland, one of which was native, and the other had, as it happened, 'settled from Britain'. The end of British rule in Ireland, he continued, was a 'simplistic solution'. If it were the problem, he ludicrously claimed, 'the British and ourselves would have solved it in agreement long ago'.

Britain, 'with the responsibility for governing Northern Ireland', had concentrated too much on the 'security symptoms of the problem', while the Free State had failed to sympathise with 'both sides in Northern Ireland'.

Thus, in a few brief sentences, Britain was absolved of all historical responsibility in the Plantation and partition, and the Free State condemned for not understanding Northern unionists. The next quest-



● FitzGerald and Reagan in Washington, both wearing the green for election purposes

ence strategy.

The other members of the Coalition jet-set did little more than paraphrase their leader.

'I ask all Americans not to support those who maim and murder', Justice Minister Michael Noonan said in Chicago, not in reference to the Brits of course, or to the El Salvador government.

'Every time you put your hand in your pocket, think Irish', Labour Party minister Ruairi Quinn begged in Los Angeles.

Meanwhile, in London, Free State Minister for Foreign Affairs Peter Barry, who had met direct-ruler James Prior on Friday, March 16th, and had reported to him on the Forum's developments, chose to adopt a more nationalistic line than FitzGerald when addressing an Irish gathering on St Patrick's night. The lives of two generations of the nationalist minority in the North 'have been blighted', he said, 'by discrimination, by repression and by exclusion. This situation cannot

continue.'

The contrast between Barry's tone and that of other Coalition ministers illustrate the 'nuances' within Fine Gael, and point to further possible disagreements in the Forum.

Meanwhile, the Brits have been suitably nudged and winked at, from far and near. 'Open-mindedness', a 'duty to review and to revise' their approach to the problem, to 'heal the divisions within Northern Ireland', such are the demands made on them by the Free State government.

In other words, continue with the Assembly charade, charge the occasional UDR man, and don't give the Forum report the brush-off. This, FitzGerald and Hume think, would be enough for them to boast a 'major breakthrough' in the 'deadlock of Irish politics' — and they hope, enough to help them through the EEC elections.

The shamrock on the lapel was nothing more, after all, than an election rosette.



NEW YORK'S ANSWER



● MARGARET O'ROURKE

GARRET FitzGerald's platitudes in Washington on how Irish-Americans should behave, were answered on St Patrick's Day in New York, the day after FitzGerald had left the United States.

Because of last year's disastrous Free State boycott of the parade, FitzGerald had to swallow his principles and agree to the presence of Free State Consul General James

Flavin on the reviewing stand in spite of the unanimous election of Michael O'Rourke as honorary grand marshal.

Although Flavin, as instructed, left the stand when Irish Northern Aid marched by, he had to share the stand throughout the rest of the parade with O'Rourke's wife Margaret, who was standing in for her imprisoned husband.

More than one hundred thousand marchers, watched by more

than a million onlookers, took part in this year's New York St Patrick's Day parade, the biggest in the world, which was led by the grand marshal, Teddy Gleason.

Last year's grand marshal, Michael Flannery, was also cheered all along the route as he led the nine-thousand-strong Irish Northern Aid contingent. The honorary grand marshal's mother Ann, his sister Mary and his mother-in-law Mrs Lieb marched in front of a banner

proclaiming 'Michael O'Rourke — honorary grand marshal'.

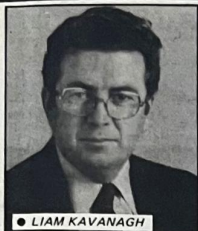
Senator Daniel Moynihan, who boycotted the parade last year because of Michael Flannery's election, was constantly jeered along the parade route, showing that last year's insult had not been forgotten.

SIGNAL

The Free State consul, James Flavin, got a hurried signal to leave

the reviewing stand when Irish Northern Aid approached. However, the crowd was so large that parade officials had to escort him down Fifth Avenue marching him past the entire Northern Aid contingent, which took more than 20 minutes to pass.

Flavin walked with his head down, but could not avoid hearing the pro-IRA chants and applause for the Irish Northern Aid group.



• LIAM KAVANAGH

Coalition questions

A Chara,

I would like to refer to the attitude of Messrs Kavanagh, Cooney and Ruairi Quinn in their refusal to meet with the democratically-elected public representatives of Sinn Féin.

As a member of the Northern nationalist community living in the South who was represented by the 26-county government in their case against the British government at the European Court of Human Rights in Strasbourg, I would like them to answer the following questions for me:

In the event that the new Forum brings about some kind of united Ireland, will these gentlemen persist in their present attitude and refuse to deal with that large section of the Northern minority who support Sinn Féin?

Is it their intention to ostracise tens, or perhaps hundreds, of thousands of nationally-minded people in the North, in the event of a united Ireland coming about? Is the Northern minority to become subjected to the same brain-washing process as is going on in the South, in which our language, culture and national identity are to come under harassment from the state, the seoin-orientated media, and sections of the Catholic Church to compel us to become pro-British?

G. Donnelly,
Baile na nGall,
An Rinn,
Dungarban,
Contae Phortláiige.

IRA funerals

A Chara,

I completely disagree with Brendan Dowd's suggestion (AP/RN, March 8th) that military funerals for IRA Volunteers should be ended.

Dead Volunteers of Oglaiigh na hEireann who are killed on active service should continue to be provided with military funerals, not because it is a tradition, but because it is the very least tribute that can be paid to fallen comrades.

If military funerals for Volunteers are to be dispensed with and black beret and gloves on a Tricolour-draped coffin with a Volunteer guard of honour are to be replaced with a Tricolour alone on the coffin, as Brendan Dowd suggests, then the RUC and their counterparts in the 26 counties



• IRA Volunteers should be buried with full military honours

mála poist

TRAVELLERS' RIGHTS

Dear Editor,

The Committee for the Rights of Travellers wishes to make known its indignation and abhorrence at the eviction of travellers on Friday, March 9th, from the site at Firhouse Road.

Neither of the two sites offered to these travellers by the county council as alternatives to the Tallaght by-pass could be considered in any way suitable. The Kishogue site was bordered by a railway line on one side and a canal on the other making it an obvious danger to children. The water was contaminated as far as the travellers knew. The nearest shop, which incidentally was only a sweet shop, is over two miles away from the site.

There are not even toilets on the Clondalkin site - the travellers were actually intimidated from this site by other travellers who accused them of queue-jumping. The county council obviously took no notice of the recent review body's report that certain travelling families are simply not compatible with others.

On Wednesday, March 7th, the Committee for the Rights of Travellers prepared the site on Firhouse Road so that the three families could move there from the by-pass on Thursday. This site had previously been approved for travellers by the county council. It is served with running water, sanitary facilities and hard standing. It is particularly suitable for these three families as it is less than one mile from the school attended by the children. Therefore, it was considered a



• The evictions of and hostility towards travellers would shock and horrify a great many people living in 'Christian' Ireland - if only it happened in the Third World

suitable alternative site by both the Committee and the travellers themselves.

The local residents, however, did not want travellers in their area. They put pressure on the county council to have the travellers moved on and the county council yielded.

In court on Thursday, the judge said that if intimidation was used against the travellers the gardai would be there to deal with it, but in fact, when the travellers were intimidated the gardai were not there to help. At 11.30 on Friday the site at the Firhouse Road was found to be

illegal by the Supreme Court and the county council were given the right to move the travellers off. Members of the Committee made several attempts to intervene at this point saying that the travellers would move off without any trouble but asking for the opportunity to get legal advice first. This plea went unheeded.

The Committee for the Rights of Travellers accept full responsibility for moving the travellers to the site in Firhouse. There are simply no sites for the 420 families on the roadside in Dublin. We will continue to do whatever is necessary to reverse the intolerable injustice presently done in our Christian country.

We will continue to defend the rights of travellers in Ireland.

We will consistently put pressure on local authorities and the government until they do their duty.

We will continue to work with travellers encouraging them to fight for their legitimate rights.

We will continue to be embarrassed by the inactivity of people living in a Christian country who would have been shocked and horrified at the eviction from Firhouse on March 9th, if only it had happened in the Third World.

We will continue to welcome the support of people like Sister Brenda and Fr Michael Mernagh, who are not afraid to live their Christianity.

Tom Hackett,
Chairperson,
Committee for the Rights of Travellers,
Tallaght.

Women's conference

A Chara,

There will be a 32-county women's conference held in Dublin from April 5th-8th.

A public meeting with international guest speakers is planned for 7.30pm at O'Lehane Hall, 6 Cavendish Road, on Friday evening, the 6th.

The following two days will be taken up with a conference at Rutland Street School. There will be workshops dealing with the following areas:

Health, fertility control, divorce, motherhood, poverty, housing, social welfare, prisons, travelling women, education, sexism in the media, violence, rape, incest, the national question, feminism, disarmament, work, trade unions, child-care and unemployment.

Entertainment in the form of film shows, and old newsreels will be shown throughout the conference.

Creche facilities and accommodation will be available.

For further information contact the address below, or phone Dublin 710088.

The Women's Centre,
53 Dame Street,
Dublin 2.

Missing uniforms

A Chara,

We would like to appeal to anyone in Derry who may have come across a suitcase mistakenly left in Derry after this year's Bloody Sunday commemoration.

This case, containing our band uniforms, was in the vicinity of Free Derry Corner. These uni-



forms are of no value to anyone but ourselves and we would appreciate their return. If anyone has any information regarding them, please contact the Ardoyne Sinn Féin advice centre, Belfast, phone 740168.

James Connolly Flute Band,
Glasgow.

Dundalk band

A Chara,

At a recent meeting in the Dundalk Sing! Fein advice centre it was unanimously decided to form a flute band for the Dundalk area.

Anyone wishing to join the band, which will be named the Dundalk Marys Memorial Flute Band, should apply to the undersigned. Membership of the band is open to anyone from the age of 14 upwards.

We would also appreciate any financial or material help which anyone would like to give to the band.

Bernie Blair,
57a Clanbrassil Street,
Dundalk.

Cork condemnation

A Chara,

In a recent incident in the Mayfield area of Cork City, slo-

gans were daubed on the home of an elderly woman. Some sources later attributed this act to Sinn Féin members.

Cork Sinn Féin wishes to state that no member of our organisation was in any way responsible for daubing these slogans. We totally condemn this act and deplore the fact that an elderly woman was intimidated.

PRO,
Cork comhairle ceantair.



Essay competition

A Chara,

At the request of a number of school teachers and parents, the Bobby Sands Essay Competition Committee has extended the closing date of the competition from March 30th to April 30th so that entrants can facilitate the use of the holidays.

The age limits are 10 to 13 years in group 1 and 14 to 16 years in group 2. Subjects may be on any episode or personage in Irish history from 1169 to the present day. The entrants, by understanding the past through research, may understand the present and lead Ireland to a better future.

Jim Monaghan,
Bobby Sands Essay
Competition Committee,
Glenageary,
County Dublin.



Welfare information

A Chara,

The Sinn Féin Women's Department, Dublin, have put together an information package detailing social welfare entitlements for POWs' wives in the Free State.

Anyone who requires one of these packages or has any other queries regarding welfare entitlements should contact either Joe McDonagh (POW Department) or Ann O'Sullivan (welfare officer) at 5 Blessington Street, Dublin, telephone 308783, or the Sinn Féin Women's Department directly.

Lisa Ni Cathmhaoil,
Women's Department,
44 Parnell Square,
Dublin 1.
Telephone 726932.

Crime and punishment

A Chara,

I agree fully with Jimmy Loughran's letter (AP/RN, March 15th) that the IRA policy on 'hoods' should be reconsidered.

The number of cars stolen and then burned 'for a laugh' has really got out of hand, as has the number of muggings of old people (some of which are done in the name of the IRA).

I was talking to one such old person who was mugged very recently while making his way to the hostel on the Falls Road. Three 'hoods' attacked him and took his pension money. He was 75 years of age and barely able to walk.

I also fully agree that the kid-gloves should be taken off and that people in each area should organise themselves better and get rid of these animals forever.

Thomas Jones,
Belfast.

Adams and the media

A Chara,

We would like to express our views on an aspect of the recent assassination attempt of Gerry Adams.

This deed was afforded massive media coverage, re the facts that the UDA were responsible, the time and whereabouts that the assassination attempt took place etc. etc.

However, one person's comments on this incident were not covered properly by the media, for their own reasons.

We refer to George Seawright, the DUP councillor who expressed regret that Adams had only been wounded.

If the attack had been on Ian Paisley's life, and had Gerry Adams expressed regret that it had failed, we have no doubt that this would be the main thrust in the media's coverage.

It would certainly not be ignored, and left in the background as Seawright's comments were.

John Horan,
Maire Drumm cumann,
Clondalkin,
County Dublin.

Right to silence

BURKE'S AT THE BACK

By Kevin Burke

THE OFFICIAL silence about the death of Patrick Nugent, five weeks ago, will surely have to end following the outcry from local Clare people, over 600 of whom met in protest on Tuesday night of this week.

Nugent died in mysterious circumstances from serious injuries, on February 11th, outside Bunratty Castle, where he was banqueting manager.

Two local gardai were questioned about the incident by a 'special investigator', Assistant Commissioner 'Pope' John Paul McMahon. And since then, there have been fears expressed about the effectiveness of the gardai investigating themselves.

It is not certain whether Detective Eugene Quinlivan and Garda James Cummins availed of their 'right to remain silent' during these investigations, but no doubt they are anxious to have the whole matter settled so that they can enthusiastically enforce the new Criminal Justice Bill when it becomes law.

★★★

According to Superintendent William Herlihy of the Bridewell garda barracks in Dublin, garda Special Branch man Thomas Quinn is an 'exemplary policeman'.

So he told the court which heard Quinn and his wife plead guilty to running a brothel in the city on Tuesday of this week.

The Quinns, who were reputed to be earning £3,000 per week from the enterprise, were fined £100 each.

Harsh, you may think, but not getting a prison sentence means that Quinn could yet remain in the force to enthusiastically operate the Criminal Justice Bill.

The court was also told that by pleading guilty the couple had "saved a lot of people embarrassment".

You'd better believe it! Apparently, Quinn was threatening to name names, in court, of some of the customers who availed of the variety of sexual services on offer, and these included other gardai, lawyers and clergymen.

There was even a connection with the *Irish Independent* which would have made interesting reading.

★★★

Young Fine Gael are poised to extend their shiny liberal image at their annual conference this weekend with a major new policy document entitled *The Restless Society*, intended, they claim, to "define a political philosophy for Fine Gael as a radical alternative to the conservatism of Fianna Fail".

The policy includes all the nice things about divorce, contraception and the like. But Old Fine Gael need not despair at the enthusiasm of the youngsters.

The document also says that the question of which rights to allow Sinn Fein should be



CHIEF JUSTICE Thomas F. O'Higgins made history this week with his order for the extradition of Dominic McGlinchey. It is fitting therefore to mark the occasion by recalling other historic times in which he was involved.

Pictured above is the University College Dublin

branch of the Blueshirts in April 1933; and, there, second from the left (or should I say third from the right?) on the back row, is the future chief justice himself.

Changed a bit since then, of course, hasn't he?

governed by "pragmatic considerations as to how best Sinn Fein can be weakened".

And if that piece of old-fashioned Blueshirtism is not clear enough for you, a motion for debate spells it out. It says:

"As long as Sinn Fein reject the principles of democracy, they have no inherent right to participate in the democratic process."

The 'principles of democracy' are safe in the hands of Young Fine Gael.

★★★

Having shunned the representations of Sinn Fein's Buncrana councillor, Eddie Fullerton, in Dublin, Sir Garret FitzGerald must have got a nasty shock in the United States.

RTE's *Today Tonight* on Tuesday of this week, covering the trip, showed Sir Garret with the House of Congress speaker, Tip O'Neill, admiring a picture of a scenic view near Buncrana, from where O'Neill hails.

O'Neill was telling FitzGerald what a beauty spot it was and how it could be a tremendous

tourist attraction, but for one thing that was missing.

"All my cousins, the Fullertons, wrote me to tell you to get a decent road up there," O'Neill said.

★★★

Ian Paisley is proving one of the biggest fund-raisers that Sinn Fein has ever had.

Inspired by Paisley's announcement that he was going to 'smash Sinn Fein' in the June EEC elections, the Sinn Fein candidate in the six counties, Danny Morrison, launched an election fund ballot (raffle, to you) with some unusual prizes.

The first prize in one taped sermon by Ian Paisley; the second prize is two LPs by William McCrea; and the third prize is two sermons by Paisley and two LPs by McCrea!

Tickets, at £1 per book, have sold so fast that a second batch has had to be printed. You can get them, not from me, but from Sinn Fein at 51/53 Falls Road, Belfast, if you are prepared to take your chances.



Tom Smith commemoration

ST PATRICK'S DAY marked the ninth anniversary in Dublin of the death in Portlaoise Prison of IRA Vol Tom Smith, who was shot dead by Free State troops on March 17th 1975.

Following a commemoration Mass in Berkeley Street Church, over 80 people, led by a Fianna Éireann colour party marched to Tom Smith's grave in Glasnevin Cemetery.

The ceremony was chaired by Peter Farrelly, and, following the laying of a wreath on behalf of Dublin Brigade IRA, and a decade of the Rosary in Irish by Sonny McStay, the oration was

EEC candidate for the Dublin constituency.

After outlining the tragic events surrounding Tom Smith's death and present conditions in Portlaoise, Noonan pointed to the urgent necessity for supporters of the Republican Movement to become actively involved in Sinn Fein's EEC election campaign:

"It is not, in any way, glamorous work; it involves long, tiring hours of

walking the streets and fighting to help people to solve the problems which they face daily.

"The size of the Sinn Fein vote in the last Dublin Central by-election sent waves of alarm through the establishment parties and showed that more and more people are looking to Sinn Fein for leadership. The EEC elections provide us with an opportunity to further our struggle and truly honour the memory of Vol Tom Smith and all those others who have laid down their lives for the cause of freedom."



John Noonan gives the oration

WHAT'S ON

EEC ELECTION MEETINGS

South Tipperary
8.30pm Friday 23rd March
Holy Family Hall

CASHEL

Waterford City & County
3pm Saturday 24th March
Community Centre

PORTLAW

CABARET & SOCIAL

Friday 23rd March
Commercial Hotel
BALLINAMORE
Taillie £4
Featuring: Dublin City Ramblers

BUSES TO NAVAN RALLY

Cavan: Dew Drop Inn, 1pm
(enquiries 049) 32319
Monaghan: Church Square, 12.30pm
Dundalk: Sinn Fein Centre, 1pm
Saturday 24th March

SINN FEIN WOMEN'S FORUM

10am to 4pm Sunday 25th March
Sinn Fein Advice Centre
57a Cantrassil Street
DUNDALK
All Sinn Fein women welcome

SOCIAL AGAINST THE

CRIMINAL JUSTICE BILL

8pm Tuesday 27th March
Meeting Place
DUBLIN
Featuring: Fionn Uisce, Ciaran Halpin & Ellis Moore
Taillie £2

PUBLIC MEETING AGAINST

THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE BILL

8pm Wednesday 28th March
Hope Centre
Finglas Village
DUBLIN

IRISH NIGHT

8pm Friday 30th March
Maggie's Bar
SKIBBEREEN
County Cork
Taillie £1
Featuring: Pecker Dunne & others

DUBLIN NORTH-EAST

SINN FEIN EEC MEETING

All Republican Movement members to attend - supporters welcome
4.30pm Sunday 2nd April
Carnegie Hotel
Malahide Road
DUBLIN
Buses from city centre: 42 & 42c

32-COUNTY WOMEN'S CONFERENCE

Friday-Sunday 6th-8th April
DUBLIN

PUBLIC MEETING

7.30pm Friday
O'Lehane Hall
International guest speakers
CONFERENCE
10.30am to 6pm Saturday, Sunday
Rutland Street School
Various Workshops
(see Letters Page)
Creche facilities available
Details: phone Dublin 710088

£500 POKER CLASSIC

9pm sharp Friday 6th April
Community Hall
INNISKEEN
County Monaghan
Taillie £10
In aid of County Monaghan P.D.F. Minibus Fund

SOCIAL

10.30pm to 1.30am Sunday 8th April
Creevela Hall
DRUMKEERAN
County Leitrim
Taillie £2.50
In aid of EEC Election Fund
Featuring: Ian Corrigan & Style

PUBLIC MEETING

8pm Thursday 12th April
Trades Club
LEEDS
England
'Ireland - The Propaganda War'
Speaker: Liz Curtis
Organised by Troops Out Movement

BUFFET & DANCE

9pm Friday 27th April
Manor Inn
Old Railway Hotel
KILLORGLIN
County Kerry
Featuring: The Pikemen
Taillie £5
For tickets phone Killorglin 61499

REVIEW

TV

Shock treatment

BY SIOBHAN O'MALLEY

JONATHAN MOORE played the lead role of Liam in his own play, *The Treatment*, on BBC 2 on Friday. Two brothers, Liam and Rory, are skinheads and live just for the Saturday soccer matches where fanatical support for Chelsea Football Club is the vehicle for the only meaning and excitement in their lives — fighting rival fans.

Liam meets a girl, who is from a totally different background, and makes friends with a young priest in the local church. He begins to drift away from the gang, the football matches and from Rory.

Liam starts staying at his rich girlfriend's flat and starts reading books lent by the priest. Only Rory sees that, in spite of their intentions, both are using Liam for their own emotional needs, both using him as a contact with the real world, getting excitement from his appearance and aggression.

In trying to get Liam back, Rory prompts his suicide and the play ends with Liam setting himself on fire, a symbolic sacrifice.

The Treatment won an award at the Edinburgh Festival and is one of those plays that could become a cult. In spite of some rather unlikely

Ronald Reagan presented Garret Fitzgerald with a luminous green baseball cap for St Patrick's Day. What is worse is that Fitzgerald put it on and stood there looking like a fool.

Henry Kelly ran around on a breakfast television show hitting people with a rubber shillelagh and saying 'begorrah'.

Why do some Irish people feel that St Patrick's Day is an occasion to make public idiots of themselves, or are such people public idiots all the time anyway?

The Women's Programme on RTE1 on Monday interviewed three people about the meaning

of feminism. Maeve Binchy used to think it was wearing starched petticoats and pink Angora jumpers; Pat Kenny thought it meant being a good hostess and 'looking right', and he could not understand why feminists 'don't' comb their hair.

Philomena Begley's idea of femininity was being the 'perfect woman', fond of children, well-dressed, with a good marriage.

Doireann Ní Bhriain then introduced Nell McCafferty, 'with her hair nicely combed', who commented on the week's newspaper coverage of women, including the praise on 'the mother in the home' in *Leinster House* reports. Mother in the home as opposed presumably to the mother who goes out to work, is teacher, psychiatrist, psychologist and nurse, according to the speeches of patronising, political 'flatterers'.

Women who work outside the home, however, are only girls. Nell quoted Christy Kirwan, general secretary of the ITGWU, commenting on the women workers in Liberty Hall who are fighting for equal pay.

"Women will always be girls to me," he said gallantly, re-



● Rory's attempts to bring himself and Liam back together have tragic consequences

fusing to pay them a woman's wage.

BBC 2's *Horizon*, on Monday, broached that unmentionable subject, incest, in a programme that was uncomfortable viewing.

Prisoners of Incest was a

drama/documentary telling the true story of a family where the father was jailed for incest with his nine-year-old daughter.

The whole family were being treated by psychiatrists from the Great Ormond Street Hospital in London because of the effect of the father's actions on the mother and all of the

children.

The guilt felt by the abused child was bad enough to see, but even worse was the guilt felt by the mother, and the objectionable insinuation by one doctor that it was the mother's fault — "because of lack of communication with her daughter".

Sinking hopes in Buncrana

BY MICK DOHERTY

CONCERN is rising in Buncrana, County Donegal, that the multi-million pound German-owned ATW factory, which opened two years ago to manufacture multi-purpose jeeps for the Third World market, may be looking for an excuse to pull out of the town.

Tension amongst the 46 workers in the factory exploded last week when a lightning one-day strike was called to protest at the refusal of the company to implement an 8% increase which was recommended by the Labour Court and even won the approval of the Federated Union of Employers.

In response to this wage demand, company director Roland Berger has threatened to close the factory if the workers and their union, the AUEW, continue to press for a pay increase. This is despite the fact that wages in ATW are well below the average industrial wage.

Shop steward Pío Eccles points out that, once tax and social insurance contributions are deducted from the basic £90 wage, a married worker with three children is actually receiving less than could be obtained on the dole. He added:

"Families are barely scraping by from week to week due to low wages and the ever-increasing cost of living."

As if their treatment of the factory workers is not bad enough, ATW seem to have pulled a fast one on the IDA, who promised them £16½ million in grant aid before the factory opened in May 1982. Even the urban district council did its utmost to accommodate an industry which, it was believed, would go some way to alleviating unemployment in the Inishowen area. Fifty acres of land which had previously been zoned for housing needs was given to ATW, in addition to an advance factory.

PROJECTED

For this co-operation, Buncrana was to be well-rewarded and the IDA informed

public representatives in Buncrana, in January 1982, that the new firm had projected employment needs for 295 workers by December 1983, producing 3,000 vehicles per annum. This was to increase within another few years to 1,021 workers producing 15,000 to 18,000 vehicles annually.

The workers are angry that, far from honouring these commitments, ATW has employed only 46 people and that output has been at a virtual standstill for months now. Pío Eccles commented:

"No explanation has been given to the workforce and we are left completely in the dark as regards management plans."

After visiting last week's picket on the factory, Sinn Féin's Councillor Eddie Fullerton pledged his total support to the workers, pointing out that the company had conned the people of Buncrana by



● Is ATW looking for a way out for its jeep operation?

making promises which it has not honoured.

Adding that if ATW was ever to convince its workforce and the people of Buncrana that it intended to stay in the area and increase both employment and production,

it would have to 'come clean' and announce its plans, Fullerton said:

"I believe that these workers have a right to know where their future lies and have a right to a decent wage and a decent standard of living."



● Sinn Féin's Councillor Eddie Fullerton (centre) with ATW workers whose wages are over 20% below the industrial average

Death of Paddy Adams

SEVERAL hundred mourners attended the funeral in Belfast on Wednesday, March 21st, of veteran republican Paddy Adams, known to his many comrades as 'Maghera'.

At the graveside, Sinn Féin's Richard McAuley extended the sympathy of the entire Republican Movement to the family and friends of Paddy Adams. Liam Burke, a comrade of Maghera's, gave the oration. He said:

"No one here can possibly know the whole long story of Paddy's life, his work and his struggles. Each of us can, however, cherish the memory of Paddy as we knew him.

"Personally, my memory goes back to the mutiny in Derry Jail at Christmas 1939, a day I can never forget. And I cannot forget that day's special hero, when Paddy earned the respect of friend and foe alike in his defence of the rights of free men. Another day to remember, also in Derry, was when he organised the great escape in March 1943. Nor can we forget his years in



British and Free State jails and concentration camps.

"There were many other great days for Paddy but he accepted them, as he did the bad days, with the same unflinching courage and cheerfulness.

"Pearse spoke the words that described Paddy, so I will always remember him as not merely Gaelic but free as well, not

merely free but Gaelic as well. He was a perfect Gael, a lover of the Gaelic language, games and culture, and he was always free and never yielded one iota to any foreign dictate in his Ireland.

"May the green sod of his native land rest lightly on Paddy Adams, who loved and served her so well."

Death of Michael Murphy

A LARGE crowd of mourners, including representatives of the Republican Movement, attended the funeral on Monday, March 12th, of Michael Murphy, from Donnycarny in Dublin.

A life-long republican, Michael 'Micky' Murphy was interned in the Curragh in the '50s and was deeply involved in the war of liberation in Belfast from 1969 into the '70s.

In spite of ill-health, Micky remained a dedicated worker for the Republican Movement until his death.



REMEMBERING THE PAST

The Siege of Kilkenny

BY PETER O'ROURKE

IN AUGUST 1649, Oliver Cromwell, the new head of the English Commonwealth, arrived in Ireland.

His objects were to bring the country under the complete control of the English parliament, to enforce the Adventurers Act of 1642 and to avenge the massacre which he believed to have taken place during the Rising of 1641.

Cromwell struck swiftly. He marched north and stormed Drogheda, where in a general massacre some 3,500 people were put to the sword. Turning south, he attacked and captured Wexford, where a similar massacre followed.

In the spring of the following year he continued his campaign in the south and on March 22nd, 1650, Cromwell arrived at Kilkenny. That evening, he wrote a dispatch to the governor, mayor and aldermen of the city:

"My coming hither is to endeavour, if God so please to bless me, the reduction of the city of Kilkenny to their obedience to the state of England, from which, by an unheard of massacre of the innocent English, you have endeavoured to rend yourselves; and as God hath begun to judge you with His sore plague, so will He follow you if you repent not."

The plague which the Puritan leader chose to regard as the judgement of the Lord on the citizens of Kilkenny, had



OLIVER CROMWELL

first appeared in Galway some months before and had spread swiftly through the countryside. Within the walls of Kilkenny it had caused fearful havoc and it was said to have reduced a garrison of twelve hundred men to three or four hundred. Fearful of the effect of the plague, Cromwell had been in no hurry

to arrive at the city. When the siege did commence, the defenders resisted gallantly, and the English were on the point of raising the siege when the treachery of the mayor and some citizens helped deliver the city into their hands. The garrison was promptly massacred.

Bhí an saoire caite inné - The holiday was over (spent) yesterday.

Tá margadh déanta aige leo - He has made a bargain with them.

Tá an fheoil ite ag an gcát - The cat has eaten the meat.

Agus tá an bainne ólta aige - And he has drunk the milk.

PHRASES

1 - Ba mhaith an margadh é (buh voh un murgah ay) - It was a good bargain.

2 - Am curtha am (om kurhah umoo) - Time was wasted.

3 - Tá an fonn imithe díom (thaw un fawn imihed deem) - The mood has gone off me.

4 - Tá críochnaíthe aige (thaw kree-uh-nihed eggh) - He has finished.

Irish Lesson

Cáite (koyah) - spent, worn
Imithe (imihed) - gone
Briste (bristh) - broken
Déanta (dyentuh) - done, made
Ólta (lth) - eaten
Ólta (lth) - drunk
Críochnaíthe (kree-uh-nu-hed) - finished
An fheoil (un owe-ill) - the meat
An margadh (un murgah) - the bargain
An t-am (un tom) - the time
An tuise (un tiseh) - the tiredness

THE pronunciation given in brackets is as near as possible to the sound.
CH is sounded as in LOCH ERNE.
D and T before A, O and U are thick, spoken with the tongue pressed against the upper front teeth.
DH and GH are like a G far back in the throat almost a gangle.

An saoire (un seureh) - the holiday
An t-earrach (un taroch) - the spring
An fómhair (un foh-air) - the autumn, the harvest.

Ólta an t-am caite - The time is up.

Bhí an margadh briste - The bargain was broken.

Tá an t-earrach imithe - The spring is gone.

Tá an tuise imithe díom - The tiredness is gone from me.

Memories

ALLSOPP, Robert. (9th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Flann Rippert Allsopp, Belfast Brigade, Flanna Éireann, who died on March 23rd 1975. This is a shearna Bnail as it is on his saoire. Always remembered by his friends and comrades in Flanna Éireann, Belfast.

ALLSOPP, Robert. (9th Anniversary). In loving memory of my dear son Robert who died on March 23rd 1975. RIP. St Joseph pray for him. Just a prayer from a lonely heart for a son whose troubles I shared. Just a token of love and regret from a mother who will always care. Son, you may forget you now that you're gone but I'll always remember no matter how long. Always remembered by his mother, uncles, aunts and the

whole Allsopp family and his friend Liza Jane.

ALLSOPP, Robert. (9th Anniversary). In loving memory of my dear brother Flann 'Swamp' Allsopp who died on March 23rd 1975. St Martin pray for him. He had a smile for everyone he had a heart of gold, he left the sweetest memories in the world ever hold. Always remembered by his sister Margaret, brother-in-law Damien and nephew Robert Arvey.

O'Riordan, Sean. (12th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Flann Sean O'Riordan who died on March 23rd. Thug sé a shaghl agas aird as a shearna mhuintir na hÉireann comradh éiríochtaí by his friends and comrades in Flanna Éireann, Belfast.

Birthday memories

BURNS. Birthday memories of Sean Burns, who was brutally murdered by the RUC and whose 23rd birthday would have occurred on March 8th. Always remembered by the Toman family.

BURNS. Birthday memories of Sean Burns, who was brutally murdered by the RUC and whose 23rd birthday would have occurred on March 8th. Always remembered by Colette Gaskin.

BURNS. Birthday memories of Sean Burns, who was brutally murdered by the RUC and whose 23rd birthday would have occurred on March 8th. Always remembered by Elish and Christy Donaghy.

BURNS. Birthday memories of Sean Burns, who was brutally murdered by the RUC and whose 23rd birthday would have occurred on March 8th. Always remembered by the Burns/Toman Sinn Féin cumann.

the RUC and whose 23rd birthday would have occurred on March 8th. Always remembered by Irene, Paddy and family.

BURNS. Birthday memories of Sean Burns, who was brutally murdered by the RUC and whose 23rd birthday would have occurred on March 8th. Always remembered by Hugh, Mena and family.

BURNS. Birthday memories of Sean Burns, who was brutally murdered by the RUC and whose 23rd birthday would have occurred on March 8th. Always remembered by Malachy, Dorothy and family.

BURNS. Birthday memories of Sean Burns, who was brutally murdered by the RUC and whose 23rd birthday would have occurred on March 8th. Always remembered by the Burns/Toman Sinn Féin cumann.

BURNS. Birthday memories of Sean Burns, who was brutally murdered by the RUC and whose 23rd birthday would have occurred on March 8th. Always remembered by the Burns/Toman Sinn Féin cumann.

SYMPATHY

ADAMS. Sincere sympathy is extended to the family and friends of Paddy Adams, who died on Sunday, March 18th. From his brother Gerry, Annie and family.

ADAMS. Deepest condolences are extended to the family and friends of Paddy Adams, who died on Sunday, March 18th. Deeply regretted by his nephew Gerry, Colette and Gearoid.

ADAMS. Sincere sympathy is extended to the family and friends of Paddy Adams, who died on Sunday, March 18th. Deeply regretted by his nephew Paddy, Anne Marie and family.

ADAMS. Lagan Valley Sinn Féin extends sincere sympathy to the family and friends of Paddy Adams who died on Sunday, March 18th.

DARLING. Deepest sympathy is extended to the family of Margaret Darling, who died on March 12th, after a long illness. From the McDonagh family, Finglas, Dublin.

DEVEREUX, LOCKE, SULLIVAN. The Republican Movement in Kerry extends deepest sympathy to the Devereux, Locke and Sullivan families on their recent bereavements.

FARRELLY. Deepest sympathy to my wife Marie and her brother on the loss of their dear mother, Rose, who died after a short illness on March 16th. Go nódána Dia tréadair na hÉireann d'fils. From Nicky Kehoe (Portlaoise).

FARRELLY. Deepest sympathy is extended to Marie Kehoe on the tragic loss of her mother Rose. From the POWs in Portlaoise.

FARRELLY. Deepest sympathy is extended to Marie Kehoe and her brother on the tragic death of her mother, Rose. From all on the Portlaoise bus.

Get well soon

THE REPUBLICAN POWs in Long Kesh, Armagh, Magilligan, Crumlin Road, Portlaoise, Enniskillen and throughout the world send get well greetings to Gerry Adams, Sean Keenan, Joe Keenan, and Kevin Rooney.

THE STAFF OF AN PHOBLAHT/REPUBLICAN NEWS, Belfast and Dublin, send get well greetings to Gerry Adams MP, Sean Keenan, Joe Keenan, and Kevin Rooney.

BELFAST SINN FÉIN send get well greetings to Gerry Adams, Sean Keenan, Joe Keenan, and Kevin Rooney. THE STAFF OF THE REPUBLICAN PRESS CENTRE AND POW DEPARTMENT.

MENT, Belfast, send get well greetings to Gerry, Sean, Joe and Kevin. We knew you wanted to get out of working on the election, but this is ridiculous. Alder mor. Best wishes from Maire, Siobhán, Brian, Terry and Anna.

THE TONY AHERNE SINN FÉIN CUMANN in Manchester send best wishes for a speedy recovery to Gerry Adams, Sean Keenan, Joe Keenan and Kevin Rooney.

LEEDS TROOPS OUT MOVEMENT send get well greetings to Gerry Adams MP, Sean Keenan, Joe Keenan and Kevin Rooney. From the British troops in Leeds.

ADAMS, KEENAN, ROONEY. Best wishes and speedy recovery to Gerry Adams, Sean Keenan, Joe Keenan and Kevin Rooney. From Brian MacCardagh, Belfast.

GREETINGS

CLARKE, Seamus. No matter where you are, a chair, a day does not go by without happy thoughts of you. Hope you are well and happy. Pity we won't get that visit we have planned for August. Maybe in our next lifetime! Keep smiling, and stay well. Love you always. From your million dollar friend, UTP. xxx

CORRIGAN, Bob. (H8). Birthday greetings to you, son. May the happiness come when you are out of that hell-hole! From your mother, father, brothers and sisters.

CORRIGAN, Bob. (H8). Happy birthday, Bob. From your sister Sally and family, Aine, Liam, Conor and Sinead.

CORRIGAN, Bob. (H8). Birthday greetings, Bob. From your brother Pat, sister-in-law Isabel and family.

CORRIGAN, Bob. (H8). Birthday greetings, Bob. From your comrade Ginger McCubbrey (Magilligan).

CUNNINGHAM, Gerry; MULRYN, Patrick. (H8). Birthday greetings to Gerry Cunningham and Patrick Mulryn on March 24th. All the best. From an Cumann Cabhrach, Walkinstown, Dublin.

DUFFY, Liam. (Long Kesh). The job is yours, Liam. Can you start immediately? See you this summer. Hugs and kisses from Marilyn, USA.

DUMMIGAN, Kevin. (H-Block). Happy birthday, Kevin. From Mum and Dad.

DUMMIGAN, Kevin. (H-Block). Happy birthday, Kevin. From your three brothers, Dermot, Colin and Martin.

DUMMIGAN, Kevin. (H-Block). Best wishes, old hand, on your birthday. From Geraldine and Tony, Caroline and John and Donna and Brian.

DUMMIGAN, Kevin. (H3). Happy birthday, Kevin. From Granny and Uncle Brian.

DUMMIGAN, Kevin. (H3). Happy birthday, Kevin. Love from Aunt Deirdre and boys.

DUMMIGAN, Kevin. (H3). Happy birthday, Kevin. Love from Aunt Charlotte. UTP.

McCOOL, Gary. (Magilligan). Happy birthday, Gary. We hope it's a good one. God bless. Love from Eleanor and Bob Schumaker and family, Philadelphia, USA. UTP.

McCOOL, Gary. (Magilligan). Gary, have a good day. I'm always thinking of you. Happy birthday, love. UTP. From Maura. xxx

McGUIGAN, Ellen. (Armagh). Happy birthday, Ellen, on the 23rd. Hope you have a good day with no hassle. God bless you. From your loving father, mother, Colin, Sean and Thomas. xxx

McGUIGAN, Ellen. (Armagh). Birthday greetings to my dear sister Ellen. Love and best wishes from your brother Joe, Joanne, Martine and wee Joanne. xxx

McGUIGAN, Ellen. (Armagh). Wishing you a happy birthday, Ellen, on the 23rd. We'll be thinking of you then. God bless you. From your loving sister Anne Marie, Jim, Tom, your loving sister Joanne, and all the McGuigan family. xxx

McGUIGAN, Ellen. (Armagh). We'll be thinking of you on the 23rd, Ellen. Have a nice day. God bless you. From Colin and Cathy.

McGUIGAN, Ellen. (Armagh). Happy birthday to my niece Ellen. Hope you don't have too many pints of Doublet God bless you. From Uncle Oliver, cousins and Uncle John. xxx

McGUIGAN, Ellen. (Armagh). Happy returns on your birthday. Love and best wishes from Paddy, Kathleen, Ellen and all the McGuigan family. xxx

O'HAGAN, Paddy. (Magilligan). Happy birthday, Paddy. Hope you have a nice day. We will be thinking of you. God bless. UTP. From Eleanor and Bob Schumaker, Philadelphia, USA.

O'HAGAN, Paddy. (Magilligan). Paddy, remember you are not getting older, just better. Happy birthday, from the 'cute ones', Philadelphia. UTP.

O'SULLIVAN, John; SUGRUE, Peter. (Portlaoise). Greetings to you both, John and Peter. You are always in our thoughts. We found the cards, John, from Jimmy and Nora.

LENADOON ORDEAL

BY JANE PLUNKETT

AN 18-YEAR-OLD woman whose West Belfast flat was badly damaged during a British army/RUC raid last Thursday was subjected to a further ordeal that afternoon when she complained to the local RUC barracks — where she was detained and subjected to a terrifying five-hour-long interrogation about herself and her family.

At around 5.30am last Thursday morning, the Lenadoon Avenue home of Michele Rea was raided, in her absence, by a large force of British soldiers and RUC. When Michele Rea returned home at 9am, having stayed the night with her pregnant sister Donna, who was unwell, she found that the front door had been forced open and its window broken.

The living-room window had also been smashed, as well as several floorboards. Electrical sockets had been torn from walls, while wallpaper and tiles had been ripped off the kitchen and bathroom. Numerous small holes had been dug in walls throughout the flat and a panel on the bath was broken. Carpets had been left piled in a heap and furniture and walls were smeared in black 'finger dust'.

Michele Rea also discovered that all her clothes, worth at least £600, were missing, as well as personal letters and diaries.

COMPLAINT

That afternoon, shortly before 3.30pm, she went to Woodbourne RUC Barracks to lodge an official complaint over the incident.

There, she was taken into an office by RUC detectives who, when she complained that her clothes had been taken, ludicrously attempted to transfer blame to the IRA. Michele recalls what happened next:

"Then the abuse I got was unbelievable. They told me I was involved in the IRA and I would be put away for seven days in Castlereagh if I didn't give them information."

"They had all my diaries down there in plastic bags and they brought out these big posters of Sinn Féin. I'd never seen them before and they said I had them all over my walls. Then they brought out this little red diary I had never seen before. They said it was my diary and they were calling out millions of names and asking did I know them."

In dread of Castlereagh, Michele, who had lived in England since she was 16 until recently and had never experienced RUC detention, unwise failed to exercise her right to remain silent. Her repeated denials of any involvement were ignored by the RUC who, exploiting her understandable nervousness, cynically intensified their bullying.

Michele was made to sign her name over and over again by the RUC, who spuriously claimed that they were seeking to determine whether the diary matched her signature.

"They made me empty my handbag. They read out a personal letter from my doctor. I asked them not to but they read everything. They went through my mum's purse which I had, asking who owned this money and who owned that money. I was sitting telling them and they just kept on about my hair being dyed."

The RUC also scrutinised her own diaries from previous years, interrogating Michele, who is engaged, about her current relationship with a former boyfriend, which clubs she goes to, and demanding the exact dates and times



● Michele Rea stands alongside the gaping hole left in her living-room window by British army/RUC raiders

of events years ago which she had noted in her diaries. Michele says:

"They kept saying, 'You'd better get those dates right because if you don't you'll be away in Castle-reagh'."

"I was terrified, literally shaking though it was a really warm room. I really felt isolated, and I felt like crying. I kept saying, 'I don't know anything. Please, please, just leave me alone'. But they kept slamming their hands down, 'You'd better answer. You are involved in the IRA!'"

DEATH THREAT

One RUC man made a death threat against Michele's English fiancé and she was shocked to discover that they knew personal details

of members of her family, being aware, for example, of her sister Donna's pregnancy. The RUC also knew that she had visited Sinn Féin's Andersonstown advice centre earlier that day.

Finally after five hours' continuous interrogation, during which she was never informed whether she was under arrest but was repeatedly refused access to a toilet, Michele Rea was told she could go.

An incident then occurred clearly indicating that the purpose of the RUC's harassment was simply to cover up the destruction caused during the crown forces' raid on her flat. When Michele was at last allowed to fill in a damage complaint form (the actual purpose of her visit), an RUC sergeant unsuccessfully suggested that to 'make it easier' for herself she should alter the form to blame the damage on 'persons unknown'. Resisting this final attempt at intimidation, Michele insisted that the crown forces were responsible.

The saga continued the next day, Friday, when Michele discovered a Housing Executive official in her flat, which was still lying open and uninhabitable. He insisted that the flat, from its condition, was unoccupied and Michele was obliged to produce a neighbour, Edna Loughran, as witness, and her rent-book, to convince the official that she was entitled to live in the flat.



Attack on Bellaghy band

BY JANE PLUNKETT

YOUNG MUSICIANS taking part in the annual St Patrick's Day band parade in Bellaghy, South Derry, on Saturday, were subjected to continual physical intimidation and abuse by the RUC, who throughout the day mounted a massive sectarian show of strength in the mainly nationalist village.

The RUC's main target was the Brendan Convery Memorial Band, whose members range in age from 8 to 20 years and which has been a frequent target of RUC harassment since it was formed in the new year.

In February, band members were held at the roadside for 2½ hours on their way home from a fund-raising engagement and RUC personnel have threatened senior band members that they intend to 'take the band off the road'.

On Saturday morning, a large force of RUC arrived in Bellaghy, dressed in riot gear and many armed with plastic bullet guns. As the parade marched to St Mary's Chapel, the Brendan Convery Memorial

Band was hemmed in and jostled by the RUC, who kicked several band members on the shins and issued threats against several boys.

The RUC continued this blatant provocation throughout the day and finally succeeded in engineering an incident towards the end of the festivities, around 6pm, when several bystanders intervened on seeing the RUC, yet again, jostle a young bandsman.

In response, the RUC arrested four local men, one of whom, Jim Hassan, was beaten and kicked down the street into an RUC land-rover. All four were detained in the local RUC barracks, where they were maliciously charged with assault and disorderly behaviour.

LOYALIST STONES

ON SUNDAY afternoon, Mary McKee, of Distillery Way in the Roden Street Estate in Belfast, was sitting in the living room of her home, attending to her sick mother, when the front window was shattered by a number of half-bricks, one of which missed her mother's head by inches.

When she ran out to see what was happening, Mrs McKee and some of her neighbours were met by a hail of stones and bottles thrown by a mob of men and youths from the nearby Village and Sandy Row area.

Distillery Way and Riverside Way lie a short distance from parts of the loyalist Sandy Row and Village areas, and are separated from the loyalist areas only by the Westlink motorway.

Last summer, the residents of the Roden Street Estate suffered almost weekly attacks by loyalist mobs stoning the end houses of Distillery and Riverside Way. It seems that these attacks are resuming with the brighter nights.

An RUC mobile patrol parked on the loyalist side of the motorway made no attempt to apprehend any of the stone-throwers as they made their getaway, even though the patrol witnessed the whole incident.



● Sean McKnight and Mrs Mary McKee, with her daughter and a neighbour, following the loyalist attack on her home