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"Intimate knowledge of an Irishman's skull"

Deadly Brit Killers For New Zealand

**INSIDE:
WOMEN
IN IRELAND**

The British Army's crack killer squad is doing a tour of duty here in April.

Press Association reports in New Zealand newspapers have revealed that the British Army's Special Air Services Regiment will be providing a security cover for England's Prince Charles when he makes an official tour of New Zealand in April.

The SAS are well-known to the Irish.

A highly-secret crack unit of the British Army, the SAS has been used for plainclothes, counter-insurgency and special operations work in countries such as Aden, Muscat and Oman.

After many denials, the Brits finally admitted that SAS personnel were active in Northern Ireland.

Evidence of this activity is boastfully acknowledged in documents handed in the past to H-Block/Armagh Committees here in New Zealand.

A mimeographed newsletter giving details of a New Zealand SAS Reunion Weekend noted that "frequent holidays in the Emerald Isle" were being undertaken by three named New Zealanders attached to the British 22 SAS Regiment, C Squadron.

In case there was any misunderstanding of what these holidays amounted to, the newsletter explained that one particular army Captain, "back with NZSAS after several years with 22 SAS as troop commander", had brought with him from England "a wealth of SAS knowledge" which included "an intimate knowledge of the make-up of an Irishman's skull".

In the past the SAS has operated in Ireland under the title of the Military Reaction Force, patrolling armed in unmarked cars or under cover of apparently legitimate businesses — such as, in one case, a laundry with pick-up vans out on the streets.

The SAS-MRF has been forced to admit responsibility for killing two unarmed Catholic civilians and wounding four others back in 1972.

No explanation was provided but two



Welcome to England!
England is a happy country.
Here are some happy English soldiers.
They are going to make the Irish happy.
No, please understand.
We understand the Irish
Because we've been sending soldiers to Ireland
For hundreds and hundreds of years.
First we tried to educate them
With religion, famine and swords
But the Irish were slow to learn.
Then we tried to educate them
With reason, poverty and unemployment.
They became silent, sullen, violent.
So now we are trying to educate them
With truncheons, gas, rubber bullets,
Steel bullets, internment and torture.
We are trying to educate the Irish
To be as happy as us.
So please understand us
And if your country
Should be forced to educate
Another country in the same way,
Or your own citizens in the same way -
We will try to understand you.

Adrian Mitchell

tively, that the assassinations squads were out to terrorise and demoralise the (nationalist) Catholic population by random killings.

The SAS has been accused of several more killings over the past decade, most of them prescribing the set pattern of a "stake-out", but has admitted nothing.

Such lack of candour is to be expected. When Paratroopers fired repeatedly into a Civil Rights march in Derry city 11 years ago last month, killing 14 unarmed civilians, the British Army also admitted nothing, claiming only (falsely) that someone had fired at them and that the dead were all terrorists and gunmen, a description applied even to children shot in the back while fleeing the fusillade and others cut down whilst tending the already wounded.

Prince Charles comes here in April as the symbol of those interests that have oppressed the Irish people over centuries.

Here in New Zealand local H-Block/Armagh Committees will be using the occasion of Prince Charles' visit to argue to New Zealanders that, simply stated, the British have no right to be in Ireland and their presence there is maintaining a repressive state incapable of reform.

But with the SAS in our midst we will suggest a further reason why New Zealanders should pay particular attention to what is happening in the cities of the North of Ireland.

New Zealand has very close links to the British security forces. Every piece of repressive legislation passed in Westminster to secure Northern Ireland, every scrap of para-military equipment tried out on the streets of Belfast and Derry, every SAS expert coming to this country with "an intimate knowledge of the make-up of an Irishman's skull" adds to the arsenal that could be used against New Zealanders should they find themselves in the same position as the nationalist population of the North of Ireland: holding views and taking action opposed by the state.

could be conjectured: that the intention was simply to assassinate wanted IRA men and mistakes had been made or, alterna-

BLOODY SUNDAY

The massacre that took place in Derry on Sunday the 30th January 1972 should not be allowed to fade from memory as have so many other bloody events in the long and troubled history of Ireland.

The Civil Rights march which was to end in such terrible bloodshed began as any other peaceful march by ordinary men, women and children. The Civil Rights movement had been gaining tremendous support since its early beginnings in the late nineteen-sixties and thousands of people had joined in marches all over the North. Although the Government of Northern Ireland had banned all such marches and public demonstrations in 1971 the Civil Rights Movement decided to continue with their protests despite constant harassment from the British Troops.

For some reason, known only to the British Army, the troops who should have been on duty that day in Derry were replaced by the paratroopers, a tough, highly trained regiment of the British Army who were moved in that day from the reserve barracks in Belfast. No-one knows exactly when the shooting started, or why. The British claimed later that a shot was fired from the crowd and that the paras. were then ordered to open fire. However, an official inquiry held later by the British Government found no evidence to back this claim and as all the marchers were unarmed civilians it has never been established just where the single shot was supposed to have come from. We can only surmise that to have the paras. there that day the British Army were either expecting trouble or looking for it. Perhaps a car backfired in a nearby street, or maybe what

sounded to their highly strung nerves like a gunshot was merely just a loud, sharp cough from one of the marchers. What we do know is that once the order had been given to fire the shooting was totally indiscriminate and left thirteen people dead and one fatally wounded. Most had been shot in the back while trying to flee from the hail of bullets. Casualties to the British were nil.

Later that year, Commander Wilford, who was in command of the paratroopers that day in Derry, received the OBE from Her Majesty the Queen. We can only assume that the murder of fourteen Irish Catholics by the British Army merits an award for bravery in the eyes of the British Government.

**P. Mullane
AUCKLAND**

IS É D'FHOCAIL FÉIN É / YOUR OWN WORDS

A Chara,

I was interested to read in Dean Parker's article that Northern Ireland "was created to keep an essential part of the British industrial financial Empire out of the greedy reach of the Irish." I hadn't thought of it like that before. I shall be interested to see what the historian F.S.L. Lyons has to say about that topic when I get that far in his book *Ireland since the famine*, which I am finding very interesting.

In the present time what possible advantage could there be for the British in holding on to Northern Ireland? An English visitor told me he thought Britain wanted to feel that Ireland would not be wholly neutral in the event of a war. In the days of weapons of mass destruction, I am not convinced by that argument.

As Britain has been more willing than any of the colonial powers to give independence to countries, I have always tended to see the Unionist Parties in Northern Ireland as "the enemy". They are essentially no different from the Parties of privilege in New Zealand or any other country.

I am puzzled as to how the Government of the United Kingdom would grant independence to Northern Ireland without the consent of the majority in that "province"

A certain element of tension would be removed if Britain asked the United Nations to supply a non-British peace keeping force, and withdrew British troops. Could that be done?

**Ted Stewart
AUCKLAND**

A Chara,

I feel Ted Stewart's letter in the November/December issue of *Saoirse* demands a response. As a "citizen of the Republic" and as a person who abhors violence, would he rather that the 26 county 'Free State' had never taken arms against the English?

How quickly he forgets that the luxury of being a citizen of the Republic was not achieved by non-violent protest. Mr Stewart should be reminded that the English have never been particularly impressed with passive protest, witness their reaction to the peaceful demonstration on 'Bloody Sunday'. However, I'm sure the loyalists in the north would thank him for suggesting such a line of action as their ascendancy would thus be secure and they could go about their job of keeping the Irish in their place without any hindrance from such trouble makers as the Sinn Fein.

**Sean Ward
WELLINGTON**

A Chara,

Please do not send me any more copies of your paper. I subscribed to your paper hoping to get cultural and topical news of Ireland.

Instead the articles 'gloat' over murders performed by the IRA, eg: p.12 Nov/Dec issue "3 RUC men killed by land mine."

Have you contemplated that the souls of these men were hurled into eternity — also their families and friends left behind to mourn?

I love Ireland and long to see her free — but not through murder of this nature — whether it's RUC or the Irish national people involved.

Please think on this. You can publish this letter if you wish.

**S. Leah (Mrs)
AUCKLAND**

NZ PETITION IN LONDON

The Irish Post of December 18 reports that:

"Richard Balfe, Labour MEP for London South Inner, was a prime mover behind the European Parliament's call, earlier this year, for the banning of plastic bullets in the North of Ireland. Last week, he handed in a petition to 10 Downing Street calling for a ban on the use of plastic bullets and signed by more than 2,000 New Zealanders.

A copy of the petition, collected by the five H Blocks/Armagh Committees in New Zealand, was handed into the British High Commission in Wellington, the capital, last month."

The reason for the delay in the presentation of the petition was due, apparently, to the letter bombs certain English animal lovers had been sending to their Prime Minister. The British High Commission in Wellington has since acknowledged the receipt of the petition by the British government in London. It must have been a difficult letter to write.

Arna fhóilsíú ag Coiste An tSealainn Nua H-Bhloc/Ard Mhacha.
Arna chlóbhualadh ag Foilseachain Tamais Tta,
Clóchúradóireacht le "Suntasach."

Leathanach 2

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Jobless at record high

MORE THAN 300,000 people are presently unemployed in Ireland. That is the enormity of the jobs disaster brought upon us by a collapsing colonial economy in the North and a Free State system based disastrously on fleeting foreign multinationals and incompetent native capital.

Official statistics for those out of work in the Free State jumped by a massive 10,000 in December, the biggest leap ever, to 179,900.

Unemployment figures in the North are put at 112,310, but this figure is understated by approximately 10,000 more people who would have been included under the old counting system which was abandoned in November.

And neither of these figures includes thousands more young people and women who do not bother to register as unemployed as they would not receive benefit.

Moreover, the jobless total is predicted to keep on growing throughout 1983.

THATCHERITE

And, in answer to this continuing crisis, the new Dublin Coalition government pursues, with even more vigour than ever, the same Thatcherite monetarist economics which have already proved disastrous for Irish workers in the North.

Policies which raise taxes on workers; attack social welfare payments; cut the most basic public-spending priorities such as health, housing and education; and present whatever monies are going to

the wealthy as 'incentives' to produce an economic 'miracle' which they have never shown even the slightest sign of approaching.

Meanwhile, agricultural production remains stagnant, food-processing folds, natural resources, above and below the ground and in the seas, remain untapped, and the homeless remain without houses.

And workers remain on the dole.

The stultifying effects of joblessness and the poverty which it brings — even if redundancy payments temporarily numb the reality — saps the spirit of the unemployed with amazing speed. And both the young, faced with no future, and those older, faced with apparently shortened useful lives, can very quickly sink into despair.

AP/RN Jan 13

Bishop lifts ban

THE NEWLY installed Bishop of Down and Connor, Dr Cahal Daly, is understood to have returned the priestly faculties of saying Mass and preaching publicly to the west Belfast community priest, the Rev Desmond Wilson.

The faculties were withdrawn by Dr Daly's predecessor, Dr Philbin in 1975 following Father Wilson's resignation from the diocese over disagreement about Dr Philbin's policies. Since then Father Wilson has continued as a social and educational worker for the people of Ballymurphy. He has not yet been offered a formal position in a parish.

During the late '60s and early '70s Father Wilson was outspoken about the poverty and deprivation he found, particularly in Ballymurphy, following his appointment to St John's parish in west Belfast. At the start of the '70s there were around 30,000 people living in the district and more than 60 per cent were out of work.

Prior to Father Wilson's arrival the Church had been accused of attempting little or no pastoral work in the area. Father Wilson set up home in the middle of Ballymurphy and set about encouraging community projects. His house was used as an open community centre.

He was also outspoken about repressive activities by the security forces in his area. He condemned British Army padres who engaged in intelligence work and accused the British Army of brutality.

Father Wilson became one of the foremost internal critics of Bishop Philbin's episcopacy and by April 1975 the relationship between him and his religious superiors had almost become unworkable.

Following his resignation from the parish, Father Wilson helped set up the Ballymurphy Parish Council and asked for a meeting to discuss local grievances with the bishop, which was refused.

Father Wilson has continued to be outspoken about the Church's role in society. He has also suggested in meetings that independence might be the best solution for Northern Ireland's political problems. In 1976 he received an international prize from the Spanish section of Pax Christi for "notable non-violent action".

In 1980 he unsuccessfully tried to sue the British Ministry of Defence following his wrongful arrest by soldiers in October 1979.

**THE IRISH TIMES,
NOVEMBER 16.**

FOR SALE

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MORE INTRIGUE

Charles Haughey's turbulent period as leader of Fianna Fail is slowly but surely coming to an end. If he doesn't go voluntarily, he will almost certainly be defeated the next time his leadership is challenged. Either way, it is most unlikely that he will still be leader at the end of the year.

While the former Taoiseach is not directly involved in the telephone tapping and bugging scandal, it still gravely undermines his position. Furthermore, it is widely noted that the tapping of the telephone of journalist Geraldine Kennedy began immediately after unsuccessful efforts by the then Taoiseach to restrict her reporting of the growing discontent in Fianna Fail with his leadership.

Haughey approached her then employer, publisher Hugh McLaughlin, and also had his close associate Joe Malone, the former head of Bord Failte, approach businessman Michael Smurfit, who was then a major shareholder in The Sunday Tribune for which Ms. Kennedy was political correspondent.

Haughey was last challenged on October 6. Twenty-two TDs opposed his continuing leadership, while 58 TDs favoured him. But had Haughey's supporters not insisted on an open vote, it is generally accepted that about 30 TDs would have opposed him.

VULNERABLE

Since then, the party has

lost power and could be out of office for the next four years. Without power, Haughey is vulnerable. He no longer has senior and junior ministerial posts with which to reward his supporters and is being increasingly blamed within the party for the succession of scandals.

Some of the key operatives within the party, such as his deputy Ray MacSharry and Sean Doherty, have been caught up in the latest scandal, while another key functionary, Longford's Albert Reynolds, is now believed to be distancing himself from Haughey.

It only requires a crack in the Haughey phalanx for disintegration soon to follow.

IP Jan 29

North's royal visit

Northern Ireland is to have an unusual royal visit later this month. A Malaysian king is going to see his relations.

King Tunku Tansri Mohammed sent his son, Prince Tunka Mu Tamir, to Queen's University and to the Belfast College of Business Studies.

During his stay in Northern Ireland, the prince fell in love with Pauline Roberts from Newtownards. They married in 1975.

King Tunku Tansri Mohammed controls a vast business empire. He is chairman of Rothmans and is a major shareholder in a number of American oil companies.

While in Newtownards he will seek means of establishing closer trade links between Ireland and Malaysia.

BLOODY SUNDAY REMEMBERED IN NEW ZEALAND

A picket was held outside the British High Commission in Auckland by members of the Auckland H-Block Armagh Committee, on Friday January 29 in memory of the 14 civil rights demonstrators who were shot and killed by British soldiers in Derry on Sunday January 30, 1972. In Wellington, the John Lennon composition, 'Sunday, Bloody Sunday,' was played on local radio request sessions on January 30 while the Local H-Block/Armagh Committee broadcast a message, on Access Radio 2YB, in memory of the 14 who were killed.

'Repatriate Irish prisoners' motion

Former British cabinet minister Barbara Castle is leading a group of European politicians who are calling for the repatriation of Irish political prisoners in British jails.

Mrs. Castle, Minister for Health and Social Security in the last Labour government led by Harold Wilson, heads a group of British Labour MEPs who have tabled a European parliament motion calling for the transfer of Irish Republican prisoners in British jails to prisons near their homes.

The motion, which is expected to be debated in the current session of the parliament, says that the families of men and women imprisoned far from their homes suffer "sacrifices and stresses which constitute cruel and inhuman treatment."

Prisoners in all EEC member states would be entitled to transfers under the motion, but specific attention is paid to Irish prisoners in British jails. The motion notes "with regret that numbers of Irish Republican prisoners are serving long sentences in jails on the British mainland and are not permitted to opt for transfers to prisons near their homes."

Only four Irish political prisoners have been transferred from Britain to prisons in Northern Ireland since the beginning of the latest outbreak of violence over the North. But more than seventy remain imprisoned here and many have not been visited by a member of their family for years because of the long and expensive journeys involved.

CRUEL TREATMENT

On this point the motion says: "Imprisonment far from a prisoner's home imposes on his or her family, in the effort to maintain contact, sacrifices and stresses which constitute cruel and inhuman treatment of those concerned." It adds: "The basic human rights of prisoners and their families deserve equal respect with those of other citizens."

Co-signatories to the motion include British Labour Euro MPs Richard Balfe and Alf Lomas, both London, and Roland Boyes, the member for Durham.

WORK IN IRELAND

If you are a tertiary student and have considered undertaking a working holiday to Ireland, then Student Travel can help you achieve this. Student Travel, in co-operation with its Irish counterpart (USIT) operates a work exchange programme to Ireland each year. Under the programme, a tertiary student can travel to Ireland and take up temporary employment in that country for up to four months. The exchange operates on a year round basis, so you can enter Ireland anytime during the year.

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WOMEN POW'S ASSAULTED

BY MAEVE ARMSTRONG

THE barbaric and systematic strip-searching of women remand prisoners in Armagh Jail has been going on for almost two months during which time prisoners have been subjected to this most degrading and humiliating treatment each time they go to and from court.

Three women alone — Pauline McKinney, Margaret Rooney and Elizabeth Ann McWilliams, all presently on remand charges in the Christopher Black informer case — are strip-searched twice each day before they are taken to Belfast Court and again on their return to Armagh.

VISIT

On Tuesday 18th January, following a visit to the jail, in which a request by him to see the governor was denied, Sinn Fein's elected representative for Armagh, Jim McAllister, commented:

"It is becoming quite clear after today's visit and consultations with prisoners' relatives that Mr Murtagh is directly responsible for the terrible hardship being inflicted on the Armagh women. The governor is attempting to break the women's morale through this sordid strip-search procedure and other methods of punishment."

ASSAULT

Owen Carron MP, elected representative for Fermanagh/South Tyrone, visited Armagh Jail on Tuesday, January 25th, and spoke to both Mairead Farrell, from Belfast, and Philomena Lyttle, from Derry, who is on remand and who was one of three women subjected to a brutal physical assault during a forcible strip-search on January 4th.

Carron said that there were still several black marks and scratches around Philomena's throat and she appeared tense when detailing the strip-searching, urging the importance of highlighting the situation by whatever means possible.

RESPONSIBILITY

In a statement issued after his visit, Carron placed full responsibility for strip-searching squarely on the shoulders of the new governor adding:

"The sheer amount of repressive measures being taken against the women in Armagh Jail is nothing short of torture."

He also accused the Northern Ireland Office of covering up and "hiding conditions in their prisons,

especially Armagh, from people who they know will give a factual account of British treatment of republican prisoners of war."

On Tuesday, January 4th three remand prisoners, Philomena Lyttle, Catherine Moore and Lorraine Nichol, appeared in Armagh Court, only a few hundred yards from the jail. They were forcibly strip-searched going and returning.

STRIPPED

On return from the court, all three were individually thrown to the ground, had their arms and legs twisted and had their clothing forcibly stripped off them. One of the women, who was menstruating at the time, had her sanitary towel removed.

The warders continued to sit on the women even when they were completely naked. One of the three was blindfolded with a towel throughout her ordeal.

As a result of this treatment, all three women suffered injuries including severe bruising to ribs, arms and backs and one woman had to have her ankle strapped because of injury to the joint.

AP7RN Jan 27

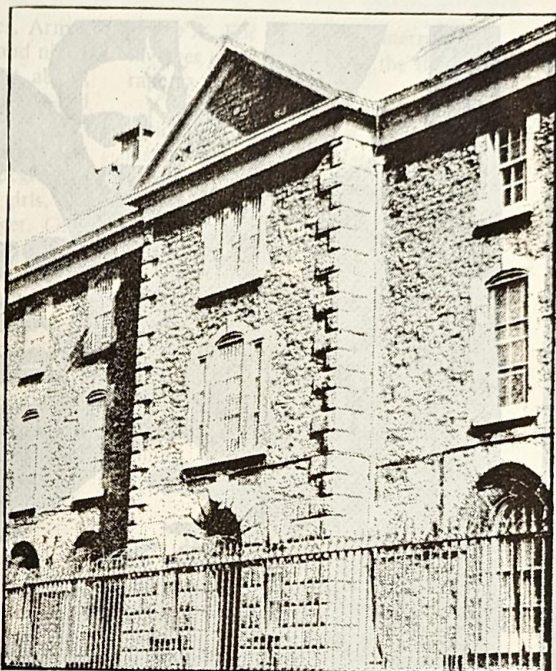
NY county protest on the North

Rockland County in New York State has voted to withdraw £9 million from Barclays Bank in protest at the British presence in Northern Ireland.

The resolution to withdraw the money was sponsored by Republican Party representative Mrs. Catherine McDougall, both of whose parents were born in Co Kerry.

"My resolution is, I hope, the start of a fire that will spread across the United States in persuading people to push for the withdrawal of funds from British banks. I want to get the attention of American and the British governments," Mrs. McDougall said.

IP Jan 15



● Armagh Jail: draconian prison rules, including the re-introduction of strip-searches, have heightened tension to near breaking-point

Law on illegitimacy: reform promised this year

Nuala Fennell, the Republic's new Minister of State for Women's Affairs and Family Law Reform, has promised that legislation to reform the law on illegitimacy will be brought before the Dail this year.

A recent report from the Law Reform Commission has recommended that the concept of illegitimacy be removed from the law and that the rights of children born outside marriage be equal to those born within marriage.

UNSUCCESSFUL CASES

There were a number of cases unsuccessfully pursued in the courts in the Republic last year by illegitimate children who sought to establish property succession rights.

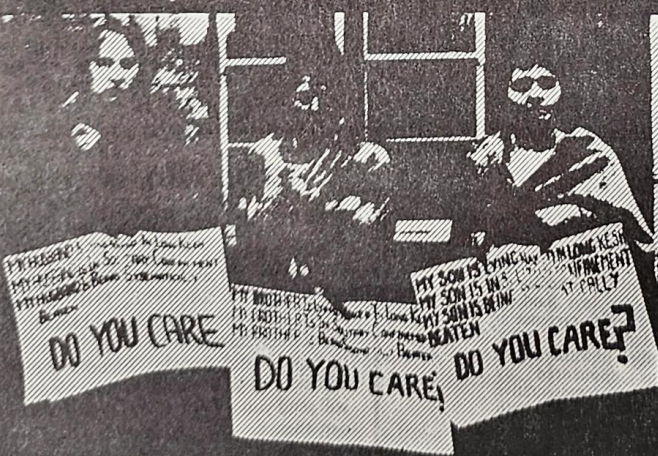
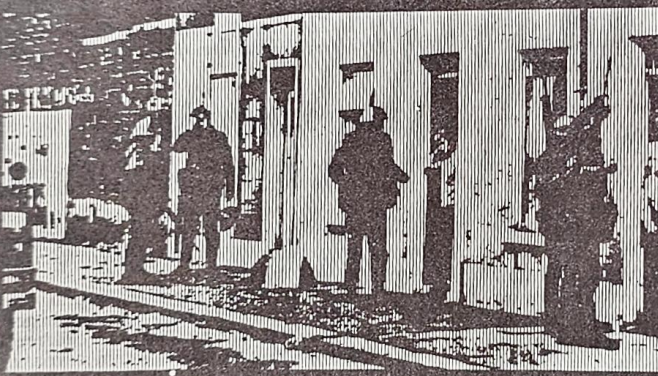
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IRELAND: WOMEN AT WAR



WE ARE IN SOLIDARITY

This page has been sponsored by members of the Auckland branch of the NZ H-Block/Armagh Committee.

WOMEN'S LIFE IN THE NORTH

Catholic women in the North suffer a triple burden, as part of an oppressed minority population, as working class people and of course as women.

Catholic women in the North — if they have a job at all — earn the lowest rates of pay in Europe. Their housing is appalling and on their estates there are very few child care facilities.

In New Zealand these are the kinds of issues we campaign over, but in the North it is almost impossible to do so. Because, given the conditions that they presently live under, for them to even begin to fight the oppression they share with all working class women is next to impossible.

Instead they live in a state of constant fear as to the safety of their

children, their men, themselves. Armed soldiers patrol the streets day and night. Soldiers in their gardens shout abuse, "Catholic whore, Fenian slag" and generally try to provoke them.

Go shopping and you are liable to be stopped and subjected to degrading body searches. Adolescent girls, in particular are a favourite target. Give any 'check' and you are liable to be hauled in for interrogation and strip searching — often with men nearby.

Your home can be burst into and raided any time of the day and night: furniture wrecked, money stolen, floor boards, plaster and water pipes ripped apart.

Many women face extra problems because members of their family are

ly given our history in Ireland. As James Connolly said himself: "Women — slaves of slaves in Ireland", that's what we were.

I think it is enlightening for the men in our community to see that when this war is over we don't intend to go back into our houses and take up our submissive roles. We hid for too long in our houses because we did not want to present our men with the thought that they were total failures, which was why Irish men always subjugated their women so much. They were at a loss themselves, they had lost their culture,

'inside'. For women interrogation involves sexual abuse and the threat of rape.

Irish women have been active in various ways throughout Ireland's long history of anti-colonial struggle, and it has only been in comparatively recent years that they formed their own separate organisations. This development, however, brought about by the changing position of women both in the family and in the wider economy, has generated a series of contradictions and conflicts which have recurred as major political dilemmas for the Irish women's movement. A central and unresolved question being the relationship between feminist struggles and the nationalist movement and which takes precedence.

their language, their work, their country, their national identity. The only thing they had power over was their women and they abused it and they used it against us.

But that is changing. Women are struggling not just to achieve national identity, but to try and achieve some identity as women. Where being a woman doesn't mean it is something you have to go through life apologising for. We should be proud about and secure and confident in our own ability and sex as women.

Women in the North, In Struggle - One Woman's View

One of the things the war over the last 13 years has done for Irish women is to bring to the fore the whole question of the women's position — the women's question.

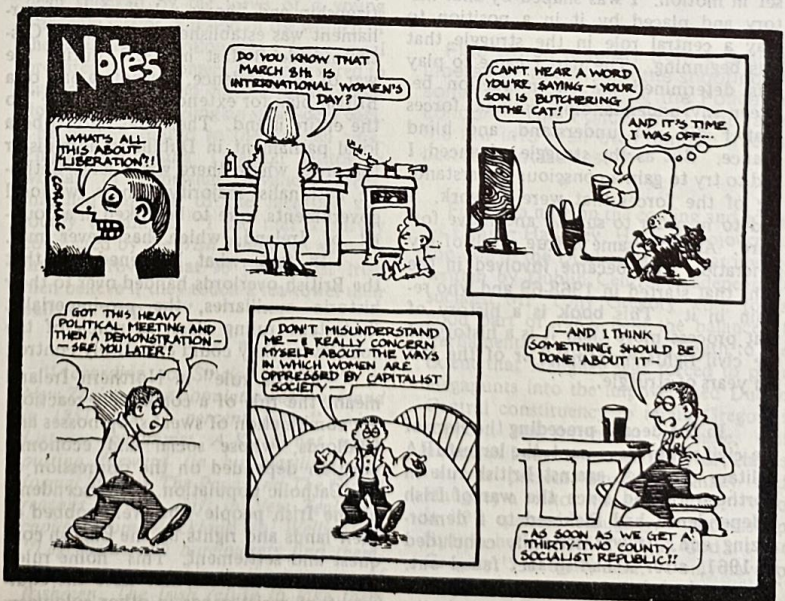
We no longer stand behind our comrades in the Republican Movement, our comrades in Sinn Fein or even the armed struggle itself, we stand beside them. This is revolution itself, particular-

International Working Women's Day: 8 March

For the past four years a picket has been held outside Armagh gaol by women in an expression of solidarity with the women republican prisoners locked up there. Women from many countries come to Armagh gaol on March 8 and messages of solidarity are read from women involved in anti-imperialist struggles elsewhere in the world.

Prisoners and prisons have always loomed large in the 800 years of Irish struggle, and women have played their part in the traditional support role of wife or mother. Today, however, women have moved from this traditional role into that of organiser and political activist and this shift is reflected in the number of women prisoners, the nature of their convictions and of course their militant fight against all the attempts of the British government to 'criminalise' them.

Theresa O'Connell



BERNADETTE McALISKEY

"Why I became a revolutionist"



The following is from the introductory chapters of Bernadette Devlin McAliskey's political autobiography, edited

by Gerry Foley. (Copyright from a book to be published next year by Brandon Book Publishers, Dingle Ireland.)

port for the IRA in the 1955 elections in Northern Ireland. The IRA leadership itself decided that there was something wrong with the traditional approach. It began to explore ways of using its organization to build mass social struggles around concrete, immediate demands.

In the late 1960s in Ireland, there did seem to be real possibilities for winning social reforms without directly confronting the national issue. The 1960s were a period of rapid economic development in the twenty-six counties that make up the formally independent part of Ireland. There was a rise of trade-union struggles and of demands for bringing the backward social welfare system into line with the standards existing in the rest of the British Isles. On this basis, the long moribund Irish Labour Party began to take on some life as a Social Democratic alternative. The major Irish unions affiliated to it, and it began to attract youth and other elements interested in reform and progress.

In the six counties that make up Northern Ireland, a British province, the 1960s were a period of "liberalization." We were led to believe that we were finally going to enjoy the benefits of being "British subjects." The people of Northern Ireland are supposed to enjoy both the "advantages" of British citizenship and "home rule." A local parliament was established in Stormont Castle outside Belfast in 1920, during the war of independence, allegedly a part of a British plan for extending "home rule" to the entire island. There was also to be a local parliament in Dublin to administer the areas where there was a large Catholic, nationalist majority. These two local governments were to be linked in a Council of Ireland, which has never met.

In fact, what happened was that the British overlords handed over to their historic auxiliaries, the pro-imperialist Protestant ruling class, as much of the country as they could effectively control.

"Home rule" in Northern Ireland meant the rule of a completely reactionary combination of sweat-shop bosses and landlords, whose social and economic position depended on the oppression of the Catholic population, the descendants of the Irish people who were robbed of their lands and rights by the English conquest and settlement. This "home rule" was based on forces that were the equivalent of racist gangs in other colonies—the Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC) and

"special" auxiliary constabulary, known as the "B-Specials." Oppression of the Catholic minority was an integral part of the system.

From the standpoint of the Protestant rulers and those who identified their interests with them, the oppression of the Catholics was necessary to keep the latter from becoming the majority. They had to be forced to emigrate in larger numbers than Protestants. From the standpoint of both the Protestant rulers and their British overlords, the Protestants had to be given privileges at the expense of the Catholics in order to assure their continued support for British rule.

The meager advantages granted the Protestant masses paid off twofold for the rulers. The Protestants were given a feeling that they had a stake in the status quo and therefore had something to lose from social change. They were also kept in constant fear of the Catholic population that they knew must resent the privileges they had and be plotting to take them away.

FROM ILLUSIONS OF REFORM TO REVOLUTIONARY MILITANCY

So, all that "home rule" for Northern Ireland was in reality was a license for repression, an excuse for maintaining a more repressive and reactionary setup than existed in any other "part" of the United Kingdom.

But in the 1960s, this system seemed to be changing. The Stormont prime minister, Terence O'Neill, began making friendly faces at the Catholic middle-class. He actually let himself be photographed with nuns, and informed Protestants that if the living standards of Catholics were improved they "would live like Protestants....They will refuse to have eighteen children." The world seemed to be changing so rapidly that the Catholics in Northern Ireland could hope that the anomaly of a stagnant, bigoted, repressive enclave in the United Kingdom could not much longer be maintained. Northern Ireland society would have to become more like the rest of the modern European world, more like Britain.

My generation of Catholics was the second to gain some real access to higher education. The first were the new Catholic middle class leaders such as John Hume, who were also the first leaders of

A long and complex historical development set the stage for the renewal of the fight for Irish national liberation that began in 1968-69. That in fact was what the Northern Ireland civil rights movement represented, although I was not aware of it at the time. Indeed, the leaders of the movement—conservatives, moderates, and the most radical socialists—were convinced and determined that it had to be something else. Their ideas of what it should be, of course, differed, but they were all agreed that it had to be a new "modern" sort of a movement that could avoid the quicksands in which all the attempts to resume the march of national liberation had become bogged down for the last fifty years.

Although I had grown up steeped in Irish history, I was far from understanding the historical forces that were being set in motion. I was shaped by that history and placed by it in a position to play a central role in the struggle that was beginning. The part I came to play was determined by an interaction between my understanding, rational forces that I did not understand, and blind chance. But as the struggle advanced, I had to try to gain a conscious understanding of the forces that were at work. I had to in order to survive and move forward. And the same is true of all of my generation who became involved in the fight that started in 1968-69 and who remain in it. This book is a history of that process more than it is a history of the civil rights movement or of the last ten years of struggle.

In the decade preceding the start of the civil rights movement, the largest IRA military campaign against British rule in Northern Ireland since the war of Irish independence had flickered to a demoralizing end. It was officially concluded in 1961, after it had in fact faded out. The war had failed to rouse the oppressed community even though the majority of the oppressed people showed their sup-

the civil rights movement. They had expected to be accepted into "respectable" circles, but found themselves still excluded by the traditional pattern of discrimination. That was what turned them back toward their own community and toward organizing protests. We were the second wave, a broader social layer, more ready to fight. We also had higher aspirations than the older generations of Catholics, more of an awareness of what was going on in the world outside, and also more illusions. It was possible for us, even the most radical of us, to believe that we could win major changes in the system through peaceful mass protests alone.

We were part of the general reformist ferment that was opening up the Catholic community to new ideas, new

forms of action and organization, and new hope. This ferment was also breaking down the traditional political structures in the Catholic community and thereby opening up the way for us to take a leading role. But the circumstances of the time and the influence at work made us especially iconoclastic and self-centered. We tended to look down on the nationalist tradition, which in the long impasse since the War of Independence had become more and more reduced to sterile sentiment, if not empty bombast and hypocrisy. We were not interested in the traditional nationalist organizations, which seemed to us to be just survivals of the past. The republican forms of organization—the antiquated rituals of nineteenth century military conspiracy—particularly put us off. We were

not much interested in organization. We were attracted by new ideas and action, by the chance to take initiatives, to express ourselves.

However, in the space of a few months, we opened up the flood gates of the long dammed up Irish revolution. It swept us along as it did all the political forces in the oppressed community. We were forced to learn to navigate in it by being tossed on reef after reef. Those who refused to go with the current, the 1960s leadership of the IRA (which came to call itself the "Official" IRA) were politically destroyed by it, eventually becoming a disgrace to their own former principles. In order to maintain their predetermined course, they had to turn on their own revolutionary members, murdering some and driving most away.

(to be continued)

Kelly's Eye

The cheerful features of Sinn Fein's Gerry Adams on the cover of the last Saoirse reminded me of a wee tale told by Auckland writer Elsie Locke in her book about the last depression, *Student at the Gates*:

"The two elderly sisters I worked with in Auckland were of imperial breed and were convinced that a Labour victory in 1931 would lead New Zealand to red revolution. After the municipal elections we looked at the Auckland Weekly News with its half-page photos of mayors of the four main cities. With horror one sister remarked on the Labour mayor of Christchurch, Dan Sullivan. I passed the innocent remark that he was good-looking. 'Good-looking!' she cried as she placed a hand over her face, 'He has the eyes of a Sinn Feiner!'"

★ ★ ★

Whilst on the subject . . . word has come through of an Aussie nag by name "Sinn Fein" which is proving kind to the punters of Perth. Now that's all very well if you're on that side of the Tasman but some of us can't afford to travel further than the dogs at Hutt Park. Not to worry — avid republicans can accrue Large Sums by following Irish-born trainer Owen Marron's ace hound "Smash Partition" which turns up at good odds round North Island tracks. You heard it from Kelly first!

★ ★ ★

Reading Greg Newbold's account of life in the boob, *The Big Huey*, I came across this puzzler: "The predominant gang denominations in Hautu jail varied. The Mongrel Mob was strong. After the Moe-rewa affair a lot of Black Power members came into the jail, and later the Storm-troopers arrived. But other groups, like the Head Hunters, Sinn Fein, the Filthy Few and Highway 61 were all present in smaller numbers from time to time." It would appear there's an unexpected market for those t-shirts the Wellington H-Blockers are selling . . .

★ ★ ★

A farmhouse outside of Dublin has been shocked by the views of a young Taranaki visitor, a friend of the women of the household. Following a large meal prepared by the women, the men retired to discuss politics and horses, hints about doing the dishes falling on stone-deaf ears. The women retired to the kitchen sink. Finally the young Taranaki visitor, a woman of somewhat advanced ideas, marched through to the menfolk and loudly exclaimed, "I see that a survey conducted by the *Irish Times* has authoritatively proven that 95 percent of Irish men believe if they touch a tea-towel their balls will drop off."

★ ★ ★

"According to Sinclair's *History of New Zealand*, the population of Auckland in 1851 was 31 percent Irish," writes Listener columnist A.K. Grant when putting forward (in his startlingly informal history, *The Paua And The Glory*) reasons for the shift in New Zealand's capital from Auckland to Wellington. "Legislators and bureaucrats find themselves uncomfortable in the presence of Irishmen. The Irish refuse to take them seriously, except when they are blowing them up, and not even then."

★ ★ ★

Now that's very queer news coming to me from Auckland, very queer indeed. According to the *Auckland Star*, Sinn Fein are "the political wing of the ARA who seek a united Ireland". I remember there was a bit of a row in the town when the Auckland Trades Council and the Auckland region of the PSA passed resolutions of support for the hunger strikers in Long Kesh, but when the *Auckland Regional Authority* comes out for a united Ireland, you'd think there'd be a boil-over! How long before the Queen Street buses are painted emerald green, Mt Smart Stadium sown with shamrocks and the Harbour Bridge turned into a giant harp?

★ ★ ★

Fine words recently from a British Liberal MP appalled at the shooting of some innocent soul by the Police in London: "The Police must not take the law into their own hands! This is London, not Belfast!"

★ ★ ★

Finally, a note on the coming and going of Charlie Haughey. His brief sojourn as top dog in the Dublin kennels was underwritten by Dublin Central's independent socialist MP Tony Gregory who, for a good part of 1982, held the balance of Parliamentary power in the South to the extent that Haughey was forced to pour megapuntis into the impoverished Dublin Central constituency to retain Gregory's support. An informant of mine, well placed in Leinster House last year, claims he was present when a flunkey told Haughey a visitor was at the door. "Who is it?" queried Haughey. "Archbishop Ryan", he was told. "Thank God it's not Gregory," Haughey said, "I only have to kiss the Archbishop's ring."

— Kelly

**Leirmheasanna Leabhair
Book Reviews**

A LIFE OF HER OWN

Short stories by Maere Kelly, published by Poolbeg Press Ltd, Dublin.

"Another writer has emerged from the bogs of Ireland" say the critics of the novelist in Maere Kelly's story *Parasites*.

The same could be said of Maere Kelly's first work, *A Life of Her Own*. But unlike Kelly's fictitious writer who dispassionately uses her people, the "sad, drifting, fuddled yet curiously comic people" for artistic capital, while disowning them in her every day life, the author herself writes with understanding and the reader gets a strong sense of her belonging to the land and its people.

A Life of Her Own is a collection of 13 short stories about Irish people, mainly women and typically rural dwellers with strong links to the land. She writes of their lives, their love, their struggle to survive and their sometimes fatalistic philosophy. Two central interlocking themes are the land and lives of women. In *Amnesty* Maere Kelly depicts the 'sister' and her deaf mute brother on their isolated island and their grim battle for survival against ill health, hunger and death.

Journey Home, the second story tells of Maura O'Dwyer "chained by duty and lack of education to miserable living on rocky Galway land" — whose anglicised brother, Sean returns from overseas to claim the land that is legally, if not morally, his after their mother's death. Kelly describes Maura's thoughts of her brother's

cultural treachery in brutal terms "A Sheanin Ui Duibhir ... next thing he'd be calling himself John Dwyer ... O Lord above send down a dove, with wings as sharp as razors, to cut the throat of those English dogs, who shot our brave Sinn Feiners". We learn that as children while Sean studied to become a gentleman, Maura worked the land. Her only solace for the injustice of being born a female, without claim to education or inheritance rights, is in the thought of her refined brother being beaten by the land.

The theme of disinherited women is taken up similarly in *The False God*, the story of Tom Conway returning home after 15 years to claim the family land from his four sisters. They relate to him how each of them gave up opportunities for education and jobs to keep the family and the land going, their father drumming into them the importance of not being selfish. Instead of Tom growing up to take the head of the family home he ran away at eighteen, deserting them, "They had been the sacrificial offerings to his god head and he had been a false god" the narrator comments as the sisters finally assert their need to keep the land.

In *The Vain Woman*, Kelly powerfully portrays a woman who has spent her whole life "in a great orgy of pushing food in one end and cleaning the other end", breaking out of her life of drudgery and beginning a relationship with an artist, only to be pulled back to her former role by the thought of her children.

The lot of Irish women is captured in the woman's thoughts about the church which doesn't allow women to read the epistles, whose well dressed priests lecture on the vanity of women and who insist that women attend a feast of purification after giving birth. As in other stories the institution of marriage is described as the end of life, as a desert. Kelly's strongest portrayal of love is platonic love between a mother and her idiot son, and the understanding between an aged brother and sister.

Political changes for Ireland is alluded to in the *Sentimentalist* in English born Liza's failure in trying to revive the traditions of Gaelic Ireland. She realises that "Gaelic Ireland is dead. I and others like me prop up its course and pretend we are keeping it alive ... my gods are all false ... I should have looked for political power" The I of the story is more pragmatic — "I accept the reality of conquest" and is also quite cynical. Her vision for change lies in an individual who can stand out from the conventions of her time and work for woman kind ("I use the term loosely to include men", she says making a dig at sexist language.)

A Life of Her Own is addictive reading. The stories are moving and sad, and the atmosphere that Kelly creates is quite haunting. You can buy (or order) the book from The Women's Place, 289 Cuba St, Wellington.

Kate O'Malley

BIG STRONG WOMAN

Song dedicated to the women prisoners of Armagh Gaol.

I have dreamed on this mountain
Since I was my mother's daughter,
And you just can't take my dreams
away,
Not with me watching.

You can fire a machine-gun
But I was born a strong woman,
And you just can't take my dreams
away
Without me fighting.

This old mountain raised many
daughters,
Some died young, some still living
But if you've come here for me, taking
my mountain,
No we didn't come here to give it up.

Leathanach 10

I have dreamed on this mountain
Since I was my mother's daughter,
And you just can't take my dreams
away,
Not with me watching.
No, you just can't take my dreams
away,
Without me fighting.
No, you just can't take my dreams
away,
Not with me watching,
Without me fighting!

SINN FEIN SPEECH GOES FURTHER

The speech titled 'Sinn Fein' by Warwick Bennett which won the Wanganui local Toastmasters speech competition last year (reported in Saoirse volume 1 number 3) went on to win the Taranaki Area finals and came third in the New Zealand Finals. Congratulations Warwick.

IN MEMORIAM:

To the Memory of those fourteen unarmed civilians cold bloodedly gunned down by H.M. Parachute Regiment in Derry Sunday January 30th 1972 while attending a peaceful Civil Rights Demonstration.
Innocent victims of Britains brutal occupation and oppression of Ireland. Remember them and the thousands of other Irish people who have died in Ireland's long struggle for Justice as we commemorate Bloody Sunday; Derry, Northern Ireland;

30 January 1972:
May the cause that they and many thousands have died for be never forgotten.

Inserted by the Wellington H-Block and Armagh Committee

Cluichí/Sports

Gaelic Football:

With Offaly having been installed as All Ireland county champions, it is now the turn of the local clubs to show their talents. The All Ireland Club championships move into the quarter finals this month with the top British based club Hugh O'Neills going across to Ireland to play the Munster champions. The Munster champions will be decided by the outcome of the Munster final between St. Finbarrs of Cork and Castleisland of Kerry (a county that has dominated Irish football for most of the last fifty years.)

Controversy surrounded the British club's entry into the All Ireland when their beaten opponents in the British final Round Tower protested that O'Neills had completed their team card to show only the players initials and not full christian names, O'Neills countered with an objection that Round Towers had completed their card in English only and not in Irish also, as required by the rules. Thus both teams were penalised but commonsense prevailed and Hugh O'Neills still go on to the All Ireland.



CHAMPIONS OF BRITAIN: Hugh O'Neill's of Leeds

As the results of the All Ireland club champs come to hand they will be published in future issues.

SOCCER:

Athlone Town have skipped to a clear lead of 10 points on the League of Ireland table and appear to have a mortgage on the league title. Dundalk and Shamrock Rovers head

the rest of the field while Home Farm and Univeristy College Dublin battle away at the bottom of the ladder. Galway United lifted themselves off the bottom rungs with a 3-2 home win over Bohemians at Christmas.

Readers requests have prompted this sports section. We therefore invite readers to convey to us comments on what sort of coverage you would like us to provide.

New Zealand

H-Block/Armagh Committee Diary

AUCKLAND BRANCH

FEBRUARY MEETING: Auckland Branch meets next on Wednesday February 24, 7.00pm at the Trade Union Centre, corner Great North Road and Sussex St, Grey Lynn. This meeting will be organising activities for International Women's Day (March 8) and St Patrick's Day (March 17). For more information phone 769-103.

MARCH 10: As part of Auckland University's Orientation Week, the tape/slide show "War in Ireland" will be shown on March 10 by the University Progressive Club. The show depicts the history of Britain's occupation of Ireland with particular emphasis upon the North. Additional material on New Zealand support for the Irish struggle has been added.

War In Ireland is available from the Auckland-H-Block/Armagh Committee, Box 39132, Auckland West.

WELLINGTON BRANCH

MEETINGS: Regular weekly meetings are held in the Branch's new office, 25A Marrison St, 4th floor, every Thursday at 7.30pm. All welcome.

IRISH LANGUAGE CLASSES: Classes for beginners are being organised for 1983. Those interested in joining contact Kevin Mulligan, ph 359-456.

ACCESS RADIO 2YB: Programmes on Ireland are being broadcast monthly.

The next two following the 'Bloody Sunday' programme on January 30, will be on Sunday, February 27 and March 27. Check the Listener for further details.

ST PATRICK'S DAY: Wellington Branch will be holding a grand Ceili on March 17 this year. Entertainment will be provided by the New Irish Drivers, and the local H-Block/Armagh folk group. Tickets will be on sale soon. For further information ring Linda ph 376-668.

HAMILTON BRANCH

MEETINGS: Further meeting dates and activities will be decided at the February 2 meeting. For more information contact Ciaran, ph 255 861.

SUPPORT THE REPUBLICAN POLITICAL PRISONERS IN THE GAOLS OF IRELAND AND ENGLAND. JOIN THE NZ H-BLOCK AND ARMAGH COMMITTEE. SEND YOUR NAME AND ADDRESS TO YOUR LOCAL COMMITTEE:

NZ H-BLOCK AND ARMAGH COMMITTEE

AUCKLAND, P.O. BOX 39132

WELLINGTON, P.O. BOX 50466.

CHRISTCHURCH, P.O. BOX 6028

DUNEDIN, P.O. BOX 779

Hamilton, C/- C. Marron,

Okete Rd, R.D.1, Raglan.

CHRISTCHURCH BRANCH

For information concerning meetings ring Des ph. 43896.

DUNEDIN BRANCH

Meetings of the Dunedin Branch are held regularly, for more information ring Tom, ph 771-614.

Dunedin's only **ST PATRICK'S DAY HOOLIE**. March 19. Watch local papers for details. For tickets phone 771-614 or 52575.

A **STREET STALL** and **LEAFLETING** will be held to coincide with Easter this year on Thursday March 31.

An **INFORMATION BOOTH** will be operating at Otago University during orientation week.

For further information about any of the above please ring 771-614 or 52575.

RUC DEATH SQUADS

A deliberate SHOOT-TO-KILL policy is currently being followed by the Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC) and the British army in Northern Ireland against the nationalist population. Since the October elections Death Squads operating on a shoot-to-kill basis have been responsible for six murders and two serious woundings of republicans in the North.

November 11 in Armagh three unarmed IRA volunteers, Sean Burns, Eugene Toman, and Gervais McKerr, were gunned down in a brutal RUC ambush. The RUC claimed the three men had smashed through a road block. It later became obvious that there had been no road block and that the car had been stationary when shot.

November 25 in Armagh, 17 year old Michael Tighe was shot to death and his companion, Martin McAuly, critically wounded. No shots were fired by the boys and no opportunity was given for them to surrender before the shed they were in was strafed.

December 12 in Armagh two

unarmed Irish National Liberation Army (INLA) volunteers, Seamus Grew and Roddy Carroll, were gunned down supposedly when failing to stop at a road block, but as in the action on November 11, the bullet holes in the car indicate that the vehicle was stationary when attacked.

Apparently the RUC made no secret of the fact that they intended to execute these young men. According to

December 29 in Donagh, Kieran Leonard, while unarmed and walking across his farm was shot and wounded without warning by British troops. Roddy's brother a RUC officer two weeks previously had told him, "There'll be two dead Carrolls and two dead Grews before Christmas."

A NEW POLICY

Social Democratic Labour Party (SDLP) leader, John Hume has issued a statement accusing the Brits of a "deliberate policy change" and added that "a section of the RUC have been authorised to shoot-to-kill anyone about whom they are suspicious."

According to RUC sources quoted on two occasions in the IRISH TIMES in December, such a policy was embarked on shortly after the election of last October in which Sinn Fein's election results seemingly convinced the Brits that nationalists were almost totally alienated from the British administration anyway, and an increase in repression would not make things much worse but would go a long way towards appeasing unionist demands for tougher action against republicans.

Further confirmation of the existence of special squads was provided by SUNDAY TIMES reporter Chris Ryder (often used by the British to 'leak' sensitive information). In the SUNDAY TIMES of January 2 Ryder revealed that new units of the RUC, with backing by both the RUC and the British army, working as undercover teams have been formed for such operations as the Armagh roadside executions in November and December.

SQUADS IN BELFAST

On Monday January 10 in Belfast, a car which had earlier avoided a road-block, was being pursued by Brits and RUC when an unmarked RUC car joined the chase on the Falls Road. In this case the undercover RUC squad was functioning unbeknown to everyone else and was fired on in error. One RUC man was injured.

In a statement issued after the incident, Gerry Adams, Sinn Fein's elected representative for West Belfast, said: "... it is clear that squads which summarily executed six county Armagh men are now operating in Belfast.

The nationalist community, in view of this grave threat, must be vigilant and must support our demand, not simply that such squads be disbanded, but that the loyalist RUC force itself be disbanded."

IRA STRIKE BACK

Two members of the RUC Divisional Mobile Support Unit — believed to be the specifically trained units behind the shoot-to-kill deaths, were shot dead in Rostrevor, County Down, on January 6 by IRA volunteers in what the AN PHABLACHT, the REPUBLICAN NEWS called, "the grim consolation for the series of RUC murders of unarmed nationalists in the past few weeks."

COLLABORATOR TAKEN OUT

A LITTLE OVER a week after the dramatic ambush which killed two RUC men in Rostrevor, County Down, the Irish Republican Army again signalled its determination to begin 1983 by delivering a series of hard blows to the British establishment, when on Sunday 16th January Belfast Brigade IRA Volunteers executed a central figure in the Orange judiciary in a carefully planned and carried out ambush in the middle-class Malone suburb of South Belfast.

The killing of Judge William Doyle, aged 56 and one of the few Catholics to have achieved an influential position in the corrupt Northern judiciary — and the ensuing torrent of condemnation of the IRA from establishment figures including Archbishop Cathal Daly, loyalist and SDLP politicians — underscored the importance to the British presence in Ireland of those middle-class 'Castle Catholics' whose participation in its institutions bolsters their sagging credibility, and inevitably prolongs the war.

