



# An Phoblacht

REPUBLICAN NEWS

Sraith Nua 1ml 14 Uimhir 11  
(Britain 45p) Price 40p

12 Márt  
Thursday, 12th March 1992

# SINN FEIN UP AND RUNNING FOR APRIL 9TH



● Contrast — Sinn Féin President Gerry Adams (above) will be leading the party's election demand for freedom, justice and peace. Meanwhile SDLP leader John Hume, seen here arriving for the pre-election talks charade at Stormont, still works to a British agenda.



SINN FÉIN will be standing 14 candidates across the British occupied Six Counties in the Westminster general election on April 9th. Campaigning has already begun with Gerry Adams' West Belfast constituency the key seat in the election in the North. Futile efforts by the British government and its allies to oust the Sinn Féin president from that seat began from the day he won it on behalf of his oppressed community in 1983. But this week he expressed "absolute confidence" in Sinn Féin's ability to secure its position in West Belfast and in all the other constituencies as the party faces into one of the most vital electoral contests in its history.

The days before the election was

Féin on offer on April 9th.

The SDLP's enthusiasm to participate with the unionists in the talks

charade at Stormont cynically increased in direct proportion to the amount of days left before John Major finally set the date. The dismal attendance (apart from Six-County representatives) of a handful of MPs in the House of Commons for the first debate on the Six Counties in five years is an accurate indicator of the real commitment of the major British parties to peace in Ireland.

The media and those in power are already conspiring to try to pervert Sinn Féin's policies and, where possible, to censor the party. One Dublin-based radio station stated on Wednesday that the distribution of

seats was not expected to change following April 9th, but then went on to say that Joe Hendron expected to mount a strong challenge to Gerry Adams' West Belfast seat. The same station later commented that Adams was "fighting for his political life".

Sinn Féin remains as undeterred by such techniques now as it has in the past. In recent months the party has produced its own programme for peace in Ireland. The document *Towards A Lasting Peace*, advocates talks without preconditions. It is on this basis of a genuine desire for freedom, justice and peace for all the Irish

people that Sinn Féin will fight these elections.

Gerry Adams, announcing the start of the Sinn Féin campaign, has said: "The message to every Sinn Féin supporter and indeed to everyone who desires peace, is that your vote counts, it has real meaning when it is cast for a Sinn Féin candidate.

"While the other parties have been collectively electioneering through the Stormont talks Sinn Féin has got on with the business of preparing a comprehensive programme which we believe can lay the foundations of a lasting peace."

Vote Sinn Féin on April 9th.

## Help us win on April 9th

Any donation, large or small, towards the Westminster election campaign, will be gratefully accepted by the Sinn Féin Election Appeal, 44 Parnell Square, Dublin 1. — *Ar aghaidh linn chun bua!*

## News

# “We are doing all in our power to shorten this war” — IRA



## Interview with Oglaih na hEireann GHQ

With less than four weeks left until the date of the British general election AP/RN has sought and was afforded the opportunity to interview a representative of the IRA's GHQ Staff with a view to exploring how the IRA assesses the current situation.

The spokesperson for Oglaih na hEireann explains the strategy behind its recent attacks in England and the Six Counties. The IRA says that republicans will *“respond in a positive manner”* to an incoming British Labour government if it is *“genuinely committed to pursuing peace”*.

**AP/RN:** There has been media speculation which has sought to link recent IRA operations in Britain and the forthcoming British general election. Can you comment?

**IRA:** Operations within England and elsewhere are part of our long-term strategy and it would be playing into our enemy's hands to build any degree of predictability into our activities. In a strict military sense operations in England are one element in affording us the capacity to diversify and strike across a wide range of targets. They assist us in frustrating our enemy's prime military objective which is to curtail and contain our operational capacity with a minimum expenditure on their part.

On another level each IRA operation, particularly if it takes place

within England, has the effect of focusing the establishment's attention on their war in Ireland, which they would otherwise ignore. On this level then, it is fair to comment that operations around major political events do carry the added bonus of forcing the Irish war onto the British political agenda.

**AP/RN:** Staying with bomb attacks in Britain there is the question of recent injuries. These have led to accusations, and indeed fears, that the IRA is targeting civilians for attack. Is this the case?

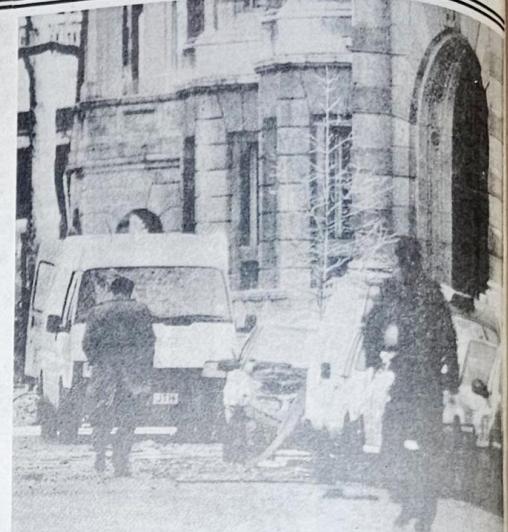
**IRA:** The short answer is an emphatic no! It is self-evident that if there is an intention to kill then one does not provide warnings. The recent regrettable injuries were the direct result of the British police failing to act adequately and promptly on IRA

warnings. We do not and will not target the British public. Our war is not with them but with those who sustain and perpetuate this conflict. It is evident that the British establishment are slow learners so we will repeat again, that the sooner they end their occupation of the Six Counties and end the disruption which flows from it, then the sooner the disruption will end within their national territory.

**AP/RN:** Let us shift focus for a moment and deal with the IRA bombing campaign in general. There has been a recent increase in bombing and incendiary attacks in the Six Counties. What is the rationale behind this campaign?

**IRA:** Such attacks serve to frustrate British efforts at stabilising their illegal and immoral rule in part of Ireland's national territory.

Britain, through intense media manipulation, censorship, distortion and relentless propaganda, is attempting to shroud the reality of its brutal occupation; each time we detonate a bomb a hole is blown in this propaganda facade, focusing attention on the reality of the war here.



● Bombing a hole in the propaganda facade

These attacks directly apply pressure to the British exchequer, increasing the price the British establishment must pay for sustaining this conflict. They are also an integral part of the range of tactics we will continue to employ on occasion in pursuance of our primary strategic objective of stretching the British in terms of resources and personnel.

**AP/RN:** To press this a little further. What is your reaction to British propaganda which has sought to portray the IRA's bombing campaign as one of the principal causes of unemployment in the Six Counties.

**IRA:** It is not our intention to cause the loss of anyone's job, and where this arises as the result of specific IRA operations it is clearly regrettable. The effects of our operations are not comparable in any sense to the

systematic and administrative practice of discrimination against nationalists which has led to generations of mass unemployment. In fact the existence of this economic inequality, a direct result of partition and British rule, is one of the major causes of the conflict. To suggest that our resistance to British occupation and the continuation of partition is the cause of the injustice is absurd. Our struggle is aimed at ending such injustices and bringing about the conditions which will lead to true equality for all the people of Ireland.

**AP/RN:** Let us focus again on the Westminster election. Given the British Labour Party's support, albeit qualified, for Irish unity, would their election in your view enhance the prospects for peace in Ireland?

**IRA:** That would be a matter for the British Labour Party should they form the next British government. If they are genuinely committed to pursuing peace they will find that republicans will respond in a positive manner.

**AP/RN:** Throughout the latter part of 1991 a number of international human rights groups made it known that they were adopting policy changes and would concentrate not just on the issues of governments but on the activities of non-governmental agencies. What is your view on this policy change?

**IRA:** It is of course a matter for those agencies, but we feel reputable international human rights agencies will keep their primary focus on the actions of governments. In the case of Ireland it is the British government which is chiefly responsible for denial of civil, democratic and human rights. As far as any such monitoring of non-governmental agencies will affect ourselves, however, we would be ready to co-operate as far as we were able.

**AP/RN:** What is the IRA view on Sinn Féin contesting the forthcoming Westminster election?

**IRA:** We support Sinn Féin's electoral intervention and believe that they are the only creditable political party for which Irish nationalists can vote. We understand that there are people who vote for Sinn Féin who may not be able to support the IRA but everyone who supports the IRA is duty bound to vote for Sinn Féin. We have declared our intention of doing all in our power to shorten this struggle and voting for Sinn Féin is one way of doing just that.



● The sooner the British end their occupation of the Six Counties, the sooner the disruption will end within their national territory

# News



● One of the strange organisms within the Fianna Fáil party

## A party devoid of democracy

■ BY LIAM O COILEAIN

THE FIANNA FAIL PARTY is a very strange organism. And its ard fheis is one of those occasions which have to be experienced to be believed. During the "Foreign Affairs and Northern Ireland" session there were moments when I could have sworn I was at a Sinn Féin Ard Fheis.

This illusion did not occur; I must say, when the new Foreign Minister, David Andrews, was speaking from the platform. But then Fianna Fáil is a party of many contradictions. It draws members from all social strata and the attitudes and ideas of these ordinary members often bear no relation to the policies pursued by the parliamentary party. In years gone by, for example, ard feiseanna have passed motions condemning extradition, but this piece of party policy was, as are so many others when it does not suit, simply ignored by the leadership. To properly understand a Fianna Fáil Ard Fheis it is necessary first to grasp this reality, that there is little or no internal democracy.

When Andrews referred in his speech to the "unacceptable side effects of colonialism" he was referring not to his own country but to faminehit African nations.

Motions on the Six Counties which were passed unanimously at this year's conference, included the affirmation of Articles Two and Three and the seeking of a peaceful political solution through dialogue between elected representatives of all the people of Ireland.

Andrews repeated his call (made already in Leinster House) on the people of the Six Counties not to vote for Sinn Féin, saying: "By their votes at the ballot box in the forthcoming general election in the North they must tell the men of violence and their apprentices and helpers, that there will never be a place for them in their homes, in their hearts or in their land." The delegates proved less Anglocentric in their opinions.

Louth Councillor Micheál O'Donnell, who last year advocated shooting down British army helicopters guilty of repeated incursions into 26-County airspace, again raised this issue as well as that of Articles Two and Three. He said that after the previous year's outburst he had been warned that his political career was over, but instead

he had increased his share of the vote to a record 27% of the total poll.

He claimed that since Reynolds' new administration had come into office the British had been increasing their incursions. "I think they are trying your steel," he warned Andrews and urged him to "show them what you are made of". He added that: "Articles Two and Three are not for sale. They are the bedrock of this party, of what Fianna Fáil stood for when it was founded and going into the 21st Century. They should be taken off the table bloody quick because they are not for sale." He concluded by urging Andrews not to listen to the "vocal minority" but to the "silent majority" on this issue.

Robert McCabe from Dublin West said that Articles Two and Three were "based on the expression of the ideal of the Irish people for unity. The only time we can move away from them is when we move towards a united Ireland". David Fitzgerald from Kerry received a rousing round of applause when he shouted: "Articles Two and Three are not for sale!"

Michael Meehan from Athy raised the killing of Fergal Caraher, saying that he had met his family outside and was disappointed to hear that the family had "gotten no help from the Department of Foreign Affairs concerning their particular tragedy." Andrews responded that he would talk to the delegate after the session and was willing also to meet with relatives.

Noreen Galvin, from Andrews' own Dún Laoghaire constituency, received a healthy round of applause from delegates when she urged the minister to talk to Sinn Féin now. "They represent a sizeable proportion of the nationalist people," she said. "Are we going to disenfranchise these people by excluding their elected representatives? Have you that vision minister? I'm sure you have," she finished.

Andrews hasn't that vision. He had already told people who they shouldn't vote for. Now he repeated the establishment's line that Sinn Féin should condemn those engaged in armed struggle against the forces of occupation before their presence at talks can be considered.

Lily O'Neill from Dublin Central had a much clearer understanding of where Noreen Galvin was coming from. She expressed her disappointment that when Andrews mentioned peace had not mentioned justice. "For a thousand years, Irish people have made the supreme sacrifice in the cause of justice which is the foundation of peace. As long as there are British soldiers with tanks and guns on the streets of any town or city in the 32 Counties we will never have peace. Violence is a reaction against injustice and we have to eliminate the injustice."

John Hussey from Cork East said: "We should move towards a 32-County united republic rather than being diverted into another partitionist solution."

Such republican sentiments expressed by these delegates certainly did not reach Albert Reynolds, who, later that day, delivered his presidential address, the party faithful having deserted the bar and various Ballsbridge hostelleries to pack out the RDS's main hall.

When he spoke on the North Reynolds repeated Andrews' defence of the exclusion of Sinn Féin from talks: "Participation in violence, or defending the right to engage in it, precludes involvement in any comprehensive dialogue on

legitimate political aims or grievance which can only happen once the use of violence is renounced." No-one had to be told he was talking about Sinn Féin but the hypocrisy of his position was underlined by the photo printed on the same page as the text of his speech. It showed Reynolds talking to the political chief of the British armed forces in the Six Counties, John Major.

On the supposed top government priority of creating employment, Reynolds was, as usual, making no rash promises: "We must look at unemployment afresh," he intoned, "without any of the old assumptions or hopes." Hardly an attitude geared towards bringing fresh hope to the 278,000 plus unemployed. Even his government's new employment forum is a toothless wonder, comprising of an all-party Leinster House committee, excluding the Irish National Organisation for the Unemployed, which has campaigned for years for such a forum and the chance to actively participate in it.

This reporter allowed himself a wry smile during the section of the leader's speech on farming, when

Reynolds referred to EC income supports: "We will be fighting to have it paid to farmers within a reasonable period and we will be fighting against the bureaucracy that treats a minor, unintended error in an application as a major fraud." It is obviously a while since Reynolds last tried to claim his dues in a dole office.

He had made his grand entrance to the Ard Fheis to the backing strains of Kiri Te Kanawa's Rugby World Cup theme song, adding a bizarre feel to a bizarre occasion. It is strange to watch a party sit down and go through the motions of democracy, everybody knowing that their leaders go away and often pursue opposing policies to those voted on. It emphasises the lack of real democracy in Ireland, North and South. But Fianna Fáil still manages to retain the loyalty of its members and a sizeable section of the electorate, marking its success in appearing to be all things to all people.

Whether Reynolds, the showman, can carry on the act so far as winning the overall majority in Leinster House that has eluded Fianna Fáil for over a decade remains an open question.



● The calm before the storm — A deserted RDS main hall hours before Reynold's presidential address



# An Phoblacht

REPUBLICAN NEWS

12th March 1992

## ■ 20 years in English jails

IRISH REPUBLICAN PRISONERS OF WAR Roy Walsh, Billy Armstrong and Paul Holmes have this week entered their 20th year in British jails. Convicted for bomb attacks on New Scotland Yard and the Old Bailey law courts in London in 1973, the three men have still been given no release date and have been denied transfer to a prison in Ireland. They remain the longest serving Irish prisoners in English jails.

The treatment of Walsh, Holmes and Armstrong, who were not convicted of causing any deaths, is in stark contrast to that of loyalist 'Ginger' Baker convicted of murdering four Catholic civilians in 1973. Baker has now been released from Maghaberry Prison after recently being transferred from a jail in England.

Since their arrest over 20 years ago the three Irish republicans have been subjected to brutality, harassment and petty vindictiveness at the hands of the British prison regime.

Their experience is an example of the republican capacity for endurance. Their continued incarceration however serves no purpose and should end now. Those who care about justice should at the very least demand that they be repatriated to a prison in Ireland.

## ■ A constitutional mess

IT WAS WITH GREAT RELIEF that most people greeted the Dublin Supreme Court decision to allow a 14-year-old rape victim travel abroad and avail of abortion facilities. But this is far from the end of the matter.

The current controversy has highlighted the dangerous situation created by the passing in 1983 of the Eighth Amendment to the 1937 Constitution. The original injunction granted by the High Court, preventing the teenage girl from traveling to Britain effectively confirmed a rapist's right to force women to continue with a pregnancy after rape.

But the problem did not begin with the decision of the 26-County Attorney General or the High Court in Dublin, nor was it solved by the subsequent decision of the Supreme Court which ruled that the injunction should be lifted because there was a substantial risk that the girl would commit suicide if restrained from traveling abroad and terminating her pregnancy.

The current mess has been created by the absence of proper debate and proper legislation on abortion and by the passing into law of the Eighth Amendment to the 1937 Constitution. As long as this amendment exists similar situations could happen again to other women.

It is incumbent on the Fianna Fáil/PD coalition government to process the repeal of the Eighth Amendment. For this to happen the maximum political pressure must be applied. Those people who took to the streets to demonstrate their anger at the High Court injunction should remain on the streets and maintain the pressure.

The whole abortion issue has now been linked to the question of the Maastricht Treaty, inserted in which is a protocol ensuring that nothing in EC law can overrule Article 40.3.3 of the 1937 Constitution. The Fianna Fáil/PD government now says it will seek to amend this protocol, but only so far as to protect the right to travel. A thoroughly complicated position has now been arrived at.

We have the scenario where the vote on the Maastricht Treaty may become dominated by the issue.

The republican position is clear. We are against Maastricht because it signals a further erosion of democracy and sovereignty and will increase the economic marginalisation and exploitation of Ireland.

We are against the Article 40.3.3 of the 1937 constitution because it is open to the broadest of interpretations and has created a situation which has forced Irish women into a position of fear when faced with an unwanted pregnancy. Both should be rejected on their own demerits.

The continued partition of this country has maintained the existence of two conservative states each of which deny equality to women and in which there is undue clerical influence and control. Our people, North and South, will only achieve their full freedom from such repression and domination with the establishment of a 32-County secular and democratic republic.

The one positive side effect of the recent tragic case concerning the young rape victim is that it has opened up an opportunity to turn the tide against the fundamentalists and address the abortion issue in a proper and enlightened manner.

## Border Busters Mobilisation

In support of the community associations in the border area to re-open roads closed by the British army

Swanlinbar, County Cavan  
Sunday, 22nd March, 2pm  
Buses from Dublin via:  
Bray 9am  
Deans Grange 9.15am  
Ringend Library 9.40am

GPO 9.50am  
Glasnevin 10am  
Fingal 10.10am  
£5 waged, £4 unwaged  
Tickets available from the Bookshop, 44 Parnell Square or phone John or Jim 308783.

## Bombs in London, Belfast and Lurgan

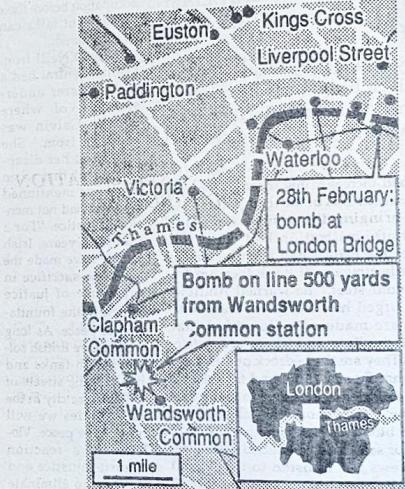
WAR NEWS

TWO MASSIVE co-ordinated IRA bomb attacks in the centres of Lurgan and Belfast in the early hours of Thursday, March 5th, once again dispelled the myth of normality which continues to be peddled by the British in a desperate attempt to divert international attention from the reality of their war in Ireland.

treatment for leg injuries.

Within five minutes of the Lurgan attack, a massive bomb exploded in Belfast city centre, devastating government and commercial offices in Adelaide Street, close to the City Hall. The attack in Belfast is estimated to have caused several hundred thousand pounds worth of damage. As with the Lurgan attack, the IRA had given a warning and the area had been evacuated of civilians prior to the explosion.

In a statement claiming



## Colville's cosmetics

ON NOVEMBER 14th 1991, after more than 15 years of violent clashes between republican and loyalist remand prisoners, and after years of warning from both nationalist and unionist politicians, as well as from independent groups concerned with the welfare of prisoners, a bomb exploded in Belfast's Crumlin Road Jail, resulting in the deaths of two loyalist remand prisoners.

In the aftermath the NIO announced, amid severe criticism from political parties across the political spectrum, that it was to appoint a British lord to review conditions under which remand prisoners were housed.

It was hoped that the British would use this opportunity and take positive steps to end the impasse in the jail over segregation. When the Colville report was finally made public in the House of Commons by British Direct Ruler, Peter Brooke, on March 4th 1992, the true, and hidden, agenda became known.

Colville was appointed to reaffirm NIO policy which is centred on control, regardless of conditions for prisoners.

"I would place a higher priority on preventing their escape than on any other security task of the prison service", is in reality how Colville saw his role. His report bears this out as he ignores the rights of prisoners to be housed safely and humanely and comes down emphatically against segregation. Colville makes two anaemic recommendations: The shortening of periods spent on remand; and that visits be seg-

regated to give the Ulster concern for the prisoners.

Colville took submissions from the political parties in Six Counties, (all of which apart from the Alliance Party had repeatedly called for segregation to be reintroduced in jail), from groups concerned with the rights of prisoners as well as the prisoners and their families.

When Colville met with prisoners' representatives, he informed them that his report would be given to the government. The week before the report was made public, however, it was announced that it had been given to the NIO, obviously for vetting, and thus nothing might be objective.

The fact that the report endorses NIO policy and rejects all the submissions and

# News



● Bombed-out Lurgan  
minute warning, damaged signalling equipment when it exploded shortly after 7am.

The attack caused disruption at the height of the commuter rush hour on all south coast services to Victoria through Wandsworth, with trains diverted to London Bridge and commuters diverted to underground tube stations. This is the eleventh attack by the IRA on London railways. Since last February five bombs have been put next to railway tracks and five incendiary attacks carried out on London's tube trains. British Rail's London terminals have been closed three times and the 270 underground stations closed twice.

The massive disruption at the heart of the British capital city has been estimated to have cost British Rail and London

Underground millions of pounds in lost revenue as well as the cost of extra security. The cost of policing BR last year increased by £12 million pounds bringing the annual cost up to £61 million. On top of the cost to the transport companies it has been estimated that disruption effecting the business community has already cost around £150 million in lost revenue.

A major bomb alert in Hertfordshire was sparked when a passenger discarded a briefcase leading to a shut down of one of Britain's busiest commuter lines. The alert which took place on Tuesday, March 10th, held up thousands of passengers when the east coast mainline through Welwyn Garden City was closed, trapping eight trains at

London's King's Cross and delaying others.

#### ■ SERVICE STATION DESTROYED

The Tyrone Brigade of the IRA said that it was responsible for the 150lb bomb which demolished McGowan's Service Station on the main Dungannon to Ballygawley Road. Admitting responsibility for the attack the IRA said that the station had been targeted because, after repeated warnings, the owners had continued to serve the crown forces. The statement said the device had been left on the evening of Saturday, March 7th, despite the saturation presence of the RUC and British army on the Dungannon bypass. The bomb exploded at 8.10am on Monday, March 9th.

The Tyrone Brigade com-

mented on media reports that it was involved in an attempted hijacking of a coal lorry in the Coalisland area. The IRA drew attention to its statement of last week, Wednesday March 4th, which warned a group of youths to desist from engaging in anti-social activities using the name of the IRA. The Tyrone Brigade has said it will be forced to act if the youths persist in such activity.

The IRA has criticised the RUC for failing to act promptly on a warning that there was an unexploded anti-personnel mine on Armagh city's ring road. Only on the third warning did the RUC move to close the road. A 3lb Semtex bomb left by the perimeter fence of the sports ground at the Ring Road was defused by the British army.

## UDA DEATH SQUAD TARGETS CATHOLIC

SOUTH BELFAST was the scene of the latest sectarian gun attack on a Catholic when a taxi-driver was shot six times by loyalists as he waited to bring children to school. The married father of three was seriously injured but stable after the shooting which happened at Knock Eden Drive.

The loyalist death squad abandoned their car in Cregagh, East Belfast, after the shooting. There have been numerous shootings following this pattern carried out in this area with loyalists waiting on vulnerable taxi-drivers. Tuesday's incident shows the ease with which loyalist death-squads operate in South Belfast just weeks after the multiple killings in Graham's bookies on the Ormeau Road.

Neighbours of the wounded man say he is a jovial, happy-go-lucky man who has done tremendous work for the Irish language and culture. Speaking about the shooting, Sinn Féin representative for South Belfast Sean Hayes warned nationalists to be on the alert: "Catholics living in the South Belfast area should be particularly vigilant in the coming weeks as the political temperature rises around the election campaign."



● Francie Molloy (centre) at the POW press conference called in response to the launching of the Colville report  
offered by so many in favour of segregation shows what a cosmetic exercise it was, a classic case of the British official attitude of "you can say what you like...as long as it's what we want to hear".

Although his report was based on evidence given in the

form of submissions, Colville defies the logic of that evidence and raises the usual red herring that the introduction of segregation would mean "paramilitary control of the wings" and would make escape easier. This type of argument is used by the NIO to steer attention away

from their real reason for maintaining forced integration.

Since 1976 Britain has had a policy based on the thinking that the struggle against their continued occupation of Irish territory should be criminalised. In practice this has entailed imprisoned activists

being held under a prison regime which is purposely designed to control and politicise the prisoners and their struggle. The policy of forced integration has always been a major part of that strategy.

The actual experience of

segregation in the H-Blocks formed a large section of the Colville report but was used only to fuel the NIO arguments that segregation equates with "paramilitary control and escapes". However, Colville does not produce any evidence to suggest that the regimes operating in the segregated wings of the H-Blocks is detrimental to prisoners. He also defies his own factual evidence that out of 1,246 prison offences committed in 1990-91 only 16 occurred in Long Kesh. This surely disproves the argument that segregation poses severe disciplinary problems for prison staff.

Colville says of his visit to Long Kesh that he was "encouraged all around to look at the Maze and see how it exemplifies the merits of segregation", a view similar to that of John Cope who, as prisons minister a few years ago gave a major interview to the BBC. When asked about segregation and the contradiction it

exposed in NIO policy, Cope offered the view that "it [segregation] worked!"

Colville and Cope can say this about the H-Blocks and then defend the disastrous policy of forced integration in Crumlin Road.

Colville's remit "to review operational policy" was just that and ignored the reality of prisoners' daily lives. Segregated visiting, another recommendation, only tinkers with the problem. The trouble in the jail overflows into the visits; it doesn't happen the other way round. It is notable that Colville doesn't recommend the reintroduction of private, cubicle visits to afford prisoners and their families the dignity of privacy when they meet.

Sinn Féin's spokesperson on prison issues, Francie Molloy, said last week that Colville "ignored the years of conflict created by forced integration and rather than defusing this dangerous situation is only likely to add significantly to it." The facts bear this out.



• Sinn Féin councillors picket the 'talks'

## SDLP goes green as April 9th draws near

■ BY HILDA  
Mac THOMAS

THE UNIONIST PARTIES and the SDLP met in Stormont last Monday in what they had attempted to present as a resumption of the 'talks' process. Little transpired from the meeting apart from a joint statement in which they announced the setting up of a 'business committee' charged with organising future meetings. Little transpired because nothing of substance was discussed. It had been agreed that nothing would transpire because the parties had no intention whatsoever to discuss anything of substance.

**O**n the incoming elections which were undoubtedly exchanged at the end of the meeting, were sincerely meant by all, given in particular that the Alliance party leader John Alderdice will be challenging DUP deputy leader Peter Robinson for his East Belfast seat.

The media gave the meeting muted coverage, 15 minutes past the start of the local news on BBC television, well down the list of other stories and the next day a small article hidden on page two of the *Irish News*. This suggests that this time round journalists have been reluctant to wax lyrical against the wave of cynicism coming from the public at this contrived event. Falsely innocent questions are directed at the 'talks' participants by erstwhile enthusiasts of the Brooke initiative: What has changed from last Autumn? Why now?

The answer is of course blowing in

the electoral wind from Westminster. A number of Sinn Féin councillors picketed the 'talks', with placards denouncing the cynical charade indoors. The parties were, in the words of Sinn Féin's representative for Fermanagh and South Tyrone, Francie Molloy, trying to "claw back some political credibility in the eyes of their electorate following their collective failure to move the political situation forward".

Clawing back is certainly what the SDLP is at. Its analysis has clearly run into the sands, and party spokespersons are now desperately trying to take on nationalist issues. North Belfast SDLP Councillor Brian Feeney is crusading against British army harassment of nationalists, a treatment of nationalists, a treatment, he indignantly points out, "by no means confined to Sinn Féin supporters." In Feeney's moral worldview, harassment is wrong. Not, mind you, because it is unjust or because the British have no right to be here, never

mind bully the locals. Harassment of nationalists is wrong because it could affect the SDLP vote in Belfast. In the immortal words of Alex Atwood, the periodically vociferous West Belfast SDLP Councillor, "it has an impact in confirming the nature of the state to a lot of people and that has an electoral effect". "Confirming", Alex?

Brian Feeney had a busy weekend. Apart from the aforementioned crusade, which got front page treatment in Monday's *Irish News*, he also expounded his views on reports which have appeared in the British press regarding a reorganisation of British military intelligence, MI5, involving an increased role in the North. There would be a "kneekerk reaction" in the nationalist community to any such proposal, Mr Feeney warned. Kneekerk? Do you mean the Sinn Féin vote would increase, Brian?

The front page of Monday's *Irish News* was an SDLP election leaflet: two major statements by Brian Feeney on issues of repression and covert military operations, one article, about the talks, quoting at length Eddie McGrady and his "new sense of realism among the parties". A short piece on the publication of a report on the monitoring of the Northern Ireland workforce by the Fair Employment Commission allowed the *Irish News* to give Sean Farren a couple of inches to waffle about this "important database".

Mr Farren had nothing to say about the implications of the report for the current Fair Employment legislation. The SDLP has always "welcomed" British legislation in that area, notwithstanding the mountain of evidence which shows that such legislation was completely ineffective and therefore cosmetic. But that was not the point. The point was: aren't we a relevant little party, with something to say about everything, even the things we have nothing to say about?

## Last to know — bears the cost

■ BY MICHAEL MORRISSEY

THE GREENCORE SCANDAL took another expensive twist last week with the publication of the High Court inspectors' 235 page, £1.15 million report into the defrauding of Greencore by its government appointed board members. The Fianna Fáil/Progressive Democrat campaign of damage limitation crumbled as allegations of government interference in the work of the High Court inspectors coupled with an erratic, deficient and costly report brought public attention back onto the Greencore debacle.

**G**reencore, the 27th largest company in the 26 Counties, employs 1,500 people and returned pre-tax profits of £25 million last year. It was the first semi-state enterprise that the Dublin government brought to the stock market, a supposed 'flagship' for future privatisations. It had taken eight years of rationalisations, plant closures and layoffs in Tuam and Thurles,

attractive acquisitions of Odlums and other companies to present a marketable package to the Dublin stock exchange.

In August 1991, it was revealed that Greencore chief executive Chris Comerford and three other directors had defrauded the company of £8 million. In December 1988, they bought a stake in a sugar distribution company called SDH.

They used a £1 million loan given to them by the state company to pay part of the purchase price. As directors they made SDH the main vehicle for the output of Siúire Eireann. They knew that when Siúire Eireann was privatised the mother company would have to buy them out. They sold their share in February 1990.

The dealings only came to light due to a dispute between Comerford and three other directors over the ownership of an off-shore company called Talimino which was used to control the profits made from the sale of SDH to Greencore. Comerford took a legal action in June 1991. His action brought the scandal out into the public arena, forcing his resignation.

The focus of High Court inspectors Aidan Barry and Ciaran Foley's long awaited report into the Greencore scandal was that Chris Comerford was "largely to blame". Comerford was made the scapegoat for the Dublin government's failure to manage a state enterprise properly.

The report skirts over the role of Dermot Desmond's stock-broking company NCB, clearing Charles Haughey and Greencore chairperson Bernie Cahill of "political reasons" in the appointment of

## TIPP WORKERS FIGHT MULTINATIONAL RELIABILITY HOW ARE YOU!

FEELINGS are running high in North Tipperary over the actions of the IDA and its sister company Shannon Free Airport Development Company (SFADCO) in promoting and supporting foreign multinationals. Representatives of 41 former employees of Reliability Nederland told a special meeting of Nenagh UDC on Monday, March 9th, of the broken promises, the "humiliation and frustration" they had endured since the American-based company had ceased production last October.

**R**eliability Nederland, an electrical components company had been operating from Nenagh for 17 years, employing over 50 people. In October 1991 the company closed. In a statement, made the day of the closure, the company promised to negotiate a redundancy package at a meeting with the workers' union, SIPTU, the following day in Limerick. Reliability never turned up for the meeting. The company would not even attend the Labour Court hearing and has not paid the recommended £300 for every year of service.

The company was still trading profitably at the time of its closure. It had £500,000 worth of orders and managed to pay the non-union staff a sum of £3,000 on top of their statutory redundancy entitlements. It transpired that the company had a debt of £226,000 to the IDA.

Abandoning its workers, Reliability began negotiations with the IDA and SFADCO with a view to retrieving the equipment and finished product they had left behind in their hurry to close the plant.

In effect what transpired was a typical story for employees of failed multinationals supported by the IDA/SFADCO. The doors are locked — the workers are only allowed collect their personal belongings, and then begin the struggle to negotiate with the company for redundancies. In the background, the foreign company completes a deal with the IDA allowing it to transport its equipment back to the parent company or enable it to be sold. Reliability Nederland made such an agreement with the IDA and were able to retrieve their equipment.

**T**he Nenagh story is made worse by the fact that Reliability has other factories in Costa Rica and Singapore. The staff of the Nenagh plant were used to

train workers from these plants and helped upgrade their work until Nenagh was no longer needed. At a meeting the factory was of no use to them and was a "white elephant". There would be "nothing for the workers".

The workers, almost all women, organised a sit-in at the factory to prevent the plant being dismantled. The workers, who for seventeen years had enjoyed happy industrial relations, were now accused of "aggressive and dangerous behaviour outside the plant". Reliability obtained a High Court injunction against the workers preventing them from picketing the plant.

For the past ten days fitters hired by Reliability have been at work at the plant dismantling the equipment and machinery. The factory is now empty. The people Reliability brought to dismantle the company came armed with pick-axe handles and batons. The workers had convinced one lorry from Shannon Transport not to cross their picket. A subsequent lorry which crossed the picket sped towards the picketers, swearing towards their caravan.

The workers' representatives, in the submission to Monday's meeting of Nenagh UDC, spoke of their "humiliation" at being taken to court, "while on a peaceful protest as if we were the last left owing debts, and broken promises... We feel that it is sad that the company based in Houston, Texas, had the resources of the Irish state to use against Irish workers".

Sinn Féin Nenagh Urban Councilor Jimmy Nolan described the fate of the Reliability workers as "the disastrous strategy of successive governments through the IDA, who have trusted the economic future of whole communities to multinationals who care nothing for workers or their families". He pledged full support to the workers in their struggle for justice.

They used a £1 million loan given to them by the state company to pay part of the purchase price. As directors they made SDH the main vehicle for the output of Siúire Eireann. They knew that when Siúire Eireann was privatised the mother company would have to buy them out. They sold their share in February 1990.

The dealings only came to light due to a dispute between Comerford and three other directors over the ownership of an off-shore company called Talimino which was used to control the profits made from the sale of SDH to Greencore. Comerford took a legal action in June 1991. His action brought the scandal out into the public arena, forcing his resignation.

The focus of High Court inspectors Aidan Barry and Ciaran Foley's long awaited report into the Greencore scandal was that Chris Comerford was "largely to blame". Comerford was made the scapegoat for the Dublin government's failure to manage a state enterprise properly.

Des O'Malley took the opportunity of the report's publication to turn the screw further on Comerford by calling for "criminal proceedings" and suggesting that the Attorney General could speed up the process. No sooner had O'Malley spoken in Leinster House than questions were being asked about his alleged interference in the preparation of the report.

Suddenly the government was thrust back into the Haughey era. One Sunday newspaper claimed that in an interview Ciaran Foley, one of the inspectors, had

declared "there was, you can take it, pressure from the highest to the lowest being brought". O'Malley denied the allegations as did Barry and Foley. The result was that a dubious report had been damaged even further. Media attention moved even further away from the real questions such as the lack of government control of public companies formed to represent the public interest.

Two weeks before the publication of the report Bertie Ahern sold another 15% of Greencore into private hands in a dubious deal. The shares did not come onto the market and were sold on to the Investment Bank of Ireland.

When Greencore was privatised last April the Dublin government promised not to dilute its 45% share holding in

Greencore for two years. However, the money was 'needed' according to Ahern to keep the government budget on track.

To Tuam and Thurles workers was the

long promised initiative from the government to make up for the closure of the sugar plants in each town. It seems that

the costs of privatisation of Greencore are

beginning to mount.



# Towards a lasting peace

Barry McElduff



## MID ULSTER

Barry McElduff is a graduate of Queen's University Belfast where he achieved joint BA Honours in Political Science and Celtic Studies.

Barry is the party's Mid-Ulster chairperson and has been active in political life since becoming involved as a teenager in the H-Block campaign.

Barry is an active member of the GAA and an Irish language enthusiast. He is the party's spokesperson on Rural Development and Rural Housing and has played a central role in developing and building Sinn Féin in Mid-Ulster.

Brendan Curran



## NEWRY AND ARMAGH

Brendan Curran is a married man who has been politically active all of his adult life. He has been a councillor on Newry and Mourne Council for seven years where he has worked selflessly to promote the interests of the people of Newry.

Brendan was instrumental in developing the party's active constituency service which has successfully campaigned on a number of local issues, including a Benefit Take-up campaign which raised

# VOTE Sinn Féin

tens of thousands of pounds.

On Newry and Mourne Council he has taken a special interest in issues effecting children and has been a staunch supporter of women's rights.

Brendan, as part of the party's very successful team of councillors, succeeded in having a full time official appointed to promote the Irish language and he has been a tireless campaigner against money-wasting junkets by the council.

Brendan Curran



## UPPER BANN

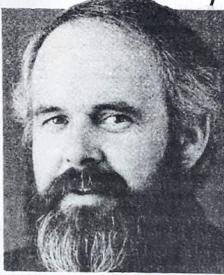
Brendan Curran is a councillor on Craigavon Council. Despite two assassination bids, one of which left him seriously injured, he has been a vocal defender of the rights of nationalists in the face of discrimination and intimidation.

As a member of the party's Six-County Executive, he has helped build Sinn Féin's excellent constituency service which is the envy of our political opponents.

Brendan was a key figure in helping expose the extent of collusion taking place between British state forces and loyalist death squads.

With colleagues he helped develop Sinn Féin's peace proposals contained in the new document, *Towards a Lasting Peace in Ireland*.

Francie Molloy



## FERMANAGH/ SOUTH TYRONE

Francie Molloy has been active in the political and community life of this area since his teens. He was one of the first to join the Civil Rights movement.

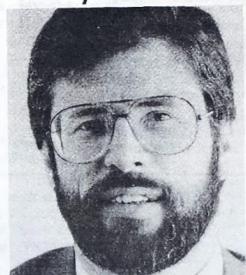
He was Director of Elections for Bobby Sands and Owen Carron, both of whom won a seat in Fermanagh/South Tyrone.

In 1985 he was elected to Dungannon Council, where he is currently serving his second term having won the Torrent by-election in November 1990.

He is the party's spokesperson on Prison issues and was the author of a paper, *A view from the Lough*, which is now widely used as a blueprint for development and planning work around Lough Neagh.

A vote for  
Sinn Féin is  
a vote for  
lasting peace

Gerry Adams



## WEST BELFAST

Gerry Adams MP has been involved in the political and community life of West Belfast for his entire adult life. He was active in the initial agitation against the

# SINN FEIN EXPRESSES "ABSOLUTE CONFIDENCE"

ANNOUNCING the Sinn Féin team of candidates in the forthcoming Westminster elections, West Belfast MP Gerry Adams expressed "absolute confidence in our ability to secure our position as the largest nationalist party in Belfast and the second largest party in the city and to build on the solid successes the party has achieved in a succession of local government by-elections we have fought in other parts of the Six Counties over the last two years".

Gerry Adams went on to say in his March 10th pre-election announcement:

"The message to every Sinn Féin

building of the Divis Flats complex. He was also a founding member of the Civil Rights movement.

After periods of imprisonment without trial, for his opposition to British rule, Gerry Adams was elected MP for West Belfast in 1983 and was re-elected in 1987.

As MP for the area he has been centrally involved in campaigning for better social, economic and living conditions for the people of West Belfast and has consistently confronted attempts to criminalise and vilify the West Belfast community.

**Freedom  
Justice  
Peace**

Henry  
Cushinan



SOUTH ANTRIM  
Henry Cushinan

well known and likeable



"While the others have been collectively eliminated through the Stormont talks, Sinn Féin has got on with preparing a comprehensive programme which we believe will lay the foundations of lasting peace."

"Do the SDLP and UUP seriously expect to be fooled by the flimsy excuse that Stormont just isn't ready for a general election, or by the

# ing peace

s contesting 14 constituencies in minister general the Six County's candidates standing on their service to the party, on Sinn Féin's progressive policies on issues of public policy that people's lives the republican for freedom, justice and peace in Ireland.

the constituency and has been active in local politics all of his adult life. As the candidate for Sinn Féin in 1987 he polled extremely well, retaining Sinn Féin's solid vote in South Antrim in the face of a campaign of abuse and vilification. He was a hard working councillor on Antrim Council until 1989.

Henry helped reorganise the party's local constituency service. Today, through party activists in Antrim, Toome and Randalstown, it provides help and assistance on a range of issues from housing to welfare benefits.

Plans are already well advanced to expand this service into Crumlin and Glengormley.

## James McCarry



### NORTH ANTRIM

James McCarry is a married man from Toomebridge who is well known and respected throughout the North Antrim constituency as a hard working councillor on Moyle

attended debate in the British House of Commons last week — the first since 1985 — which attracted less than half a dozen MPs with no connection to the North, and which just happens to occur now?

“Are we expected to believe that a few days before an election the parties have all agreed, after two years of failure, to become involved in ‘substantive talks’?

“It’s an absurd situation and one which the electorate has seen through. No one is being conned and many will react angrily on polling day to the efforts of the parties to exploit for party political gain the genuinely held desire for peace within our community.

“Sinn Féin wants peace. We believe we have an important role to play in the development of a real peace process which can only begin with dialogue and willingness to be within our community.

“Sinn Féin wants peace. We believe we have an important role to play in the development of a real peace process which can only begin with dialogue and willingness to be within our community.

“I am confident that on whatever date polling occurs, many people will acknowledge, by voting Sinn Féin, their desire for a lasting peace based on justice, equality and democracy.”



the other parties have effectively electioneering the Stormont talks Sinn Féin out with the business of a comprehensive programme which we believe can lay the foundations of lasting peace. The SDLP and the other parties only expect people to have by the flurry of activity just in advance of the or by the disgracefully

District Council.

He has been active in the political and community life of the area for all of his adult life.

During that time he has campaigned on a range of issues, including support for the local agricultural industry, housing and roads. He was to the fore in challenging the Departments of Environment and Agriculture on their handling of the persistent flooding in the North Antrim area. He has been active in campaigning for adequate compensation for the homes and businesses damaged by flooding.

## Joe O'Donnell



### EAST BELFAST

Joe O'Donnell has been politically active in republican and community politics for many years.

He was born and reared in the Short Strand area of East Belfast and is acutely aware of the many problems and difficulties faced by nationalists living there.

Joe O'Donnell has helped develop Sinn Féin's excellent constituency service which has provided an invaluable source of assistance to anyone in need.

A particular area of concern has been the redevelopment of the Short Strand which has created many problems.

Joe O'Donnell has played an important role in helping to resolve many of the problems which have arisen between the Housing Executive and local residents.

Joe O'Donnell is also the party's spokesperson on Fair Employment.

**FOR AN END TO REPRESSION,**

**Vote Sinn Féin**

senting those who elected them, Paddy has effectively challenged unionist control, helping with his colleagues to expose the problems of corruption and discrimination.

As the party's Legal Affairs spokesperson Paddy has been to the fore in highlighting miscarriages of justice, abuses by the state forces and the denial of human rights under British rule.

Magherafelt Council she continues to campaign on housing and planning issues. Pauline has been to the fore in seeking an improvement in community facilities and against the structural discrimination that manifests itself at every level of local government and the local economy.

## Seán Fitzpatrick



### SOUTH DOWN

Seán Fitzpatrick has been politically active in republican and community politics since his teens. His father, Seamus Fitzpatrick, was formerly an SDLP Councillor on Down Council.

Seán Fitzpatrick joined Sinn Féin following his involvement in the H-Block campaign.

Seán Fitzpatrick has helped develop Sinn Féin's constituency service in South Down which despite many obstacles has an excellent work record.

Seán Fitzpatrick has taken a particular interest in the many housing problems in South Down, especially in the rural areas.

He is the party's spokesperson on Housing issues.

## Sean Hayes



### SOUTH BELFAST

Sean Hayes is a married man from the Markets area of South Belfast. He has been active for many years in local and community politics and has been to the fore in the Irish language revival and cultural renaissance in Belfast, particularly South Belfast.

As a colleague of Councillor Sean McKnight he has been involved in a wide range of campaigns effecting the South Belfast constituency, including housing and health provision.

## Martin McGuinness



### FOYLE

Martin McGuinness is one of Ireland's leading republicans. He has been politically active in Derry since the Civil Rights days.

Martin has been imprisoned, arrested and harassed on many occasions for his political views.

In 1982 he successfully contested the Assembly elections, winning comfortably. He refused, with his colleagues, to take his seat, or salary, in protest at Britain's involvement in Ireland.

Martin is one of the driving forces behind the success of Sinn Féin and has helped shape the politics of the party, including the recent peace document, *Towards a Lasting Peace in Ireland*.

Martin is also the party's spokesperson on Education.

## Paddy McManus



### NORTH BELFAST

Paddy McManus is one of Sinn Féin's nine-strong team of councillors on Belfast City Council, the largest nationalist grouping there. He is also the party's Spokesperson on Legal Affairs. He has been politically active in the area since his youth and is well known within the North Belfast community.

Despite the efforts of unionists to prevent Sinn Féin Councillors representing Sinn Féin's team of councillors on

# Reviews

## THE MAGIC IS MISSING

■ BY BREADAN MAC RUAIRI

STRANGELY ENOUGH for all Britain's wrong-doings in Ireland, especially over the last 23 years, interest in British soccer among sporting republicans is endemic. No contradiction apparently exists between supporting teams such as Liverpool or Newcastle, for example, while soldier sons of those cities do their dirty work in Ireland! Yet that's how it should be.

**S**o the English First Division Championship trundles relentlessly on, too long, with too many mediocre teams. Next season's proposed super-league is surely long overdue.

As the leading clubs strive for the finishing post, former glamour club Manchester United appears, at this stage, to have the edge. Dogged Leeds still look likely to push them all the way. Manchester City and Sheffield Wednesday will be satisfied with their efforts, while Souness can blame an injury plague for Liverpool's come-down.

What sort of victory would it be for Manchester United? Emphatic hardly — pyrrhic most likely. Despite the best efforts of the sporting media and the £16 million spent on players, United are no longer and can no longer be the great visionary soccer institution it once was. The '60s are history now, Busby's influence is negligible.

gible, the flame cannot be rekindled. As with Cavan's Gaelic football outfit, United squads since 1968 have been prisoners of the past, unable to live up to a glorious tradition and paralysed accordingly.

Since Busby's abdication as team manager, United's fortunes have fluctuated from the flamboyance and fragility of Tommy Docherty and Ron Atkinson to the competence and greyness of Dave Sexton and Alex Ferguson. All the while a formula for restoration to the elite remains elusive.

Now a poor quality championship, shackled with a plethora of poor teams, coupled with the failure of normally strong contenders such as Liverpool, Arsenal and Everton to mount a challenge has allowed United to lurch back into poll position. Sixteen million pound is a lot to pay out in modern-day recession-hit England, the achieve-



• Best and Law — present day United squads missing their magic

ments of Clough, Wilkinson and Reid with much less is far more impressive.

Why then, with all the resources, tradition and support, is the magic missing? There are, I submit, several factors. One might as well start with the manager, Alex Ferguson. Despite his success with Aberdeen, during his tenure at Old Trafford he has never managed to portray a sense of self-confidence which would indicate he had a full inkling of where he was taking the side.

Responsibility weighs heavily on his shoulders, a furtive sideways glance is his abiding characteristic. The Scotsman's early decision to sell off such dynamic United titans as Kevin Moran, Paul McGrath and Gordon Strachan and replacing them with listless strollers like Pallister, Bruce and Webb was an alarming portent of what lay ahead.

The recent experience of Manchester United demonstrates again that the acquisi-

tion of a multitude of expensive "stars" does not guarantee a team of exceptional quality. Too many of United's big names appear more concerned with consolidating their own reputations rather than slotting into a cohesive team unit. True, Hughes leads the line abrasively and effectively while McClair works tirelessly. Giggs, however, after a spectacular start, resembles more and more the precocious child who wants the ball all to himself in the school-yard. Kanchelskis, too, is gifted but frequently ends in a cul-de-sac.

The Manchester club's main rivals for the league, Leeds, provide something of a contrast. Managed inspiringly by Howard Wilkinson, who, three seasons ago, took over the club, picked them off the bottom of the second division and has brought them to the brink of championship glory. Wilkinson's feet is very much in the Brian Clough mould, he has spent the limited funds available to him wisely, all his purchases have been good values. He has also succeeded in getting previously average players to excel, Chapman, Fairclough and White typify this.

Leeds' traditional mode of hard, uncompromising if effective play has been reversed; under Wilkinson they are widely recognised as one of the most attractive sides in the English game. Early in the season Wilkinson stated that his squad was still two or three players short of championship require-

ments, so irrespective of how the league run-in concludes, Leeds are well on course for future acclaim.

**T**he capitulation of last year's champions Arsenal has been surprising. A club packed with proven players looked certain to make a major impact yet again. I believe a growing weakness in central defence has finally been exposed and has cost them dearly. Club captain Adams is grossly over-rated, O'Leary's star has been on the wane for some time, while other options Bould, Linehan and Pates have never been more than ordinary. Doubtless, astute if sullen, team boss George Graham will devise an appropriate remedy for this sector and the Gunners will soon be a force again.

Liverpool's current difficulties require less analysis. Too many top players on the treatment table for too long. Irrespective of what future circumstances prevail Graeme Souness still faces a major personal challenge. For many observers, the credentials of the former Ranger's chief for top-flight management are unproven and his fiery temperament highly questionable. Time will, of course, reveal whether he can re-establish the Anfield club's supremacy in English soccer.

In the meantime the United's of Manchester and Leeds occupy centre stage.

and bronchial complaints in their neighbourhoods. Small farmer Liam Kearney, who has lost crops in recent years for no apparent reason, like many of those interviewed, has little time for the local authority or the IDA: "The County Council have washed their hands of us. The IDA are only bluffing. They're only meeting us because of Sandoz. And when Sandoz comes in we'll be totally forgotten."

The highly informative 34-minute video is available from David Cotter of Action for Safety and Health, Tel: (01) 512527 or from Eleanor Lambe in Cork: Tel: (021) 667537.

likely to become the latest addition to Cork's chemical company collection. There are currently 16 such companies, most of them foreign multinationals, operating around Cork Harbour in Ringaskiddy and Little Island.

**L**ocal people complain that the harbour, one of the world's finest, is being killed off by the chemical industry. They complain of declining fish stocks, while many environmentalists are particularly wor-

ried at the lack of equipment available to Cork County Council to adequately monitor emissions. In the absence of proper independent evidence to back official claims that there is nothing to worry about, local people feel entitled to call for a halt rather than allow yet another chemical plant to set up. Given Sandoz's atrocious record as a dirty company, feelings are running very high.

Women in the video complain of strange smells, of increased numbers of asthmati-

connections to the Catholic Church, an organisation not often noted for its commitment to democratic structures or philosophy. In addition the management board personnel burst into prominence out of nowhere; they normally do not have a long history of voluntary and community involvement in the area. On the other hand, genuine community based activists with a long history of voluntary involvement in the area have to work harder and harder at obtaining their share of a decreasing amount of funding available to the voluntary sector. At worst, they are starved of funding entirely through political vetting, through the refusal to grant government funding to or removal of funding from a group on the grounds that it is said by the government to have some unspecified links with paramilitary organisations.

**C**o-options challenges the voluntary sector in general to develop unified responses and positions in negotiating new relationships with the state: "It is all too easy to divide and conquer unless we work together to ensure that it is community groups themselves that define both their own role and nature and that of community work itself."

**C**o-options, *Journal of the Community Workers Co-operative, Spring 1992.*

LEATHANACH 10 — Thursday, March 12th 1992

## Cork Harbour condemned to slow death

■ BY LIAM O COILEAIN

IF NOTHING IS DONE SOON to clean up Ireland's chemical industry "in ten to 15 years Cork Harbour will be an open sewer". Doctor Paul Johnston of the University of London says the geography of the harbour is such that, contrary to official claims, its waters are not regularly flushed into the ocean but retain most of the effluent pumped into them and that neither is the area suitable for emissions into the air.

**H**e is one of many concerned individuals interviewed in the video *Playing With Fire*, produced to show

the people of Cork's fears of the Irish chemical industry, most of which seems to be concentrated in their area. The

video was made by the independent media company, Appalling Vista, and examines the effects of the industry on the health and lives of the local people, and on the indigenous industries of farming, fishing and tourism. Directed by Art O Laoghaire, the documentary opens with scenes outside the local authority offices in Cork city during a protest by local people, mainly women, against the Sandoz chemical plant, which is looking increasingly

lytical approach to the concept of 'partnership' between the voluntary and state sectors which has of late become a key concept in any discussions of community work. The aim is to generate a debate about the relevance of the new situation and the most appropriate strategies to develop in response to it.

The starting point is an analysis of both the state and the community sectors, an understanding of which "will ultimately determine any strategies pursued within partnership arrangements".

It goes on to look at the experience gained of several development programmes in both rural and urban contexts. These include a look at several initiatives in Tallaght, County Dublin; Poverty Three, an EC anti-poverty programme, the lessons of the Rural Action Project and the experience of the Simon Community in voluntary-statutory partnership in

the housing area. It also explores some perspectives on 'partnership' in other European countries.

**B**ill Rolston gives an account

of the situation of the voluntary sector in the Six Counties which is beset by problems directly attributed to the colonial nature of the state. He points out that the importance of the state in everyday life there cannot be overestimated. "The power of Stormont is compounded by direct rule, as a result of which many major decisions are made at Westminster, and only a few of them ever make it to the floor of parliament to be debated."

He draws attention to British government manipulation of initiatives in West Belfast: "The total funding for the initiatives comes from Stormont. The local people on the management boards of these initiatives usually have close

## New challenges for community workers

■ BY ART MAC EOIN

The Community Workers Co-operative (CWC) is "a national network of women and men active at a community level working for social change. It seeks to be an independent voice for the community sector and to campaign on issues which affect the lives of those with whom its members work. It also promotes community work as an approach to and mechanism for change."

**T**he current edition of *Co-options, Journal of the CWC*, takes as its theme "Consensus or Censorship?" an investigation of

community work in partnership with the state in Ireland, mainly the 26 Counties.

The booklet adopts an ana-

# Reviews

# Radio Times

## Peace-making

■ BY DANNY MORRISON

WHAT I FIND noble and admirable about true pacifists or people, for example, committed to protecting the environment, is that in order to further their cause members will very often take great risks.

Consider Greenpeace. Its members will take to flimsy dinghies in choppy seas and approach the hull of a ship to disrupt its attempts to dump radioactive waste overboard. Its divers have attempted to block the Sellafield pipe which discharges thousands of tons of contaminated water into the Irish Sea daily.

Governments have identified Greenpeace as a threat, so much so that French undercover agents several years ago blew up its Rainbow Warrior yacht in New Zealand, killing one of its photographers.

Most environmental terrorists are governments or the multinational companies they licence and Greenpeace condemns them all, makes no exceptions, isn't selective.

Throughout history, soldiers who refuse to fight in pointless or hopeless wars are often executed; pacifists and conscientious objectors, because their example is hostile to state interests, often interned.

At Ohio University in 1970 members of the National Guard shot dead four students who were demonstrating against the war in Vietnam. In San Salvador in 1981 Archbishop Romero was assassinated for

speaking out against oppression, for advocating peace with justice. In Israel in 1991 Jewish peace demonstrators were physically attacked and denigrated by the establishment and its supporters for advocating dialogue and compromise with the Palestinians.

I have never heard of a genuine peace group being granted by a government which is also party to a conflict. Yet this is exactly the case with FAIT — although it might now have to change its name depending upon which faction of the Workers' Party emerges with a right to work.

Genuine peace groups are not intolerant, venomous, triumphalist or selective in their condemnations — each of which characteristic perfectly describes New Consensus.

The day I see Paddy Devlin, Sam McCaughey and Terry Carlin, in waterboots wading through the Derg river in West Tyrone — or across any one of a hundred places where bridges and border crossings have been blown up — is the day I'll know that they are genuine (or at least consistent). But there are no buffet bars in Upper Cory, Castlederg, and what camera crew whose members

are in their right mind is going to follow the ordnance survey map to cover a story about disruption to the lives of people along the border, a story which, let's face it, is hardly likely to see the light of day?

"What did you do for peace, Daddy?"

"Drank my way from Dublin to Belfast, posed for the photographers at Central Station and then wrote about what I could remember of it. Those were the days, daughter!"

It would be touching if just once these people could find it in their hearts to initiate a protest against British army violence or offer some recognition to the oppressed that they sympathise with them. Fr Des Wilson neatly summed up the selectivity and historical inactivity of the Northern Committee of ICTU, which quickly reacts to IRA actions only when he wrote: "What a pity the trade unionists at the City Hall, while the murders were taking place (at the Sinn Féin Centre) did not realise ten or 20 years ago that all workers had a right to work".

The church leaders are often seen visiting the victims of violence in hospital. However, after the gun attack on the Sinn Féin office on the Falls Road, which left three dead, they chose to visit the ambulance personnel (whose work deserved praise) rather than the two republican survivors. But let us be charitable and assume that they had to run off to other more pressing engagements.

The four main churches have called for next Sunday, March 15th, to be set aside as a time of prayer for peace in the North. Radio and television stations in Ireland have agreed to observe silence for one minute just before noon. I don't know about those in Britain but the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr

George Carey, has pledged his support and I hope that congregations in Britain will be asked to give this conflict a few moments thought. It would certainly be more than what their politicians give.

Whilst the majority of MPs



are being out dining their secretaries last Thursday night, a pathetic few tried to take the bare look off the echo chamber that was the House of Commons. The occasion was billed as the first major debate on the North in seven years. Only with opera glasses could one parliamentary colleague have spotted another. About 30 out of 650 MPs were present. Sixteen were from the North and there were

three government ministers and four or five other backbench spokespersons who were obliged to be there.

Now isn't that a breathtaking example of how concerned Britain's MPs are? You wouldn't think that this was a life or death issue.

Given such British indifference can it be such a great mystery that people throw up their hands in exasperation and support armed struggle?

Very soon, church envoys will be talking to republicans. I am not in the know but it is clear that the hypocritical taboo on talking has been broken by the Presbyterian leaders — fair play to them — who met the UDA. I hope a visit to the major

drawal from Vietnam months before his death. But, in 1963, the US believed that the regime they had in power in Saigon could do the job — hold back the Reds — without an overt US presence. Also, how would kids in bodybags have endeared him to the US electorate in 1964?

Remember that Kennedy came to power on a platform of preventing the spread of Communism. That's what the failed invasion of Cuba in 1961 was all about. Are we really expected to believe he would have stood back and watched as the Viet Minh drove the Saigon regime into the sea? Nonsense. Furthermore, the Kennedy administration was obsessed with Castro — and that includes the two Kennedy brothers. Thus the Bay of Pigs invasion.

Just because it failed miserably doesn't cast doubt on Kennedy's hatred of Castro. In *JFK* Stone makes much of the existence of Operation Mongoose, which was designed to unseat Castro — by any means. These included sending the man exploding cigars and special chemicals which would make his beard fall out, thus undermining Castro's macho latino image and weakening his popular support! This is what governments do when the rest of us are out working, or doing

something constructive.

Stone implies that Kennedy did not know about Operation Mongoose. Kennedy was centrally involved in one of the last acts of Mongoose — an attempt to kill Castro with a poison filled pen. The art doesn't match the reality.

*O*liver Stone is no radical, and no historian. But as a film maker his prowess is undisputed. And with *JFK* Stone has produced a film both extremely powerful — once you learn to ignore the nonsense — and immensely watchable.

Briefly, Mr Decent America 1963, Jim Garrison (played by Mr Decent America 1990, Kevin Costner) is a District Attorney in New Orleans who attempts to prosecute a local businessman for his part in a huge conspiracy to kill Kennedy. It's a long shot and it fails (should've got Ben Matlock instead). However, this device allows Stone to raise some very important (and unanswered) questions about the killing.

Why was Lee Harvey Oswald taught Russian whilst a Marine? Having left the Marines, Oswald defected and was then allowed back into the country, with his Russian wife, without even a debriefing. What was Oswald doing running a pro-Castro campaign out of a building which

party to the conflict, the British government, is also on their itinerary. They will be lobbying all groups that are involved in violence, won't they?

A settlement is still a long, long, long way off but the first step towards one is dialogue.

Finally, the reason why sides don't talk has got nothing whatsoever to do with support for violence. To talk is to contemplate giving.

Let us keep firmly in mind who is refusing to talk because they are also the same ones who are refusing to contemplate giving.

Where are the signs of peace from Britain, from the unionists?

Can the peace-makers tell us that?

also housed a CIA run anti-Castro organisation, a building which incidentally was within a few blocks of various governmental intelligence agencies? Why were the normal security precautions not followed during Kennedy's visit?

What of all the mysterious deaths of vital witnesses in the months after the killing? And so on. Whether the conspiracy was as immense as he suggests is questionable, possible but questionable.

Watch out for some cameo performances by Ed Asner, Donald Sutherland and Jack Lemmon. And be prepared for a cringe-inducing Sissy Spacek, playing the role of Jim Garrison's wife, a role so stereotypical that had this production been Irish her role would surely have been filled by either Maureen O'Hara, or even Twink.

What happened in 1963 was a coup d'état, says Stone. Solve that mystery, he says, and you understand all the corrupt and indecent things done by the US over the last 30 years. In other words, the US is fundamentally good. It was betrayed by evil people. If we start to believe in foolishness like that, we'll never understand anything. Still, reservations notwithstanding, *JFK* is an important film. See it, just don't believe too much of it.

# Shooting JFK

■ BY DARA MacNEILL

THE OPENING MOMENTS of Oliver Stone's *JFK* — in which the events of November 22nd 1963 are depicted — are vitally important. Around this sequence the rest of this three-hour epic is built. The very same sequence which I missed. And so the next 55 minutes were spent in a desperate attempt to make sense of the whole thing.

**A**pparently, on the date in question, some very important individual had the misfortune to meet with an assassin's bullet — with predictable consequences. It also appears that this particular individual, Kennedy I believe, was the 1960s equivalent of your average medieval knight in shining armour — that such an identity mix-up should occur is hardly surprising given the vast quantities of drugs people threw into themselves in the '60s. Anyway, before he was struck down, this goodly knight was about to banish everything that was bad, evil, ugly or in bad taste from his kingdom forever and bring about an era of sweetness and light. But the baddies did what baddies all over do and, consequently, America was transformed into the sort of country which elect-

ed Dan Quayle as its second in command. Horrifying, isn't it!

That, to be serious for a moment, is the gist of the theory which Stone propounds in *JFK*. Kennedy, says Stone, had a hidden agenda. An agenda which was little short of nationalising the banks, entering a mutual defence pact with Castro and assisting Ho Chi Minh in his efforts to overthrow the (US installed) illegitimate regime in Saigon, South Vietnam.

True enough, the manner of Kennedy's assassination has never been satisfactorily resolved. And true enough, Stone's film punches more holes in the findings of the Warren Commission — which concluded that Kennedy had died at the hands of the lone, crazed Lee Harvey Oswald — than you'd expect to find in your average tea strainer. But the image of Kennedy as the great and good who was pulling out of Vietnam and attempting reconciliation with Castro, is nonsense. It doesn't fit the facts. True, Kennedy had signed a secret memo ordering with-

## Nuacht

## Rabhadh i nDoire

CHUIR an comhairleoir Hugh Brady as Dhoire muintir an lar-Thuaiscirt ar a seacht n-aire an tseachtais seo caite roimh ionsaithe ó na dílseoirí. Chuir sé le fios go raibh méadú suntasach i lóna na robála chathaí agus go bhfuil seans ann gu reamhimeachtaí iad seo ar iarrach dhúnmarraithe. Is féidir go bhfuil dílseoirí ag ulmhú le gaghaidh ionsaí.

**T**hug Brady le fios gur tháinig an méadú seo sna róbála chathaí agus i gceantair dílseoirí a chathair agus i gcontae Doire araoa. In amanna a chuaigh thart úsáideadh airgead a bhailodh sa síl seo le caranna a cheannach i gceantair. Usáideadh a leithéid caranna sin níos faide aronú mar feithicil éalaithe i ndiaidh d'íarrachtaí dúnmarraithe ar náisiúntóirí.

Ar bharr seo, nuair a chuirtear an

ionsaí gunna ar Chaitliceach i gCúl Rathain agus na tuairiscí gur chuireadh ceannas nua i mbun an UFF/UDA i nDoire san Fhómhar san áireamh, is léir go bhfuil cíú go náisiúntóirí le bheith ar a n-aire.

Dúirt Brady go gcreideann sé go bhfuil dílseoirí a chathair is contae araoa ag cur na seíteanna le cheile leis an chumas a thabhairt dóibh fein iarrachtaí dúnmarraithe a dhéanamh. Dá



● HUGH BRADY

bhurfisín tá sé ag moladh do náisiúntóirí san lár-Thuaiscirt a bheith ar a n-aire sna mionna atá le teacht, agus le bheith curamach roimh daoinse is caranna aisteach ag maíneáil.

■ JOE MCQUILLAN  
H3

## Ag iarráidh bolscaireacht?

LE LINN NA SEACHTAINE seo caite cuireadh cúis 'eolas na colla go neamhdhleathach' i gcoineáin 0gánaigh. Bhí an cúis bainte le banéigniú a rinneadh tamall ó shin sa cheantar Ard na bhFea, i mBeal Fíerte. Bhí an bhean a éigní ar tí páiste a breith, rud a rinne sí cúpla lá i ndiaidh an ionsaithe. Bhí an t-ádh leis an bhean nach raibh aon dochar déanta d'á leanbh.

**L**e linn an éiginte buaileadh bob ar Laghaidh na mná go h-airithe a shrón agus a béal, deirtear go mbeadh mainlyacht athbhéilbhithe de dhíth iúrthi. Is féidir go mbeidh na dochúirí ábalta an damáiste fisiciúil a dheisíú ach ní bheidh a fhios ag aoninne an méad damáiste scieolafoch atá déanta di.

Baineadh preab as muintir an cheantair agus ar feadh laethanta ina dhiaidh bhí an RUC ag dul ó dhóras go doras ag déanamh fiosrúcháin. Bhí said ag cuir ceisteanna ar áitritheoirí an bhfaca siad duine amhrasach, níor chuala siad aon rud aisteach riabhach ní i ndiaidh an éigrithe.

Biodh sin mar atá ach bhí fhios acu cheanna fein an duine a deirtear a rinne an ionsaí tuise ag ghlac a thuigimtheoirí é chuig stáisiún na bpóilín an lá in a dhiaidh. Ar cuireadh cúis in a choinne? Níor cuireadh, ach scaoileadh saor é. Cá bhuioge scaoileadh saor é?



● Póilínteacht neamhchlaonta mar dhea!

An bhféadai é go raibh na poláin ag plé le níomhá? Níor raibh siad ag déanamh iarrachtaí leathach a bhailí agus chan ar an eachtra fein?

Idir na dhá linn bhí an ógánaich a

raibh an ionsaí fiocmhíar curtha ina leith saor na sráideanna a shiúil. Bhuel bhí sé saor go dtí go raibh an bolscaireacht is mó bainte amach ag an RUC ansin tóigh agus cuisiodh é.

## Múch na soilse



● Ceannaire arm agus ríaltas an smachta na Breataine sa Tuaisceart ag benniu a smachta ar sé chontae de tir na hÉireann

Bhí mé ag léamh san *Irish Times* go bhfuil "ansolas lasta san bhuinneog ag Maire Nic Roibín do chuaireadh ó Banríon Sasain". "Sé mo chomhairle dí gurbh bhearr an citeal a bhaint den tsornóig agus an solas a mhúchadh. Níl fáilte anseo do Eilís Windsor.

**D**ear Nic Roibín gur mhaith leí a gaolta idir an da thír a dhéanamh go normáilte, ní gháthú. Sír tuige an tsolais gaolta a normalú. Is suimiúil an tuairim s'aici gur féidir dearmad a dhéanamh as an fhadhb mhór atá i gcoirneann.

Bheadh Nic Roibín ag déalaíl le banríon Sasána, ceannfoirme Arm na Breataine, arm atá ag atíú Sé Chontae dár dtír, an tír ina bhfuil Nic Roibín in ainnm a bheith ina h-ionadáil dí. Tá sí in ainnm a bheith ina h-ionadáil do Muhintir na hÉireann, 32 Chontae,

dar lena bunreacht. An ionann cuireadh a thabhairt do cheannaise Arm na Breataine agus ionadáiocht a dhéanamh do phobal náisiúinach na sé Chontae?

Is féidir liom réamhshampla amháin a chumhnu don chuireadh seo. 800 bliana ó shin thug Diarmuid Mac Murrough chuireadh do Ríail II theacht go hÉireann, agus táimid ag troid ó shin lena fhorsaí agus comharba a dhíbhit as.

Níl call ná cead ag Nic Roibín cuireadh a thabhairt — ar mo shon — do ríona Shasain teacht go dtí an tír seo. Níl fáilte agam dí, agus ní féidir fáilte a chuir roimh ball ar bith dá teaghlaigh a fhad agus atá a h-arm ar talamh na tír seo. Is i tríd imeacht agus chan teacht a leithéid de cheannaise milleata go bhfuigh-fear gnáthú agus normalú don ghaolatais idir an dá thír. Ba cheart do Mhic Roibín an solas a mhúchadh anois, ní tá sí ag cuir a leitreachas d'amú.

# SINN FÉIN BOOK BUREAU

44 Cearnóg Pharnell, Baile Atha Cliath 1



BULK RATES  
AVAILABLE  
CONTACT: 726100

## BOOK SALE



### JEWELLERY

Silver Phoenix Chain @ £20 each  
Silver Tiocfaidh Ar Lá chain @ £20 each  
Silver Phoenix Ring @ £18 each  
Gold Phoenix chain @ £50 each  
Gold Phoenix Ring @ £50 each

Shoot the Women First by E McDonald  
Ireland Since the Famine by F S Lyons  
Green Against Green by M Hopkinson  
Illustrated History of Ireland by C F Cusack  
The Troubles by Ulick O'Connor  
Tale of a Great Sham by A Parnell

Was	Now	
£14.99	£10.99	Ulster Idyll by V MacDowell £3.50 £2.50
£8.99	£6.99	Lifting the Lid by U Barney H/B £10.00 £4.00
£12.99	£10.99	Best of Nell by Nell McCafferty £4.99 £3.99
£15.00	£10.00	Good Night Sister by Nell McCafferty £4.99 £3.99
£3.99	£2.99	Beyond the Rhethoric by Paul League £9.50 £8.00
£8.99	£6.99	Ireland: A Terrible Beauty by J & L Uris £9.95 £6.95
		Stolen Years by Paul Hill £9.95 £6.95
		To School Through the Fields by A Taylor £4.95 £3.95
		Livingstone's Labour by K Livingstone £13.50 £9.50

# END OF A CROOKED LANE

■ BY ANTHONY MCINTYRE (H-Block 7)

ENGLAND'S LORD CHIEF JUSTICE is to go. At 73 years of age, Geoffrey Dawson Lane is ignominiously quitting the job, two years short of the official retiring age. Employing the type of calculations used by the West Midlands' police force that would work out at around 79. With his departure imminent some political and legal commentators are clamouring to herald the dawning of a new age — 'you read it here first' type of thing — as the English judicial system emerges from the long shadow cast over it by such an ominous and ponderous figure.

It is true that in recent months a slight breeze of change has tilted the scales of justice away from the unjust. Verdicts at one time unthinkable have been returned in favour of Irish defendants. Kevin Barry O'Donnell, Dessie Ellis and William McKane were all set free by juries who abandoned the 'innocent until proven Irish' principle, so long the guiding thread of judicial procedure. English juries now harbour deep suspicions about their own police and are perhaps alienated by the racism of the judiciary, although for how long the honeymoon period between them and Irish defendants is likely to last is a matter for speculation. But it is hardly cynical or unreasonable to assume that a new reassertion of judicial authority will soon make itself visible with a corresponding penetration by the judges into the province of the juries.

Lord Lane succeeded Lord Widgery as Lord Chief Justice in 1980. With Widgery's contemptuous view of the Irish visibly captured in his Bloody Sunday judgment on the murderous activity of the Parachute Regiment, Lane knew the nature of the baton he was picking up at the switch-over. In the years that followed he knew

instinctively whose heads to bring it down on, with unmitigated force.

Lane had earlier made his mark — around the neck of James Hanratty — when, in 1962, as a junior prosecutor, he helped to secure a murder conviction and death sentence against Hanratty. It has since transpired that the executed man was in all probability innocent and is now the focus for a campaign to obtain a royal pardon.

In 1966 Lane represented the Metropolitan Police in the inquiry into the case of Timothy Evans — another innocent victim of the gallows. In 1988 he presided over the court which dismissed the appeal of Winston Silcott and the two other men who comprised the Tottenham Three who were falsely convicted, and since acquitted, of the killing of Constable Keith Blakelock. He further refused to apologise to the innocent Guildford Four in the wake of their acquittal, on behalf of the real guilty — the English judicial system. When it came to admitting mistakes Lane stuck firmly to the old principles of calling a spade a spade.

Decorated for his activities as a war time bomber with the RAF, the irony will hardly be lost on Irish minds that Lane, a real life bomber, was responsi-



© LORD LANE

ble for both perpetrating and perpetuating an appalling injustice on six innocent Irish people who had never been near a bomb in their lives. Lane was perhaps, the only bomber they had ever met.

His arrogance and self-cultivated isolation enabled Lane to become the personification of the institutional

aloofness and disdain which characterises the English judiciary. As Lord Chief Justice he headed a powerful group of approximately 30 people of upper and middle-class background. This small nucleus were not only the true power centre in the legal world, it also effectively undermined the function of Britain's elected representa-

tives. Unlike most European countries, Britain's judges did not merely interpret and implement law, they also made it. Lord Denning blew the whistle on this when he said "the judges do every day make law, though it is almost heresy to say so".

It is difficult to envisage what changes to this bastion of power and privilege can be effected by the elevation to the Lord Chief Justice's office of Lord Taylor. He comes to the job with the appearance of a man determined to make a fresh start, carrying a broom rather than a baton. His public profile, enhanced by his chairing of the inquiry into the Hillsborough disaster, depicts him as less distant and stuffy.

Yet despite his break with tradition in giving a press conference and his stated intention to make the judiciary 'user-friendly', Taylor proved a stalwart defender of Lane when the latter was subjected to a barrage of public criticism and justifiable ridicule over his handling of the Birmingham Six case. His stated commitment to protecting the jury system fails to disguise that juries only sit in two per cent of 'criminal' cases. Perhaps the most generous thing that may be said is that his handling of the Hillsborough disaster has enabled him to acquire excellent credentials. As one *Guardian* wit put it, he was presided over a disaster before.

Some change will occur, few would dispute that. But ultimately it will be more 'shadow than substance, style rather than content'. As Lord Devlin, a frustrated aspirant to the Lord Chief Justice position once commented, "Judges are inevitably part of the establishment, and the establishment's ideas are those which are operating in our minds."

The establishment view of Ireland needs no further outlining in this paper. That being so, Taylor may be the change that is needed for everything to stay the same.

## JUSTICE FOR JUDITH WARD



Members of the Judith Ward Support Group collected signatures at Dublin's College Green to a petition calling for justice for the longest serving prisoner connected with the conflict in the Six Counties, on Saturday, March 7th.

Judith Ward, one of the longest serving female prisoners in Britain, was framed by the British authorities in 1974 for the M62 coach bombing in the north of England. She was sentenced to life imprisonment plus 30 years. The scientific 'evidence' used against her has now been discredited and it is highly unlikely that a jury would have convicted her solely on the basis of her contradictory and confused statements at the time.

In September 1991, following representations from her lawyer and a British Home Office study of the scientific evidence, the British Home Secretary referred her case to the Court of Appeal, for it to consider whether her conviction should be upheld. Her appeal date has been set for April 27th, 1992.

## Recruiting abandoned as locals protest

A BRITISH AWARENESS DAY, intended to recruit young unemployed people to the army, failed to take place as scheduled on March 5th at Birley Community Education Centre in Moss Side, Manchester.

Interest in the day had been very low, with virtually no take-up from the youth of the area. A demonstration by the Manchester Martyrs Commemoration Committee (a local campaigning body for British withdrawal from Ireland) took place outside the centre. The demonstration was also joined by the Unemployed Workers' Charter and local parents. Students and staff from Birley Community Education Centre told demonstrators that they had not been consulted over the army recruitment exercise. Welcoming the demonstration, they said that college unions would be working to ensure that no future army recruiting will take place on the campus.

The day had been organised by Job Link, funded through the Hulme and Moss Side Community Trust. A representative of the

Hulme and Moss Side Community Trust spoke to the protesters and promised that the views of the protesters will be considered by the trust. The Manchester Martyrs Commemoration Committee intends to write to the Trust, pointing out that the British army plays no progressive or peace-keeping role in Ireland and that economic conscription to the army is not the answer to mass unemployment, bad housing or poverty. Education, real training and real jobs with decent rates of pay can only be part of the solution to areas like Hulme and Moss Side.

The Manchester Martyrs Commemoration Committee said: "Our demonstration was a success. We are hopeful that no further attempts will be made to recruit young people from Hulme and Moss Side to the British army by the job link project".

## Notices

REMEMBERING THE PAST  
TOM DOYLE

■ BY PETER O'ROURKE

TOM DOYLE (Tomás O Dubhgaill) life-long republican and trade union activist, was born in Dublin in 1917.

R eared at Comeragh Road, in the Drimnagh area of Dublin, he was educated at St James' Christian Brother School in James' Street. On leaving school he entered the civil service in May 1933 as a clerk in the 26-County Department of Defence. He later obtained a diploma in social and economic science at University College Dublin.

During the mid-1930s he became involved in the Republican Movement and eventually joined the IRA. As an active Volunteer in the IRA's Dublin Brigade, he initiated the plan in December 1939 to raid the Free State Magazine Fort in Dublin's Phoenix Park, where the bulk of the Free State army's ammunition was stored, which was based on his knowledge of the lax security within the fort.

The intelligence work and preliminary planning of the raid was undertaken by Doyle, Michael Traynor and Jack McNeela. Along with dozens of Volunteers of the Dublin Brigade, he took part in the raid on the Magazine Fort on December 23rd 1939, which resulted in the capture of about 1,084,000 rounds of ammunition — the bulk of the Free State army's arsenal.

During the autumn of 1940 and the

spring of 1941, at the height of the IRA bombing campaign in English cities and the campaign in the North, Doyle acted as Adjutant General to the then IRA's Chief-Of-Staff, the informer, Stephen Hayes. Although employed in the Department of Defence while at the same time being an active IRA Volunteer, his true identity, surprisingly, was unknown to the Special Branch. He managed to evade arrest for months, at a time when many Volunteers were 'on the run', carrying out his duties and assisting the bombing campaign in England. However, by February 1941 he was spotted by the Special Branch, who began to note his movements and contacts.

Arrested in March of the following year at a house on the North Circular Road, after weeks of close surveillance by the Special Branch and police informers, Doyle was sentenced to 14 years' imprisonment for republican activities. He was imprisoned in Mountjoy Jail, where all sentenced political prisoners were held, and later in Arbour Hill Military Prison, until July 1945 when he was transferred along with the 21 remaining sentenced political prisoners to the Curragh

Interment Camp. In July 1946, following the release of the last of the internees in the 26 Counties, he was moved along with the other sentenced prisoners to the 'Glashouse' in the Curragh where he was held until his release the following December.

On release he immediately resumed his republican activities and in 1947 he became secretary of the Republican Prisoners Release Association (PPRA) founded two years earlier to assist the republican prisoners and their dependants and to campaign for the release of all republican political prisoners in Ireland and England.

Following the disbandment of the RPRA in 1952, Doyle, along with former members of the committee, including Rita McGlynn, Ella Woods, Donal O'Connor, Tom Gill and Nan Dillon, was a founder member in 1953 of An Cumann Cabhrach, the Republican Prisoners' Dependents Fund (which has continued up to the present day) to provide assistance for the republican prisoners and their dependants. He was appointed Secretary of An Cumann Cabhrach, a position he held for the next nine years.

Doyle played a prominent part in the re-organisation of the republican movement during the late 1940s



● TOM DOYLE

and became secretary to the Sinn Féin organising committee in 1948 and also a regular contributor to the United Irishman, following its establishment in May of that year. He later became joint general secretary with Jim Russell of Sinn Féin and at the party's ard fheis in October 1951 he was elected, along with Traynor, vice-president.

For two years during the early 1950s he was president of Sinn Féin and from 1956 to 1962 he again held

the position of vice-president. An unsuccessful candidate for Sinn Féin in the Dublin North Central constituency at the general election in March 1957, he continued his involvement with the party and the IRA, and was a member of the IRA's temporary Army Council during the early months of the 1956-62 border campaign.

Doyle, barred from re-employment in the public service under Section 34 of the Offences Against the State Act 1939, following his release from prison, he joined the staff of the Workers' Union of Ireland in 1948.

A tireless worker for the Republican Movement during the difficult years of the 1950s, Doyle worked night and day to serve the cause. A powerful orator and an experienced politician, he travelled throughout the country speaking at public meetings and commemorations. By 1961, however, his unceasing work for the movement had taken its toll on his health. Following a short illness he died in St Luke's Hospital, Rathgar, Dublin, in the spring of the following year. Attended by thousands of republicans his funeral took place in Glasnevin Cemetery where he was buried in the Republican Plot.

Tom Doyle, a committed and dedicated republican to the end, died on March 12th 1962, 30 years ago this week.

SINN FEIN is dedicated to forcing a British withdrawal from the occupied Six Counties, the reunification of our country and the establishment of a democratic socialist republic.

If you would like to join Sinn Féin fill in the form below and send it to Sinn Féin, 44 Parnell Square, Dublin 1.

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

Tel: \_\_\_\_\_ Age: \_\_\_\_\_

# Join Sinn Féin

## DRAW RESULTS

FIANNA EIREANN  
DRAW RESULTS

1st Prize £50: Mrs McIntyre, Bar-

dow Road, Cork, Ticket No 42; 2nd

Prize £20: Matthew Coagan,

Drogheda, Ticket No 92; 3rd Prize

Video: K Fitzgerald, Barrack St,

Cork City, Ticket No 44; 4th Prize

£5: Con Colvert Slue, Dublin, Tick-

et No 258; 5th Prize £5: Aoife Finn,

Tallaght, Dublin 24, Ticket No 151;

6th Prize £5: Niall Smith, Drogheda,

Ticket No 91.

Martyrs Sinn Féin Cumann.

Remembered by the Jim Lynch

Sinn Féin Cumann, Clogher

Remembered by South Tyrone

Comhairle Ceantair Sinn Féin.

MAGILL, Tom (7th Ann). In loving

memory of my loving husband Tom

Magill. Remembering you is easy,

we do it every day, missing you is

the heartache that never goes away.

Sadly missed by his loving wife,

Sadie Magill.

Remembered by his sons Thomas,

Terence and Martin.

Sadly missed by his daughter Ann,

Joseph and grandchildren Aine and

Orlath.

Remembered by Peggy and Danny,

Canada.

Sadly missed by his grandchildren

Sinead, Brendan, Aidan and Eoin.

MARSHALL, Sam (2nd Ann). Mur-

dered by pro-British death squad.

'I've always believed we had a

legitimate right to take up arms and

defend our country and ourselves

against British occupation.'

Mairead Farrell. Always remem-

bered by Sean J Nash, Bradford,

England.

FARRELL/McCANN/SAVAGE (4th

Ann). Always remembered by Brian,

Maggie, Patrick, Ann and family.

From Tessie McCullough and family.

Comhbhrón

GAFFNEY. The Republican Move-

ment in Leitrim express sincere con-

dolances to the relatives of life long

republican Mary Alice Gaffney who

died on February 3rd.

HARTIGAN. Deepest sympathy is

extended to Maisie and family on

the recent death of her husband Patrick.

From An Cumann Cabhrach/POW

Campaign, Breataine. Masses offered.

KEANE. Deepest sympathy is

extended to Agnes and family on the

recent death of her husband John.

From An Cumann Cabhrach/POW

Campaign, Breataine. Masses offered.

MacMANUS. The Republican

Movement in Leitrim expresses sin-

cerely sympathy to Sean, Helen and

Chris MacManus on the death of Vol

Joe MacManus. In these long days

you are in our thoughts and prayers.

'I measc laethra na nGael go mbé-

an amhan fin.'

SEERY. Deepest sympathy is

extended to the Seery family on the

death of Brendan. From Declan.

From Gussy, Bro, Gerry and Nicky.

TIERNAN. The Republican Move-

ment in Leitrim express sincere con-

cern to the family of the late Pat

Tiernan who died on February 7th.

Beannachtáí

GERVAN, Martin (Crumlin Road).

Happy birthday and lots of love,

Roisin.

Happy birthday daddy. From Sarah

Marie.

From Margaret and Frank.

From Declan and Siobhan.

FITZSIMMONS, Bobby (A' Wing, Crumlin Road). Happy birthday

Bobby love, hope we spend the next

on together.

Miss you lots, love you always, Paula.

Happy birthday daddy, you are one

in a million.

Love from Bobby, Carrie Anne, Dona-

na Marie, Michaela and Seamus.

FLANAGAN, Patrick (Portlaoise).

Happy birthday Patrick, lots of love.

From Dora.

Happy birthday daddy. From Noel,

Kevin, Seán and Sinead.

CARMODY, John (Portlaoise).

To my loving son John, wishing you a

very happy birthday, all my love to you.

From your son, Kennedy Pk.

Happy Birthday Daddy. From your

favorite girl, Sarah XXX.

Happy Birthday John, love you for-

ever, Jenny XXX.

Happy Birthday John. From Tina,

Nora and family.

Happy Birthday John. From all your

friends in Limerick city.

Happy Birthday John. From Ger-

Brummell and family.

Happy Birthday John. From Joe,

Denis and Rachel.

Happy Birthday John. From Jimmy,

Alice and all the lads in Weston.

Buiochas

BLACKBIRD. An Cumann Cabhrach

(Prisoners' Dependents' Fund) thanks

you again for your generous donation

of \$200. Tiochfaidh Ar Lá.

## Imeachtaí

ANTI-EXTRADITION MEETING: Meets

6.30pm every Tuesday, USI, 16 North

Great Georges Street, DUBLIN

PICKET ON US EMBASSY: Opposing

US policy in Central America, 11.30am-

1pm, first Saturday of every month, Balls-

bridge, DUBLIN

PUB QUIZ: In aid of the Friends of

Pamela Kane, Thursday March 12th,

Foxhound, Kilbarrack, DUBLIN (Beside

Kilbarrack Dart Station and 17A Terminus)

Talis: £10 per table

WELCOME HOME DANCE: For James

and the McKeernan family

Remembered by Vol Kevin McCracken,

Belfast Brigade, Oglach na hÉireann,

Derry, who died on March 14th 1988.

Mary, Queen of the Gael, and St

Patrick, pray for him. Masses

offered. 'Sad are the hearts that

loved you, silent the tears that fall.

Living our lives without you is the

hardest part of all.'

A token of love and remembrance to

a son we will never forget. Loved

and remembered always by his

mother, father, sisters and brothers:

Deirdre and family; Siobhan, Kevin

and family; Stephen, Damian, Maria

and family; James and family.

From aunt Annie, Jimmy and family;

Alice, Arthur and family; Marie,

Frank and family; Michael, Margaret

and family; John, Cathi and family;

Seamus, Theresa and family; Padraic

and family; Ciara and Kevin.

Remembered by Uncle Arthur, aunt

Alice, Patricia, Christopher, Arlene,

Pat, Patrick, Michael and Leanne.

Remembered by the McKeown family,

New Zealand.

Remembered by Joe and Roisin.

Remembered by Danny, Josie

O'Neill and family.

Remembered by John, Anne and kids.

Remembered by Willie, Helen and

family, Glasgow.

Remembered by the Kevin Barry

Flute Band, Glasgow.

Remembered by his big mate Mano,

Tina and family.



## News

## Maghaberry women describe ordeal

**FOLLOWING THE BRUTAL ATTACK** on women prisoners in Maghaberry Jail, the republican POWs there have revealed full details of what occurred on Monday, March 2nd. They lay the blame for the mass strip-searches at the highest level, carried out on the orders of Governor Bob Gibson, with the approval of the Northern Ireland Office.

"THE GOVERNOR of Maghaberry Jail, Mr Bob Gibson, and the NIO decided that their contribution to International Women's Day should be spectacular. After much thought the male hierarchy decided that the best way to contribute to International Women's Day was to assert their control over one of the most vulnerable groups of women within society. Abusing the power invested in them and armed with a wealth of mysterious "facts" originating from anonymous "sources", the plan was hatched.

**O**n Monday, March 2nd, women POWs were told that a search of the jail was to take place and that we would not be unlocked. A short time later we were informed that we would all be subjected to a strip-search. The screws were informed that the POWs objected very strongly to this unprecedented outrage. POWs were threatened with loss of remission and solitary confinement if they did not comply with the order to strip naked. The threat was intended to coerce women into submitting to the indignity of a humiliating strip search. However, 22 women decided to resist and defend themselves as best they could under the circumstances.

What happened over the next two hours can only be described as sexual, physical and psychological torture. Gangs of screws dressed in riot gear and armed with batons and shields entered the wings. A gang of screws entered a cell and set upon the defenceless women inside (anything up to 16 screws in each cell). The POWs were dragged to the floor, their faces pushed tightly into the floor so that they could not see their attackers and their mouths covered to stifle their screams. Once the screws had the woman into a secure lock, more screws began to remove her clothes until she was totally naked. Every other woman in the jail could hear each attack as it took place, so in actual fact each woman spent the entire day listening to their comrades being sexually abused before and after her own turn came.

The use of strip-searching has been well researched and it has been con-

cluded time and time again that this practice has no security value. Society rejects such barbaric behavior as inhuman sexual abuse. It is no accident that men made the decision to pursue this line on Monday, March 2nd, and only in the women's jail are prisoners expected to strip totally naked while being searched.

When one woman refused to be strip-searched on Monday and a doctor objected to her being forcibly strip-searched she was left locked in her cell until a decision had been made about her. It was then decided that she could be searched by medical officers using metal detectors and then she was unlocked with security clearance.



● Hundreds gathered outside Maghaberry Prison to protest at the assault of 21 women

Obviously this kind of search, which none of us would have objected to, was enough to satisfy security requirements. Why then was the forcible strip-searching of women POWs pursued? One can only conclude that degradation, control and submission rather than security were on the agenda.

**T**hrough the actions of the NIO and Governor Gibson, right down to the screws who participated in the assaults, the clock has been turned back ten years to November 1982, when strip-searches were introduced

for the first time, but never ever carried out en masse on the wings.

The feelings of tension and anger within the jail are impossible to describe, the board of visitors were in the jail on that day. One member of this supposedly impartial watchdog body, stood and watched women being stripped naked. We regard their presence as participating and their silence as consent. They are no longer welcome in this jail.

We have given individual statements to our solicitors while the NIO embark on a game of pass-the-parcel of blame. Statements emanating from that very



● Women picket Dublin's Department of Foreign Affairs during Brooke's meeting with David Andrews in the wake of the attack in Maghaberry

## GIBRALTAR REMINDER FOR FF DELEGATES

A DRAMATIC AND MOVING re-enactment of the shooting down of three unarmed Irish people, republicans Máiréad Farrell, Séan Savage and Dan McCann in Gibraltar five years ago took place outside the Fianna Fáil Ard Fheis.

**A**s a drummer beat out the sound of gunfire three actors fell to the ground in slow motion. A painted backdrop, representing the scene in Gibraltar on March 6th 1988, carried the stark outlines of three figures with shoot-to-kill written across them. The reverse of the backdrop represented the cover-up of the killings. As delegates to the Fianna Fáil Ard Fheis

stopped to watch members of the Relatives for Justice Group handed out leaflets.

The re-enactment is part of a lobby being organised by Relatives for Justice to highlight the continued use of shoot-to-kill and collusion with loyalist paramilitaries by the British government.

"If a solution is to be found to the tragedy in the North, then the policy of

safeguarding human rights should be embraced by Fianna Fáil and the Irish government" says the group. The relatives pointed out to delegates that the Brian Nelson affair "has shown conclusively that British military intelligence is employing death squads to eliminate would-be dissidents, the same tactics they used in other colonial conflicts. Those who plan and perpetrate these crimes have little to fear from the law."

The demands the relatives made of Fianna Fáil were:

- to bring a comprehensive case to the European Court of Human Rights with the aim of showing that shoot-to-kill is an integral part of British administrative practice;
- to urge the setting up of an international, public, and independent judicial inquiry into collusion between the British forces and loyalist death squads;
- to seek to change the law on lethal force in the Six Counties; to seek the changing of the law on inquests; to work for the complete banning of plastic bullets.



● Re-enacting the Gibraltar killings

much undermined department about the events of Monday, March 2nd, range from the bizarre to downright insulting. Phrases such as "women over reacting", "unnecessary violent reaction" and "routine search" have been employed to describe ten hours of systematic abuse of women prisoners.

**A**ll 21 women who resisted the sexual assault on that day sustained injuries of some description. One received severe bruising to her face and was temporarily transferred to an outside hospital, others are awaiting results of tests to determine the extent of their physical injuries. We acted in self-defence in trying to ward off attackers in riot gear. That there are not more hospital cases is no thanks to the screws.

What is incalculable are the psychological scars the women now have to bear. These women must now spend years in the very cells in which we were violated with such enthusiasm. The NIO wants to terrorise women prisoners, to beat us into submission because we continue to defy their attempts to impose their will on us. This they call the battle for hearts and minds!

It is only one part, a disgusting and deplorable part of an overall policy to control women prisoners pursued by the latest governor to arrive in Maghaberry, Mr Gibson. It is no surprise that this has happened as he has done his utmost to cut women off from each other by denying association; to cut women off from their families by ensuring that originally bad visiting conditions are now deplorable; to cut women off from our communities through the worsening censorship of literature and mail.

The latest part of this process is the attempt to dehumanise us by forcing their way into our cells, stripping away our personal clothing, invading the most intimate and private parts of our bodies, and all the while inflicting physical and mental pain.

To add insult to injury, 21 POWs are now to be charged with assault. What will happen to the male and female warders who took part in the attack on Monday March 2nd, will they be given medals?

Marie Wright, Louise Nash, Shauneen Baker, Ailish Carroll, Patricia Deane, Bernie Reilly, Karen Quinn, Pat Moore, Bronwyn McGahan, Geraldine Ferrity, Theresa Browne, Carol Cullen, Ann Cavanagh, Rosaleen McCorley, Mary McArdle, Paula Burns, Maureen Delaney, Donna McMenamy, Annmarie McKee, Teresa Malocco, Frances Symington, Mary Ellen Campbell.