

# IRELAND

## INTERNATIONAL NEWS BRIEFING

Published by Sinn Féin Foreign Affairs Bureau,  
51/55 Falls Road, Belfast BT12

Issue No. 6

June 1989

**Sinn Féin**

### EDITORIAL

## A democratic crisis

■ A General Election for June 15th — the same day as the European Community Election — has been called by the minority, 26-County government in Ireland in a bid to gain an overall majority. If the Fianna Fáil government of premier Charles Haughey does succeed in attaining a majority, the people of the 26 Counties will have elected one of the most repressive, anti-people governments in the state's history.

■ Fianna Fáil, which has currently been in power for the past two years, has imposed the toughest regime of cutbacks in Health, Education and Social Welfare ever seen in the state. Its most recent onslaught against the poor came at the end of May when it slashed Social Welfare payments to thousands of single people. In the main, the cuts have been supported by the two main opposition parties, Fine Gael and the Progressive Democrats.

■ The government has failed to address:

■ The crisis in the economy as the EC tries to prevent us working to keep people, profits and power at home.

■ The crisis of a quarter of a

million unemployed in the 26 counties and over a third of a million nationally.

■ The crisis of over 50,000 people emigrating every year.

■ The crisis of poverty with over a million on or below the poverty line.

Fianna Fáil's record on the conflict in the North of Ireland is equally deplorable:

■ In opposition it denounced the Hillsborough Agreement. In power it has committed itself fully to a Treaty which guarantees the continuation of British rule "in perpetuity".

■ In opposition it conned the Irish people into believing that it opposed political extradition. In power it has extradited Irish Republicans to the British to be tried in non-jury courts.

■ In opposition it condemned censorship restrictions on the media in Section 31. In power the restrictions remain and, most recently in view of the EC and General Elections, Charles Haughey announced that Section 31 would remain in place to gag Sinn Féin candidates in both election campaigns.

■ The real crisis in Ireland is a crisis of democracy. It is a crisis of British rule dividing and dominating our country.

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# The Thatcher years

## Statement by Sinn Féin Chairperson

■ Last month marked the tenth anniversary of Margaret Thatcher's British premiership. Sinn Féin National Party Chairperson Sean MacManus described the ten years of Thatcherite control of the North of Ireland as "a period of Irish history which will long be remembered with bitterness and anger".

MacManus, who is standing in the Sligo-Leitrim constituency in the 26-County General Elections, was speaking in Fermanagh at a commemoration to mark the 8th Anniversary of the death of Bobby Sands, who died on May 5th 1981. MacManus said:

"In Britain, Thatcher's ten years in power have been marked by increasing unemployment and poverty. The rich have become richer while the poor have been made to pay for that increased prosperity out of dwindling unemployment and social benefits.

"Civil liberties have also taken a hard knock with many Human Rights organisations publicly criticising the Thatcher government for the most serious and far-reaching erosion of civil liberties in generations.

"However, what has been bad for the working class of Britain has been disastrous for the people of Britain's occupied territories in Ireland.

"Thatcher's period in office has seen a declining economy, increasing unemployment, lower standards of living and growing poverty.

"More importantly however, Thatcher's extreme form of Conservatism and nineteenth-century jingoism has seen the implementation of many of the worst examples of British imperialist policy in Ireland for many generations.

"Her arrogance and obstinacy led to the unnecessary deaths of ten Republican prisoners on hunger-strike, one of whom, Bobby Sands, was elected as MP for this constituency with a much larger vote than Thatcher had in her constituency.

"In the intervening years, plastic bullets have killed more than ever before, shoot-to-kill has stalked the streets of the North and Gibraltar, censorship of political opinions and views deemed dangerous to British interests has been introduced and

the Prevention of Terrorism Act has been revised, made more draconian, and is now a permanent piece of legislation.

"The Hillsborough Agreement, which according to its supporters offered much for the nationalist community and delivered nothing, has been used by Thatcher to justify her government's continuing involvement in Ireland. Reform of the judiciary and a resolution of the problem of harassment have not occurred. While the problem of discrimination in employment has actually worsened in recent years.

"For the people of the North, the Thatcher years have brought increasing misery and pain. Moreover, the failure of Nationalist parties in Ireland to plainly place the issues of Irish unity and sovereignty on the political agenda has assisted Thatcher to maintain British control and block any hope of peace."

## Repressive strategies

■ For nationalists in the North of Ireland, the past decade of the Thatcher era has been marked by a series of political and military offensives whose primary aim has been to crush the desire for national self-determination. To this end, a host of repressive strategies have emerged, each of which has been met head on and overcome by nationalists at a great cost in terms of human suffering. These measures have included:

● An attempt to criminalise the Republican struggle by removing the status of political prisoner. Resistance to British rule was presented to the world as a criminal/terrorist type conspiracy which had no political ideology or popular support. This criminalisation policy was challenged both by the nationalist people and by Republican prisoners and culminated in the historic 1980 and 1981 H-Block hunger-strikes. Ten Irish Republican prisoners died on hunger-strike in an attempt to secure five basic and just demands. The hunger-strike, and consequently British rule in Ireland, was exposed to the international audience.

● A sharp escalation in the indiscriminate use of plastic bullets to terrorise unarmed civilians engaged in popular street protests. To date 54,234 plastic bullets have been fired, killing 16 people, seven of them young children.

● The use of non-corroborative evi-

dence in non-jury Diplock Courts where 'supergrasses', often paid by the British state, were responsible for the imprisonment on remand of over 200 people during the 1980s. The 'supergrass' period meant that people were effectively interned on remand, a system used by the British to imprison political opponents and others.

● The elimination of political opponents through the use of covert state operatives — the SAS and RUC. Additionally, state operatives have assisted loyalist paramilitary terrorists to carry out sectarian assassinations. To date, over 300 mainly unarmed nationalists have been killed in disputed circumstances by the state forces. Almost 700 people, the majority nationalists, have been assassinated by loyalist paramilitaries. Dual membership of loyalist paramilitary organisations and the various state agencies is not uncommon and many nationalists have been killed by these elements.

● The deliberate deployment of large numbers of RUC and British army operatives to saturate and attack defenceless mourners at Republican funerals.

● Increased militarisation of nationalist areas, resulting in thousands of homes, vehicles and private property being systematically searched and often badly damaged.

● The Hillsborough Agreement. Although a professed political initiative, the Agreement has only one purpose, to crush Republican resistance and secure British interests in Ireland.

## Repressive legislation

■ As a means of maintaining British rule in Ireland the British government has employed a whole battery of repressive measures such as the shoot-to-kill policy, plastic bullets, strip-searching, wide powers of search, arrest and detention, as well as the Diplock Courts, paid-perjurers, extradition and internment on remand.

What poses as a system of justice in the North of Ireland is a political strategy orchestrated by the British government and administered by a pro-British/Unionist judiciary. It has become, as British army Brigadier Frank Kitson wrote: "Just another weapon in the government's arsenal and in this case becomes little more than propaganda cover for the disposal of unwanted members of the public."

As well as the wide-ranging powers of arrest, detention and interrogation contained in both the

Emergency Provisions Act and the Prevention of Terrorism Act, the British government has also denied many basic civil and human rights through the use of government orders. Such orders ensured the media censorship of Sinn Féin, genetic fingerprinting of people in RUC custody and the denial of the right to silence.

During the ten years of Thatcher's rule in Britain many aspects of repression have become refined and even made permanent in British legislation.

#### PUBLIC ORDER (N.I.) ORDER, 1988

• This Order increased the RUC's power to control expression of political opinion by speech, writing, public procession or meeting and gave the Secretary of State the power to ban marches or processions.

#### PREVENTION OF TERRORISM BILL, 1988

• This Bill made the previous legislation permanent, was extended to allow the probing and seizure of bank accounts, and allowed the RUC and the British army to detain people in their own homes while carrying out house raids. It also removed the 50% remission for prisoners and now means that prisoners will have to serve two-thirds of their sentence before being released. If a former prisoner is re-arrested, he/she can be sent back to prison to serve the rest of their previous sentence.

#### ELECTED AUTHORITIES (N.I.) BILL, 1988

• Includes an 'anti-violence' declaration for electoral candidates and redefines the rules for disqualification for election of people who have served over three months in prison in the previous five years.

## Unemployment, Poverty and Housing

■ When Margaret Thatcher took office in 1979 she set out to revolutionise how people thought about the responsibilities of the state — unemployment and poverty became the responsibility of the individual.

In the North of Ireland this took on a specific character as the sectarian state absorbed within its extreme conservatism the further restrictions of monetarism. Unemployment followed the traditional pattern of anti-Catholic discrimination.

### UNEMPLOYMENT

Recently, the loss of traditional industries has begun to affect the employment prospects of the Protestant

working class. However, the Catholic population, despite the apparent levelling action of unemployment, are still 2.5 times more likely to be without work. Although the real income of people in work has increased, this obviously affects Protestants in the main.

#### Successive Fair Employment

Agency Reports have highlighted this. In some employment fields, such as the electricity service and the court system, the British government through the Northern Ireland Office has issued a Public Immunity Certificate forbidding the FEA access to employment records.

Unemployment has risen from 60,787 in 1979 to 107,625 in 1989. Changes in population are shown in the table.

How unemployment is calculated has also been changed which has served to disguise the true figures. For example, school leavers are no longer counted in the statistics as they may not claim state support whilst they are eligible to attend the Youth Training Programme. Therefore, youth statistics only apply to those between 18 and 25 years old.

#### HOUSING

Despite the house-building programme, homelessness (approximately 2,500 to 3,000 people are homeless each year) and the poverty associated with it has in fact increased as a result of higher levels of unemployment, high interest rates and the subsequent defaults on mortgage repayments and the encouraged increase in privately-owned property.

The Thatcher policy of selling off public housing stock has removed 389,346 of the best properties from state provision. At the same time, the Northern Ireland Housing Executive has had its budget cut by:

£24 million in 1988-89;

£46 million in 1989-90;

£48 million in 1990-91.

Rent increases, attacking the poorest sections, are expected to recoup £7 million to offset these cuts.

Since April, there are newer and stricter categories for defining those who fall within the term homeless. Changes in the form and distribution of state benefits have also increased the hardship of the most vulnerable.

The loss of Bed and Breakfast payments has halved the money available for temporary accommodation and threatens the number and

quality of hostel and bed and breakfast accommodation. Children do not qualify for Housing Benefit and Income Support is based on age. So 'family' hostels will find it very difficult to remain open and poverty and malnutrition will increase as families attempt to pay 'rent' to keep hostels open.

Population	Men	Women	Youth
<b>1979</b>			
1,528,300	43,002	17,785	not available
<b>1989</b>			
1,578,100	79,349	28,276	31,043
+49,800	+36,343	+10,491	*

Source: Statistics Branch, Department of Economic Development.

## Political initiatives

■ Referring to political initiatives in Ireland, Sinn Féin President Gerry Adams declared recently:

*"Partition perpetuates the British government's denial of the Irish people's right to self-determination. It perpetuates the cycle of oppression/domination/resistance/oppression."*

*"Partition was a British solution designed and implemented, not for the benefit of the Irish people, but to secure British interests in Ireland through direct colonial control over the occupied Six Counties and by indirect economic and political influence — the development of neo-colonialism — in the new Twenty-Six-County state."*

*"Every British political and military initiative to control or stabilise the artificially created states in Ireland must be seen in this context. They have been designed, not to resolve the political conflict, but to control the destabilising effects of imperialist domination."*

British initiatives in the last ten years consist, mainly of the 'Rolling Devolution' scheme, initiated in 1982 under the then British Secretary of State, Jim Prior, and the Hillsborough Agreement signed in November 1985.

Prior's 'Rolling Devolution' was an attempt at getting the unionists and the middle-class Catholics, some of whom are in the unionist Alliance party and most in the SDLP, back into the Stormont Assembly, to which some power would be devolved in stages. However, power-sharing was not on offer and the SDLP, under pressure because of Sinn Féin's successful entry onto the electoral scene, decided to boycott the new Assembly, which eventually petered out in 1985.

Two years before, in 1983, the Dublin government, with Garret FitzGerald as Prime Minister, had launched the New Ireland Forum, a discussion group open to everyone bar republicans, and who reported in 1984 that the three preferred options for the future of Ireland were, in that order: a unitary state, a North-South federation, and joint government by London and Dublin over the North.

Thatcher's famous rebuttal — the three options were "out, out, out!" she said in November 1984 — was followed by a flurry of diplomatic activity in which the British government successfully rehashed its 1983 Sunningdale Agreement under a new guise. The new version was signed by FitzGerald and Thatcher in November 1985 in the County Down village of Hillsborough.

The Hillsborough Agreement, which has now completed its first three years and been the subject of a review by the two governments, is amply covered in this bulletin. It must be said of it that the promised reforms of the administration of justice in the North did not materialise, on the contrary new repressive measures were brought in. However, the military collaboration of Dublin with the British has increased, resulting in increased surveillance around the Border, and a greater willingness by Dublin to extradite Republicans to Six-County non-jury courts. ■

## British Labour Party rejects withdrawal from Ireland

■ The British Labour Party has refused once again to endorse a policy on a British withdrawal from Ireland within the life-time of a Labour government. At its recent two-day policy review, the National Executive Committee (NEC) defeated attempts by MPs Clare Short, Ken Livingstone and Tony Benn to add amendments to the policy review document on Ireland which sought to end their policy of 'unity by consent'.

Instead, the NEC endorsed the policy document drawn up by their spokesperson on Ireland Kevin MacNamara in Autumn 1988. The policy document, *Towards a United Ireland*, which is still to be endorsed by the party conference in October, argues that a United Ireland can only be achieved by consent and by "peaceful and democratic methods". It argues for a dual strategy of internal reform and closer co-operation with the Dublin government. It also puts forward the analysis that "paramilitary violence" has been the root cause of the war in Ireland and that the Labour Party would use all "legal means necessary... [to] defeat terrorism" but argues that, in striving to eliminate this 'violence', human rights should not be suspended indefinitely.

On human rights issues, the document states that the Labour Party would repeal the Prevention of Terrorism Act, amend and eventually scrap the Emergency Provisions Act and introduce three-judge Diplock Courts. (Under present legislation, only one judge sits in the special, non-jury Diplock Courts).

The Labour Party document refuses to recognise Britain's imperialist role in Ireland and to set a time-table for a British withdrawal. Instead, it advocates an extension of the scope of the Hillsborough Agreement and supports the idea of a devolved government in the North of Ireland as a step towards building the consent necessary to achieve a United Ireland. These proposals are somewhat ironic in the light of previous statements made by Labour's Roy Mason in 1977 while the Labour Party were still in power that "the myth of British withdrawal is dead forever" and "administrative devolution is also a dead letter". As well as its flawed analysis, the Labour Party's concern about human rights rings hollow when viewed against the record of past Labour governments in Ireland:

● 1969: Sent British troops to the Six Counties.

● 1974: Rushed the Prevention of Terrorism Act through all its passages in the British House of Commons.

## Local government Election results

The state of the parties following last month's local Government Elections for the North of Ireland's 26 District Councils:

Council	Seats	UUP	DUP	SDLP	SF	ALL	IU	IN	Ind	Others
Belfast	51	14	8	8	8	6	6	—	—	1
Derry	30	3	4	15	5	—	3	—	—	—
Newry/Mourne	30	6	—	17	4	—	1	2	—	—
Lisburn	28	15	5	3	2	2	—	—	—	—
Craigavon	26	12	4	6	1	2	—	—	—	1
Newtownabbey	25	11	6	1	—	4	2	—	—	1
North Down	24	5	4	—	—	4	—	—	—	1
Fermanagh	23	10	2	5	4	—	3	—	2	6
Ballymena	23	7	12	1	—	1	1	—	—	—
Down	23	8	2	12	—	1	—	—	—	—
Dungannon	22	8	3	5	3	—	—	—	—	—
Armagh	22	11	2	8	1	—	—	2	—	1
Castlereagh	21	6	9	—	—	4	2	—	—	—
Coleraine	21	10	5	2	—	2	1	—	—	—
Omagh	21	5	3	6	6	—	—	—	1	—
Ards	20	8	7	—	—	4	—	1	—	—
Antrim	19	10	4	4	—	1	—	—	1	—
Ballymoney	16	6	6	3	—	—	—	—	—	—
Cookstown	16	3	5	5	2	—	—	—	1	—
Banbridge	15	9	2	3	—	—	1	—	—	—
Moyle	15	2	3	4	—	—	—	1	—	—
Carrickfergus	15	4	3	—	—	—	2	2	1	—
Larne	15	7	4	—	—	2	4	—	—	—
Limavady	15	7	1	6	1	—	—	1	—	—
Magherafelt	15	4	3	4	3	—	—	—	—	—
Strabane	15	3	3	3	2	—	—	1	—	—
Total	566	194	110	121	43	38	27	14	7	12

Abbreviations: UUP — Ulster Unionist Party; DUP — Democratic Unionist Party; SDLP — Social Democratic Labour Party; SF — Sinn Féin; ALL — Alliance; IU — Independent Unionist; IN — Independent Nationalist; Ind — Independent.

Laid the basis for, and later administered, the 'Ulsterisation, Normalisation, Criminalisation' policy.

Replaced internment with judicial internment.

● 1976. Sanctioned a system of torture and brutality in specially-built interrogation centres as a crucial component of judicial internment.

Ended special category status for the Republican prisoners which led to the 'blanket protest' and the hunger-strikes in 1980-81, in which ten men died, and advocated the building of the infamous H-Blocks of Long Kesh.

Publicly announced the deployment of the SAS in South Armagh. (They had been secretly operating in the Six Counties since 1969).

● 1977. Sanctioned shoot-to-kill operations by the SAS. (Ten people were summarily executed in such operations between December 1977 and November 1978).

● 1979. Promised loyalists extra parliamentary seats in a bid to defeat a vote of no confidence in the Labour government as a result of their record of torture and brutality in the Six Counties. They subsequently lost the vote and fell from power in March 1979.

## Hillsborough Review published

■ Both the British and Dublin governments have cemented their commitment to the Hillsborough Agreement in the Review of its workings made public on May 24th. The Review, which was published after the meeting of Ministers at Stormont Castle in Belfast, again raised the issues of winning support from the Nationalist community for the Crown Forces and the possibility of a devolved government in the North of Ireland. The possibility of involving Unionists in the process was included in a final paragraph which leaves open the possibility of changing "the scope and nature of the working of the conference".

Several changes were also proposed in the way in which the Agreement has worked to date. These include more information for the public, more meetings and a wider input from other Dublin and Stormont Ministers.

Sinn Féin spokesperson Danny Morrison commenting on the review said: "It will do nothing to improve nationalist confidence in the ability of the Agreement to improve their social and economic conditions.

*Three-and-a-half years ago the London and Dublin governments made a host of exaggerated claims about the Agreement. These included the claim that 'equality for all citizens is now a reality'. This lie was exposed a few weeks ago in a report from the North's Department of Finance and Personnel which revealed that discrimination in employment against Catholics has in fact increased in recent years... Over three years later, Hillsborough has delivered none of the promised reforms of the legal and judicial apparatus of the state. Instead it has delivered increased harassment, a continuation of shoot-to-kill and massive house raids.*

*"Hillsborough is a failure. It ignores the root causes of the conflict: the British presence, the artificial division of our country and the denial of our right to independence and sovereignty. In fact, Hillsborough, which is a British inspired political device, adds significantly to the conflict by bolstering partition."*

## No relaxation in 26-County censorship restrictions

■ Censorship restrictions on the media interviewing of Sinn Féin spokespersons were temporarily suspended in the North of Ireland for the duration of the local government elections which took place on May 17th. However, in the 26 counties, the government has confirmed that it has no plans to relax Section 31 of the broadcasting act during the forthcoming European elections. The Act bars Sinn Féin representatives from presenting their political analyses. This means that the party, which is fielding eight EC candidates in the 26 Counties, will not have the opportunity of presenting its policy of opposition to Ireland's EC membership.

Ann Speed, the party's Euro-candidate in Dublin, has written to the European Parliament Office requesting an investigation into the conduct of the European elections on the grounds that Section 31 is in breach of Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Meanwhile, a recent programme made by RTE, the state broadcasting company, has been applauded for breaching South Africa's censorship restrictions. This poses the question as to why RTE cannot similarly challenge state censorship in Ireland.

## Fr Ryan to contest EC election

■ Irishman Paul Anthony Kane was both verbally and physically assaulted by the RUC within an hour of being extradited from the 26 Counties to British 'justice'.

The RUC's action typifies the kind of 'impartial' policing which nationalists experience on a daily basis under British rule in the North of Ireland. Kane's case against being extradited to a system of justice which has proven itself totally corrupt and geared to repress nationalists was the focus of considerable public and political controversy in the 26 counties.

Within hours of this extradition, a number of influential Fianna Fáil members resigned in protest.

His extradition also prompted Irish priest Fr Patrick Ryan to announce his intention to run as a Euro-candidate on an anti-extradition ticket. Fr Ryan will be standing in the Munster constituency where three intended Sinn Féin Euro-candidates withdrew in support of his candidature.

Fr Ryan was the centre of a political storm between the British and 26-County governments when the Irish Attorney General ruled out his extradition and asked the British to allow charges to be brought under the Criminal Law Jurisdiction Act. Previously, the Belgian authorities had turned down a British government application to have Fr Ryan extradited. Since then, he has stated that any attempt to extradite him to the British will be met by his determination to go on hunger-strike. He believes that Irish people cannot get a fair trial if prosecuted either in a British court or under the Criminal Law Jurisdiction Act.

## International Fund for Ireland reshuffled

■ It was revealed at the beginning of May that US contributions to the International Fund for Ireland (IFI) for the coming year will be 20 million dollars, or 60 million dollars for the next three years. This is the first of several steps in the enactment of the US Foreign Aid Bill by the two Houses of Congress. It was also revealed that the Chairperson of the Fund, Charles Brett, will not have his appointment renewed and that the accountancy firm Coopers and Lybrand are to be replaced as Fund auditors by the Price Waterhouse firm.

These latest moves came after a

special hearing of the Sub-Committee on Europe and the Middle East. The hearing was arranged in Washington at the end of April as a result of pressure from Irish-American groups regarding widespread reports of abuses of the Fund. The IFI was set up in 1986 as a result of the Hillsborough Agreement to "promote the economic and social development of those parts of Ireland which have suffered most severely from the consequences of the instability of recent years". The Fund came under severe criticism after it was revealed that deprived areas like North and West Belfast received less than 6% of the budget while the bulk of the money went to a variety of projects, like funding for hotels, tourist amenities, golf courses and a 1.9 million-dollar gift of a fishing vessel to the British government.

The special Sub-Committee meeting heard evidence from five witnesses who were deeply divided between those who fully supported the Fund and requested more US contributions to it and those, like the Irish American Unity Conference (IAUC), who wanted funding frozen until a comprehensive audit of the Fund's operation was carried out and until those areas most in need are given due priority.

In his evidence, Dr Gerry Coleman of the IAUC detailed the manner in which the seven IFI programmes discriminate against nationalists. He also attacked the bureaucratic influence the British government has upon the IFI and said: "It is from this structure that all of the associated abuses of the Fund derive." He criticised the fact that Charles Brett had declared all of the Six Counties a "disadvantaged area" thus putting all grant applications on an equal footing.

Congressmen Brian Donnelly and Tom Foley both urged continuing US support for the Fund. Donnelly asked for 50 million dollars unconditional contribution per year for the next three years. He agreed that there were some legitimate concerns about the way in which the IFI was distributed but that they had learned from past mistakes and these would be redressed. Tom Foley stated that he unconditionally supported the Fund and urged continued US support for the Anglo-Irish Agreement which he believed was the "only hope for peace and reconciliation in the North of Ireland". He launched a virulent attack on Dr Coleman accusing him of being a representative of the IRA and equated any criticism of the Fund with support for the IRA.

The findings of a US Government Accounting Office (GAO) report were also revealed at the hearings. The report was critical of the Agency for International Development's (AID) ability to "determine how the US contribution and the activities of the Fund contribute to the stated goals". It also criticised the Fund's own audit process which it said "did not address whether the Fund's activities complied with the donors' wishes". The GAO report also stated that AID had "not been able to measure the Fund's impact on social conditions" and recommended that Aid "exercise greater fiscal control over money distributed to the Fund".

The Sub-Committee's recommendation of 20 million dollars contribution looks likely to be passed into law unless the Senate votes for an even larger contribution.

## EC restrictions curb Irish sugar production

■ Restrictive EC quota regulations have recently cost Siuicre Eireann (Irish Sugar) a £12 million contract from India and jeopardised up to 400 badly needed jobs. In the long term, the Indian contract would have created jobs not only in the sugar industry but for farmers producing sugar beet.

Brussels allows the semi-state sugar company to produce a quota of no more than 200,000 tonnes per year — the Indian contract for 60,000 tonnes would have meant that the company went over its quota as the bulk of its produce this year is already committed to the Irish and British market. The Indian contract, which had the potential of being a regular order, went to Thailand and South America.

## Fair Employment Agency finds against universities

■ The Fair Employment Agency, a British government watchdog, in a leaked draft copy of its most recent report, has highlighted and confirmed the long-held belief amongst Catholic that anti-Catholic discrimination is endemic at the University of Ulster and at Queen's University, Belfast, two of the biggest employers in the North.

The documents, described as "embarrassing", are, in the words of one academic, "certain to spark quite a row and not only in the academic field". Catholics are outnum-

bered four to one at the University of Ulster and three to one at Queen's. On the academic staff at Queen's, whose statute outlaws discrimination, Catholics are under-represented by a startling five to one. They are also greatly outnumbered in the higher-paid posts of £20,000 and over, and tend to be over-represented in the lower £3,000 to £6,000 wage bracket. Gearóid O Muilleoir, Deputy President of the Students' Union at the University, commented: "We believe it is only through the adoption of an affirmative action programme, such as the MacBride Principles, that fair employment can be assured."

University	Total	%Protestant	%Catholic	Ratio
Ulster	2,402	64	16	4:1
Queen's	3,111	60	17	3:1

Academic	%Protestant	%Catholic	Ratio
Ulster	43.3	14.3	3:1
Queen's	43.	09.	5:1

Ancillary/ Clerical	Ratio
Ulster	4:1 to 8:1
Queen's	4:1 to 8:1

It is curious that the British government places so much emphasis on integrated education at the level of the school, blaming the separated schools system for contributing to the problems in the North of Ireland, yet, at this higher level, the state education service has been found guilty of anti-Catholic discrimination. Furthermore, West Belfast still does not have its own Further and Continuing Education College, despite the well-documented demand for such a facility. Such provision, it is claimed, would be sectarian in character as it would be almost exclusively attended by the local Catholic community.

Fergus O'Hare, Chairperson of the West Belfast employment group Obair, said "It is most disturbing that both universities received substantial funding from the International Fund for Ireland, while deprived areas in the North such as West Belfast have been starved of funds both by the British government and the International fund."

## Fair Employment bill passed in Commons

■ The British government's new Fair Employment Bill for the North of Ireland passed through its third and final reading in the House of Commons recently after 18 committee meetings and nearly 80 amendments. It will not go to the House of Lords where it is expected to be ratified. The bill is the culmination of the British government's five-year

campaign to get the issue of discrimination off the political agenda in the same way as the 1976 Act succeeded had for a time.

Commenting on the passage of the Bill, Sinn Féin spokesperson on the Economy and Fair Employment, Mitchel McLaughlin said:

"It has taken 20 years to bring us to this stage. During that time, there has been no significant positive change in the imbalances in the workforce caused by political/sectarian discrimination against nationalists/Catholics. The unemployment situation for nationalists/Catholics has got worse. While the new Bill contains a number of measures which are to be welcomed, it is, nevertheless, seriously flawed in both the range of affirmative action measures permissible as well as the all-important enforcement measures, such as comprehensive control and a compliance scheme. Moreover, there is an indication that the British government does not have the political will to effect real change.

"The only criteria by which the new Bill can be judged is the effect of its implementation. What effect will the new legislation have? How long will it take for that effect to manifest itself? The British have been noticeably coy in answering these questions. Answers must be demanded by everyone. Failure to do so will see this entire issue relegated to the back-burner for another decade".

## Diplomatic tension mounts over Gibraltar

Spanish police officers, who were forbidden to give evidence at the Gibraltar inquest hearing last September, and the Madrid government, which forbade them to testify, are now threatening that if Britain continues to lie the issue could damage diplomatic relations.

A major article in the London Independent newspaper on May 23rd quotes senior Spanish police sources who say that:

"The white Renault was driven into Gibraltar a day before the shooting. We told the British we were 90% certain that the car contained no bomb."

The British had almost a full day in which to check the suspect car. This statement also exposes as lies the statement of British Foreign Secretary Geoffrey Howe who, 24 hours after the executions of Dan McCann, Mairead Farrell and Sean Savage, told the House of Commons

that the Renault was driven into the colony on the Sunday.

The Spanish also say they told the British that the three were unarmed and that they were tracked to the border. The operation was then handed over to the British. The sources also fiercely dispute the British version that the three were discovered by chance on the Rock on Sunday — the day they were gunned down by the SAS.

Adding to the mountain of evidence that the British witnesses consistently perjured themselves, comes a statement from Tomas Rayo Valenzuela, the Spanish police Special Branch officer who was one of the leading members of the surveillance team. He gave a sworn statement to the Malaga judge in 1988 for use at the inquest — this was never heard. Instead, a statement from Manolo Correa of the Gibraltar police, which, it was claimed, was an account of an interview between Correa and Rayo, was submitted.

The Rayo statement clearly affirmed Spanish surveillance of the three up to the border and full collaboration with the British authorities. It would have devastated the British case but it "vanished" just at the point in the inquiry when Britain's story looked at its shakiest.

After the execution, the British Ambassador to Madrid, Nicholas Gordon-Lennox, made an arrangement with the authorities and the Spanish police to remain silent. However, at the inquest British officials came under unexpected pressure and blamed the Spanish police for failing to keep up the surveillance operation.

This has infuriated the Spanish police to an extent that now the Madrid government has been forced to come into the open to state that unless this dispute between the two police forces is resolved it could damage diplomatic relations.

In response to the revelations, British Labour Party spokesperson Kevin McNamara reiterated his party's call for an inquiry into the Gibraltar killings. Meanwhile in Belfast, the families of Mairead Farrell, Daniel McCann and Sean Savage welcomed comments by the Dublin government which said that it had not ruled out the option of taking Britain to the European Court of Human Rights about the matter. In their statement, the families welcomed the comments of Sean Calleary, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, saying:

"The Dublin government has a responsibility to us and to all Irish peo-

ple to defend the rights of Irish citizens. Consequently, it is a matter of urgency that the government should pursue the search for the truth in relation to the Gibraltar killings and take the necessary legal action in the European courts. Five leading Civil Liberties organisations share our view that a further investigation is warranted."

## British judges uphold censorship laws

The British judicial system gave its stamp of approval to the undemocratic censorship restrictions on media coverage of the conflict in Ireland when they rejected a High Court challenge to the ban by National Union of Journalists (NUJ) members.

Mounting evidence that journalists are now wary about covering the conflict and are imposing self-censorship was ignored by the three judges. Instead, they delivered an absurd ruling, declaring that the restrictions did not prevent either the BBC or ITV broadcasting companies from "discharging their duty to report current events in the North with impartiality".

Jacob Essclestone, Deputy General of the NUJ, said that the decision was "disappointing but not surprising". The next step for the NUJ is to appeal the decision to the House of Lords where a similar outcome is almost certain. If this occurs, all domestic judicial avenues will have been exhausted, leaving the path open for the NUJ to pursue the case in the European Court.

## New book on right of the accused

The Right of Silence: The Case for Retention was written by two British lawyers in response to British direct-ruler Tom King's announcement in October 1988 of severe restrictions on an accused person's right to remain silent. From that moment on, remaining silent in the face of police interrogation could infer guilt. At the time, there was considerable unease that the announcement coincided with the trial of the Winchester Three, who had opted to avail themselves of this right and who were subsequently convicted of conspiring to kill Mr King.

The authors of this new book, James Wood and Adam Crawford, have written mainly for a British audience, warning them of what lies ahead if they fail to defend this his-

toric right in their own country. They outline the way in which the right to remain silent became enshrined in British law and the long path to its abolition since the present phase of resistance to British rule in Ireland reached its high point in the early 1970s.

*The Right of Silence: The Case for Retention*, by James Wood and Adam Crawford, is published by The Civil Liberties Trust. Price £2.95.

## Culture

### ● US TRIP FOR IRISH-LANGUAGE ENTHUSIASTS

Senior politicians in the United States have pledged to take up the issue of linguistic rights in the North of Ireland following a five-week tour by representatives of the Irish-language movement in Belfast.

The trip was sponsored by Naíonra na Fúiseoige, the Irish-medium nursery school in the Twinbrook area of West Belfast, and was supported by all the major language bodies in the city, including Conradh na Gaeilge, Glór na nGael and the Council for Irish Language Education. The primary purpose of the trip was to raise the issue of discrimination against the Irish language and to obtain funding for the current revival.

In all, about 20 public meetings were held in some 10 States in the US and in Canada as well as a further 40 to 50 meetings with politicians and with all the major Irish-American groups. As a result of the trip, a foundation is to be established in the US to which Irish-language schools throughout Ireland can apply for funding.

● For further information contact: Feilim O hAdhmaill, c/o Council for Irish language Education, 211A Falls Road, Belfast BT 12.

### ● CENSUS QUESTION ON IRISH FOR SIX COUNTIES

A trial census will be carried out in selected areas of the North of Ireland on June 4th in preparation for the next major census of population in 1991. Unlike a similar project to be carried out in Britain, the census will, for the first time, include a question about the respondent's ability to speak the Irish language.

Irish speakers in the North will welcome this as it will provide the first concrete opportunity to measure the extent to which Irish is spoken and undoubtedly will lead to renewed calls for the language to be afforded the official status which it has been denied to date.

Organisations representing the Irish community in Britain have complained that they are not among the group of recognised ethnic minorities who will have a question specifically addressed to them in the forthcoming census in order to evaluate their number and their specific needs.

### ● PRISONERS' ART AND POETRY ON SHOW

Gerard Tuite, who made a dramatic escape from prison in England in 1979 and who was subsequently jailed in the 26 Counties under the Criminal Law Jurisdiction Act, is one of 12 Republican POWs who took part in an exhibition of prisoners' art in the National College of Art and Design in Dublin from May 15th to 26th.

The exhibition is the result of a course which has been run by the College since 1987 in Portlaoise Prison, which is situated 53 miles southwest of Dublin and houses the bulk of male Republican prisoners in the 26 Counties.

Meanwhile in the Six counties, *Words from a Cell*, the first book of poetry from the pen of H-Block escapee Gerry Kelly, who with fellow escapee Brendan McFarlane was extradited from Holland in 1987, has just been published by Sinn Féin.

The book consists of 50 poems, notes on the author's life, a short introduction by well-known human rights activist Fr Des Wilson and the text of Gerry's address to the court in Holland during his extradition hearing, in which he outlines the evolution of his political position and of the struggle for freedom in Ireland.

● *Words from a Cell*, by Gerry Kelly, is published by Sinn Féin Publicity Department. Price £1.25.

### ● FUNDING FOR ENGLISH-MEDIUM EDUCATION ONLY

Irish-medium schools were once again passed over in the allocation of funds for education, when Stormont Education Minister Brian Mawhinney announced a £2.9 million programme as part of the 'Make Belfast Work' initiative.

The £2.9 million package includes the establishment of three English-medium nursery schools in West Belfast, including one in the Twinbrook area of the city. However, the existing Irish-medium nursery in Twinbrook, Naíonra na Fúiseoige, is to receive no aid from the package towards the £70,000 needed to complete their building programme, on which they have spent £30,000 to

date. Spokesperson for the school, Máire Ní Fhloin said: "Naíonra na Fúiseoige meets the same criteria as schemes which are being funded in other areas. It is clear that we are not being allocated any money because the language of the school is Irish."

## SDLP funded from same source as Contras

■ The same US organisation which has financed the SDLP since 1985 is now planning to support organisations opposed to the Sandinista government to the tune of 2 million dollars. The money which was voted by Congress last year was a move on the part of the new Bush administration to drop Ronald Reagan's military support for the Contras in favour of a more political approach.

This organisation, the National Endowment for Democracy (NED), was set up by the Reagan administration in 1983 with the ostensible aim of promoting 'democracy' abroad and undermining left-wing movements — in reality it is to simply defend and promote US interests. The NED funds political parties, trade unions and media organisations throughout the world by channelling US taxpayers' money via three organisations: the National Democratic Institute (NDI); the National Republican Institute, both with links to US political parties; and the Free Trade Union Institute, which is linked to the AFL-CIO.

The NDI has been allocated 250,000 dollars by the NED to assist anti-Sandinista political parties to prepare for the elections in Nicaragua later this year. The rest of the 2 million dollars will be distributed to 'independent' trade unions, business groups and human rights groups and may also be used to register voters and train party workers in election techniques. NED director Sally Shelton Colby claimed that: "There is a lot of Soviet and Cuban money coming into the Sandinistas. This is an attempt to balance that money by helping the democratic forces."

The SDLP receives its funding from the United States Information Agency (USIA) via the NDI. The USIA has carried out, in collaboration with the CIA, numerous campaigns in support of US intervention in Third World countries, including schemes to destabilise and overthrow governments which are perceived to be hostile to US interests. Among these campaigns have been the bloody

Operation Phoenix "pacification" programme in Vietnam in which thousands were killed and more recently the US-backed Contra war in Nicaragua which so far has claimed an estimated 25,000 lives. The USIA is also known to provide a cover for CIA personnel working overseas.

The SDLP has received aid worth 200,000 dollars from the NDI, around 85% of which comes directly from the NED. This money has been spent on promoting recruitment of members, training party members in electioneering, carrying out policy research and improving communication within the party. The funds are channelled into an SDLP linked group, the Social Democratic Group, which in 1988 was chaired by MP Eddie McGrady. During that year, he claimed that the level of NDI funding they received was only 10,000 dollars and that this money was not linked with NED.

These links with NED have proved in the past to be embarrassing to the SDLP and continue to be so with the latest announcement of funding for the anti-Sandinista organisations in Nicaragua. The NED's rhetoric about promoting democracy is a stark contrast to its interference in the internal affairs of several countries, particularly Nicaragua, and its apparent role as an organ of US foreign policy which supports some of the world's most repressive and least democratic regimes.

## Shorts Missiles — The South African Connection

■ Three prominent members of the loyalist Ulster Resistance Movement, including a serving and former member of the British crown forces, were arrested in Paris on April 21st whilst attempting to exchange missile secrets for sophisticated weaponry.

The three are: Noel Little, a former member of the local British regiment, the Ulster Defence Regiment; Samuel Quinn, a sergeant major and weapons trainer serving with the Territorial Army, a reserve British regiment; and James King, a prominent loyalist linked to the Orange Order. Two others, an American arms dealer, Douglas Bernard, and a South African diplomat, Daniel Storm, were also arrested though Storm later claimed diplomatic immunity and was released.

The five were caught in possession of a scale model of a Blowpipe missile, manufactured at Short Brothers factory in Belfast, which

had been stolen from a Territorial Army centre in County Down on the night of the 11th/12th April. It is widely believed that in fact South Africa was interested in the Starstreak missile currently being developed at Short Brothers. This missile, which has attracted a £225-million supply contract from the British Ministry of Defence, is part of the British remit in the US Strategic Defence Initiative (Star Wars). It is the success of the missile section of Short Brothers which the British prime minister hopes to use to entice prospective buyers into her privatisation plans for the company. It is estimated that Starstreak will bring £1.5 billion in orders from the US.

Since the United Nations Security Council imposed an embargo on weapons sales to South Africa in 1977, Armscor, the Pretoria weapons firm has to "maintain South Africa's defensive capabilities" in the words of Foreign Minister Pik Botha and "is required to consider offers of weapon technology" — weapons which would support its drive to control the frontline states.

### ULSTER RESISTANCE MOVEMENT

The Ulster Resistance Movement was formed by the Democratic Unionist Party (DUP) in 1986 to oppose the Hillsborough Treaty and to prepare for a doomsday situation. That is, it was meant to train and arm loyalists to resist any encroachment on their sectarian privilege or their political veto. DUP leader and British MP Ian Paisley and his deputy Peter Robinson MP openly gave it support. Robinson wore the maroon beret of the organisation at a rally and Paisley declared that he would like to see the Hillsborough Agreement brought down by democratic means, "but wouldn't we be fools if we weren't prepared?"

However, following the seizure of Ulster Resistance berets, the aiming device of a Javelin missile and assorted weapons in Armagh last November, the DUP claimed to have broken ties with the organisation. This action may have created difficulties for the leadership amongst their supporters. On the one hand, they are publicly linked with a paramilitary force but, on the other, they have yet again publically deserted the military support which they themselves have initiated. The attempt made by Paisley to visit the three loyalists in France just before the local elections may have been his attempt to minimise the effects of the DUP action.

It is thought that Ulster

Resistance has channels into Short Brothers through the People's Loyalist Council which intimidated Catholic workers in Shorts in the aftermath of the Hillsborough Agreement. Security at the factory was considered to have been tightened by the indiscriminate use of Fair Employment legislation's Section 42 exclusion certificates against job applications from outside East Belfast. This section allows an employer to refuse employment to someone considered to be a security risk and has been enacted against Catholics in the past. The 'Loyalist Club' recruitment approach based on the belief that Catholics are automatically suspect in the area of weapons manufacture appears to have decreased rather than increased security since it rested on the belief that there was less danger of industrial theft from loyalists.

### LOYALIST MURDER GANGS

There has been a series of thefts from Shorts over the past two years — on two occasions the Starstreak itself narrowly missed being taken. At the same time, the increasing sophistication in weapons available to loyalist groups has increased suspicion that South Africa has been exchanging weapons for information on missile development at Shorts. The British daily newspaper, *The Independent*, claims that loyalists paid £150,000 acquired in a bank raid in Portadown, for a major South African arms shipment delivered in January 1988 — a delivery which has been shared out between the Ulster Defence Association, the Ulster Volunteer Force and Ulster Resistance (of these, only the UVF is banned).

Since Christmas, 11 Catholics have been killed as a result of the increased loyalist capability, including attacks on individuals, on a city centre bar and an RPG rocket attack in May on the Sinn Féin Advice Centre in the Ardoyne area Of Belfast. Yet the Catholic church, through Bishop Cathal Daly, continues to blame the IRA for the sectarian assassinations perpetrated by loyalist murder gangs. His claim is supported by former Dublin Foreign Minister Peter Barry, architect of the Hillsborough Agreement who said that murders by loyalist gangs would all end if the IRA called a ceasefire. They did not highlight, however, the well-documented links between the British crown forces and loyalist murder gangs. The Dublin government, while calling for a full report and writing a strongly-worded letter to the South African Ambassador in

London, refused again to identify the biggest importer of arms and armed men into Ireland — the British government itself.

Despite Margaret Thatcher's condemnation of terrorism and violence, her closest ally in Africa is the universally-condemned Pretoria regime which seeks weapons where it can. Loyalty with all its sectarianism and discrimination, so akin to apartheid racism, is the political creation of the British government in its brutal enforcement of its will in Ireland.

### **SOUTH AFRICA'S 'ABSURD LIE'**

Sinn Féin spokesperson Martin McGuinness has dismissed as "a patently absurd lie" the claim by the South African Defence Minister that his country was not involved in the arms deal with Ulster Resistance.

McGuinness said:

*"The comments of the South African Defence Minister are a crude attempt to distance that government from the sale of weapons to Ulster Resistance."*

*"If the Diplomat, Daniel Storm, was acting alone and not on behalf of his government, can we now expect him to be publicly tried for gun-running? I doubt that very much."*

*"It is clear that South Africa has been involved in the sale of weapons to loyalists and that many of those weapons have and are being used in a sectarian campaign of assassination against Catholics."*

## **King visits US to lobby against MacBride Principles**

■ In a desperate bid to defeat the passage of the MacBride Principles through US State legislation, Northern Secretary Tom King went on a six-day visit to America at the beginning of May. This was his third visit to the US to attack the MacBride Principles and to attempt to promote the British government's proposed Fair Employment legislation.

During his visit, he travelled to Washington, Montreal, Los Angeles and New York, where he met mainly with politicians and journalists. During a meeting in Los Angeles, he claimed that the Principles threatened to take jobs away from the North of Ireland and that steady progress was already being made in the area of unemployment. He said that he firmly believed that the Fair Employment Bill, which is at the moment being debated in the House of Commons, "will help us make sub-

*stantial and lasting progress towards the removal of unfairness and injustice".*

## **Escalation of MacBride Fair Employment campaign**

■ All three Democrats seeking to occupy Harrison Golden's office as Comptroller of the City of New York, which Golden is giving up in a bid to become the City's next Mayor, called for contract compliance legislation tied to the MacBride Principles, at the American-Irish Political Forum in the city.

The three, Assemblyman Alan Hevasi, Frank Macchiarola, former Board of Education Chancellor, and Assemblyman Jerrold Nadler have said that, if elected, the strengthening of the New York City MacBride legislation will be a priority. They also called for the denying of City contracts to US firms with operations in the North of Ireland which do not comply with the MacBride Principles.

New York City purchases more in one week than most countries purchase in a year. The impact of contract compliance upon US firms who refuse to adhere to Fair Employment practices in the North would be significant.

Activity around the MacBride Principles campaign is set to intensify throughout the US generally and, in cities and states that already have MacBride laws, will focus on the level of penalty for non-compliance.

## **California set to endorse MacBride Principles**

■ In a significant defeat for the British government and a humiliating personal rebuttal for Northern Secretary Tom King, a California State Assembly select committee approved the MacBride Principles in the first step to have the Principles incorporated into state law.

The select committee hearing reversed its decision of two years ago and will submit the Bill to the full Assembly. The committee heard representations in favour of the Principles from Pat Doherty, assistant to the New York City comptroller, Oliver Kearney of the Fair Employment Trust and the Bill's sponsor, Assemblyman John Burton. Representing the British point of view were: Donald Carlton Byrnes; Frank Graham, managing di-

rector of a computer software firm in the North of Ireland; Desmond McCrea a member of the Fair Employment Trust; and Sean Neeson a member of the Alliance Party.

The representations of these individuals on behalf of the British government once again indicates the importance of this legislation and the reason why the British are spending 15 million dollars per year to defeat its passage in the US. Thus the California State Assembly's decision is a major blow for the British since it is considered to be a key state and has several billion dollars of pension funds at its disposal.

Tom King visited California two weeks before the debate on "an unannounced trip" to lobby against the Principles. His efforts have proved futile and even the British have had to concede that California will, in all probability, adopt the Principles within the next six months.

The Principles are now law in 12 states with legislation pending in 28 others.

## **The MacBride Principles**

■ Increasing the representation of individuals from under-represented religious groups in the work-force including managerial, supervisory, administrative, clerical and technical jobs.

■ Adequate security for the protection of minority employees both at the workplace and while travelling to and from work.

■ The banning of provocative religious or political emblems from the workplace.

■ All job openings should be publicly advertised and special recruitment efforts should be made to attract applicants from under-represented religious groups.

■ Lay-offs, recalls, and termination procedures should not, in practice, favour particular religious groups.

■ The abolition of job reservation, apprenticeship restrictions, and differential employment criteria, which discriminate on the basis of religious or ethnic origin.

■ The development of training programmes that will prepare substantial numbers of current minority employees for skilled jobs, including the expansion of existing programmes to train, upgrade, and improve the skills of minority employees.

■ The establishment of procedures to assess, identify, and actively recruit minority employees with potential for further advancement.

■ Appointment of a senior-management staff member to oversee the company's affirmative action efforts and the setting-up of a timetable to carry out affirmative action principles.

—December 21st 1984.

## Crown Forces in Crisis

IRA operations and a drop in recruiting figures have stretched the British army so much that it has been sending front-line units into action against the IRA while dangerously under strength. Military personnel have been poached from Britain and West Germany and category 'C' recruits, who would normally have been classified as 'potentially high-risk failures' have also been used.

IRA actions in Tyrone, last year, resulted in the Gloucestershire Regiment using its headquarters company to re-inforce crown forces in this field. This measure failed to give rifle companies even three-quarters of their normal complement of 120 each. Other regiments were so short of trained personnel that they had to place sergeants in officer positions. To hold down the IRA in Belfast last year, the elite Cold Stream Guards had to use reserve troops, its drum corps and personnel from other regiments.

## IRA military operations

IRA actions in the past month have continued to squeeze the Crown Forces. This has resulted in 2 crown force fatalities and at least 23 injured including a Long Kesh prison officer with a long career in the British army of occupation. A member of a loyalist murder gang, which has been terrorising Nationalists in North Belfast, was also killed.

In the tenth year of British prime minister Margaret Thatcher's war cabinet, the IRA launched gun, grenade, bomb, mortar and RPG rocket attacks on crown force patrols, barracks and spy-posts in Belfast, South Armagh, Tyrone and Derry.

In the aftermath of one such bomb-attack in West Belfast, which injured three members of a crown force patrol, a civilian was severely assaulted, threatened with summary execution and had his jaw broken by the British occupation forces. They also threatened to kill other civilians at the scene and finally vented their rage by shooting dead the pet dog of a local woman. This incident has prompted the animal welfare organisation, the Ulster Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, to consider legal action against the Anglian Regiment.

In a four-day offensive coinciding with Thatcher's tenth year in office and censored by the media, the IRA out-maneuvred the advanced security technology of the border spy-posts to explode tons of explosives and engage in gun-attacks which left one fatality and at least 13 injured. In the latter half of the month, the IRA attacked the spy-posts again.

Sinn Féin Euro-candidate in Connacht/Ulster, in referring to the death of a British army corporal, stated:

*"Repeated British opinion polls have shown that more than 50% of the people want their troops withdrawn. Thatcher has spoken to Irish Republicans before and if she refuses to speak to us again then British squaddies such as Corporal McConagle will continue to pay the price of her intransigence."*

## What they said about...

### ● Britain's war in Ireland

*"In Britain, what amounts to a covert war against the Irish Republican Army is eating away at a system of civil liberties we are wont to consider as the fundamental foundation of our own. The British government has sought for 20 years to criminalise the IRA by denying what even British army intelligence has long recognised, that the IRA is a well-organised, disciplined military force with clear nationalist credentials and which attempts to limit violence to military and police targets."*

— William V. Kennedy, a journalist specialising in military affairs, in *The Christian Science Monitor* US.

### ● The continuing Gibraltar controversy

*"...it is clear from records being made public by the Spanish police and from investigative reporting by British commercial television that nothing less than a military-style ambush was carried out against three unarmed IRA operatives in Gibraltar — the clearest form of recognition a nation can give that it is fighting a war, not a police action."*

— William V. Kennedy.

*"Mrs Thatcher may argue that this case is closed, but in the court of world opinion it is not. Amnesty International is right, there should be another inquiry."*

— *St Louis Post Dispatch*, April 22nd.

### ● Extradition

*"I believe deeply that Irish people cannot get a fair trial on politically related charges under the British justice system... on that basis I have decided to stand in this election."*

— Irish priest Fr Patrick Ryan declaring his intention of standing in June's European elections on an anti-extradition ticket. Fr Ryan was at the centre of a political row between the British and 26-County governments when his extradition to Britain was sought and rejected following a similar refusal by Belgium to extradite him.

## What Sinn Féin stand for in Europe

■ Sinn Féin is the only part in the European Community election whose policies offer a real alternative to the problems of unemployment, emigration, and discrimination.

Sinn Féin is leading the political fight to make Ireland a vibrant, independent country in which each citizen has equal political rights, and benefits equally from the wealth and resources of our nation.

Sinn Féin believes in the self-determination and equality of all peoples, as individuals and nations.

Sinn Féin is opposed to superpower politics which allow powerful nations to dominate and oppress the rest of humanity. We oppose militarist alliances such as NATO, and oppose the European Community (EC), in its present form.

Sinn Féin is working to build a united Ireland which can take its place with pride in the international community as a sovereign nation among sovereign nations.

Sinn Féin stands for:

- A united and sovereign Ireland, equal amongst nations.
- Democratic rights for all — in Ireland and in Europe.
- Social and democratic policies which allow every person a dignified and comfortable livelihood in their own country — no forced emigration.
- The right to cultural development which reflects the spiritual and intellectual life of Ireland.
- A neutral Ireland — keeping Ireland out of NATO.
- A nuclear-free Ireland and Europe — no nuclear power and no nuclear weapons.
- A clean and healthy environment.

## Glossary

**AP/RN** — *An Phoblacht/Republican News*, weekly Sinn Fein newspaper.

**DUP** — Democratic Unionist Party, second largest of the unionist parties, leader Ian Paisley.

**EPA** — Emergency Provisions Act.

**FF** — Fianna Fail, governing party in 26 Counties.

**FG** — Fine Gael, opposition party in 26 Counties.

**IRA** — Irish Republican Army (Oglaigh na hÉireann).

**NIO** — Northern Ireland Office.

**OUP** — Official Unionist Party, the main unionist party, leader James Molyneaux.

**PTA** — Prevention of Terrorism Act.

**RUC** — Royal Ulster Constabulary, majority of members drawn from loyalist community.

**SAS** — Special Air Services, British army unit trained in counter-insurgency tactics and used in Ireland to kill as opposed to capturing prisoners.

**SDLP** — Social Democratic and Labour Party, leader John Hume.

**SF** — Sinn Fein, leader Gerry Adams.

**SOSP** — Secretary of State's Pleasure (applies to open-ended sentencing of young prisoners).

**UDR** — Ulster Defence Regiment, a British army regiment consisting almost exclusively of members of the loyalist community.

## Sinn Fein's demands

● Sinn Fein's ultimate objective is to create the political conditions necessary to secure a true and lasting peace in Ireland. This can only be achieved by:

■ The ending of partition arising from British rule in six of Ireland's 32 counties;

■ British disengagement from Ireland and the restoration to the Irish people of the right to exercise self-sovereignty, independence and national self-determination;

■ The setting of a definite date within the lifetime of a British government for the completion of this withdrawal;

■ The disarming and disbandment of the Royal Ulster Constabulary and the Ulster Defence Regiment as part of the military withdrawal;

■ The calling of a Constitutional Conference to which all political parties would be invited. This conference to be responsible for determining the nature and composition of an emergent national police service and the judiciary. If Britain was sincere about disengaging and was committed to an orderly transference of power, this could be achieved with a minimum of disorder; and

■ The unconditional release of all political prisoners.

Suaibh Idirnáisiúnta na hÉireann

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Published by Sinn Fein Foreign Affairs Bureau,  
51-55 Falls Road, Belfast, BT11.



Subscription rates for the monthly briefing are as follows:

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