

NEW LABOUR & IRELAND

No 9 Oct, Nov, Dec 1985

50p



Dunne's Strike Victory against Apartheid



- Maire O'Shea on Irish in Britain
- Protestant women
- Divis
- Facelift for Unionism?
- New summitry
- Workers Party
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EDITORIAL

SIR GEOFFREY Howe in Helsinki argued against the Soviet bloc that a fundamental aspect of a just society was the 'freedom to convey the facts through broadcasting'. Perhaps if he had been aware that back home Leon Brittan was blundering his way into a massive row over media censorship, he might have chosen his words more delicately.

Of course the notion of truly independent broadcasting is a myth. Even the starkest presentation of facts involves choice, selection of relevance and invitation of comparisons. Whether the media is controlled by the dictates of advertising revenue or establishment Boards of Directors makes little difference to the fact that television as a whole will reinforce prevailing commonsense as defined by the rich and powerful in society.

What is at stake in the current debate is whether broadcasters are obliged to present the point of view and concerns of the government of the day. And in an area where more questions of civil rights and liberties are raised than any other, whether alternative viewpoints can be reported in such a way that the viewer is left the option to form their own opinion.

The outcry over government intervention to ban the *Real Lives* documentary focussed on the appointed status of BBC governors, and the political interference with the supposed impartiality of the network. A more critical approach to the record of British broadcasting on Ireland is illuminating.

After the BBC's Tonight team had their programme on Ulster withdrawn in 1965, Alan Whicker said 'no country deserves the government you have here. This is the only place in the world where you can't report honestly without silly people kicking up a fuss about what is only the truth'. Unionist politicians prevented the critical appraisal that was so urgently required. Since then, successive phases of government policy have been mirrored precisely by the media: a brief flirtation with civil rights cam-

paigners as government pressed Stormont for reform; hostility and racism toward the nationalist community as they turned against 'peace keeping troops'; 'patriotic self-censorship' as the government introduced internment and republican prisoners were subjected to torture in the interrogation centres; systematic promotion of the middle ground when the government pushed Sunningdale-type internal initiatives which required the moderate SDLP to be seen to represent nationalist aspiration; media hype of the 'Peace People' who were meant to turn nationalists into informers against the IRA.

Occasionally there have been hiccups, but in general BBC and IBA guidelines which insist on a 'reference up' process where all editorial decisions on Irish coverage are made at the highest level have discouraged an independent approach or departure from Governmental wisdom. Some 50 programmes are known to have been banned, cut, delayed or altered since 1972.

NEITHER Neil Kinnock nor the NCCL do the cause of independent reporting any favours when they complain only that the banning of *Real Lives* gave 'more publicity to the terrorists than transmission'. Every Labour direct ruler tried to muzzle the press. Whereas Leon Brittan wrote a letter, Merlyn Rees would have picked up the phone. Labour claims to have broken with bipartisanship. If this is true, we have an interest in *all* points of view being heard and discussed openly.

The guidelines on coverage of Northern Ireland must be scrapped and replaced by a code of conduct drawn up by the NUJ similar to that which covers racism in the media. We do not support censorship of the views of Sinn Fein. The Government might wish to ignore 100,000 voters, a responsible news media cannot do the same.

If Labour is to win popular support for its own case for Irish unity, it has to fight censorship tooth and nail.

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Sean MacBride presents Dunne's shop steward Karen Gearon with a cheque from the Irish American Labor Coalition.
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Labour and Ireland

WHERE WE STAND

THE NEW LABOUR AND IRELAND is a magazine of news and views concerned with Britain and Ireland. As a Labour Magazine, it is unashamedly socialist. We believe the cause of socialism is being held back by the partition of Ireland, enforced by British military occupation of the 6 County Northern State.

The Labour movement does not speak with one voice on the Irish issue, it is true. A lively and important discussion is in progress. The New Labour and Ireland is a magazine which is open to that debate. It is not a magazine of dry dogma, its columns are open to all who want to put an end to this tragic war.

Our editorial policy is to support Labour Party policy in arguing that we are aiming to 'remove the crime of partition' and see a united Ireland, we think that further repression only delays the search for a solution.

We think the Prevention of Terrorism Act has been shown to be a monstrous incursion into established Civil Liberties.

We do not think that attempts to criminalise the nationalist resistance to British policies, either through the removal of prisoners' political status or through the

use of paid informers will work. The recently adopted policy of 'shoot-to-kill' is a summary version of the non-jury Diplock Courts which have dispensed with any normal notion of justice.

In our opinion, the gerry-mandered Northern Ireland State is irreformable, and the only way toward attached and no preconditions. We recognise this is not yet a unanimous opinion on the left or amongst our readers.

Views, opinions and experiences of all sections of our movement must be brought to bear if the debate is to be clarified. The women's movement, the youth and is as important to register as that of the Irish in Britain, the trade union and Labour movement. Only on the basis of a thorough airing of these views, a presentation of the facts, and a continuation of the dialogue has been opened between the movements in Britain and Ireland can the cause of socialism be advanced. The New Labour and Ireland does, we hope, make a step in this direction.

Deadline for Anglo Irish summit looms:

GONE PAST A FACE LIFT

SUMMER has been the silly season in Ireland. And we are not talking about the moving statue at Ballinspittle over which quite enough journalists have vented their patronising anti-Irish racism. I'd rather go for an evening out to see a moving statue than watch a royal wedding any day. No, the real hot topic has been the warm up heats for the 'will-they-won't-they-get-together' Anglo-Irish summit variously projected or not projected for the autumn.

Both sides seem to agree that they are not going to meet unless they have agreed in advance. If they do meet, it is going to be historic, but people shouldn't expect too much.

What can you make of it all? This is what every leader writer is thinking and not having much success. Meanwhile every tin pot politician who wants to make a name for themselves is either leaking stories about possible breakthroughs to the press or getting themselves quoted as saying nothing will happen. The problem for the politicians is still the same — what can be given away that will stop the growth of Sinn Fein and strengthen the SDLP, but not really change anything?

The name of the game is 'ethos'. Like 'alienation' before it, 'ethos' doesn't mean exactly what it says. Ethos means appearances. 26 County Minister Peter Barry says he accepts the Unionist tradition (ie the maintenance of the Six County sectarian state), but its triumphalist ethos (appearance) causes rising alienation (ie votes for Sinn Fein). So Peter Barry and the SDLP put together a list of options which form part of the 'agenda' for discussion.

They want the word Royal to be deleted from the RUC, and its oath changed. They want the Union Jacks to be removed from the Crown courts so that they can be called just plain 'courts'. Irish people should be able to have their own flags if they want and have Irish street names. Irish ministers should have an office in Belfast. Irish judges can come and watch republicans being sent to jail. Irish TDs should sometimes meet British MPs and advise them. Irish civil servants should discuss industry and tourism with British civil servants. The sectarian UDR should be reviewed and possibly integrated with the British army. There should be a 'systematic input' from Dublin'.

In return for this it seems they are willing to concede a uniformly repressive 'anti-terrorist' law throughout Ireland, have Unionist judges watching republicans being sent to jail in Dublin, and put the seal of approval on the continued ex-

istence of the sham Assembly set up by James Prior. John Hume says 'part of the problem in Northern Ireland is to turn the British to join the ranks of the persuaders'. He says nothing about the army shoot-to-kill policy, plastic bullets or strip searches.

And so Douglas Hurd, anxious to appear willing, asks the Unionists if with 'due respect for their tradition' they would mind rerouting just a few of the two thousand 12 July parades away from the nationalist enclaves where it is the tradition for drunken orangemen to beat drums, scream abuse, smash windows and throw petrol bombs at Catholics.

For this gesture a Unionist politician called Hurd 'the most treacherous politician who ever held the Stormont castle position', he is 'devious, cunning and untrustworthy'. Hardliners threatened that if Dublin got involved in the administration of the Six Counties there would be a backlash that would make the Ulster Workers Council strike (which brought down the 1974 Power Sharing Executive) 'look like a Sunday school picnic'.

There is no doubt about it, people were impressed. Dr Garret FitzGerald for instance said the route changes showed evidence of a change of attitude and policy for the RUC. John Hume said it was a step toward impartial policing. The pro-British priests and joined in the chorus. Paisleyite councillor Mrs Ethel Smith who suffered injuries at the hands of the RUC as she tried to lead the Orange march through police lines in nationalist Castlewella is reported to have suddenly changed her line on law and order as she screamed at an RUC man 'the IRA don't kill enough of you bastards!'

The British inspired and armed the loyalist monster to prevent Home Rule. The Six County state could only survive by discriminating in every sphere of life against Catholics. Loyalist workers were given their 'right' to celebrate the Battle of the Boyne where the 'Papists' got smashed in 1690 to assert their sanctioned supremacy and keep the Catholics off the streets. It's



● Loyalist supporter in Portadown

got nothing to do with a 'protestant ethos'.

The civil rights movement put an end to Stormont party rule and the Unionist politicians were incapable of putting anything in its place barring threats and more threats. But that is history. Dublin and London have to be seen to be making progress, even if the practical content is all cosmetic. There is the carrot of US investment and EEC aid if something can be cobbled together. But how cosmetic can it be to disguise the ugly fact of sectarianism?

US observers cannot fail to note that the same union who could put their name to a joint declaration with the management at Shorts Bros (95 per cent Protestant workforce) that there was no discrimination, could, on 12 July threaten strike action if workers were asked to remove Union Jacks and pictures of the Queen from their machinery. Did the union consider that Orange bands mar-

ching through the factory whilst loyalists accompanied the rhythm section with their wrenches was not a touch intimidating for the minority of Catholics who turned up for work that day?

The cosmetic has to be convincing enough to persuade nationalist voters that the SDLP is winning concessions from the British, whilst at the same time persuades loyalists that nothing is really going to be done against their 'tradition'.

As an added complication there are now 59 Sinn Fein councillors who are exposing the corruption and innate sectarianism of local councils — an issue which SDLP councillors have not exactly been hitting the headlines over for the years they have been in local government.

Will something come out of the next Anglo Irish summit? Possibly, but I'd put my money on the moving statue. ●

Martin Collins

Divis tenants say

DEMOLITION NEEDED

ONE OF THE MOST striking features of the tenants' movement in West Belfast is its high degree of organisation and activity. Virtually every estate has an association and while, like everywhere else, they vary in level of support and success of their campaigns, they all seem to enjoy widespread involvement from tenants and run exciting and innovative campaigns.

Their approach is based on the principle of total opposition to the Northern Ireland Housing Executive (the quango which administers all housing in the Six Counties since responsibility for housing was removed from local council in the early seventies). They refuse to become incorporated into the system and always view arguments put forward by the Housing Executive with a healthy distrust. If necessary they will obtain independent expert advice to demolish the Housing Executive's case.

'Divis Flats has long been a by-work in Belfast for social ills. It has been the scene of violence associated with the 'troubles'. Armed patrols still move cautiously along the walkways; security vehicles thread briskly through the roads, sustaining barrages of stones and abuse.'

'The roof of the tower block hosts an ever-vigilant Army base. In the dark skies helicopters hover persistently at night with powerful searchlights. Toddlers make a game of barricading the roadways with rubble. Joy riders disturb the night with screeching bravado and make pyres of their status symbols, the cars they hate to love.'

'Like some eighteenth century tenements, the blocks of flats swamp their own environment; refuse fills the pathways and burns in the stair-wells, sewage spills out into houses and open spaces.'

'Dampness turns clothes green and walls black, rats vie with

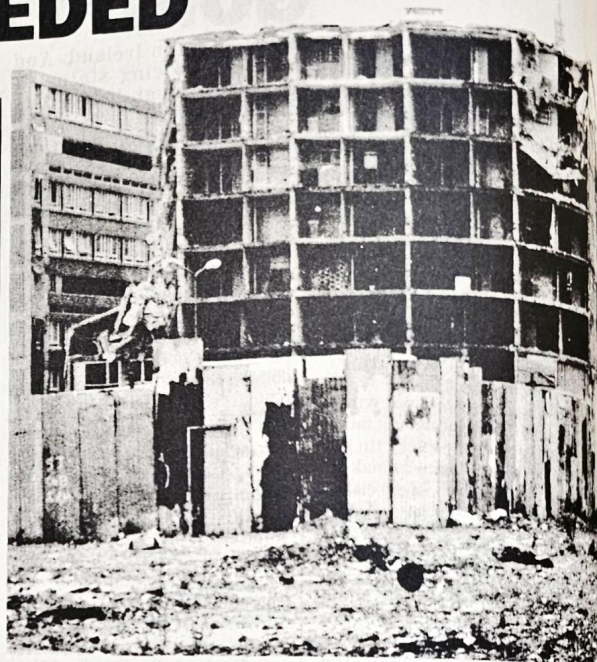
dogs over scraps of food. And a twentieth century menace — asbestos fills the air with its deadly fibres.'

Over the years there have been a number of campaigns to get the flats demolished. One of the hardest was fought by the Divis Demolition Committee. For fifteen months the DDC wrecked empty flats making them uninhabitable. Flats became empty quite regularly and the idea was to force the Housing Executive to demolish completely because so many of the flats could not be relet.

The campaign was brought to an abrupt end when members of the DDC were arrested and charged with malicious damage. Despite being found guilty, the judge condemned the housing conditions which forced the community to take such drastic action and fined each defendant the absolute minimum.

Four years ago the Divis Residents Association was formed; again demolition is its main objective. An advice centre was opened to deal with floods of complaints, and to help sort out the numerous social and housing problems that are everyday occurrences in the Divis. A monthly community newspaper, *The Divis Bulletin* informs each resident of every negotiation, meeting or development.

In 1984 two blocks of flats were demolished. The official explanation was that they were too near a new motorway link. Residents suspect that the real reason was to make the complex more accessible for security



forces.

It was not until this work took place that the residents became aware of the most dangerous hazard of all — asbestos. They had been largely unaware of the dangers of asbestos and the amount used in the flats' construction. The Housing Executive rode roughshod over health and safety during the removal process, no precautions were taken to protect tenants. The area was not sealed off. Asbestos was left uncovered in construction skips for days and children threw large pieces at each other. The dust seeped into the atmosphere.

More recently, an Environmental Health Project has been established to collate, promote and publicise the consequences of living in the worst social and environmental conditions in western Europe.

The Project intends to fight

government departments on their own grounds, using both independent scientific and medical expertise to establish finally that the continuance of housing conditions like those on Divis are injurious to the physical and mental well-being of its inhabitants.

Other projects on Divis try to tackle some of the social problems that go with such appalling housing conditions and depressing environment. The Divis Play Project caters for the 5 to 10 age group and has established a safe and stimulating recreational facility for children in an area that is devoid of play facilities.

The Drop-In Centre is another project opened in response to concern expressed by local parents at increasing alcohol and solvent abuse among teenagers leading to anti-social behaviour like 'joy-riding'.

THE BRITISH PROBLEM...

by Hil



BOTH BBC CHANNELS WERE BLACKED OUT TODAY BY STRIKES AGAINST THE DECISION NOT TO BROADCAST THE LABOUR PARTY CONFERENCE...

... BECAUSE OF ITS ANTI-TORY, AND THEREFORE ALLEGED PRO-TERRORIST STANCE...



'THIS PLACE REEKS OF BRITISH COLONIALISM'

THE FIRST TIME seven Sinn Fein councillors walked into Belfast City Hall our first sight was of marble floors, marble arches, marble pillars, marble statues all draped with Union Jack flags and, porters wearing ancient uniforms. I remember thinking — this place reeks of British colonialism. Without doubt pompous trappings in grandiose surroundings not only perpetuate but institutionalize the inequalities in society.

Since the partition of Ireland, local government in the six counties has been characterised by discrimination and sectarianism. Prior to the *Local Government Act 1972*, councillors had to take an oath of allegiance to the British Crown. Electoral wards were gerrymandered and in areas where their vote could affect the make-up of local government nationalists were refused housing. Funding for leisure or community facilities to nationalist areas was refused.

In 1968 one of the main demands of the civil rights marchers was 'One Man, One Vote'. As recently as 1980 there was the threat of a loyalist uprising from unionist councillors on Derry City Council in order to prevent the building of a Gaelic sports facility in Lisnagelvin, a predominantly nationalist area.

The passive acceptance of the status quo by constitutional nationalists such as the SDLP has had the effect of partially stabilising British Rule in the Six Counties. These parties either do not realise or choose to ignore the fact that the Six County statelet is irreformable.

In 1983 Sinn Fein decided to contest and take seats at local council level, to end misrepresentation of the nationalist people and expose the sectarian nature of Unionist rule in councils. Sinn Fein aims to make the institutions of the councils more accessible and accountable. We encourage people to view, question and challenge the committees of the council to try to turn committees into open working tribunals. To date, delegations of working class people going to the councils have been intimidated.

Since the successes of the elections in May, Unionist bigotry and sectarianism has been forced out into the open. With 59 working class people, coming from nationalist areas and on top of that totally committed to

the philosophy of Republicanism, took their seats, the panic-stricken media reported 'the councils will never be the same again.'

Contrary to unionist claims that Sinn Fein councillors would engage in systematic disruption of councils the opposite has been the case. To date the numerous disruptions have indisputably been the work of Unionists themselves, notably the DUP. Sinn Fein councillors have been ejected from council chambers, physically and verbally attacked and in some cases excluded from all major committees. There have been attempts to keep Sinn Fein out of Cookstown and Craigavon councils, which has been the subject of legal action. But the threatened Loyalist disruption for the most part ended up being seen as a show of infantile exhibitionism which resulted in Official Unionists drawing back fearing that such blatantly discriminatory moves might destabilize the North's local government structure as a whole.

If Sinn Fein's electoral victories are to change the face of local government as suggested by the media, it will not be through childish antics like those adopted by Unionists. It will be by giving working class people a real option in having a say in the use of the few services controlled by Local Councils in the Six Counties and by carrying out our work for the benefit of the whole community in the council areas. ●

Teresa Holland has been a member of Sinn Fein for 15 years. Interned without trial from 1973 to mid-1975, she has worked in the Lenadoon and Andersonstown estates since 1970. Along with six other Sinn Fein candidates, Teresa was elected to Belfast City Council on the first count in the 1985 Local Government Elections.

The British government has confirmed that it is building three new nuclear fall out shelters in the Six Counties — two are in the loyalist areas of Ballymena and Craigavon, one in the strongly nationalist Omagh.

The NIO says there are no plans for a shelter in Belfast where a third of the Six County population live.

The Irish CND report that the Government regards Belfast as a nuclear target. If it were hit even an underground shelter would be useless as the earth would fuse into a form of porcelain. It is believed that shelters already exist at Stormont outside Belfast and at Bishopscourt.

Cardinal O'Fiach was in the news in July for his remarks in an interview with the London based Catholic newspaper, the *Universe*.

Reiterating his view that ultimately only British disengagement will bring about a solution in Ireland, he said 'unfortunately there is still an awful lot of bigotry, I think 90 per cent of religious bigotry is to be found among Protestants. The bigotry one finds among Catholics is mostly political'.

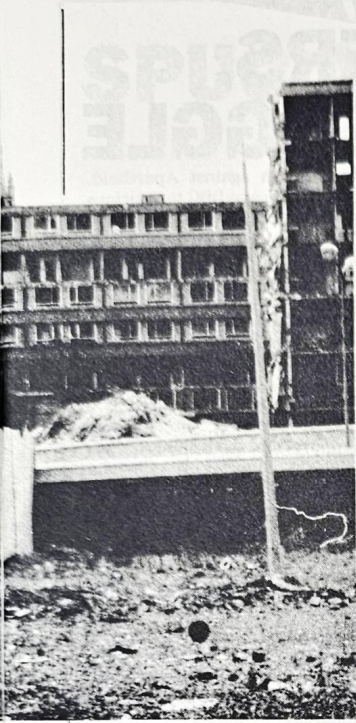
A DUP spokesperson said 'the Sinn Fein cardinal's gratuitous insult of the Protestant community' revealed the 'venomous hatred in his heart towards Ulsters' Protestants'.

The attention of the Fair Employment Agency, it is rumoured, has recently been directed toward discrimination by Northern Ireland's Building Societies, the majority of which are British based.

A report, due to be published in the Autumn is expected to find that employment practices in Building Societies widely deny equal opportunities to Catholics. The FEA is currently investigating banks and insurance companies to compete its study of the financial sector by the end of the year.

Top people's pay increases in the North include magistrates now on £30,500/year and Chief Justice Lord Gowry who gets a mere £69,000/year.

In industry, John Parker chair of the board at ship builders Harland and Wolff gave himself a 45 per cent rise this year as a tribute to his presiding over a £36 million loss last year. He now gets £67,000/year.



burglary and petty crime.

Most young people involved in these activities have been banned from conventional youth clubs; the Drop-In Centre has given them a place they can identify as their own.

The Divis Education Project, offers a carpentry and metal workshop where the unemployed can develop skills and also help others in the area making household furniture and doing minor repairs for the elderly. Alongside is a special young women's workshop where they have exclusive use of the premises and can learn the same skills in an unthreatening environment.

The Divis Joint Development Committee acts as an umbrella organisation for all projects and campaigns operating in Divis. Its ultimate aim, along with the Residents Association is to see Divis demolished. They will not be coned by proposals offered by the Housing Executive for demolition of a few more blocks and refurbishment for the rest; they want the entire complex flattened and replaced with traditional housing. In the meantime they are committed to achieving social and environmental provision, which has so long been neglected and refused, in order to strengthen and build the community and to ensure a secure future. ●

Sheena Clarke recently visited tenants' campaigners in the North of Ireland on behalf of Sheffield Council. For an account of her return to Britain and harassment under the PTA see *Labour and Ireland* No8.

In September, the 26 County's Alcatraz — Spike Island was burnt to the ground after 20 hours of rioting by prisoners who took over the jail and forced their guards to flee.

The island prison in Cork harbour previously used by the British garrison in 1921 was opened in March to deal with Dublin's 'crime epidemic' which has increased the prison population by 40 per cent in the last two years.

Despite its early reputation as a holiday camp, young offenders — many jailed for joy riding offences began to demand transfers to larger prisons away from the crowded 14 person dormitories on the island. In May, six prisoners escaped on a stolen raft, but tensions finally exploded as 112 prisoners took over the jail. They used a stolen JCB to demolish the gates and petrol bombed the remains.

Street traders in the centre of Dublin are becoming increasingly angry at what they see as a deliberate campaign of Garda harassment encouraged by city centre business interests and the media.

In July a sit down protest was violently broken up by the gardai, there were several injuries and eleven were arrested.

Following a *Sunday Times* report that the RAF were disguising Nimrod surveillance planes as civilian craft to make reconnaissance operations against Soviet vessels in the north east Atlantic, Irish CND said that 1,600 Nato aircraft received permission for flights over Irish territory each year.

If British aircraft were using 'dummy calls' and posing as civilian aircraft Irish CND said, it has serious implications for Ireland's neutrality and the safety of regular air passengers.

Following the invasion of the Rockall by former SAS soldier Tom McClean and the planting of the Union flag on its summit, international negotiations have not progressed markedly.

In a new development, Sinn Fein councillor Eddie Fullerton has applied to Donegal Council for planning permission. It is not clear what he wishes to build, but it will prove an embarrassment to the Irish government who are approaching discussions on who owns the rock (and the oil beneath it) with softly softly caution.

DUNNE'S WORKERS: A HEROIC STRUGGLE

BACK IN DUBLIN having been refused entry to South Africa, union official Brendan Archibald described the Dunnes' anti Apartheid strikers as 'possibly the most dangerous supermarket workers in the world' and as far as the Pretoria government is concerned he has a point.

In some of the remotest townships in South Africa, people who have never heard of Dr Garret FitzGerald will talk about the eleven strikers in Dublin who have made South Africa's cause their own.

By the time Mary Manning arrives at the British Labour Party Conference, if she is still on strike, she will have been out for 1 year and 11 weeks.

Spending \$4.50 of her \$21 weekly strike pay on bus fares to the picket line, she describes it as a 'learning experience'. Certainly when the young shop workers gathered round their union rep to discuss the distributive workers' union, IDATU's conference decision to boycott South African produce as part of an active anti Apartheid policy, they could not have imagined the struggle they were about to embark on.

'It could have been any of us on the till at the time' said 21 year old Mary Manning, 'it just happened to be me'. A shopper arrived with two 'Outspan' grapefruit, Mary told her she could not check them out because the union was boycotting South African goods. The customer replaced the grapefruit and left the shop.

Other stores might have quietly removed the offensive goods from the shelves, or switched till duties. But Dunne's management with a history of poor industrial relations indefinitely suspended Mary and so, with full union backing, nine other workers set up a picket which has been outside in Henry St ever since. The picket line is open to all to join in and has been

visited by supporters from Arthur Scargill to Bishop Desmond Tutu and Gerry Adams. Each week it is swelled by supporters from the Irish left and Anti Apartheid Movement.

The Labour Party with its position in the coalition government is more circumspect. Last year Ireland exported more than \$39 million worth of goods to South Africa but only imported \$17 million. This was mainly fruit, asbestos and anthracite. Clearly Ireland gains financially from its links with the Apartheid regime.

The lowest point in the morale of the strikers came in May when the Labour Court to which the strike had been referred said they should return to work and continue to protest in some other way. It found that the union had ignored agreements by encouraging workers to change their conditions of employment without proper consultation.

Nobel Peace prize winner, Sean MacBride visited the picket line to speak out against the pro-sterous recommendation of the court. He said that as the Apartheid system is criminally wrong, so handling South African produce and funding Apartheid was as immoral or illegal as asking shop assistants to handle stolen goods or illegal drugs.

Anti Apartheid campaigners pointed to the history of indus-

trial action against Apartheid. Some years ago BBC technicians refused to allow satellite transmissions of the FA cup final to South Africa; Australian dockers have held month-long strikes against Apartheid; Bristol dockers have refused to unload South African coal and in Ireland ITGWU members have twice taken action to stop collaboration with Apartheid.

With growing international support from the United Nations Special Committee on Apartheid and the unanimous call from the Irish Congress of Trade Unions, for trade unionists to boycott Dunne's stores the strikers' confidence soon rose again. On the anniversary of the dispute, the strikers were invited by Bishop Tutu and the South Africa Council of Churches to visit the country and talk to Winnie Mandela, wife of jailed African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela. Then another set back. In Johannesburg airport they were detained and refused entry despite the fact that citizens of Ireland do not need visas for travel to South Africa. As they were herded onto a London bound plane, the strikers shouted a defiant message that they would return when the country was free.

As we go to press, Dunne's management are discussing a deal in co-ordination with other supermarket chains to phase South African goods off the shelves. To have struggled so hard and so long focussing international attention on Apartheid is a victory in itself. For eleven shop workers to win the central demands of the strike against seemingly intransigent management is a victory that would be historic in the struggle against Apartheid. ●



SPUC ATTACKS CLINICS

THE 'SOCIETY for the Protection of the Unborn Child' (SPUC) has launched an attack on women's access to non-directive pregnancy counselling. Two years after the amendment to the constitution copperfastening the law against abortion, orchestrated by SPUC in the guise of the Pro-life Amendment Campaign, they are now seeking a High Court injunction against two Dublin Clinics: Open Line Counselling and Well Woman Centres to stop them providing abortion referral services.

SPUC, a small but highly organised and vociferous pressure group have been picketing the clinics on a regular basis since the Amendment. Picketers have been mainly men and middle aged women, carrying anti-abortion placards and attempting to intimidate women going into the clinics. This latest attack is not unexpected as the wording of the Amendment is ambiguous and action of this type was always seen a likely test case.

Abortion has been illegal in Ireland since 1861, the time when all of Ireland was a colony of Britain. In the Six Counties at present occupied by Britain, the 1967 British Abortion Act does not operate, so women there are also obliged to go to England to seek an abortion.

Neither Well Woman or Open Line offer directly or indirectly a pregnancy termination service in Ireland. They are accused of offering information and advice on how to obtain an abortion in England.

Every year between 6-10,000 Irish women go to England to have their pregnancies terminated. There are no exceptions to the anti-abortion law in Ireland. Not even in cases of rape, gross malformation of the foetus, physical or mental threats to the health of the woman. There is no exception where the pregnant mother has been exposed to drugs or

substances damaging the foetus. Access to abortion services in England is therefore essential for Irish women faced with unwanted or dangerous pregnancies.

A campaign to counter this latest attack on women's access to information and choice and to defend the clinics has been set up. The campaign directs itself to the following points: The right of Irish women to access to agencies which provide non-directive pregnancy counselling, which is independent of church and state; the right of agencies and individuals to provide information to women with unwanted pregnancies on all the options including abortion; the right to refer women to jurisdictions where abortion is legal until such a time as these services are available in Ireland.

In a country where repression, especially sexual repression is widespread, SPUC'S attempt to erode our right to information and choice would have implications for all individuals and groups whose activities could be defined by these self-styled moralists as undesirable.

The Campaign is short of funds and donations would be welcomed. If you wish to make a donation and/or send a message of support, please sent it to:

*Defend the Clinics Campaign,
c/o Bernie Dwyer, Room 614,
Trinity College, Dublin 2.*

I enclose cheque/PO for £7 payable to Fortnight,
7 Lower Crescent, Belfast BT7 1NR,
for 6 issues post paid.

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SEASIDE HOAX SPURS ANTI-IRISH RACISM



● Flashback to Brighton 1984. This year every boarding house was asked: 'Have you any Irish guests? Have you any Irish workers?'

success measured by the amount of media coverage it received. It also probably served to further discourage support for Republicanism among the Irish community constantly aware of the threat of the PTA under which they can be held and questioned for a week and denied, as these suspects were, any contact with the outside world or even an idea of what they were charged with.

The media however, overdid the anti-Irishism, even *The Daily Telegraph* quoted the Commission for Racial Equality on possible illegal discrimination against the Irish. The public outcry at the banning of *Real Lives* showed that the British public wants to see for themselves the nature of the alleged Irish problem.

The crucial question must be how much the propaganda succeeded in once again paralysing a political initiative in Ireland. The Anglo-Irish talks were at a delicate stage and Mrs Thatcher was being pushed hard by Dublin to agree on some action. At the same time Unionists were threatening a physical veto on any development of dialogue with the South. The resurgence of the 'IRA threat' was timely for a government who in reality prefer a military solution.
Nadine Finch

After all the self congratulation in Britain on our 'generosity' to the cause of 'Live Aid' raising money for the starving in Africa, it is interesting that the population of the 26 Counties, fifteen times smaller was matching £ for £ the donations coming from Britain (which included 6 of Ireland's 32 Counties).

In contrast to the miserly approach of Margaret Thatcher, Dr Garret FitzGerald was in hot water for adding £¼ million of Government money without the authority of the *Dail*. He personally donated a tie which when auctioned fetched \$500.

The Republic which has a record as the largest per capita contributing country to famine relief in Ethiopia and Sudan is nominating Dublin born Live Aid organiser Bob Geldoff for a Nobel Peace Prize

The Home Office is to transfer an Irish political prisoner previously held in London's Wormwood Scrubs jail to a prison in his native Derry.

Shane Paul O'Docherty was convicted in 1976 for various offences including sending a booby trap device through the post to Reginald Maudlin.

The Government has in recent years refused all requests from Church leaders and others to transfer prisoners on humanitarian grounds. Relatives Committees which complain of constant harassment by the authorities speculate that O'Docherty's renunciation of the nationalist cause and conversion to Born Again Christianity explains the transfer better than any Government change of heart.

A recently published opinion poll conducted in 1984 shows again that a majority (58 per cent) of people in Britain are in favour of a United Ireland, only 28 per cent thought the Six Counties should remain in the United Kingdom.

The survey, conducted by Jowell and Airey showed opinions by party persuasion and reveal for Irish reunification: Tory supporters 50%; Alliance 61%; Labour 65%; non aligned 55%.

On Northern Ireland remaining in the UK it showed: Tory supporters 36%; Alliance 25%; Labour 23% and non aligned 25%.

59 per cent of the survey were in favour of Troops Out, and only 35 per cent against.

A LONG-RUNNING story of alleged plans to bomb 12 English seaside resorts with pre-planted IRA bombs dominated the news from Monday 24 June until Wednesday 3 July. The major dailies ran headlines such as: SEASIDE SLAUGHTER PLOT FOILED — IRA BOMBING CAMPAIGN THWARTED BY POLICE — THE QUEEN AN IRA TARGET FOR SEASIDE HOTEL TERROR BLAST.

There were arrests in different parts of Britain, a 5lb bomb found in a hotel in London, searches of hundreds of hotels and many false alarms and police activity. On Friday 28 June when the stories of possible bombs were running dry, 15 suspects were brought to Paddington Green Police Station with all the subtlety of a B grade American police movie complete with road blocks and police cavalcades.

On 15 May, Sinn Fein had gained 59 seats and 75,685 votes in the Six Counties local elections. Even before the results were announced Douglas Hurd, then Northern Ireland Secretary let it be known that no Sinn Fein councillor would be received as part of any delegation at Stormont. The media quickly began to undermine political credibility of Sinn Fein by ascribing disruption in the council chambers to them rather than the Unionist instigators.

The effect of the 'seaside campaigns' was to whip up anti-IRA and anti-Irish feeling in Britain and re-create the image of Sinn Fein as the 'men of violence' incapable of playing a meaningful

part in democratic processes such as elections.

Official Unionist, Rev Martin Smyth again called for the banning of Sinn Fein as a political party, and Tory MPs stressed the importance of the draconian powers of the PTA as if only these could keep the Irish in check.

Few newspapers attempted any form of analysis of the events, but Mary Holland did raise the key point in the *Irish Times*: 'In none of the articles I have read could I discover one question asked: whether the Provisional IRA would really want to inflict indiscriminate slaughter on British holiday-makers and, if so, why it should adopt a tactic so completely at variance with its current strategy, particularly in view of its repeated public expressions of regret for the loss of life caused by the Harrod's bomb'.

Sinn Fein has acknowledged the need for the 'cutting edge' of their military wing, but has been at pains to ensure that it is the security forces and not the general public who are involved in this action.

The smear campaign was a

THE Mirror TIME
 Tuesday June 25 1985 FORWARD WITH BRITAIN 11p
IRA PLOT UNCOVERED
 • Anti Irish racism
1881
BOMBS BLITZ ALERT
Terror diary names 12 seaside targets
 and **1985**



A NEW KING OF THE CASTLE

FIRST reactions to the appointment of former business man and Energy spokesperson Tom King to head up the Northern Ireland Office were mixed.

James Prior from the elephant's grave yard said this confirmed his view that Northern Ireland was the dumping ground for politicians (but of course he never got promoted to the Home Office).

The Unionists were pleased to get rid of Hurd and had no idea who Tom King was. Dublin, it seems had already been briefed by Sir Geoffrey Howe put out the welcome mats because King, like Hurd was going to do exactly what Thatcher said anyway and wouldn't rock the boat.

The SDLP was naturally guarded, a year ago they welcomed Hurd straight away because of his Foreign Office background, but two months later found him 'deep in the grip of the most obscurantist elements of the Northern Ireland Office'. A prolific Danny Morrison gave the Sinn Fein response 'it doesn't make any difference'.

One thing everyone seems agreed upon is to welcome the sacking of Leon Brittan who fouled up the Real Lives affair. The *Daily Telegraph* opined Hurd is 'used to shocks. As Home Secretary, he may well be better than Mr Brittan at cooling the lava from the social volcano'. A curious phrase. ●

DEMONSTRATION

'THE IRISH COMMUNITY IN BRITAIN STANDS ON TRIAL WITH MAIRE O'SHEA' said Pat Reynolds, Irish in Britain Representation Group Public Relations Officer, urging support for the 'Maire O'Shea is Innocent' Demonstration on 9 November in Birmingham.

Maire worked in the Health Service in Britain for 30 years until her arrest under the PTA in January 1985. Openly and legally campaigning in defence of the NHS, against Apartheid and other issues in her union ASTMS, it is Maire's support for British withdrawal and concern at abuses of human rights in Ireland that has led to her facing conspiracy charges now.

Like more than 90 per cent of the thousands arrested under the PTA Maire is innocent of any terrorist offence, she is guilty only of being Irish and expressing her political views.

Over 50 MPs, many councillors and labour movement organisations have added their voices to the campaign in Maire's defence. The Confederation of Health Service Employees (COHSE) has donated £1000. There has been a unanimous

resolution of support from ASTMS conference and sponsorship for the demonstration from South Wales NUM. Maire has been refused legal aid and has to raise up to £50,000. *Donations and details of fundraising activities you can support; write to Maire O'Shea Defence Fund, c/o 448 Stratford Rd, Birmingham 11.*

Maire has spoken at meetings from Brighton to Newcastle. 300 people heard her and Ken Livingstone at a rally in July organised by Brent East LP and the LCI. Please take every opportunity to invite Maire, representatives of the support committee, or show the 12 minute video. Maire's acquittal will be the best blow against the PTA, and for the right of Irish people in Britain to freedom of speech and political activity ●
Anita Richards

BIRMINGHAM 9 NOVEMBER

Assemble 11am Sparkhill Park
Park Road, by Stratford Road A 34.

RALLY 2pm Digbeth Civil Hall with:

Geraldine Egan, Pres Birm Trades Council

Christine Crawley MEP

Jeremy Corbyn MP, Cllr Sheena Clarke

Helen John, Greenham Peace Women

speakers from ASTMS, IBRG, IWA, AA and miners wives group.

contact Maire O'Shea Support Committee
c/o 448, Stratford Rd B11 tel (021) 773 8683 to order leaflets
get in contact with your local organisation to arrange transport,



Have you ever been arrested or held under the Prevention of Terrorism Act?

If so the NCCL would like to hear from you.

We have been campaigning for the civil rights of Irish people in the UK for fifty years. All information is treated in strict confidence.

NCCL
21 Tabard St,
London SE1 4LA
Tel (01) 403-3888

NCCL

CAMPAIGN GROUP OF LABOUR MP'S
LABOUR PARTY

CONFERENCE RALLY

SATURDAY 28th SEPTEMBER 1985

7.30 p.m. till 10.00 p.m.

Ambassador Suite, Moat House Hotel
Kynveton Rd., Bournemouth, Dorset.

Chair

Ken Cameron

General Secretary Fire Brigades Union

Speakers

Tony Benn MP

Joan Maynard MP

Dennis Skinner MP

Margaret Beckett MP

Eric Clarke

General Secretary Scottish Miners

Diane Abbot

Full Time Official ACTT

Westminster Councillor

Entertainment by

Mike Elliot — Socialist Comedian

Qulmantu — Chilean Socialist Folk Band

ADMISSION £1 at the door ALL WELCOME

"WE ARE ASSERTING OUR IRISH IDENTITY"

By Maire O'Shea



THOUGH THE IRISH COMMUNITY is one of the largest and oldest ethnic minorities in Britain it has lagged behind more recently arrived immigrant communities in asserting its separate identity, in organising to defend its rights or in using its electoral strength to gain facilities for preserving its unique cultural and political heritage. It has not demanded effective legislation to end racial discrimination or used its strength to force the British government to withdraw from Ireland.

In contrast to other communities, the Irish have suffered the disadvantage of the proximity of their country of origin to Britain, the continued occupation of a part of that country and the destruction of the fabric of its society during 800 years of colonial rule which robbed it of its native language.

During the 19th century, there was a steady trickle of Irish immigration to Britain, reaching a peak during the famines of the 1840s. Unable to make a living on mountainous farms, tenants of colonial landlords who were subject to rack rents and eviction, came to Britain to dig potatoes. They lived in shacks and returned to Ireland only to sow and harvest. Families settled in Liverpool, Manchester and London, forming tightly knit communities.

British colonialism was clearly seen to be responsible for emigration, since it maintained a subsistence economy in Ireland to supply cheap food and cheap labour. Britain discriminated against the native Irish in education and employment and put down rebellion with savage force. When the oppressors wore British uniforms, it was straightforward to see national independence as the ideal.

Irish societies with a strong political element were established in the large city communities and immigrants made a substantial contribution to the Fenian, Parnellite and Sinn Fein movements. The Fenians made strong links with militant British working class groups.

Some of the immigrants, accustomed to hard manual work and a low standard of living at home provoked hostility from British workers for their willingness to work for low wages, but many Irish workers became highly respected members of the labour movement, contributing several leading figures including the Charist Fergus O'Connor; Willie Gallacher, the communist and James Connolly.

Since the USA introduced a quota system for immigrants in the Thirties and the limited industrial development initiated by the Irish government came to a standstill when the belligerents in the Second World War refused raw materials to neutral Ireland, British agencies were again active in Ireland recruiting navvies to build dams and roads and unskilled labour for the

munitions factories. The navvies lived in hostels or congested lodging houses, finding warmth and friendliness only in pubs. Many spent the money earned by working day and night which was meant to be saved for a small farm or shop in Ireland. These men left their families in Ireland and coming from small farms had no experience of trade unionism and were difficult to organise. Other immigrants were tradesmen from rural areas refused membership of skilled unions in the Irish cities who came to Britain where they could get union cards. Irish girls unable to qualify for the civil service or teaching or too poor to pay fees for nursing training came to work in catering, on the buses or to train as nurses.

Mass emigration continued through the Fifties encouraged by the Irish government as a means to avoid the responsibility of providing employment, masking unemployment figures and getting rid of the under privileged. The highest proportion were country girls unwilling to face the lives of sacrifice led by their mothers toiling on small farms without modern conveniences, bored by the lack of social life and frustrated by sexual repression.

This mass emigration to Britain occurred in an era of post-revolutionary disillusionment. The 26 Counties had been gained by abandoning the nationalist people of the Six Counties to continued British rule. The Irish in Britain came to regard the Six Counties as a foreign government hearing only the alien voice of entrenched unionism. Their parents had been revolted by the atrocities of the Civil War and were disillusioned with the Government which was neocolonialist and served only the interests of the middle class.

Emigrants carried with them the contradictions of this era. Feeling themselves abandoned by the Irish government, many refused to interest themselves in Irish politics. Having pinned their hopes for Irish unity on the 1945 Labour government and feeling betrayed when the Ireland Act of 1949 perpetuated the Orange veto, many saw no point in becoming involved in British politics either, even of voting in elections.

Those who still hoped for a future in Ireland supported the Anti Partition League set up by middle class Irish parties. But it disintegrated when it became clear that its middle class leaders in Britain were opportunist and ineffectual.

The Connolly Association in the Forties tried to draw Irish workers into the British labour movement to make it easier to win British workers to support a united Ireland. By the 1960s they had won the support of 90 Labour MPs for an enquiry into the state of civil liberties in the Six Counties, but left wing MPs failed to back their paper support by making Ireland an issue. Later there were splits and resignations as the leadership of the Association refused to confront middle class Irish

politicians on the grounds that immigrants who did not pay taxes in Ireland had no right to interfere in Irish politics. Having organised civil rights marches in Britain before the Northern Ireland Civil Rights movement was even founded, the Connolly Association lost credibility by continuing to campaign for a Bill of Civil Rights long after suppression of the civil rights movement by brutal force had proved that civil rights could not be introduced in a state based on racism. They refused to support the anti-imperialist struggle which was the response of the nationalist people to the failure of the civil rights movement.

In the Forties and Fifties immigrants were met with the 'no Irish need apply' notices in factories and lodging houses. The majority responded to racist comments and anti-Irish jokes by keeping a low profile. Denying their Irish identity, they refrained from protest or criticism, feeling that they must be grateful for enjoying England's higher standard of living. They did not understand that continued British domination of Ireland and the Irish economy were responsible for the deficiencies of the Irish regime, or how emigration perpetuated it.

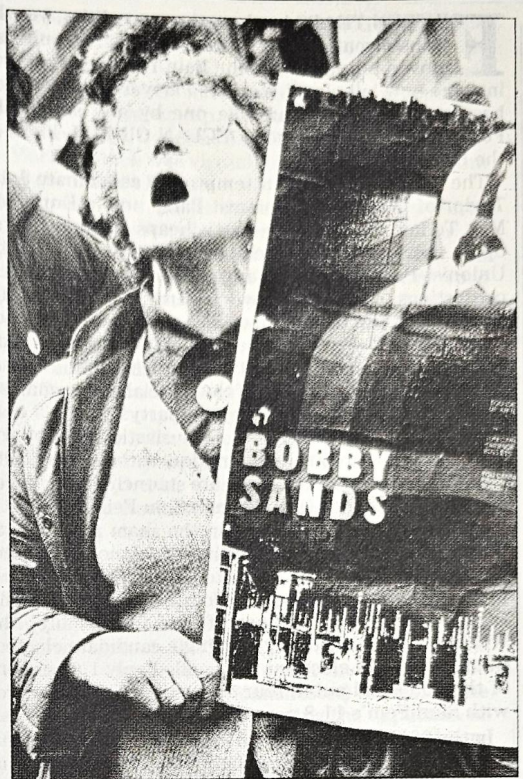
In the Sixties, when anti-Irish racism in Britain was replaced by anti-black racism, some of the Irish in attempting integration adopted British anti-black attitudes, feeling that their guaranteed entry to Britain put them in a superior position to the blacks. Despite their common colonial experience, it was not surprising that blacks did not recognise the Irish as an oppressed minority.

The majority still sought security in the large Irish communities in the cities where the way of life centred on Irish pubs, clubs, dance halls and importantly on the Catholic churches which provided social and minimal welfare facilities to those who maintained their allegiance to religion. The clubs which were mainly controlled by professionals and building contractors with middle class aspirations did not allow any political activities. The under privileged sought comfort from the priests as they had historically done in Ireland. In Britain the priests opposed Irish political activity in deference to influential English Catholics who are more anti-Irish than non-Catholics. During the Sixties, Ireland's industrial expansion although limited and geographically patchy was sufficient to reduce emigration to a trickle but not to provide employment for those who had already left.

Many second generation Irish became alienated from their parents' traditionalism and repressive sexual morality. They were not dependent upon the Catholic church and found no excitement in the life of the Irish community. The Catholic schools to which they are sent did not teach the realities of Irish history.

The resurgence of national feeling provoked by internment and Bloody Sunday drew Irish people who had never before participated in political activity in Britain onto the streets in their thousands and many became active in anti-internment committees, but after the introduction of the PTA, mass Irish political activity in Britain again ceased and there was little public response to the Hunger Strikes in 1981.

It was the shame felt for the failure of the Federation of Irish Societies to protest over the deaths of the Hunger Strikers which led to the formation of the Irish in Britain Representation Group. The IBRG aimed to organise the Irish in Britain to demand the British administration recognise the Irish as an ethnic minority, and provide facilities for pursuing and passing on this cultural heritage. The attention played to campaigning for the special needs of the Irish and the ending of repression in the Six Counties has attracted the second generation Irish who, finding themselves unable to



identify with British attitudes or assimilate fully in British society were moved to seek an Irish identity. Though still small, the IBRG has begun fighting open anti-Irish racism in the media in response to the war in the Six Counties, and increased the confidence of the Irish in asserting their identity. It has gained recognition from the GLC and recently Manchester City Council for an Irish ethnicity and has received funding for research projects. Irish history courses have been included in the curricula of some schools and Irish classes have been started. After a survey in Islington found that Irish in the borough had the highest incidence of unemployment, low wages and homelessness, Social Services responded by appointing Irish social workers to meet the special needs of the Irish.

In 1983, the IBRG had gained sufficient confidence to formulate a policy in support of British withdrawal from Ireland. It announced its opposition to repression in the Six Counties and to the erosion of civil liberties as a 'spin off' of the war. The issue of the PTA, ill treatment of Irish political prisoners in British jails and the framing of Irish people on terrorist charges were singled out for attention. For the first time demands have been made on the Irish government to defend victims of the PTA and Irish people framed for terrorist charges. The Government should demand the abolition of the PTA, press for legislation against anti-Irish racism, and the funding of welfare and cultural facilities.

The demand for a postal vote in Irish elections is an indication of increased interest in Irish politics. The recent arrests and charging of IBRG members such as myself can be seen as a response by the British government to the threat posed by the tremendous potential of the IBRG. It is seeking to destroy the IBRG's credibility as a non violent Irish organisation committed to political action in support of British withdrawal from Ireland.

The IBRG is now at a crucial turning point. If it retreats from its political policies and fails to defend its members, it will undermine the confidence of the Irish who have begun to speak out.

FIFTEEN YEARS is a long time in politics; yet the transformation of the Official republican movement, through Sinn Fein The Workers Party into the new 'all-clean' Workers Party over that period has been a truly remarkable one by any standards. Former IBRG Chairperson DECLAN O'NEILL looks at the history.

The Official IRA once attempted to assassinate John Taylor of the Official Unionist Party now a European MP. Today the Workers Party heaps fulsome praise upon Ian Paisley's arch reactionary Democratic Unionist Party. Such a change requires many political contortions — especially when carried out under the same leadership. Tomás MacGiolla remains president of the Workers Party, a post he has held through all name changes and political U-turns since 1962. Cathal Goulding, ex-chief of staff of the Official IRA, remains a prominent figure in the new look party.

Today the Workers Party enthusiastically supports the return of unionist domination through 'majority rule' in the six counties. They are staunch defenders of the RUC, denounce (Provisional) Sinn Fein as fascist and favour full involvement in the sham Assembly at Stormont — a farcical institution which not even John Hume's SDLP finds it possible to participate in. Not surprisingly support in the Six Counties is tiny. Despite their wholehearted support for the Assembly, the Workers Party failed to get a single candidate elected. In the May local elections they polled only 1.6 per cent of the votes and put in four councillors. This compares with Sinn Fein's 11.8 per cent and 59 councillors.

In the 26 Counties it is a different story. The Workers Party have two TD's (members of parliament) in the *Dail* and recently outpolled Labour in local elections in Dublin. They now have six councillors on Dublin corporation to Labour's two; their 5 per cent rating equals the Labour Party's and many commentators speculate that they will replace Labour as the party of the parliamentary left after the next election. It is this growth in the South, rather than a declining influence in the North which makes the origins and politics of the Workers Party important. Both the Officials or Stickies as they are often called and the Provisionals were products of the rift in the republican movement in late 1969/early 1970. The causes of the split remain open to dispute. Although the immediate issue was the leadership's abandonment of the traditional abstentionist policy whereby elected republicans refuse to sit in either Stormont, the *Dail* or the Westminster Parliament, perhaps of more importance to the northern Provisionals was the movement's failure to defend nationalist areas during the pogroms in 1969. Whereas some radicals in the movement detected a drift by the leadership towards constitutional reformism, a view which has been confirmed by events of the past 15 years, others on the left saw the Officials as 'serious Marxist' politicians and dismissed the Provisionals as 'mindless gun-toting political illiterates.' The new Provisional leadership was quick to denounce the 'extreme socialism' of the Official leadership and its tentative alliance with the Irish Communist Party. But others in the Provisionals took a different view; they saw the Irish CP and its fellow travellers as being insufficiently revolutionary.

Initially at least, the Officials were fired by a belief that the military campaign was bound to fail, and would put back the cause of a united socialist Ireland. Cathal Goulding said in 1971 'there can be no Ireland in Wolfe

'The centuries old struggle of the Irish people to the revolutionary arsenal. It is in fact the most all Irishmen can come together. We must continue the question of national freedom with the justice and socialism.'

TEOIRIC No 1 (Theoretical journal of the Movement)

1979

'We are campaigning British government principle and understanding of parties w
'Peace, Work and Cla

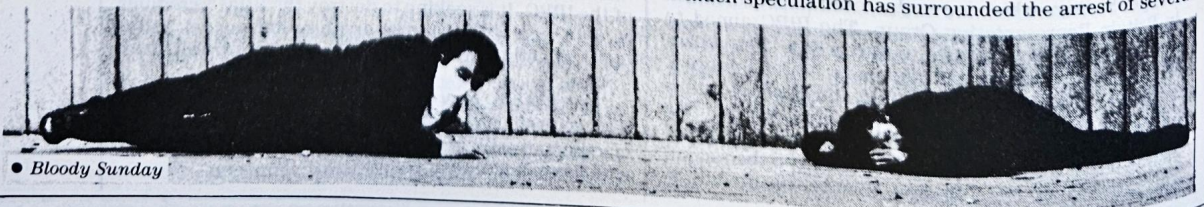
The Democratic Unionist Party, led by Ian Paisley grasp of the democratic political needs of Northern of the other parties excluding the Workers Party
'The Case for Devolved Government in Northern

THE WORKERS FROM REPUBLICANISM

Tone's sense without the Protestant working class. They must be reached. We believe we are on the right road.' The last decade in the Six Counties has seen the decline of the Officials in the North as they attempted to reach Protestants by abandoning all traces of republicanism, ignoring the sectarian and fundamentally irreformable nature of the Orange state.

The current politics of the Workers Party began to take shape in the aftermath of another bitter split in 1974 which led to the formation of the Irish Republican Socialist Party (IRSP) and INLA (Irish National Liberation Army) amidst fierce feuding. This marked the final departure of those Officials who took seriously the 1971 commitment to 'link the question of national freedom to that of social justice and socialism'. For the remaining Officials, the split signifies the final break with a strategy which involved armed struggle for unity and national independence, and left a deep and persistent hostility towards the IRSP, the Provisionals, and any trace of paramilitarism.

In 1976, the Officials adopted the name 'Sinn Fein the Workers Party' and since then the Official IRA ceased to have any admitted existence. The Workers Party strenuously deny any connection with military activity. The Official IRA declared a ceasefire in 1972 and has not subsequently entered into conflict with the security forces. There have however been a number of incidents where it is claimed guns have been produced by Workers Party members in conflicts with republicans. Only recently *Republican News* (15 August) reported that '17 year old Liam Fitzsimmons from Belfast's Short Strand, had the fingers of both hands smashed with hammers by members of the Workers Party, who accused him of taking scrap wood from a builders yard for an anti-internment bonfire — an act hardly consistent with a condemnation of all things paramilitary. There also remains the question of how the Workers Party raise funds for their very extensive political organisation and much speculation has surrounded the arrest of several



• Bloody Sunday

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Official Republican

g for an absolute commitment from any future
to the principle of democracy. We accept the
stand it to mean that the majority party or com-
will exercise power in Northern Ireland.'
Class Politics' Election Manifesto

1971

ley has... 'a better
rn Ireland than any

h Ireland'

1985

PARTY M TO UNIONISM

former members on charges of bank robbery.

Of more significance has been the abandonment of not only armed struggle for Irish unity but *any* commitment to national unity and independence. The theoretical basis for this was the 'need to reach the Protestant working class' mentioned previously. Not only has this meant abandoning all traces of republican socialism, but also on numerous occasion reality itself. A 1974 document 'From Civil Rights to Class Politics' argued that the power-sharing Sunningdale agreement amounted to the achievement of civil rights. Five years later, the 1979 Westminster election manifesto 'Peace, Work and Class Politics' declared that 'under Direct rule there is no discrimination. All workers, both Roman Catholic and Protestant now equally face massive unemployment, bad housing, falling living standards and third class UK citizenship.'

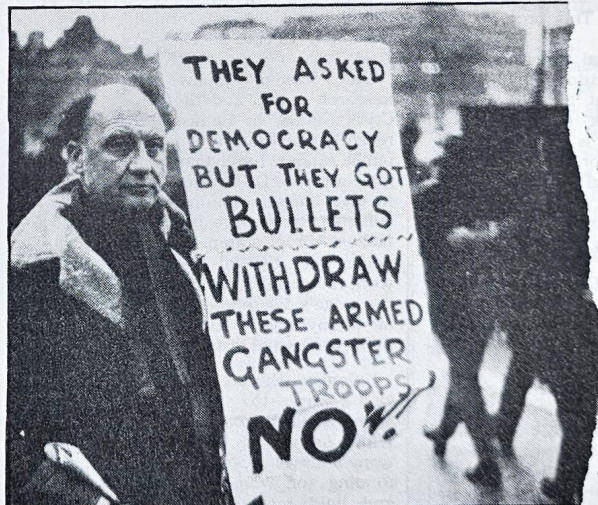
This is transparent nonsense. This year the Northern Ireland Office's own department of finance and personnel reported unemployment as more than twice as high for Catholics (28 per cent) as Protestants (13 per cent). It also found that more Catholics (16 per cent) suffered bad housing than Protestants (6 per cent). This selective interpretation of 'facts' did make political U-turns easier to justify. For it, civil rights had been achieved, there was no longer any need to oppose the RUC. If the political struggle for democracy was over (barring of course the return of devolved government to Belfast) neither then could there be political prisoners. It is not really surprising that the Workers Party maintains only a tenuous foothold in the Six Counties — support for a new Stormont and the RUC does not win many followers in nationalist areas of the North. And for the Unionists, why vote for a pale imitation of Unionism when you can have the real thing?

For the Workers Party accepting the continued existence of the Northern State was paralleled by other fundamental changes in analysis. Republican opposition to British imperialism was replaced by welcoming the 'progressive' role of foreign investment. 'Foreign industry' explains *The Irish Industrial Revolution 1977* 'means a progressive industrial base, explicit imperialist control and a vast work force which in times of crisis is open instantly to the argument for state socialism rather than feudal and reactionary appeals of the 'Buy Irish' nature'. This crude analysis has not remained pure theory. Workers Party members in Irish

trade unions ignore the asset stripping activities of the multi-nationals and vigorously defend the role of foreign companies in Ireland. In the same way, opposition to the EEC has been replaced by open acceptance of continued membership. Tomáš MacGiolla speaking recently in the *Dail* outlined a WP position on the Common Market which was virtually indistinguishable from that of the SDP in Britain.

Fortunately the influence of the Workers Party politics within the British labour movement is minor. Its support group, *Clann na hEireann*, is now small and declining, and seems to have abandoned its entry work in the British Communist Party. Where its influence is more apparent is in the Labour Campaign for Peace and Progress in Ireland (LCPPPI), whose programme betrays a remarkable similarity to that of the Workers Party in the Six Counties and whose main activity seems to be selling Workers Party literature. The LCPPPI a registered group within the Labour Party, supports the return of a devolved Assembly within the Six Counties. It shares Workers Party phobias about the Provisionals and the IRSP regarding them as 'closer to racialists and fascists than anything else', and rejects 'Troops Out Now' or similar 'attempts to disregard the wishes of all the people of Northern Ireland in any settlement.' Nowhere in LCPPPI literature is there any mention of the rights of the majority of the Irish people who favour an independent, united Ireland. LCPPPI chairperson Sean Rogers is an admitted supporter and former member of the Workers Party. A Trafford (Manchester) councillor, he is perhaps best known for supporting the expulsion of Militant supporters from the Labour Party and attempting to disrupt an LCI conference of plastic bullets because of the presence of Sinn Fein MP Owen Carron on the platform.

Workers Party supporters in Britain probably face as barren a future as the Workers Party does in the North



• When the civil rights marchers drew the conclusion that democracy could not be won in the Six County state, the Workers Party decided it could.

of Ireland. In the 26 Counties it may well replace the Labour Party as the major organisation of the social democratic left; whether this will represent any real progress for the Irish working class or any genuine realignment of Irish politics is an entirely different matter. •

A detailed analysis of the Workers Party from an 'inside' point of view can be found in Eoin O'Murchu's article 'The Workers Party — its Evolution and Its Future' in the CPI journal *Irish Socialist* (Autumn 1982). O'Murchu, former editor of the Official Republican paper *United Irishmen*, left the Officials in the mid seventies to join the Irish Communist Party.

'In sisterhood and solidarity'

FEMINISM AND UNIONISM

B RITISH AND IRISH feminists have consistently attacked Sinn Fein for their views on women, particularly their anti-abortion policy. Pointing the finger at Sinn Fein has left a gap in feminist thinking, they have not looked at what other political parties are offering women as an alternative. Some, in arguing that the British link is progressive, have refused to examine the truly conservative nature of Unionism. CHRISTINA LOUGHRAN looks at what Unionists are offering women in Northern Ireland. To do this she examines comments made on women's issues and tries to assess the forces preventing loyalist women from organising on their own behalf.

The legacy of partition and fifty years of Unionist rule makes Unionism a backward looking ideology. In the Assembly election the Democratic Unionists (Paisley's DUP), proclaimed in their manifesto, 'let's get back to the Stormont way'. They pledged themselves to take 'a strong and forthright stand on the moral matters of the day. We utterly deprecate the imposition by Westminster of alien moral standards upon Ulster. The DUP will lead the opposition in the Assembly to such matters as the legalising of homosexuality, opening sex shops and Sunday opening of public houses. Ulster should decide its own moral standards and codes of behaviour.' This promise they have kept.

The Official Unionists (OUP), not to be outdone, have always believed that 'happy family life is the rock on which good government is built' (Manifesto 1964 Election). They presided over a regime which while espousing 'a protestant state for a protestant people', gerrymandering local government elections, and maintaining repressive laws and internment nationalists and republicans without trial in every decade, also refused to give women their rights.

Changes in divorce legislation were resisted by nationalists and Unionists alike. The call to keep open the wartime nurseries as in Britain was rejected. Abortion and homosexuality remained criminalised. Contraception whilst available was expensive and hard to get. The Government's own 1968 Houghton report called for an end to marriage bars in employment, and for equal pay and childcare facilities to enable more married women to work, but nothing was done about it.

In a recent Assembly debate on abortion the only one member to oppose the motion to prevent any possible extension of the 1967 Abortion Act to Northern Ireland came from the Alliance Party, which has no policy on it. But even he was unsure whether certain forms of

contraception were abortive or not, and the whole tone of the debate was biblical, with members claiming that lack of christianity was to blame for the increasing numbers of women travelling to England for abortions.

When the lack of abortion facilities for rape victims was mentioned the Rev. Ivan Foster (DUP) argued that the only 'obviously innocent' person in a rape was 'the child conceived in the tragic affair' and no exception should be made. He also stated that 'Adolf Hitler had more charity in him than the abortionists, because the abortionists would seek to put to death a child with no defects — a child who is perfectly formed.' (Assembly Debate 29 February 1984).

The Women's Law and Research Group and the Rape Crisis Centre in Belfast have recently published a report on public support for change in our rape laws; the DUP were unable to give complete support; the Alliance Party were unable to make a direct statement; and while the Official Unionists were favourable they preferred the judge's discretion to remain on anonymity of victims and their past sexual history.

Unionists therefore have a long way to go before acknowledging women's needs. While on the ground loyalist women have recently secured funding for women's centres and hold regular events for women, no policies have been passed in any of the Unionist party conferences in support of women's rights; indeed apart from abortion which they all oppose, no such issues have been put on their agendas for discussion!

In April 1985 the UDA announced they were setting up a women's rights department. Their spokeswoman Hester Dunn argued that she supported, any group who are striving to improve things for women. However she added that she felt 'women in Ulster should be wary of which women's groups they may be misled into help-



ing'. Commenting on the Stop the Strip Searches picket at Armagh on 10 March she stressed that these people are 'conning women into believing they are interested in the rights of women, when really what they are doing is using... it for their own devious propaganda purposes, (*Ulster* magazine April 1985). This makes it difficult to see the same magazine was making sectarian and sexist jokes about the IRA member becoming 'as reluctant as a catholic bride on her wedding night', and calling catholic 'girls' who they allege go out with British soldiers

'groundsheets' and 'loose' women, (*Ulster* magazine, Jan 1984). This makes it difficult to believe that the UDA have a genuine desire to change the position of women.

Despite their desire to unite women across the sectarian divide, feminists in Northern Ireland have failed to analyse the very forces preventing them from doing so. In stressing that while discussion and real policy changes have occurred within Sinn Fein, as yet Unionists have to show that they offer any alternative to women other than what they got before — nothing. ●

WHY WE NEED THE 1967 ABORTION ACT

A major article in the *Irish Post* of 31 August was headlined: 'Abortion figures reach new high'. Figures showed 3,946 women resident in the South had their pregnancies legally terminated in England and Wales during 1984 compared with 3,677 in 1983. Last year 1,530 women from the North came to England and Wales for abortions — compared with 1,460 in 1983. It has

other considerations — why had they not accepted a law which had been passed by the British parliament? Valerie's lonely decision ought to have been agony enough.

...One of the girls from the South was surprised that we'd had to travel from Belfast, unaware that in the great bastion of all things British girls still occasionally die at the hands of illegal abortionists.' (From Chapter 1: The Abortion Trail: A Personal Experience)

In Chapter 2, The Case for Legal Reform, NIALRA say: 'Unlike the anti-abortion campaigns we are not laying down a general rule of conduct for all women. We merely believe that women are the best judges of their own situation and that all choices, including that of abortion should be available to them. The denial of the option of abortion is one more aspect of the restriction of women's lives in Northern Ireland. Women's lack of control over their bodies reflects a general lack of control over their lives.'

A third chapter argues that abortion reform would mean better medical care for women. Other Irish women have pointed out that abortion reform in the North would create a better situation for women in the South who could then travel north for abortions rather than cross the Irish sea.

Hopefully this pamphlet will be widely circulated in Britain to help build support for Irish women's demand for their right to choose — initially by the extension of the '67 Abortion Act. Sarah Roelofs

WHY WE NEED THE 1967 ABORTION ACT

by the Northern Ireland Abortion Law Reform Association. 75p (inc. p + p) from NIALRA, PO Box 151, Belfast BT9 6FT.

long been accepted that official figures represent only a proportion of Irish women who come to Britain for abortions. The vast majority give the address of a relative or friend in Britain.

These figures were issued just after the Northern Ireland Abortion Law Reform Association published their pamphlet stating the case for the 1967 Abortion Act to be extended to the North. The stark numbers underscore (although it is hardly necessary) the pamphlet's essential argument.

'We'd been brought up in a Protestant family and carried British passports. Why did we have to travel over the Irish sea to obtain a British right? Our politicians at home — for whom the wonderful thought of remaining British superceded all

BREAKING OUT

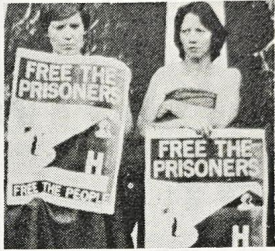
The Dublin Lesbian and Gay Collectives in conjunction with Womens' Community Press, plan to publish a book, tentatively entitled 'BREAKING OUT — ASPECTS OF LESBIAN AND GAY LIFE IN IRELAND', in March 1986. It will be the first book of its kind in Ireland, the only lesbian and gay literature available here is imported from Britain and the US, and often doesn't get through the censors.

The importance of a book on the oppressions and lifestyles of Irish lesbians and gay men cannot be underestimated. The book will contain analytical and factual material, along with personal experiences of individuals, group discussions and interviews dealing with a range of issues and topics including gays and the church, rural Ireland, lesbian mothers, the situation in the Six Counties, violence and the law.

It will be aimed primarily at a lesbian and gay audience and will also provided valuable information for families and friends to help dispel many of the myths, 'expert opinions' and inherent fears which dominate the Irish view of lesbians and gay men.

However, in order for this important book to see the light of day, we need money very badly — in fact about £5000. In Ireland there is virtually no funding available for alternative projects, least of all lesbian and gay ones!

Donations are urgently needed as soon as possible! Please send whatever you can to: The Dublin Lesbian/Gay Collectives, c/o Womens' Community Press, 48 Fleet St, Dublin 2, And Thank You.



BRIXTON

TWO YOUNG WOMEN being held on remand under the PTA in Brixton jail have accused prison authorities of a policy of deliberate humiliation and sexual harassment through strip searching.

Martina Anderson has written to relatives describing the conditions under which herself and fellow prisoner Ella O'Dwyer are being held in this otherwise all male prison.

In the space of five days between 5th and 10th August, she writes, she has been subjected to ten strip searches, 34 body searches and one cell change. Ella O'Dwyer who suffers from a migraine is receiving similar treatment.

Labour Women for Ireland have raised the matter with Labour Women's Rights spokesperson Jo Richardson, and it is hoped to send a delegation to the prison.

TRADE UNIONISTS

TRADE UNIONISTS AGAINST STRIP SEARCHING, held a major public meeting on the 26 June in Dublin and plan a tribunal on strip searching and a trade union delegation to Armagh Prison. Addressing the crowded hall, Inez McCormack from NUPE in the North of Ireland said 'women in Ireland want action — not words. We need to turn the trade union resolutions against strip searching into action.'

Christina Kearney, from the Executive of the Local Government and Public Service Union, supported Inez's argument saying that as it takes a long time for the voices of women to be heard in trade unions. Women trade unionists especially should recognise the need to speak for those who cannot speak and help to ensure the resolutions are carried through.

Representing the Executive of the ICTU, Matt Merrigan argued that strip searching is part of the great tragedy of British involvement in Ireland and part of the degradation and humiliation of an entire community in the North. 'Strip searching is a violation of human rights. Many trade unionists accept the principle of defending human rights but do nothing', he added.

Senator Mary Robinson read out the Senate motion she and other women Senators had tabled on strip searching which called on the Foreign Affairs Minister to raise the issue formally with the British Secretary of State for Northern Ireland. 'This is a serious issue of civil liberties. People who are already deprived of their liberty are vulnerable. Any additional suffering or degradation impinges on all of us. Strip searching has rightly been regarded as an important feminist issue... For all these reasons — the prima facie evidence, the question of

civil liberties and the feminist aspect — this issue should be raised in the Senate.'

Helen Mahoney also from the LGPSU, speaking for the 'Stop the Armagh Strip Searching Campaign' explained the need to link up with English trade unionists. Labour Women for Ireland have met with Trade Unionists Against Strip Searches to discuss liaison between the two groups. As English unions are slowly beginning to take up and campaign against the strip searches, LWI feels that pressure from TUASS will greatly aid their work in Britain. ● Sarah Roelofs

LABOUR WOMEN FOR IRELAND

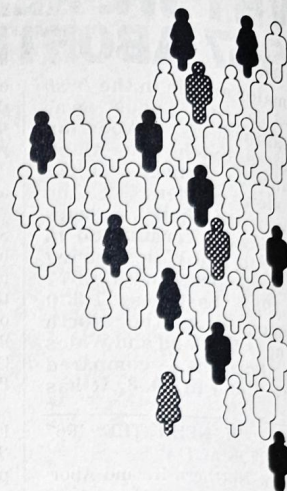
- Campaigning against strip searching in Armagh jail
- Promoting the feminist dialogue with women from the nationalist community
- Sending women's delegations to Ireland
- Solidarity with the Northern Ireland Abortion Campaign

For more information contact LWI, c/o Feminist Library, Hungerford House, Victoria Embankment, London WC2





LONDON AGAINST RACISM



IRISH YOUTH: WHO CARES?

A GLC Consultative Conference to examine recent immigration of young Irish people to London.

The massive immigration of Irish people transformed British society in the 1950s. Now, in times of increasing industrial depression, Irish people are once more arriving in London in increasing numbers. Although some local authorities are beginning to make provision to meet the needs of the Irish community, little attention has so far been paid to the needs of this new wave of immigrants.

In order to draw attention to this situation and to initiate public discussion here and in Ireland, the Ethnic Minorities Unit of the Greater London Council is holding a day conference on Sunday 20 October in the Conference Hall, County Hall, London SE1 starting at 9.30am

The Conference will be opened by the leader of the Greater London Council, Ken Livingstone, and the following speakers have agreed to take part: John McDonnell (councillor and chair of GLC's Irish panel), Sabina Sharkey (Irish Women's Centre), Tom Connor (GLC researcher), Sean Redmond (General Secretary of the Irish Municipal Employees Trade Union) and Father Des Wilson (from Ballymurphy) have been invited to take part.

The Conference will be chaired by Christine Crawley MEP, and discussions will cover the following main issues: Employment, Housing, Education, Social Services and Strategy for Local Authorities. The Conference begins with registration at 9.30am and continues until 5.00pm.

Refreshments will be available throughout the day.

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION,
PLEASE RING: (01) 633 4262

MANCHESTER

In Manchester on 6 July, 160 delegates from the City Party attended a special delegate educational conference to formulate new Irish policy. Bernadette McAlisky and Dublin trade unionist Michael O'Reilly presented the Irish case for unity and independence. Labour's spokesperson Stuart Bell MP and Ken Livingstone argued different approaches for the Labour Party. As the seven workshops reported back and made their recommendations (which will be published for affiliated organisations), it was clear that 'withdrawal' had won the day. Success had inspired other areas to follow suit. West Midlands regional executive has called a conference of 2 November and announcements are expected on a date for events in Glasgow and Bristol.

UNION CONGRESS

1985 TUC joint LCI/LWI fringe meeting heard ICTU president Matt Merrigan argue for British trade unionists to support their

movement bodies. Write to Miriam James, The secretary CCFBWI c/o Peace through Democracy, PO Box 551, London SE5 8JJ

PLASTIC BULLETS

The United Campaign against Plastic Bullets will be touring the South of England from 16-24 October. Definite dates are London on the 16th and Oxford on the 24th. Brighton and Southampton LCI are also putting on meetings, so look out in your local press. The LCI has a copy of the video: 'Plastic Bullets the Deadly Truth' which can be hired by writing to the box number.

BERNADETTE

Bernadette McAlisky will be speaking in the West Midlands in December. First stop is an invitation from Oxford City Council as part of their Peace Year on 3 December, followed by Coventry (4th) and Leamington Spa (5th).

BRIGHTON

A new branch of the LCI has been formed in Brighton which will serve the whole Sussex area.

the Monday night: 'The Path to a United Ireland'.

WEST LONDON

West London LCI are holding a series of education meetings which deal with the history of British rule in Ireland 'from '98 to date'. Speakers so far include: C Desmond Greaves and Flann Campbell.

RESOURCES

The Information on Ireland 'Resources Guide to the North of Ireland' is a vital handbook for everyone who wants to find out more about alternative sources of information to the mass media: books, pamphlets, films and videos, exhibitions and organisations. Clearly laid out and comprehensive in range it costs a mere 50p for 32 pages plus 20p postage from: Information for Ireland, Box 189, 32 Ivor Place, London NW1 6DA

NEWSLETTER

The LCI is now publishing a regular monthly newsletter for branches and affiliated organisations. Each issue has tips for campaigners, reports from the areas, resource update. It tells you what's coming up, and keeps you in touch. Are you on the mailing list? Write to Sheena Clarke, 36 Burgoyne Rd, Sheffield S6 3QA

FIREWORKS

Bonfire night is coming faster than you think. Where is your local council or sports club buying its fireworks from? The manufacturers Brocks also make lethal plastic bullets for use by the security forces in the North. Legal injunctions make it impossible to organise a campaign that would connect the same product in people's minds lest it affect the company trading.

LIVERPOOL

'Ireland and the Labour Party' is the title of a one day conference in Liverpool to be held on Saturday 12 October at the Trade Union Centre, Hardman St. Speakers include Bernadette McAliskey, Derry Sinn Fein's leading trade unionist Daisy Mules and GLC cllr Steve Bundred..

STUDENTS

LCI is organising a Sinn Fein speaking tour in the colleges in early November. Venues so far include: Oxford Poly, Bristol University, Edinburgh University, Aberdeen University, Manchester University, Strathclyde and Birmingham. For more details contact LCI student officer Conor Foley c/o LCI Box number.

TAPES

Labour and Ireland is arranging for tapes to be made for the visually disabled. If you know someone who would be interested in an audio version of Labour and Ireland please let us know.

STYLE

To finance increased campaign activity of LCI/LWI and Labour and Ireland, we are moving onto the entertainment scene. In Birmingham on 27 September, That Petrol Emotion and the Renegades will get Music for Unity for Ireland off to a flying start. If you are an up and coming musician, band or fading superstar we would like to hear from you. Contact LCI Box number.



Irish sisters and brothers in their call to end the loyalist veto. Anti-strip search campaigner Pauline Derry described the brutal and degrading harassment of prisoners in Armagh jail and the efforts of the republican community to put an end to this practice. Dr Maire O'Shea thanked delegates for their support in her campaign to prove her innocence and expose the PTA.

The TUC was the first in a series of meetings organised by the LCI for Irish trade unionists. Tom Redmond from the Exec ctte of the Federated Workers Union of Ireland spoke in Birmingham, Oxford, Nottingham and Sheffield in addition to addressing an LCI trade union school, and several NALGO meetings in London.

REAL LIVES

Illicit showings of the banned BBC documentary Real Lives have drawn crowds all over the country, worthy of special mention being South Wales, Manchester, Bristol and Haringey where three separate screenings had to be organised for up to 1000 people.

The Haringey showing was arranged by the Labour Council who are now under threat of legal proceedings from the BBC. The video can be hired from the Campaign for Press and Broadcasting Freedom, 9 Poland St, London W1. Tel 01-437-2795 Charge £15

BLOODY SUNDAY

Next year's Bloody Sunday demonstration is being organised by the Coordinating Committee for British Withdrawal from Ireland and has the full support of the LCI. The March will be held in London on 2 February 1986 and organisers are at present seeking sponsorship and funds from prominent figures and/or Labour

After a successful meeting giving a platform to Sinn Fein's Derry trade unionist Daisy Mules, Party members felt it necessary to organise on a permanent basis both to withstand the sort of witch hunt launched against cllr Richard Stanton (see Labour and Ireland No8) and to take the campaign deeper into the Labour movement. Interested in joining? Write to secretary Graham Dawson, 124 Ditchling Rise, Brighton BN1 4QR

LABOUR FRINGE

1985 Labour conference fringe looks like being as lively on Ireland as last year. The Labour and Ireland fringe meeting launches the new Ireland After Britain book which we have jointly published with Pluto Press. Speakers include Dunnes anti-Apartheid striker Mary Manning, Labour Womens' Committee's Mandy Moore, Labour and Ireland editor Martin Collins, with a host of prominent contributors to the Irish debate who are being asked to make a contribution. The book launch social straight after the Wednesday night meeting with Irish music held in the Chine Hotel, Boscombe Spa Rd, Bournemouth looks like being a grand affair.

Labour Women for Ireland meeting on the Tuesday features Sinn Fein cllr Dodie McGuinness and other women speakers. Target Labour Government have also invited Dodie McGuinness that's on Sunday night.

The Labour Campaign for Peace and Progress have some prominent Workers Party speakers, Clive Soley MP, ex UDA commander Louis Scott and leader of Southampton council Alan Whitehead. The PLP Northern Ireland Group have a meeting at 5.15 on

Name
Address

Membership

I would like to join
Labour Committee on Ireland
Labour Women for Ireland

PPROMOTING A DIALOGUE with republican women and other Irish feminists, Labour Women for Ireland is campaigning against the strip searches in Armagh jail, solidairising with the Northern Ireland Abortion campaign. As women and feminists we believe that British withdrawal is necessary for a united Ireland and that national liberation is inseparable from women's liberation.
Annual membership. Please send £5 (£1 unwaged)
Affiliation: TU, LP, YS, Women's Sections. £5 (over 250 members: £10)
Cheques payable: 'LWI' c/o Feminist Library, Hungerford House, Victoria Embankment, WC2

THE LABOUR COMMITTEE ON IRELAND with the Labour Women for Ireland campaigns to end bipartisanship and put a commitment to British withdrawal and Irish unity at the centre of Labour's policies. To break the Unionist veto over political progress in Ireland and bring a democratic solution closer we are active in all sections of the labour movement, arguing our case and providing a platform for the Irish labour, republican and feminist viewpoint. Why not join the LCI or get a speaker to your local ward, constituency or union branch? We can organise meetings at any Labour or Union conference. To help campaign please add on a donation to the very reasonable membership rates.
Annual membership. Please send £5 (£1 unwaged)
Affiliation: TU, LP, YS, Women's Sections. £5 (over 250 members £10)
Cheques payable 'LCI', BM Box 5355, London WC1N 3XX.

Phone

TU

LP



*End the censorship of
the Irish debate!*

Alan Sapper
General Secretary

Bruce Anderson
President

**Association of Cinematograph
Television and Allied Technicians**

2, Soho Sq., London W1V 6DD

GREETINGS

To Conference Delegates From

Richard Balfe MEP
Christine Crawley MEP
Bob Cryer MEP
Michael Elliot MEP
Glyn Ford MEP
Les Huckfield MEP
Alf Lomas MEP
Eddie Newman MEP



"Forward to a United Socialist Ireland"

CWS ROYAL ARSENAL POLITICAL COMMITTEE

Invites you to attend a Rally

NICARAGUA MUST SURVIVE



with



His Excellency D. Francisco d'Escoto
Rt. Hon: Denis Healey Alf Lomas MEP
Councillor Hazel Smith Richard Balfe MEP

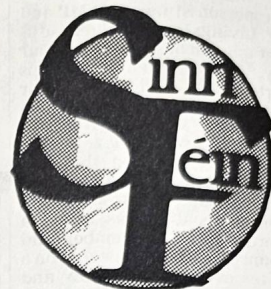
Musical Entertainment and Bookstalls
on

Monday, 30th September 1985
from 7.30pm to 9.30pm
at

**PROMENADE BAR,
WINTER GARDENS THEATRE,
BOURNEMOUTH**

Greetings from SINN FÉIN

TO THE
LABOUR COMMITTEE
ON IRELAND
AND LABOUR
PARTY
DELEGATES
AT ANNUAL
CONFERENCE



SINN FEIN believes that only an Irish Republic – free from Britain and from imperialist influences – controlled by the Irish people on structures decided by themselves, and based on socialist principles, can solve the many problems besetting Ireland.

We see British withdrawal as only the beginning of the process whereby a Socialist Republic will be brought about. A British withdrawal will end the 'loyalist veto' and enable Irish society to be organised along normal political lines.

Sinn Fein (British Desk), 44 Parnell Square, Dublin 1
Tel 726932

Greetings to Labour & Ireland and
Labour Conference delegates.

**"A nation that enslaves another
can never itself be free"**



National Committee of

NATIONAL ORGANISATION of LABOUR STUDENTS



Greetings to Conference
delegates from

Peter Archer QC and Stuart Bell MP

Don't miss the PLP Northern Ireland Committee
fringe meeting 'The Path to a United Ireland'
5.15pm Monday 30 September
Winterbourne Hotel, Priory Rd, Bournemouth

TRADE UNIONISTS FOR IRISH UNITY AND INDEPENDENCE

sends fraternal greetings to Labour Party Conference delegates,
working together for a united Ireland, which will be advanced by
the victory of your Labour Party.

Matt Merrigan, President,
Dublin District Secretary, ATGWU
Sean Redmond, Secretary
Gen Sec IMETU

SINCE the Government rejected all three options of the New Ireland Forum report out of hand, liberal supporters of partition have been at pains to present a version of unionism that would be less abrasive to Dublin politicians and keep the dialogue open.

Two new publications this summer fit this mould, *Ireland A Positive Proposal* by Belfast lawyer-academics Kevin Boyle and Tom Hadden is an extended version of their submission to the Forum which attracted favourable press comment at the time for its general thoughtfulness and grasp of the 'central' problems. *What Future for Northern Ireland* is the report of a joint SDP/Liberal Alliance Commission. Chaired by SDP peer Lord Donaldson (a junior minister under Roy Mason), the report has been accepted by the SDP, disowned by the Young Liberals and criticised by many who argued that its composition had been fixed by David Steel to overturn Liberal policy which is for eventual unification.

PARTITION

British political parties can take three attitudes to partition — they can try to maintain it by increased military repression (a policy which the establishment is regarding with increased suspicion after fifteen years of worsening crisis); they can try to maintain it using the support of Dublin; or they can be against it in which case they would advocate British withdrawal.

Both these publications are at pains to point out that there are no simple solutions — rather they advocate complicated solutions which tend to obscure their basic philosophy. Nevertheless, both make the point frankly that as far as they are concerned partition has to stay and that the Constitutional veto given the Unionists in 1949 is to remain. Both think there would be a blood bath if Britain pulled out, but whereas Boyle and Hadden say the Nato/neutrality argument is a red herring, the Alliance say withdrawal is out because our Nato partners would not allow it.

SECURITY

Both agree with unionist hardliners that security is a central problem. Boyle and Hadden say matters would be improved if the Irish altered their constitution to remove the claim to sovereignty which encourages nationalism. Dublin should cooperate with the RUC they say, and create a cross boarder security zone. Extradition of political prisoners to the British should not be subject to existing Irish law.

The Alliance would like to scrap the Prevention of Terrorism Act just as soon as joint



“What can be worse than just soldiering on with policies that have been achieving so little for so long?”

Anglo-Irish Law can be created to replace it. They want to see a security commission set up and reciprocal training arrangements between the RUC and the Gardai.

But if Dublin is to agree to any of this, progress has to be seen to be made in the North. Each book itemises nationalist complaints and suggests remedies. But while they agree the 'Flags and Emblems Act' should go, there is a plethora of suggestions on other matters. The Alliance deals with the demand to end the 'supergrass' system by saying there should be a maximum of six defendants at any trial. Boyle and Hadden: that evidence should be corroborated.

On the security forces' shoot-to-kill policy, the Alliance says instructions on the use of weapons should be published. Both agree complaints should be investigated.

On Diplock courts, Boyle and Hadden want a judge from the South to sit in on serious trials and the Alliance wants three judges instead of one. On plastic bullets, neither commits themselves to a ban. The Alliance wants an enquiry. Both see the need to change the image of the security forces and think

sectarian Ulster Defence Regiment should be phased out and the RUC expanded.

Looking at discrimination in the Six Counties, both agree that the Fair Employment Agency has not altered the pattern much at all, but although both want to scrap the FEA, neither make any proposals on how to deal with discrimination in the future. Boyle and Hadden propose religious equality be enshrined in a Bill of Rights; the Alliance (who want to scrap the Equal Opportunities Commission as well) propose to replace the FEA with a Human Rights Commission.

UNEMPLOYMENT

Both are agreed that unemployment will not disappear overnight, neither propose any remedy or amelioration barring the Alliance's suggestion that the EEC might create some extra jobs.

The centre piece of the two proposals is for a form of 'partnership in government' to get minority participation. The Alliance advise the minority to 'dispel Unionist fears about a lack of loyalty'. They will exclude Sinn Fein from participation in this 'partnership'

altogether. There is nothing like recognising 'nationalist identity' but not allowing nationalists to elect representatives of their choice!

Powersharing of the type envisaged has already been tried out once in 1974. The experiment was brought to an abrupt end by a loyalist general strike which the British army refused to act against. Boyle and Hadden draw the lesson that the mechanism of the 1974 powersharing agreement was wrong. They propose to take a leaf out of company law for recognising the role of minority shareholders: some questions — like education and housing would need a 60 per cent majority to be settled; others on constitutional issues would need a 70 per cent majority. Since they reaffirm the loyalist veto is guaranteed by the British constitution and the British have 'the final say in which questions need which majority, there would not seem to be much more need to reassure the unionists that nothing will change. Just in case there is any doubt, the book comes complete with a new Anglo Irish Treaty which would force the Irish government to recognise the Unionist veto as well.

PARTNERSHIP

The Alliance say that if the partnership was threatened by a loyalist strike, they would use the British army to crush it. How they would persuade the Army to do this they do not say.

Unfortunately as both sets of authors realise implicitly it is too late to reform Northern Ireland, the most that can be done is to give it a facelift that will enlist the already stretched resources of the Dublin government to militarily enforce partition. Neither set of proposals, however thoughtfully posed, would alter the nature of the Six County state, suggests fighting discrimination or removing the material basis of sectarianism. Proposals to act against 'extremism' are all directed at the nationalists.

Sinn Fein is winning support not from convinced revolutionaries, but from ordinary working class people who despair of establishment politicians taking up their grievances or talking straight. Neither proposal is positive. Neither proposal shows the future for Northern Ireland. ●

Martin Collins

'IRELAND — A POSITIVE PROPOSAL'

by Kevin Boyle & Tom Hadden
Penguin 127pp £2.95

'WHAT FUTURE FOR NORTHERN IRELAND?'

Report of the Alliance Commission on Northern Ireland
Alliance 132pp



Angry? Delighted? Stimulated? We'd like to hear your views, but please keep them brief!

Write to: **LABOUR and IRELAND**,
LCI BM Box 5355, London WC1N 3XX

CONFLICTING

I would like to comment on two articles from 'Sisterhood and Solidarity' in *Labour and Ireland* No 8.

The first, 'Breaking the Silence' calls on Labour Women to campaign for the extension of the 1967 Abortion Law Reform Act to Ireland, 'at the same time as fighting for British withdrawal from Ireland'.

This is asking women to take up two conflicting campaigns. The 1967 Abortion Law Reform Act was not extended to the North of Ireland because of Unionist opposition. The act about Gay Rights was not extended because of the same opposition. These facts should have been pointed out to your readers.

The Labour Party did not introduce this legislation to parliament, legalisation of abortion not being Labour Party policy. Labour women will put their commitment to British withdrawal in question if they accept Britain's 'right' to legislate over a part of Ireland.

The second article 'Need a New Approach' was an essay in self-congratulation which insulted Irish commemorative ceremonies. When the British withdrawal movement has something more recent to commemorate than the Levellers' Last Stand I hope they send us all an invitation.

Patsy Davis Birmingham

HATRED

Labour and Ireland is a well produced publication, but I cannot go along with the view that peace will be restored when the British withdraw from Northern Ireland.

Given the intensity of hatred between Catholics and Protestants, the extent to which the loyalist are trained, the influence of Paisleyite politicians and the existence of the RUC, RUC Reserve, UDR, Territorial Army, B-Special Associations, UDA, UVF etc who are all just itching to be let loose on the Catholics and avenge fifteen years of IRA bombing; I see nothing but a most dreadful civil war if Britain withdrew and left no authority in the North.

I'm not saying I agree with British policy in Northern Ireland. Far from it. But withdrawal is the formula not for peace, but years of even worse violence than we have experienced so far.

It is irrational to say that

withdrawal should be preceded by disarming the loyalists and disbanding the RUC and UDR. Even if they wanted to, the British have not the fire power to do this.

If there were a withdrawal, the Dublin government would certainly not intervene. Why should they be embroiled in a war with Ulster loyalists?

Once took the trouble to sound out the views of militant loyalists on what they would do if the British withdrew. They predicted sectarian civil war, expulsion of Catholics from the mainly loyalist areas, and a smaller but entirely 'Protestant Ulster'.

They said that those who imagined British withdrawal would bring the loyalists 'to their senses' and make arrangements for a *modus vivendi* with the Provos, were just plain crazy.

Another aspect of withdrawal is that the place is part of Nato in the Western Defence Zone. If the British withdrew, the Americans would be in immediately.

Dublin would cheer. As far as they are concerned, the American army in the North would be better than the British. No doubt the loyalists would resent an American presence. The Catholics would, I am sure, welcome it. Taking over Northern Ireland would be simple for an American force: remember Grenada.

There is no doubt a crying need for effective policies to deal with the situation in Northern Ireland, but 'Troops Out!', while it may raise emotions of the Irish in exile, has not even the resemblance of a policy for peace.

Andrew Boyd Newtownabbey

RAIL

Congratulations on your last issue — the best so far. I particularly liked the centrespread on trade unions. My own union, the NUR doesn't organise in the North but it discussed the issue at its recent Annual General Meeting and has come out quite strongly against the unionist veto.

I hope that *Labour and Ireland* could consider carrying a survey of where other unions stand on this issue.

Incidentally *Labour and Ireland* is quite a 'hit' number at my depot, Neasdon London Transport, I sold seven copies of the last two issues. Most people who bought it were not Labour

Party members. The response has been very favourable although one Glaswegian complains that it was a 'wee bit tame' for him!

Pam Singer Harlesdon

HEROIN

As a Sinn Fein Councillor recently elected by the people of Dublin's North Inner City I feel I must answer Gerard O'Quigley (letters *Labour and Ireland* 8) who is obviously very ignorant of how the Concerned Parents Against Drugs works.

The CPAD started when women in St. Teresa's Gardens on the south side of the city got together and called a meeting of the people in their flats. They had watched their sisters, brothers, sons and daughters gradually fall prey to the heroin pushers which was eventually to



lead to their destruction as human beings and finally to death.

They watched strangers come into the flats, queue up outside a pusher's door waiting for a 'fix' and then inject themselves in front of children playing on the stairs. One woman saw her four year old daughter pretending to inject her doll while playing.

The Dublin government and the Gardai stood idly by and chose to ignore it. The people felt helpless. Something had to be done. 400 came to the meeting. Residents stood up and gave evidence. They lived with the evidence every day of their lives. Pushers were named openly and it was decided to march to their door in question to let them know that they were unacceptable to the people in the flats. Violence was never used or threatened and the pusher was given the chance to stop pushing or to leave. They usually left.

Other areas across Dublin began having similar meetings, and the CPAD was formed.

The campaign was open to everybody, it didn't matter what your political persuasions were, whether you were a member of Fine Gael, Fianna Fail, Sinn Fein or Labour. If you were concerned about the rapidly growing heroin epidemic that was ruining our young people, you had a right to take a stand and be involved.

The Dublin government's lack of concern for what was happening was responsible for the birth of the Concerned Parents. If

they had acted there would have been no need for the Concerned Parents and they wouldn't have had to fear and experience the growing movement of working class people across Dublin.
Cllr. Christy Burke Dublin

ABORTION

I'm not surprised that Labour Women for Ireland are having problems in their 'promotion of a dialogue with Sinn Fein'. They list as an 'important argument' to be considered, the claim that 'republican women do not want, and are opposed to abortion'. The 27 per cent of Roman Catholic women from the North obtaining abortions in Britain are mentioned to counter the 'first half' of this claim.

This is a *non-sequitur* and unfairly impugns the 'Pro-Life' record of Sinn Fein supporters.

Sinn Fein represents only a third of the anti-Unionist vote, and if a recent opinion poll is to be believed, only 47 per cent of Catholics can be said to aspire to the title 'republican'.

Doubtless the abortionists are those shameless hussies included among the 34 per cent who went so far as to admit that they wished to remain British!

The 'contradictions facing feminists' are easily resolved — by dispensing with feminism. The next thing you know we'll have people bellyaching about the 'contradiction facing socialists' seeking to extend the writ of the Labour Party to Northern Ireland. Doubtless they too will suggest that in view of 'the extent of hardship caused... by the present situation' they 'can see the difference it would make — not just for (the) Northern Irish... but for those 'in the South too'.

As you say, British imperialism has 'held the ring' and facilitated the most reactionary ideologies. Northern Ireland has been deluged with that all-pervasive, reactionary and irreligious ideology, liberal democracy — particularly since Stormont was abolished. Nationalists have for years been oppressed by the knowledge that they had to 'stand idly by' while strangers resorted to contraceptives, divorce, humanist medical hygiene, godless schools and the welfare state that has been so inimical to family virtue. Now you propose to add abortion to the list! We can do without such 'benign English imperialism'.

P Doff Huddersfield

SEASIDE

If *Labour and Ireland* has any readers in the Great Yarmouth area, they may be interested to know that the local trades council has a position in favour of a united Ireland.

Following press stories in the summer about a supposed IRA bombing campaign in the resort, they have written to ask Sinn Fein President Gerry Adams to come to the town to speak.

Rod Earle Norwich TOM

INTERNATIONAL

US IRISH BID TO CURB DISCRIMINATION

FAIR EMPLOYMENT AGENCY reports investigating religious discrimination in Northern Ireland do not make the headlines in Britain. The left assumes that discrimination exists, the right tends not to want to know. But in the United States, with its tradition of legal challenges to the establishment and vulnerability of politicians, such matters are taken more seriously. The Irish American lobby is mounting a campaign to stop US investment inadvertently being used to subsidise anti-Catholic discrimination in the North.

The United States is the single largest investor in the North and many companies doing business there are automatically implicated in systematic discrimination.

The *Irish Lobby*, a newsheet produced by the Irish National Caucus argues that anti Catholic discrimination is 'one of the main instruments by which the British government maintains control of the supremacist and sectarian state of Northern Ireland'.

Of the 24 companies based in the North, they report that only five are situated in Catholic

areas, even in these, of course it is still an open question as to whether Catholics are fully and proportionally represented at all levels.

The Caucus points out that these companies are seemingly content to engage in discriminatory practices which, if performed in the United States would be illegal under the 1984 Civil Rights Act which expressly forbids corporations from 'perpetuating present effects of past discrimination in race, sex or religion'. They say that since America is the largest investor, Americans have the

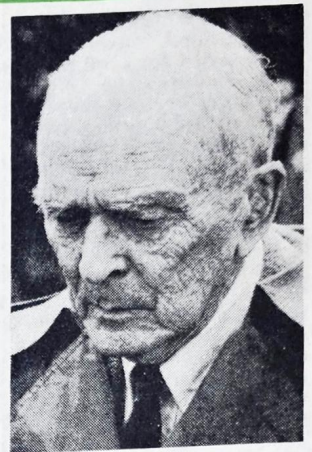
'absolute right and obligation to demand that US dollars stop subsidising anti Catholic discrimination'.

The combined total of institutional investment by state structures, municipalities, educational or religious bodies, trade union pension funds etc is over 29 billion dollars. The campaign is not calling for disinvestment, but intends to use economic muscle to force employers in the North to practice a code of conduct for fair employment. The standards being sought are modelled on the Sullivan principles which were formulated as a corporate code for companies doing business in South Africa. The MacBride principles as they are known (after Peace Prize winner Sean MacBride) have already been supported by the union federation AFL-CIO and are beginning to gain support of Senators and Congressmen.

The Caucus plans to get major institutional investors to support and advance the principles, to gain the support of local city councils and State legislatures then finally to introduce legislation in Congress to endorse them and outlaw discrimination by US companies in the North.

The *Sunday Times* (6 January 1985) admitted that the call for companies to operate similar affirmative action programmes for Catholics in the North as for blacks in the US is particularly well timed 'for even if the law is never passed, it provides an opportunity to link, however tenuously, the issues of South Africa and Northern Ireland'. The *New York Times* countered that 'there is no easy parallel between combatting apartheid and promoting equality in Ulster. Discrimination is the law in South Africa, it is prohibited in Northern Ireland.'

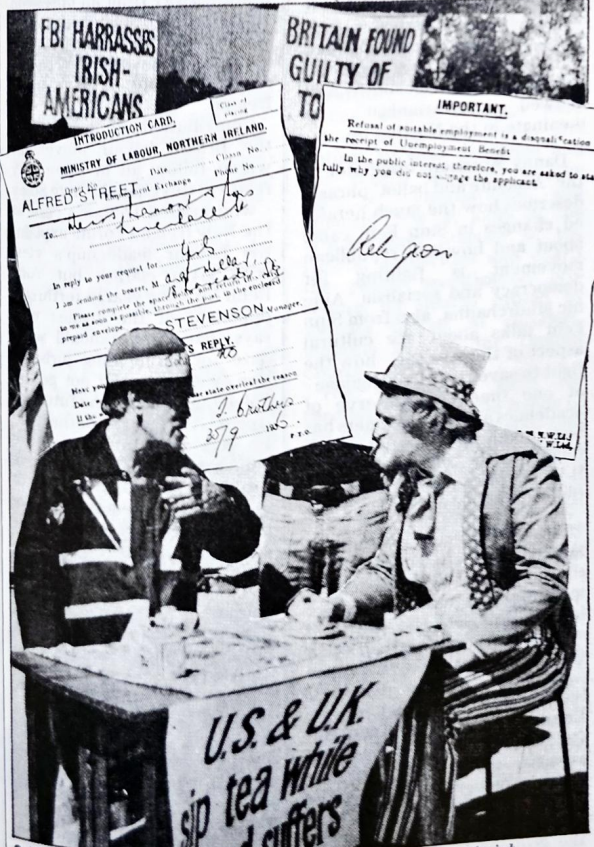
It is the contradiction between what the US government is saying is the law in the North and the realities of discrimination which is winning new support. In June Harrison Goldin, the financial comptroller of New York City who is responsible for managing a city investment portfolio of \$300 million in 13 Northern Ireland companies was outraged at being refused a visit to two big Belfast concerns. In July the New York State Assembly endorsed the MacBride principles by 135 to 12 votes.



● Sean MacBride

THE MacBRIDE PRINCIPLES

- Increasing the representation of individuals from under-represented religious groups in the workforce including managerial, supervisory, administrative, clerical and technical jobs.
- Adequate security for the protection of minority employees both at the work place and while travelling to and from work.
- The banning of provocative sectarian or political emblems from the workplace.
- All job openings should be publicly advertised; and special recruitment efforts should be made to attract applicants from under-represented religious groups.
- Layoff, recall, and termination procedures should not in practice favour particular religious groupings.
- The abolition of job reservations, apprenticeship restrictions, and differential employment criteria, which discriminate on the basis of religion or ethnic origin.
- The development of training programmes that will prepare substantial numbers of minority employees for skilled jobs, including the expansion of existing programmes to train, upgrade, and improve the skills of all categories of minority employees.
- The establishment of procedures to assess, identify, and actively recruit minority employees with potential for further advancement.
- The appointment of a senior management staff member to oversee the Company's affirmative action efforts and the setting up of timetables to carry out affirmative action principles.



● Ministry of Labour card showing Catholic applicant's job rejection and (below) Los Angeles Friends of Ireland

NEUTRALITY, INTERNATIONAL LAW & THE NUCLEAR ARMS RACE - What Ireland Can do.
by Richard Falk
ISM, 24 Belgrave Rd,
Dublin 4, 20pp \$0.50

Prof Falk argues that international law is a safeguard for civil society against the state. Ireland became neutral when De Valera despaired of collective security defending the Ethiopians against Italian expansionism, but can a country's neutrality protect it when the nuclear winter would destroy it?

Falk argues that as nuclear arms ignore the sovereignty and rights of non-belligerents to remain neutral, they defy international law. Irelands' neutrality he says, should be an active policy for disarmament rather than a reactive policy to mutually assured destruction.

OPERATION EMERALD
by Dominic McCartan
Pluto \$2.50

Patrick O'Mara is the latest product from the Pluto crime stable. He is a gun for hire.

Posing as a republican Rambo, O'Mara is a stooge to set the IRA hardliners against the loyalist hardliners who are busy killing each other when the Brits and Americans decide Ireland's future.

Chandler, it is not; but for novelty value alone, it's worth a read.

'PLANNING'
by Derry Film and Video
(25 mins)

Available: The Other Cinema,
79 Wardour St, London W1 or
Derry Film and Video, 36
Williams St, Derry.

The latest production from Derry Film and Video that produced the video 'S...ip Searching -Security or Subjugation' examines social control by means of housing policy.

A political prisoner returns to Derry after ten years in Long Kesh to find his community broken up and dispersed to different parts of the city.

Behind the break up of the community lurks the possibility that most of this social change is premeditated by British counter insurgency policy.

All books on these pages should be obtainable from good bookshops. If you have trouble tracking them down, write to us, but do not send money.

PERSUADING THE LABOUR PARTY TO BE PART OF THE SOLUTION

IT'S OUT! *Ireland After Britain*, the book that goes on where the arguments for withdrawal have left off. Using fifteen interviews with prominent contributors to the debate about Ireland, it is a book that comes from the dialogue created when the Labour Party stopped echoing the Tories and began to think about how to be viewed as part of the solution in Ireland rather than part of the problem.

Starting with the well publicised exchange between Ken Livingstone and Gerry Adams, it asks: If few people imagine that the North if reformable, what is to be the future of Ireland?

When Margaret Thatcher rejects all the options of the New Ireland Forum Report out of hand and throws constitutional nationalism into crisis, what are the alternatives? All the consequences of partition are explained by people who - coming from different political backgrounds, are all experts in their own field.

Sean MacBride SC - the only person ever to have been awarded both the Nobel and Lenin Prizes for Peace shows the economic devastation of the South created by partition, and the inability of today's political leaders in the 26 Counties to defend Ireland's sovereignty against the rich and powerful interests of Britain and the United States.

Muriel Sadleir, secretary of Irish Trade Union CND shows how the war drive promoted by the West is dragging Ireland behind it. Membership of the EEC she says was promoted with a promise that it would not affect Ireland's neutrality, but this is already undermined by moves toward a European Union in which the big powers are not respecting Irish sovereignty.

Sarah Spencer, secretary of the NCCL describes the means by which British military policies have created new laws and abuses of civil liberties which affect people not just in the Six Counties but throughout Britain as well. Mary Robinson who is a Labour Senator from Dublin describes the debate about civil liberties in the South and why people there are not willing to concede Britain's demand for automatic extradition.

On the trade union side, Sean Redmond (secretary of Trade Unionists for Irish Unity and Independence) and Matt Merrigan, (president of the Irish

Congress of Trade Unions) give an insight into the traditions and history of the trade unions in Ireland and forcefully argue that if British trade unionists want to understand what sort Irish

'IRELAND AFTER BRITAIN'
ed Martin Collins
Labour and Ireland with Pluto
173pp £3.95

policy to adopt, they should not simply look at what trade unions in the North have to say because they are divided and weakened by partition. The majority of Irish workers are in the south. Redmond and Merrigan argue that a majority feel Britain should withdraw and allow the reunification of Ireland. It would advance the labour movement by taking away the source of disunity which has split the unions north and south and allowed sectarianism to dominate in the North.

Danny Morrison, originator of the 'Armalite and ballot' phrase, describes how the much heralded changes in Sinn Fein came about and how the republican movement is fighting for democracy and socialism. Aine nic Mhurchadha, also from Sinn Fein talks about the cultural aspect of the struggle - how the fight to save the Irish language - at one time the preserve of academics and day dreamers has been taken up by young people following the example of the H-block prisoners in asserting their Irish identity.

Rita O'Hare, acting editor of *Republican News* and head of the Sinn Fein's Womens' department explains how women have led the struggle in the North and what impact this has had upon the movement as a whole in asserting women's demands. Sylvia Meehan, chair of the Employment Equality Agency in Dublin looks at the position of women, the church and successive governments in the South. Christine Crawley MEP as an Irish immigrant describes the growing feeling of identity amongst Irish-people fighting to

combat anti Irish racism and the PTA.

All these contributions show the damaging effects of partition. They move the focus of attention away from an obsession with finding British solutions to the troubles in the Six Counties to an arena in which they can be resolved - in a 32 County Ireland.

Contributions on strategy for the British labour movement which follow all in some way relate to this change. Clive Soley - who argued Labour's case at the New Ireland Forum explains the Labour leadership's view with great clarity, but Tony Benn for some years a forthright opponent of the loyalist veto says that Britain should set a date for terminating jurisdiction, withdraw and not get involved in deciding the future of Ireland -that that is for the Irish. He says with Britain gone, the labour movements of the two countries might then be able to reclaim a closeness and co-operation that they had in times gone by.

Martin Collins, who edits the collection draws together the strands of the debate and convincingly argues the case for immediate and unconditional withdrawal. He says that listening to the voices of the labour, feminist and republican movements is a 'reassurance to those who think that a blood-bath is all the future holds. But it is also a warning for those who think the problem will go away.' It is a book that everyone with an interest in solving the problem should take note of. ●

Reviews

PLUTO with LABOUR AND IRELAND

IRELAND

AFTER BRITAIN

Gerry Adams □ Ken Livingstone
Sean McBride □ Muriel Sadleir
Mary Robinson □ Sarah Spencer
Sean Redmond □ Matt Merrigan
Danny Morrison □ Aine nic Murchada
Sylvia Meehan □ Rita O'Hare
Christine Crawley □ Tony Benn
Clive Soley □ Martin Collins

EDITED BY MARTIN COLLINS

SHOOT TO KILL

A PRESTIGIOUS international lawyers' enquiry has concluded that the Irish government would be justified in bringing an inter-State application to the European Court of Human Rights since the British government appears to be tolerating a shoot to kill policy practised by its security forces in Northern Ireland.

The minutely detailed evidence of civilians shot dead by security forces since 1969 makes shocking reading. Of the 269 people killed, at least 155 were civilians with no connection to paramilitary organisations. The report draws the conclusion that the failure of the British government to curb these killings suggests that a certain level of death, violence and public resentment is officially regarded as acceptable on condition that it is primarily confined to one section of the community.

It finds that the law governing the use of deadly force by the police and army is inadequate. Judges have interpreted the law in a way which gives far too much scope for the security forces. The attitude of some judges, they found, amounted to endorsement of martial law. Instructions issued to security forces on the use of firearms are kept secret from the public and breaches of those instructions go unpunished.

The report finds that procedures for investigating questionable killings are ineffective and that political considerations have been taken into account when deciding whether or not to bring a prosecution. The Government's failure to bring British law in line with the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights or the European Convention on Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms reflects a policy and practice which seeks to place the security forces outside the law



Whilst the nationalist community represents 40 per cent of the population of Northern Ireland, it suffers disproportionately from the unrestrained use of firearms. Less than 10 per cent of the security forces are Catholics.

A democratic government has a duty to protect all within its jurisdiction from breaches of law, whether committed by civilians or by security forces. No adequate machinery exists to investigate, prosecute or punish wrong doings committed by members of the security forces. Many justifiable grievances are not pursued because there is no confidence in a fair adjudication.

SHOOT TO KILL? International Lawyers' Enquiry into the Lethal Use of Firearms by the Security Forces in Northern Ireland.

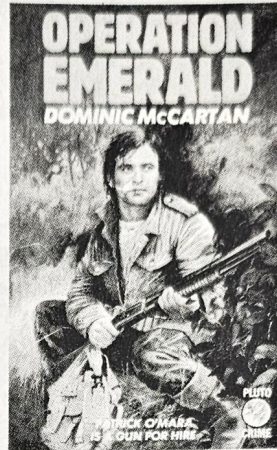
Chair Kadar Asmal
Mercier Press 173pp £5.95

The report documents the background to the enquiry and the history of the use of firearms by the security forces. Public hearings were set up in Armagh, Derry and Belfast to hear evidence and the results analysed in the light of international and domestic law. It looks at the attitude and practice of the judicial authorities and charts the police investigation procedure for deaths caused by security forces, at coroners' inquests and in the Diplock Courts.

The appendices each list carefully death at the hands of the security forces: a man shot trying to move a roadblock to get into his garage driveway; a woman shot because the Army believed her house was empty; a deaf boy shot because he failed to stop when challenged.

The Report's recommendations have not been drawn up overnight — they are the result of careful study by lawyers of international repute. The demand to provide redress for members of the public and to bring the practice of the security forces within the framework of law is a valid one. The British Labour Party should adopt the recommendations wholesale as party policy. ●

P L U T O
P R E S S



£2.50 paperback
£8.95 hardback

OPERATION EMERALD

DOMINIC McCARTAN

A thriller set in the deadly combat between the IRA and Protestant paramilitaries. Emerald is a terror group which will stop at nothing to secure Protestant power.

Sheltering the Fugitive?

The Extradition of Irish Political Offenders

MICHAEL FARRELL

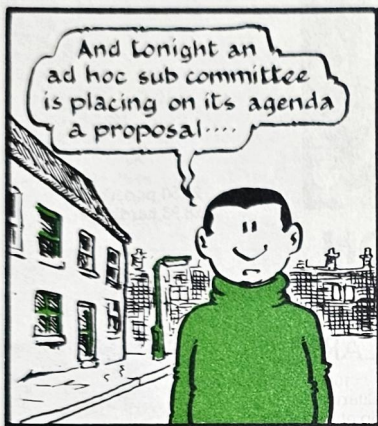
- ★ Should Irish Republicans be extradited for trial by British courts?
- ★ Are the Irish courts and the authorities in the United States in danger of abandoning important legal safeguards for the sake of political expediency?

This book examines the issues involved in the controversial question of extradition from the Irish Republic and the United States. It traces the history of the extradition of Irish political offenders from Napper Tandy and the United Irishmen to Dominic McGlinchey. It shows that many famous Irish leaders like John Mitchel, Liam Mellows and Eamon de Valera benefited from the tradition of not extraditing political offenders.

£5.95

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PLUTO with LABOUR AND IRELAND

IRELAND AFTER BRITAIN

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EDITED BY MARTIN COLLINS

Ireland After Britain is a book of interviews with some of the leading protagonists in the debate about withdrawal.

Jointly published by *Labour and Ireland* with Pluto, it looks at the latest developments in the republican, feminist and labour movement in Ireland and discusses a British response.

As a special offer to first time (inland) subscribers you can take out a sub and receive *Ireland after Britain* for only £5.95 - that's a saving of almost £1. If you already have a sub, don't panic! Send a cheque/PO made out to 'Labour and Ireland' (book) for £3.95 + 25p postage and packing.