

AN

IRELAND'S BIGGEST SELLING
POLITICAL WEEKLY



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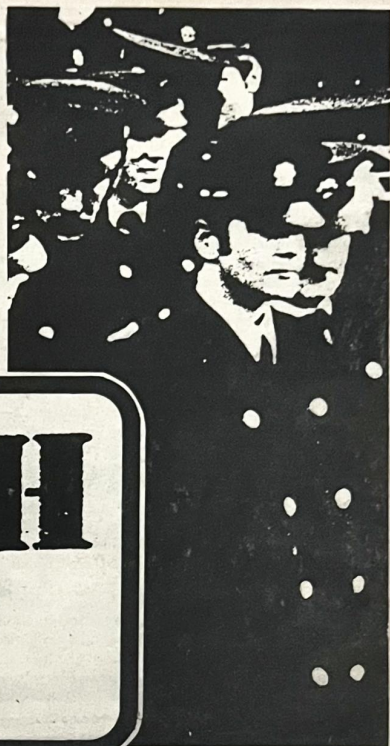
Republican News

Sraith Nua Iml 9 Uimhir 9

Deardaoin 5 Márta

Thursday 5th March 1987

(Britain 35p) Price 30p



BRITISH SPIES

THE COVERT activities of the British Intelligence services in Ireland have been highlighted again this week in a scandal which has already seriously embarrassed the London and Dublin authorities.

Detailed claims of intelligence service links with loyalist murder-gangs and with senior gardai (including former Garda chief Edmund Garvey) have been made by two former British army officers, Colin Wallace and Fred Holroyd, both of whom played a major part in British counter-insurgency activities in the mid-70s.

Wallace and Holroyd, who have individually made similar claims at various intervals in recent

years, joined forces in a radio interview on Friday, February 27th, where they outlined official involvement in a series of murders and murder bids in the mid-70s. These included the Miami Showband massacre on August 1st 1975, the murder of IRA Volunteer John Francis Green near Castleblayney, County Monaghan on January 10th 1975 and several attempted murders in border areas in the same period.

Loyalist murder-gangs were recruited for many of these covert actions and they sometimes worked under the direct supervision of British army officers such as Captain Robert Nairac, who was executed by the IRA on May 16th 1977.

More damaging still for the authorities in the 26 Counties are the claims that several senior gardai

had been recruited by British Intelligence to provide detailed back-up information on individual republican activists living in the South and to "clear" areas where cross-border incursions were taking place.

Evidence that this 'unofficial' collaboration continues to this day was provided in the trial of RUC personnel accused of the murder of Seamus Grew and Roddy Carroll in Armagh in December 1982. In the course of the trial it was revealed that Carroll and Grew had been tailed in County Monaghan by the RUC on the day they were shot and that there was Garda complicity in the operation.

Besides evidence of the involvement of gardai in border areas in pro-British covert actions, Holroyd

has also detailed a meeting between British Intelligence officers and former Garda chief Edmund 'Ned' Garvey who, he claims, brought the British officers to an IRA dump at Donabate in North Dublin.

On Monday, Fine Gael Justice Minister Alan Dukes took the unusual step of calling a press conference to deny the claims which Wallace and Holroyd had made, but his reaction has, if anything, reinforced people's beliefs that the claims are based on fact.

The impact of the Wallace/Holroyd claims is being felt at Westminster too where several MPs have demanded an inquiry into the allegations. Given the experience of the Stalker inquiry, it is unlikely that the British government will want to

open up another can of worms.

For republicans the entire episode confirms the central role which individual gardai have played in British covert activities since the Patrick Crinion and John Wyman scandal was exposed in 1973.

On the surface, the massive increase in cross-border collaboration brought about by the Hillsborough Agreement might have appeared to negate the need for covert British operations in the 26 Counties, but any such illusions must have been dispelled by last week's revelation of the British army's bugging operation in County Monaghan.

No matter how far the 26 Counties goes in cross-border collaboration, the British will never be satisfied.

INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY

Rally against Strip-Searching

2pm Sunday 8th March

MAGHABERRY JAIL

County Antrim

Belfast buses: 2.30pm, Dunville
Park (tickets phone 227672)
Dublin bus: 11am, 16 Nth Gt
George's Street (seats must be
booked from 726932 - £4)



INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY EVENTS - SEE PAGE 11

SINN FEIN CALL TO INLA FACTIONS

IN MESSAGES to the feuding factions within the INLA, Sinn Fein President Gerry Adams has repeated his call for the complete disbandment of the INLA.

To the faction which calls itself the INLA GHQ, Gerry Adams said:

I repeat the call first made by Sinn Fein representatives over three years ago for the INLA to disband because, as an organisation, it has become totally disorganised and anti-republican and its activities have become completely degenerate. It has lost any sense of direction it ever claimed and the most positive contribution its members can make to the struggle is to disband.

With regards to the question of whether or not the Republican Movement supports the rights of individuals to come together and organise politically, the position is that we certainly support that right. However, there is no room inside the nationalist community for another armed group which, besides being incapable of ever reaching or matching the capabilities possessed by the IRA, would inevitably and eventually descend into factional feuding once again.

A statement of disbandment would certainly have the effect of relieving a lot of pressure on innocent and distressed families. The nationalist community would be greatly relieved to hear of

Disband now!

such an announcement. Any opposing person or organisation who ignored such a truce and violated it would be guaranteed total rejection from the nationalist community. They they would forever be reviled.

To the faction which calls itself the INLA Army Council, Gerry Adams said:

In your public statements you have made claims to be the legitimate leadership of the INLA and the heirs of Seamus Costello, motivated solely by the fact that the INLA under those called the 'GHQ' has become degenerate and a criminal organisation. This self-righteousness doesn't wash with anyone. You have no support either.

You claim that your intention is to disband and that considerable support exists within the organisation for that objective. However, that objective has been pursued with a ruthlessness which has appalled the nationalist people, including the treacherous abuse of the process of mediation which, by design or otherwise, has since ruled out any further mediation

because no-one can trust your word. Furthermore, despite what you say, there has been opposition to disbandment, an opposition now consolidated out of fear and the need for self-defence.

You have also abused our statements - which have been directed at both factions - for your own propaganda purposes and we repudiate such abuse.

You have claimed that after disbandment the intention is to hand over your weapons to the IRA. Frankly, neither I nor any republican I know believes a word of that, and we suspect that what is really taking place - under the cover of a lofty objective - is a power struggle after which the name INLA may certainly disappear from the vocabulary but the personnel and weapons will resurface under a new title. I, like most other people, can see no difference between your activity and that which you are condemning in the other faction.

We repeat our call to the INLA Army Council for its personnel to cease the campaign of assassination and to disband.

Speaking about both sides Gerry Adams added:

In order that there be no misrepresentation of the republican position, it is quite clear that both sides have ceased to play any role in the anti-imperialist struggle. They should disband.

Shoot-to-kill exposed

CONFLICTING EVIDENCE at an inquest in Magherafelt from civilian and crown forces witnesses has reinforced the view that 20-year-old Francis Bradley, from Derrygarve Park in Castledawson, was the victim of the British army's shoot-to-kill policy.

Bradley was shot dead by British soldiers shortly before 10pm on Tuesday, February 18th 1986, at the back of a house near Hillhead Road, Toomebridge. In a statement following the shooting, the RUC claimed that the victim was one of three armed men who had been challenged. Two others were arrested at the scene and two rifles were allegedly discovered.

Discrepancies in the crown forces' account emerged almost immediately when the two men, Bernard McLarnon and Colm Walls, were released without charge and the IRA said that Bradley was not one of its Volunteers.

INQUEST OPENS

The inquest opened on Wednesday, February 25th. Written statements from two soldiers, identified simply as 'Soldier A', the commander of the five-man British army unit, and 'Soldier B', were entered as evidence in their absence. Soldier 'A' claimed to have clearly seen two gunmen (not three) appear at a gap in the buildings. According to his statement, one was quite young while the other was elderly. The younger of the two allegedly bent down and picked up a rifle, at which point Soldier

'A' claimed he shouted a challenge.

"Before I could say anything more, the gunman turned sharply as if to confront me and I saw a rifle in both his hands."

Soldier 'A' opened fire followed almost immediately by Soldier 'C'.

Soldier 'C' admitted that, after the first two bursts of gunfire:

"I saw a further move from the gunman as if getting up to engage us and I fired further bursts of shots."

Significantly, the pathologist revealed that Bradley had been shot eight times. The last three shots hit him in the stomach while he was lying on his back, not while he was attempting to rise.

The eyewitness accounts similarly undermine the evidence of the crown forces. Barney McLarnon, one of the two men originally arrested, told the inquest that he had driven with Francis Bradley to the Walls' home to arrange a game of cards. When they arrived Bradley walked towards the garage to see about a car. As McLarnon reached the front door he heard gunfire. McLarnon was arrested and taken to Gough Barracks but released two days later. Asked by the solicitor for the de-



ceased's family if Bradley, as alleged by the RUC, had been wearing rubber gloves, McLarnon said: "No."

Colm Walls, the owner of the house, described how he was arrested, forced to lie face down for nearly two hours and eventually also taken to Gough Barracks. He was released the following day.

CORONER

The coroner, John P. Shearer, refused an application from the Bradley family that the two soldiers be identified. His decision was criticised by Sinn Fein's Martin McGuinness:

"The refusal of the coroner to insist that the soldier responsible for the killing of Francis Bradley appear for the purpose of cross-examination by lawyers for the family make it impossible to establish the full facts surrounding this killing."

He pointed out that coroners do have the power under the Coroners' Act 1950 to instruct these soldiers to appear and he said he believed that both in Magherafelt and Strabane, where the inquest into the deaths of Volunteers Charles Breslin, Michael and David Devine is taking place, the coroners are only interested in conducting superficial examinations.

Both inquests are continuing.



DERRY BLAST

SHORTLY AFTER 9pm on Thursday night, February 26th, IRA Volunteers in Derry detonated a small anti-personnel mine, injuring one British soldier.

The attack occurred in the Creggan Estate. The bomb had been hidden beneath a footpath beside St Joseph's Secondary School. As a British army patrol passed, IRA Volunteers who had been carefully monitoring its movements exploded the mine. One British soldier received leg and arm injuries.

BELFAST ATTACK

A member of the RUC's infamous Divisional Mobile Support Unit who operates in the Coleraine area was the intended target of an abortive IRA operation in Belfast on Friday night, February 27th.

IRA Volunteers approached the RUC man's home in Upton Park, Finaghy. However, on discovering that only his father, a retired RUC man, was at home, the Volunteers withdrew. The IRA in a statement said: "Our Volunteers fired a number



of rounds to cover their withdrawal."

DUNGIVEN

The RUC in Dungiven have confiscated a garage on the town's Main Street, next to the barracks, in an apparent attempt to stop the IRA from bombing the base. The take-over was carried out under Section 19 of the Emergency Provisions Act 1978 and has outraged locals in the small County Derry town.

BY JANE PLUNKETT

NATIONALISTS in the Six Counties can expect another long summer of loyalist parades, increased sectarian killings, intimidation, and attempts to drive them out of their homes on a scale worse than it has been to date. This was the message coming from loyalist organisations in the past week.

There'll be an "early start" to the marching season, possibly next month, promised DUP deputy Peter Robinson at the weekend. The marches will start when the new public order legislation becomes law, the aim being to make sure, by applying some extra pressure, that the British use their sweeping new powers to suppress nationalist demonstrations rather than unionists.

Robinson also delivered a veiled threat to the people in the 26 Counties. If the Dublin government continued its involvement in the Hillsborough Agreement, said Robinson, then the whole of Ireland "will pay a heavy price".

The "full-scale civil disobedience campaign", as outlined by Robinson would involve the withholding of money for TV licences, fines and rates. This is hardly likely to bring the imperial British state to its knees.

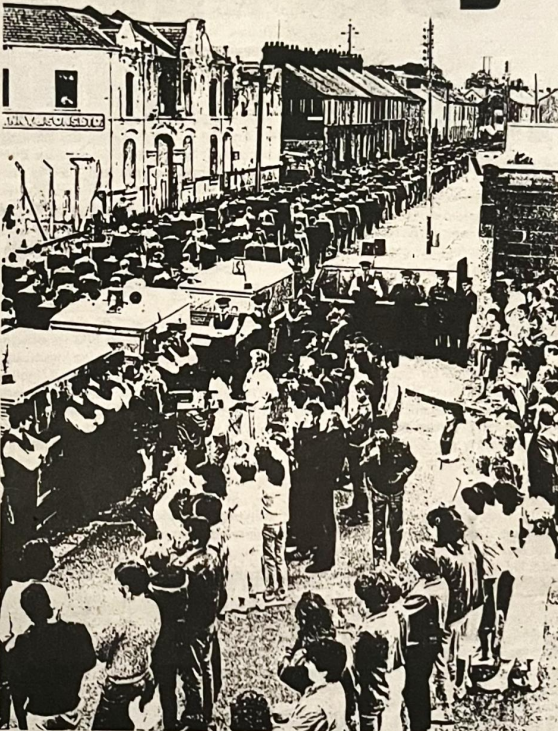
But loyalists will also be calculating that an upsurge in intimidation of and attacks on nationalists, such as happened last year, will add to the instability of the statelet and may help to disillusion nationalists with the Agreement.

Also, of course, there are the marches. On Monday, the Apprentice Boys announced plans for a major demonstration in Portadown on Easter Monday. Whether or not the RUC on this occasion will once again escort the totally unwelcome march through the nationalist Garvaghy Road area, as they did at midnight on Easter Monday last year, remains to be seen. But Portadown nationalists will be bracing themselves for further intimidation in the coming months.

SINISTER

Robinson's carefully-worded plans for unionist mobilization took a more openly sinister expression on Monday when the

Another long summer



Ulster Clubs unveiled proposals to set up a system of committees run by MPs and unionist organisations, including the paramilitary Ulster Defence Association.

The plan envisages the setting up of a "grand committee" to oversee the anti-Hillsborough campaign. More sinister,

this will also be an "alternative body to the Northern Ireland Office".

Other committees (on Health, Education, etc., conforming to the present government structure) would, among other things, invite the RUC authority and local councils to "reputate the

authority of the NIO" — an institution, of course, of the British crown. These bodies would be asked instead to "vote allegiance to the Grand Committee".

Hardly a "loyalist" proposal, as direct-ruler Tom King pointed out.

But then, as Northern nationalists discovered over the 66 years' history of the statelet, despite all the rhetoric, the loyalty of loyalists lies not with the British crown but with their own position of privilege.

DISTANCED

The UDA, not surprisingly, gave a "general welcome" to the plan, which as the Alliance's Sean Neeson observed would take the North "down the road to UDI".

So far, though, the leaders of the two main unionist parties have pointedly distanced themselves from the Ulster Clubs proposals, instead referring them to their three-member "joint task force". Openly countenancing moves towards UDI just at the moment would not help their image abroad and would cause disastrous splits in unionist ranks, though the ambiguous DUP leader Ian Paisley did allow himself to observe that Carson himself had "gone further" and "set up a provisional government".

The SDLP, Fianna Fail and Fine Gael, the self-styled representatives of Northern nationalists, were keeping a low profile; it was left to Sinn Fein's Martin McGuinness to spell out the document's real and grim significance.

"The Ulster Clubs' proposals are sinister and dangerous and amount to a declaration of loyalist intent to establish a Six-County state," McGuinness said. "They are also a declaration of war on the nationalist community, who would have to face the prospect of increased sectarian assassination, intimidation and acts designed to drive them from their homes on a scale worse than has been seen to date."

Row over Adams visit

THE VISIT to Britain this week by Sinn Fein President Gerry Adams has been surrounded in controversy since it was announced that he had accepted an invitation to appear at this year's Oxford Union debate. An additional row flared last week when Tory MPs discovered that he was also to speak at a meeting on Wednesday night, March 4th, in Hornsey Town Hall, North London, organised jointly by the Troops Out Movement, Labour Committee on Ireland and the Irish in Britain Representation Group.

However, it was the Oxford Union invitation which caused the greatest furore when two of those expected to participate, Jane Ewart-Biggs, wife of the British Ambassador to Dublin who was killed by the IRA, and professor Paul Wilkinson, an 'expert in international terrorism' from Aberdeen University, both withdrew because Adams was to speak.

LONDON MEETING

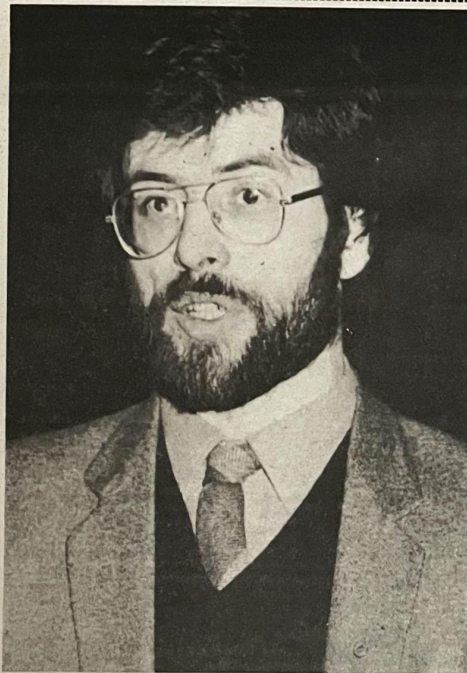
At a public meeting in North London's Hornsey Town Hall on Wednesday night, Adams urged people of Irish descent to use their votes in the next British general election to force politicians to make serious moves towards

peace in Ireland by campaigning for a British withdrawal.

"I would appeal to you not to vote for any candidate unless they give a public commitment to work for and support the decolonisation of the Six Counties.

"There are believed to be about three million people of Irish descent living in Britain. The majority of them live in large population centres such as London, Glasgow, Birmingham, Manchester, Liverpool and Luton. Over 60% vote for Labour.

"The Labour Party's record on Ireland is — like the other parties — disgraceful, and no party which is capable of bringing an end to the tragedy and suffering in the



Six Counties should be allowed to take the Irish vote for granted."

On the Hillsborough Agreement, Adams said:

"Hillsborough does not make a new departure by the British insofar as it does not seek a change in what is sometimes

referred to as the constitutional status of the Union. In fact, the Hillsborough process reinforces the Union. It attempts to white-wash partition. It is, like its predecessors, a reaction to the continued depth of support for and tenacity of republican resistance."

Adams concluded by reiterating that the struggle for national self-determination in Ireland would continue and urged them to ensure that Ireland became a public issue in the next election.

PTA DETENTIONS

Gerry Adams will be lodging a formal complaint with the British Home Office about the detention of himself and two Sinn Fein colleagues by the Special Branch under the Prevention of Terrorism Act at London's Heathrow Airport at Wednesday lunchtime.

Special Branch officers questioned the validity of identity documents carried by Peter Hartley and Eamonn McCaughy. When Gerry Adams vouched for the two men he was also detained and threatened with being charged under the PTA if the documents proved 'unsatisfactory'.

All three were released an hour later and Adams said:

"This incident, coupled with the recent expulsion from Wales of Sinn Fein Councillor Tommy Maguire, exposes the PTA as the racist and anti-Irish legislation that it is."

Bosses' offensive

BY TOM Q'DWYER

WHATEVER the outcome of the political horse-trading at Leinster House, it's clear that a bosses' offensive is gathering strength.

Workers at Packard Electric, Tallaght, were forced last week to accept a no-strike pledge. The threat of unemployment still hangs over workers at Semperit in Ballyfermot, Dublin, over B+I ferries, and over the paper mills at Clondalkin.

From Castlebar to Enniscorthy the story is the same. But propaganda from RTE and the Industrial Development Authority throughout the Packard dispute tried to show the no-strike pledge as an unavoidable necessity.

Foreign companies are now more likely to try to pressurise Irish workers by threatening to close firms if their terms aren't agreed. Dublin governments which have always relied on foreign capital to create jobs are virtually certain to back the multinationals.

Trade unionists therefore have good cause to worry. John Carroll, president of the ICTU and leader of the ITGWU, said in an interview this week:

"More and more we will be getting to the point where we probably will be entering into long-term contracts. I think we'll see the idea of no-strike clauses becoming a fact of life."

Many disappointed workers at Packard saw the no-strike deal as the greatest

attack on trade union rights since 1913. Irish trade unionists can't afford to rely on foreign capital or native political dealers - more than ever, in 1987 we must rely in every sense on our own resources.

Women's conference

Discrimination against women may have been illegal for years but it's still alive and kicking. Irish women trade unionists face International Women's Day knowing that in the 26 Counties their average weekly pay is only 60% of men's and that Six-County women face similar injustice.

Delegates to the Women's Conference of the Irish Congress of Trade Unions at Malahide, County Dublin, on February 27th and 28th demanded minimum wages laws North and South to fight the low pay which particularly hits their sisters. It's illegal to pay a woman less than a man for the same job but employers save on their wages bills by keeping women in the worst-paid jobs. Part-time workers - almost always women - are particularly exploited. Women's wages haven't got any closer to men's since 1981.

The delegates demanded an immediate end to strip-searching of women prisoners in the Six Counties and called for "increased trade union pressure" on the British and 26-County governments over the issue. However, a disappointing report by the Northern Committee of the ICTU to the conference seemed to accept British claims that strip-searches were for security reasons and ignored the continu-

ed strip-searching of women prisoners at Maghaberry.

Pit closure?

Miners at Rossmore pit, near Cashel, County Tipperary, fear for their jobs as the Canadian owners, Valor Resources, debate the future of the mine, closed "temporarily" before Christmas. Promises that Rossmore would be reopened in January have already been broken and the 60 miners, members of the ITGWU, say the mine was nearly flooded recently.

An ESB decision to cut off electricity because of unpaid bills would have shut down drainage pumps and allowed the mine to fill with water. The decision was only averted at the last minute.

Double blow for Donegal

Employment on the Donegal seaboard faces a double blow from the Dublin government.

Last week's closure of the mackerel fishing season may mean 800 lay-offs in the fishing and fish-processing industries. The season was closed because of Dublin government acceptance of EEC-imposed limits on the amount of fish to be caught by Irish vessels in Irish waters.

The closure will especially hit the village of Killybegs, where fisheries workers estimate that the EEC quota is around half of what Ireland really needs. The Killybegs Fishermen's Organisation also points out that when the season reopens in November, fish will have moved from just off the Donegal coast to the west coast of Scotland and the distance will make it difficult for the smaller boats to get their share.

Meanwhile, the 26-County Roinn na Gaeltachta's refusal to fund the Arranmore ferry could mean closure of the service, losing five jobs and endangering the future of the island itself. An ITGWU spokesperson representing workers on the ferry *Misneach* said the decision could "put the island back into the 19th Century".

Travenol travels

Castlebar, County Mayo, was devastated last week when the Chicago-based Travenol Laboratories finally confirmed

its decision to close its factory there, leaving 250 people redundant.

Two years ago the firm first threatened to close but townspeople managed to persuade Travenol to grant a stay of execution on the decision which has just run out. The firm has been in the town since 1972 and in the mid-70s employed 1,700 people. Since then it has been winding down its Mayo operation, closing a branch in Belmullet and leaving only a small branch in Swinford still in operation.

The news follows the closure of the Travellers' Friend Hotel in the town, leaving 30 people redundant on February 17th.

Enniscorthy crisis

Enniscorthy, County Wexford, declared an unemployment "disaster area" four years ago, now faces between 35 and 60 redundancies with the closure of the feed division of Davis/Mosse Flour Mills next month. The company now employs 150 workers.

The closure is especially disastrous for the town as it follows that of Essential Engineering and the Wexford Cutlery Company at nearby Carley's Bridge.

Enniscorthy unemployment is now running at 25%.

County Clare lay-offs

The ESB has threatened lay-offs at its Moneypoint station in South Clare and has totally misrepresented the demands of workers on unofficial strike there.

The striking coal and ash handlers (members of the ITGWU) are seeking the same unsocial hours payments as other workers at the plant and reject the ESB's promotion arrangements, but the ESB claims they're striking against the hiring of six additional staff and has refused to negotiate with them. The strike has closed the plant, leaving a 140,000-tonne ship lying unloaded at the pier.

In North Clare, the Dutch-owned Text Lite company of Ennistimon is laying off 41 of its 95 employees. The company is the largest employer in the north of the county and exports display units mainly to the United States.



Wounded prisoner victimised

BY JANE PLUNKETT

A REPUBLICAN REMAND prisoner who is being pressurised to have an injured leg amputated has been denied permission to consult his own doctor and an independent consultant.

Father of two Garry Kearney (25), from the Kashmir area of West Belfast, was shot and badly wounded in both legs while being arrested in March 1986. He is awaiting trial in Crumlin Road

Jail and still suffers great pain from his wounds.

In recent months the prison doctors have been pressurising Kearney to agree to the amputation of his more severely damaged leg. His wife Colette told AP/RN:

"The first time ever it was suggested was in Crumlin Road. He was in pain one day, around Christmas and they said that amputation would be the only thing that would be pain-free."

"Whenever he goes for pain-killers, or anything, that's what they suggest."



● GARRY KEARNEY

And they don't give him pain-killers strong enough to help him.

"I think it's harassment, just trying to break his morale."

Doctors at the military wing of Musgrave Park Hospital have mentioned possible alternative treatment, but Kearney has been refused the right to consult his own doctor or an independent specialist.

At Christmas, for no reason other than harassment, Kearney was moved from a cell on the ground floor of the jail to the top floor, up several flights of stairs, thus restricting his mobility even more. And prison staff have also taken away the special crutches he needs because his wrist was also broken. Using the unsuitable standard crutches they left him, Garry Kearney can now only walk about with great difficulty and considerable pain.

Kearney is understandably under great psychological stress. There is already a well-documented history of republican prisoners suffering vindictive and negligent treatment from prison medical staff, most of whom are untrained.

In a similar case to Kearney's last year, Derry remand prisoner, Eddie McSheffrey was put under pressure in Crumlin Road to have an injured leg amputated but, following his release, his condition is now improving.

Also in Crumlin Road, last month Belfast prisoner Kevin McGuigan lost a considerable amount of weight from an undiagnosed illness. He improved only after being taken to an outside hospital.

Garry Kearney's solicitor has now formally complained to the Northern Ireland Office repeating Kearney's application to see his own doctor and an independent specialist. In a further vindictive move, the NIO has said that if Kearney's application is granted the family would have to pay the outside doctor's fees.

Border farms invaded

BY MAEVE ARMSTRONG

IN LINE WITH the cross-border security provisions of the Hillsborough Agreement, two intensive crown forces operations were carried out along the Fermanagh and South Armagh border last week.

In Fermanagh, land belonging to four farmers in the Donagh area was commandeered by British soldiers and dug-outs were manned on a 24-hour basis from Tuesday to Friday, February 27th. Wire fencing was cut and torn down on one of the farms and the owners received no prior notification or reason for British army activities on their property.

Given that the semi-permanent structures overlook the main Donagh to Roslea road, local people think that the operation was mounted to oversee the transportation of numerous British army convoys of lorries and heavy lifting equipment en route from St Angelo Barracks, Enniskillen, to Roslea Barracks, where construction work is currently underway.

Local Sinn Fein Councillor Hugh O'Neill, who met with several of the farmers at the weekend, registered a strongly worded protest on their behalf to the RUC about the confiscation of their land and has been given an assurance that they will receive adequate compensation. However, he commented:

"They will most likely have to wait for such compensation for some time and in the meantime it is a complete travesty of justice when the crown forces can literally seize people's land and abuse their property whenever they like."

NEWRY/SOUTH ARMAGH

In Newry, British army road-blocks positioned on the main Newry to Dublin road and on approximately ten other roads along the South Armagh border caused very heavy congestion of

cross-border traffic over a three-day period lasting from Wednesday to Friday, February 27th. Leaving aside delays caused by the volume of articulated lorries queuing up for customs clearance, last week's show of strength by the crown forces meant 1½-mile-long tailbacks.

Newry Sinn Fein Councillor Brendan Curran told AP/RN that the operation made the border and the centre of Newry "almost impassable". Newry, he pointed out "was usually very congested, particularly during peak times, but last week traffic was brought to a standstill for hours and essential ambulance and fire services were crippled". Curran also described the operation as "an elaborate PR exercise aimed at bolstering the Hillsborough Agreement along the border which served no purpose other than to cause as much inconvenience to people as possible".

Last week's activities by the British army follow a month of general harassment of nationalist youths, several of whom have been physically assaulted.

Last Friday, in Mill Street, Curran had to intervene on behalf of local man Don Magill, who was being forced to take off his shoes and coat by a British army foot



patrol. This is a regular occurrence. When Curran stopped beside the man he was pushed up the street by a soldier who hit him several

times in the chest with the butt of his rifle and arrested him for allegedly refusing to give his name.

He was released after almost an hour and has made a formal complaint of assault against the soldier.



● CPAD activists picket the home of 'Boyo' Dunne (background, centre)

Vigil against heroin pushers

PEOPLE in the Liberties area of Dublin have been maintaining a vigil outside the house of Vianni 'Boyo' Dunne, who is reputedly one of the main heroin suppliers in Dublin.

The vigil by members and supporters of the Concerned Parents Against Drugs movement began on Friday, February 27th, after a public meeting and march on Dunne's house. This member of the notorious drugs/crime family had been given two days to leave his house in Weaver Square. He ignored the warning and over 250 people marched on the house on Friday.

The Dunne family still refused to move and remained under Garda protection while the Concerned Parents kept their round-the-clock vigil outside. Although Dunne obtained an injunction to prevent the Concerned Parents from picketing, no attempt was made by gardai to move them away during the protest.

COURT

On Wednesday, March 4th, Vianni Dunne's wife, Elizabeth, appeared in court on charges of possession of £7,000 worth of heroin.

The anger of local people and their determination to combat the drugs menace was displayed again by over 200 people in Weaver Square on Monday night. The vigil was maintained around the clock throughout the week.



● The packed CPAD meeting in Donore Avenue on Friday, February 27th



● Dolphin House, Rialto, after last week's gas explosion

GAS FLARE-UP CONTINUES

BY MAIRTIN MacDIARMADA

THE NEAR-FATAL gas explosion at the Dolphin House Flats complex in Dublin has led to calls for the replacement of the old and dangerous piping system in the city.

Last week's explosion came after numerous complaints to New Dublin Gas from local residents who detected a smell of gas from a hole in the ground near the flats. Despite the complaints, no action was taken and the result was an explosion on Wednesday, February 25th, in which several people were injured and 24 flats damaged.

Local people point out that had it not been raining at the time of the blast children from the flats who normally play in and around the hole would almost certainly have been injured or even killed.

The Dolphin House explosion in Rialto followed another blast

in Raglan House, Ballsbridge, on New Year's Day in which two people were killed. Following on this the gas company was forced to take action on the numerous complaints of gas leaks it had been receiving since the conversion of the system to natural gas. In most areas it responded by exposing the pipes to prevent a build-up of gas but in the process left many open and unprotected holes which have been a constant danger especially for children and elderly people.

Since Raglan House there has been a huge increase in reports of leakages and, ironically, after the 400 lay-offs following the gas company's liquidation, New

Dublin Gas now finds itself understaffed.

TENANTS MEETING

At a meeting with a group of tenants affected by the Dolphin House explosion, Sinn Féin community worker Michael O Muireagain was told that they are very unhappy with the attitude of both New Dublin Gas and Dublin Corporation.

The tenants' spokesperson, Billy Gannon, said that the majority of those whose houses were damaged now want to move out of the flats and are seeking to be rehoused locally. He said that the initial meetings with the Corporation officials were promising but when the publicity surrounding the explosion died down their attitude changed.

Supporting the tenants' demands Michael O Muireagain said that the Corporation should make

the people's request for rehousing in the area an urgent priority. He also called for the replacement of all the old gas piping in the city in order to prevent further tragedies.

OLD PIPING

Although new piping has been installed in many areas much of the city's system is made up of old lead piping which is highly susceptible to leaks. An added danger is the fact that natural gas is harder to detect than the town gas which it replaced.

Speaking at a meeting of Dublin Corporation's Housing Committee on Thursday, February 26th, Sinn Féin Councillor Christy Burke repeated the call for the replacement of the piping system and also demanded the resignation of the receiver of New Dublin Gas, Bernard Somers.



ST PATRICK'S DAY 1987 has been designated *La Mor na Gaeilge* in an effort to bring the Irish language into more people's lives and to encourage everybody to speak whatever Irish they have on that day and every day.

Announcing the 'Speak Irish Day', Conradh na Gaeilge said that it is intended to encourage the whole community to make a special effort to speak and use Irish. Pointing to the tremendous amount of goodwill towards Irish that is evident from the census, from surveys and scientific research and from the widespread demand for Irish-medium schools, Conradh says:

"While it is difficult to change patterns of language usage, it can be done. What is required is the creation of the atmosphere and opportunities which will encourage people to use whatever Irish they have. That is precisely what will happen through *La Mor na*

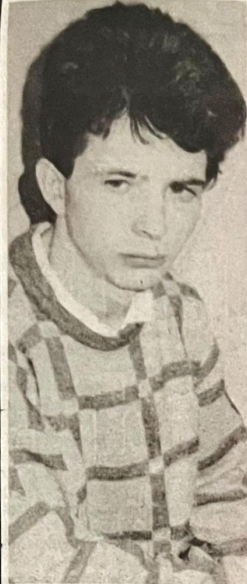
Gaeilge. More opportunities than ever before will be created for people to speak and to use Irish.

"It is the public who will have the most active role in this but we expect important sectors of public life — the media, the schools, the churches and business community — to provide them with strong support and encouraging assistance."

REGULAR USE

Irish-language organisations will be encouraging other groups to use *La Mor na Gaeilge* to put Irish into regular use. Conradh na Gaeilge intends to build on this development, making the *La* an annual event.

17 Márta
Lá fhéile Pádraig
Lá mór na Gaeilge
Labhair Gaeilge Inniu
sa bhaile
le do chairde
sa siopa
le do chomharsana
agus gach lá
Conradh na Gaeilge
8 Sóláid Pádraigh, Baile Átha Cliath 7
Anna eagrú ag



● JOSEPH MCCOOL

Belfast youth assaulted

THE ATTITUDE of British troops towards nationalists and their pleasure at attacking defenceless civilians was illustrated again last week in a vicious assault on an 18-year-old Turf Lodge youth in West Belfast.

Joseph McCool, from Norglen Parade, had just left his girlfriend's house in St James's Crescent and was returning home, shortly after 1am on Thursday, February 26th, when a British army foot patrol turned into the street.

McCool turned and looked to see what was happening. One soldier shouted.

"What are you looking at?" McCool didn't answer and walked on.

TEETH KNOCKED OUT

A short distance away, he turned again and looked back, and

the same soldier suddenly ran straight at him, striking him in the face. He fell to the ground, his two front teeth knocked out and with blood streaming from his mouth. McCool later said:

"I don't know what part of the rifle he hit me with, it all happened so quickly."

Without a word the soldier then turned and walked away.

Badly shaken, McCool walked back to his girlfriend's home from where he was taken to the nearby Royal Victoria Hospital, where he received five stitches to a mouth injury and had to have a brace fitted to his teeth.



Ardoyne men threatened

BY MAEVE ARMSTRONG

TWO ARDOYNE MEN, Martin Meehan Jnr, the 18-year-old son of Ardoyne republican Martin Meehan, and Anthony Barnes (29) have both been threatened with death or imprisonment by the RUC if they refuse to act as informers.

Although only in his late teens, Martin is no stranger to harassment and abuse by the crown forces. He has been regularly stopped by them from the age of 12 and has been assaulted several times by both the RUC and the British army. Last year he suffered a particularly vicious beating by the Royal Marine Commandos.

On Wednesday afternoon, February 18th, Meehan was walking with his girlfriend along Brompton Park when two RUC Land Rovers pulled up. He was arrested and taken first to the RUC's Oldpark Barracks and then to Castlereagh Interrogation Centre under a Section 11 three-day holding order.

Meehan's first two interrogations on the Wednesday were low-key. The same two RUC men, who claimed to be Special Branch, questioned him about a petrol-bomb attack and accused him of gathering information on the crown forces.

On Thursday morning, he was told that unless he "co-operated" he would be charged and imprisoned. He was told to supply the names of people in the IRA and the RUC told him to meet them at Carlisle Circus in North Belfast on the following Tuesday evening. Meehan told AP/RN:

"I was told I would be 'put out of action' if I didn't work for them. They also threatened to spread the rumour that I



● ANTHONY BARNES

was working for them. But I wouldn't speak to the RUC. I remained silent and after about 1½ hours I was taken back to my cell."

After a brief fourth interrogation session, Meehan was released later that same afternoon.

A short time after, Meehan

walked out of Castlereagh, another North Belfast man, Anthony Barnes, was released after two days of almost constant questioning during which pressure was also applied by his interrogators to force him to become an informer.

EXPERIENCE OF REPRESSION

Like Meehan, Barnes has had much personal experience of Northern repression. He was one of the 38 people charged on the evidence of paid-perjurer Christopher Black and he was eventually convicted. After three years in prison he was released in June 1985 on bail pending appeal.

Almost immediately he became the target of a systematic campaign of harassment. He was constantly stopped, searched and questioned and eventually in September 1985, he was arrested on a trumped-up driving charge. After 1½ years of delay, the case went to court in January of this year and Barnes was sentenced to six months in prison. He immediately appealed and was released.

At 6am on Tuesday morning February 17th, the RUC and British army raided his home. He was arrested under Section 11 and taken to Castlereagh, where during his first interrogation he was questioned about several 'serious incidents' in North Belfast.

One of the RUC men said: "There's no need for you to go in and do six months. We can help you if you help us. All we want you to do is keep tabs on four or five people."

In return for his help Barnes was also told he would be given his licence back and paid a "policeman's wage". When Barnes refused to answer he was threatened.

Ten similar intensive interrogation sessions followed in the next two days. The RUC would first question him and then offer money, promising that he wouldn't have to go to prison for the alleged driving offence if he agreed to co-operate. Barnes resolutely refused to even answer the RUC and was eventually released on Thursday afternoon, February 19th.



STRIP-SEARCHING APPEAL

SINN FEIN Councillors Lily Fitzsimons and Teresa Holland have appealed to concerned people to make a special effort next Sunday, March 8th, to remember the women prisoners in Maghaberry.

"While too many human rights groups still sit on the fence, these women are suffering the degrading and unnecessary practice of strip-searching."

As part of the programme of events for International Women's Day organised in Belfast for next weekend, there will be a picket of

Maghaberry Jail on Sunday afternoon, March 8th. Buses leave Dunville Park at 2.30pm.

The Dublin bus leaves the USI office, 16 North Great George's Street, at 11am on Sunday. Tickets are £4 and must be booked in advance from Lucilita at 44 Parnell Square (phone 726932) as there's only 30 seats available.

On Friday, March 6th, at 6.30pm there will be a torchlight parade from Beechmount Avenue to Dunville Park.

PICKET

Last Friday lunchtime, protesters staged a white-line picket on the Springfield Road in West Belfast for 30 minutes to highlight the strip-searching issue. Among those present was Sinn Fein Councillor Bobby Lavery.

Marchers fined

WEST BELFAST MP Gerry Adams and six other people were fined £15 each last Thursday for taking part in an anti-strip-searching march in West Belfast on International Women's Day last year.

After last Thursday's court hearing, Gerry Adams said the case was an attempt to "prepare the ground for the proposed Public Order Bill" and should not be dismissed as yet another example of petty RUC harassment.

The Public Order Bill currently going through the Westminster parliament would require seven days' notice to be given to the RUC of all marches including, for the first time, traditional and religious parades. The RUC would also have greater powers to redirect, halt or ban marches. Explaining this, Adams said: "The British government is trying to portray these new proposals as some sort of reform of the Six-County state, aimed

at provocative Orange marches through wholly nationalist areas.

"The real purpose of the Public Order Bill however, is the further repression of republicans and nationalists. It will significantly restrict political expression and is quite specifically aimed at the traditional Easter commemorations."

MORE CASES

Adams predicted: "There will be more petty cases like today's one brought against nationalists and republicans in the months ahead. They clearly will have nothing to do with preserving peace and everything to do with preparing the ground for more stringent penalties and more wide-ranging restrictions on legitimate political protests."

PIE IN THE SKY

BY Z. HAMMETT

LAST WEEK, I wrote about the GNP. It is the sum of all the incomes in the state — the earned incomes and the unearned incomes. In other words, it is the wages the workers earn through the sweat of their brow. And it is the profits, rents and interest that a certain few get because they have a monopoly of the land, rental housing, factories and machines, and money to loan.

So the experts in the newspapers and on the box tell us that our economy is working if the GNP — all of these incomes — is bigger. But the experts *don't* tell us how the incomes are distributed. It may be good for the politicians if our GNP is growing quickly, but if all the growth is in profits and rents, it doesn't do much good for the family in Dundalk, or the farmer in Offaly.

You can think of this as "slice of the pie" economics. "We want our fair share of the pie!" demand the workers and the unemployed.

"But, if you insist on a bigger slice of the pie, we can't make enough profits," reply the capitalists. "Just wait a while longer, let us have our profits, and we'll make a bigger pie. Then we'll all have more."

Let's see how slice of the pie economics really works.

FUNCTIONAL INCOMES

When most experts talk about the distribution of income, or the shares of the pie, they concentrate on the distribution of *personal incomes* — primarily, wages. But we know from the definition of the GNP that wages are only *part* of the pie.

The experts like to ignore the distribution of incomes between *profits* and wages, or unearned and earned incomes. This is called the *functional* distribution of income, and in many ways it is more important than the distribution of wages.

In Ireland, the share of profit incomes in GNP has grown at a tremendous rate over the past 30 years. Non-agricultural profits (including rent and interest incomes) grew from 10% of GNP in 1960 to nearly 20% in 1985. Thus, in 25 years, the

capitalists have nearly doubled the size of their slice of the pie. Remember this the next time you hear some pundit talking about us "living beyond our means" or repeating the lie (and it is a barefaced lie) that high Irish wages are choking profits. Irish wages are the lowest in Europe. Irish profit rates are the highest in Europe.

MANUFACTURING

"Wait a few years!" cries the IFA and Packard Electric. "Stop these strikes and wage demands. Let the companies make their profits or they'll have to shut the factories and then none of us will have a pie at all. Wait... just wait."

The biggest changes in the distribution of the Irish pie have been in the industrial sector. Companies like Packard Electric have been able to force low wages on Irish workers because, as they say, "If you don't take what we give you, we'll just go somewhere else."

But the distribution of incomes in industry tells a different story from the poor mouth we hear from management.

According to the Census of Industrial Production, taken yearly in the 26 Counties, manufacturing companies made 80p in profits for every pound they paid in wages back in

1960. Some of this 80p went directly to the companies, and some of it went to their bankers and landlords in the form of interest and rent. Now they make £1.50 in profits for every pound they pay in wages.

But still this doesn't tell the whole story.

If we are interested in *final, spendable* income, the distribution between profits and wages is even worse. This is because taxes affect the two kinds of incomes so unevenly. I haven't spoken much about the *government's* share of income so far. Government income comes from taxes and borrowings. The taxes have to come from somewhere, out of somebody's share of the GNP.

And (surprise, surprise) the overwhelming part of taxes comes out of the wage share in the form of income taxes, excise taxes and VAT. To be brief, in the 26 Counties, a mere 4% of tax revenue comes from corporate profits. You can guess who pays the rest!

Again, the slice of the pie for the capitalists and bankers out on the golf course is getting bigger and bigger. The workers' slice is shrinking.

We are not "living beyond our means" — they are living beyond our means!

DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN INCOMES

There is also a distribution of incomes between the incomes that remain in Ireland and the incomes that go abroad. This is a very important distinction because profit incomes that leave Ireland do the country no good whatsoever.

If profits are spent in Ireland, even wastefully on jacuzzis or diamond watches, they at least maintain a few jobs and help pay a few wages. If profits are reinvested, as the capitalists and politicians keep saying they will be ("...bigger pie, BIGGER PIE!"), they may create even more jobs and wages in the process of creating more profits.

But profit incomes that

leave the country do *none* of us any good.

Back in 1960, *some* profits were leaving the 26 Counties. But recently the problem has become much worse. This is because of our two "black holes". Black Hole the First is all the profits that are openly repatriated from Ireland by multinational companies. Son of Black Hole is all the profit incomes that are *sneaked* out of the country by various means.

In 1970 (the earliest year that the figures are available for the 26 Counties) profits openly sent abroad amounted to "only" £26 million. Since then, they have sky-rocketed. In 1985, £1,321 million in profits were openly repatriated. Thus, Black Hole the First is now responsible for the loss to the 26 Counties of over 10% of its GNP.

Son of Black Hole is just as big. The total for 1986, which was leaked to the press last week, was about £1,650 million. Like its father, Son of Black Hole now amounts to another 10% of the GNP.

In 1970, the Black Holes accounted for about 3% of the 26-County GNP. Now they amount to about 20% of GNP. This accounts for virtually all of the profits earned in the non-agricultural sector of the state. It is the fund of profits that they keep saying will make our pie bigger so we can all have a bigger slice.

Instead the Americans are getting a bigger (apple) pie and we are left waiting with the crumbs.

PERSONAL INCOMES

"We want our fair share of the pie!" say the unemployed and the low-paid workers of the country.

"Then get up off your arses and work like the rest of us!" say the solicitors, as they call for more dessert at the Royal Yacht Club in Dun Laoghaire.

While the distribution of incomes between wages and profits is highly unfair, and

Musical choice

BY MAIRTIN MacDIARMADA

THE POLITICAL manoeuvrings of the Leinster House parties in the wake of the general election have given new meaning to the phrase "rearranging the deck chairs on the Titanic".

As the 26-County economy continues to sink, frantic efforts are being made by Fianna Fail to juggle the seats in Leinster House so as to give Charles Haughey the votes he needs to form a government.

ONLY ALLY

Haughey's only ally apart from his obedient servants in Fianna Fail is the fear of yet another general election among both voters and deputies.

At the centre of this game of musical chairs is the chair of Leinster House itself, with the position of Ceann Comhairle vital to the outcome of voting when Leinster House reassembles on Tuesday next, March 10th.

If Fianna Fail is desperate to get into office the parties on the 'left' are equally desperate to keep their profile high and will not be rushing into any alliance despite Independent Deputy Tony Gregory's attempts to pull one together. Posing as leaders of the left, Labour Party deputies hoped for



getting worse, the distribution of *personal incomes* (mainly wages and salaries) is also becoming more unequal. This is the usual subject of the experts when they talk about the *distribution of income*. And if we hear more about this kind of distribution, it is only because it is less embarrassing to the powers that be. After all, if people make low wages, it is because they were too lazy to get a professional training when they were young. If they get no wages, because they are unemployed, it is because they are too lazy to work". The distribution of incomes through the 26 Counties of Europe. This is the high rate of unemployment and part wages are so low. The poorest getting poorer. Counties, the people are per cent of the are all unemployed.

sical airs

support from the Workers' Party for their nomination of Dick Spring for premier.

No such alliance was forthcoming and the Workers' Party announced at the weekend that it would not be supporting Haughey, FitzGerald or O'Malley and gave no commitment to vote for Dick Spring either.

The Workers' Party, at the same time, is the party which wants another election least of all. The two extra seats it won are highly marginal and could easily be lost again. The Workers' Party would be particularly worried at any threat to their newly-elected deputy, Pat McCartan, who narrowly beat Charles Haughey's son, Sean, for the fourth seat in Dublin North-East.

McCartan is a wealthy lawyer and is ideal media material, to project the trendy, liberal image lacking in the Workers' Party's other 'less-presentable' deputies.

REALIGNMENT?

There has been much talk about a realignment of politics out of the general election and even the beginning of class politics.

A look at the record of the two 'left' parties in Leinster House belies any such scenario. The Labour Party which lost two seats in the election and was lucky not to lose several more, is far from out of trouble even though 'quickie' divorce from



Fine Gael saved it from complete electoral disaster. Its parliamentary party is a collection of deputies whose support from the electorate is even more personality-based than Fine Gael and Fianna Fail.

Dissension among the smaller parties and independents is matched by the animosity between the right-wing parties. Fine Gael's John Kelly rode out on his battered hobby horse again this week and called for a grand coalition of the conservative parties — a Fianna Fail/Fine Gael government with neither Charles Haughey nor Garret Fitz-

Gerald as premier and with a 'central role' for the Progressive Democrats. Kelly was supported by fellow Fine Gaeler Tom Enright.

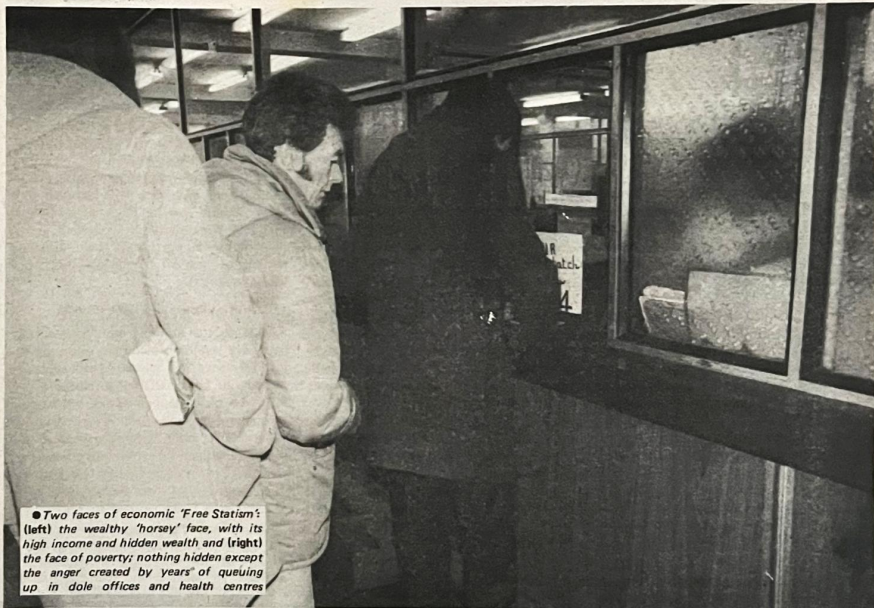
No such alliance can emerge, though more than these two back-benchers would favour it.

This means that a Fianna Fail government can now only be formed with either the casting vote of the Ceann Comhairle or the support of an independent — most likely a reluctant Tony Gregory. It will be a highly unstable administration and will be forced

to take what are called "tough measures" (i.e. cut-backs in public spending which will hit working-class people hard).

In the vote on the budget which (if elected) Fianna Fail will put through virtually unchanged from Fine Gael's original plan we will see the extent to which the right-wing parties admit their similarities and vote together.

It is a game of musical chairs in which no-one is looking forward to the moment when the music stops.



● Two faces of economic 'Free Statism': (left) the wealthy 'horsey' face, with its high income and hidden wealth and (right) the face of poverty; nothing hidden except the anger created by years of queuing up in dole offices and health centres

unemployed, they earned about 5% of the incomes. This was far less than their fair share, but at least it was something.

The richest in Ireland are getting richer. In 1965, the richest 20% received — not necessarily earned — about 40% of all direct incomes. Now they receive about half.

But this isn't the full story. It doesn't include wealth, or property. It doesn't include all of the land, houses, rubies and diamonds, thoroughbred horses and antiques. If it did, the

distribution of incomes and wealth would be far worse.

It also doesn't include most of the profits earned in the state because they are repatriated by the multinationals. They go to no-one in Ireland, not even the very richest! Not the doctors in Dun Laoghaire, not the capitalists in the club.

To be fair, the actual share of incomes of the poorest sections of Irish society is slightly better than I have indicated. This is because of the paltry social welfare pay-

ments, that allow the unemployed to be "impoverished" instead of "destitute".

If we include social welfare, the poorest 20% receive about 6% of personal incomes. The richest 20% receive "only" 43%. Of course, it is these huge £34-a-week welfare payments that prompt the experts to tell us we are living beyond our means!

OUR FAIR SHARE

"We want our fair share of the pie."

"Wait, just wait," say the politicians.

"Ditto," say the newspaper editors, the business heads, the IDA, the company directors. Even the trade union bureaucrats have started saying it.

"Just give us two years," say the directors at Packard Electric.

So the workers and the unemployed workers wait. Two years go by. The pie is 6% bigger, but the workers' slice hasn't grown so much. The

small farmers' slice continues to shrink.

"We want our fair share of the pie!"

And round and round it goes again. And the workers wait.

The moral of the story? The bottom line of "slice of the pie economics"? As the great Swedish-American trade unionist Joe Hill said in his famous song:

"You'll get pie... in the sky... when you die... by and by."

THIS article was written by the women republican prisoners incarcerated in Maghaberry Women's Prison. We print it as part of the ongoing discussion and education process within the republican community.

Questions to our comrades

WE, YOUR COMRADES in Maghaberry Jail, would like to address this open letter to you all on this International Women's Day in the hope that you will see the fight for women's rights as your fight.

We realise that no study on the exploitation of women can be fully understood without considering the exploitation of the working class as a whole. However, for the moment, we wish to concentrate solely on the area of women's subordinate position in relation to men; how we wish to deal with the issue of women's rights and why we feel there is a great need for our male comrades to embark on an educational process to fully understand why they too must be involved in seeking those rights.

The widely-held beliefs and assumptions which serve to reinforce sexist ideas in our communities today must be challenged, not after the war is won but now!

In our present struggle to break free from the yoke of British imperialism and colonial rule, we, as a revolutionary army, have supported each other as comrades and that mutual solidarity we have experienced cannot be questioned. To be honest revolutionaries we must hold true to those revolutionary principles and values in all areas and that includes the area of a women's right to be treated as an equal. By ignoring such a right we are detracting from our revolution and therefore we must integrate the fight for women's equality into our struggle for political, social and economic freedom.

The whole area of law in relation to women's rights has often been criticised by various groups throughout the 32 Counties. There appears to be an inherent bias favourable to men when it comes to the offences of rape and violence against women. The recent findings of the Rape Crisis Centre notes two important points which attempt to legitimise the idea that women are a subordinate class:

1. That men have the right to hold power over women.
2. That they also have the right to abuse that power.

The British war machine also wants to try and legitimise its illegal use of power over the Six Counties and it does so by the use of sectarian armies such as the RUC and the UDR. Diplock courts, paid-perjuror trials and mass arrests are but a few ways in which the British ruling class hopes to smash the Irish people's resistance to its illegal colonial rule in Ireland.

Men must recognise that the abuse of women is also a political issue and take the necessary steps to remove the structural forces which try to legitimise such abuse whether it takes place within the home or in any other area of social or political life.

We realise that we haven't got all the answers and there is a need for some women to also undertake such an educational process to wipe out sexist ideas. However, this letter is directed solely at republican men of our community and you will take the time to read it afterwards and ask yourself where you stand on the fight against exploitation.

PARTNER'S ROLE

Because of your commitment to the struggle many of you will be no strangers to the hardship of separation from loved ones through imprisonment or other such related factors. In such a situation it can be very common to see the role of a wife/partner as subsidiary in that she is only a form of support for her husband/partner's political involvement,



instead of seeing her as she actually is - a person with political and social convictions in her own right. Let us be honest and ask the question:

"How many of you would be prepared to stay at home and look after the children while your wife/partner became directly involved in the war?"

The limitations and lack of opportunities open to women who have family responsibilities are endless and must be faced up to before any sort of equality can exist in a household.

The whole idea of an "ideal family unit" whereby women stay at home and men come and go as they please has got to be questioned. How many times have we witnessed wives and female partners of prisoners campaigning on those prisoners' behalf while coping with the added family and financial responsibilities only to be forced back into a secondary role once the husband/partner is released. This view, which seems to suggest that it is culturally unacceptable for women to take important decisions with the household or be financially independent, has got to be challenged.

We realise that most of the sexist ideas prevalent in society today are there because of the whole socialisation process which takes place. We don't wish to take up the theoretical arguments which bring such a process about but we would like to ask is there any way, either wittingly or unwittingly, that you are helping to reinforce sexist ideas? Have you ever considered that even toys you buy for your children might play a major part in this? For instance, how many of you would buy your sons dolls and prams? The question may appear somewhat irrelevant to the issue in question but although it might not seem important at the time such a denial can help to slot males and females into separate specific

gender roles, i.e. that it is 'normal' for girls to nurse babies and wheel prams yet it is 'abnormal' for boys to do the same thing. Because women are biologically equipped to give birth it is assumed that their 'natural' role in life is 'motherhood' and that they shouldn't complain about the lack of support from their husband/partner or lack of playgroups etc, from the government.

DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

Due to the limited resources available to us we cannot provide the exact statistical evidence on domestic violence in households here, but it is known that the instances of it happening are widespread throughout Ireland. This type of hidden violence has sadly become a way of life for some women who have either nowhere else to go or no-one to turn to for help. The hierarchy of the church does little to encourage these women to find refuge from such physical or mental cruelty and by their stance on divorce and marital breakdown the women who do have the courage to leave their husband/partner are made to feel like social outcasts.

This whole cycle of violence is a result firstly of the 'imbalance of power' which exists in households - power whereby the male partner assumes a preconceived dominant role over his wife who is forced into a subservient role. He then abuses that power and abuses her in the process. This type of abuse has got to be stopped and it is only by both partners respecting each other's rights in an equal relationship that will break such a cycle of violence. Men everywhere must realise that for any woman to have to live under a constant threat of such violence is for her to live without any real freedom.

Topics like birth control and sex education for children appears to be an almost taboo subject in our community. The

church doesn't help in this respect and its anti-woman bias is evident in their view on birth control and other related issues.

The lack of straight information being made readily available to young people often leads to unwanted pregnancies simply because the young are ignorant of their own bodies and its biological functions.

There is a stark contradiction in the reasoning behind the closure of the Open-Line Advice Centre in Dublin recently. Apparently both church and state objected to the centres being involved in counselling women on abortion. Whether one agrees with abortion or not is irrelevant here - the important issue is that if there was a better programme outlining sex education and birth control in schools and households there might be less women seeking counselling on abortion.

The lack of provision made to ensure that women have regular screening for cervical cancer and the size of the backlog in the results goes to prove how lightly the issue of women's health is taken.

THREE AREAS OF CONFLICT

When Audrey Bronstein described "The Temple Struggle" in her book of the same name, she identified three areas of conflict in Latin America. The first she saw as the fight between an oppressive colonial rule and the native people and she saw this as paramount. However, there were other issues to be recognised also and in the second area of conflict she identified a working class in battle with an elitist class.

Her third struggle was that between men and women. Can such a comparison be made in our own country today? Are we not locked in a struggle where we are fighting oppression and capitalism at the same time? If so, then how can we ignore that third struggle - the inequality between men and women? We do not see you as our enemy.

We see you as our comrades and we realise that the gender differences which promote such inequality have been learned through a socialisation process and cannot be changed overnight.

If we are ever to make any inroads to try and eradicate sexism from our communities forever we must all take part in challenging those issues which such ideas are derived from. There are no such things as men's issues or women's issues when it comes to injustice and inequality. As comrades these issues concern us all and how can we as revolutionaries ignore them?

Is mise le maes
PRO.
Republican Women Prisoners,
Maghaberry Jail.

PTA report

THIS FEBRUARY, the Prevention of Terrorism Act 1974 was renewed by British MPs for another year by 184 votes to 91. Due to the lack of information about the operation of this 'temporary Act', the National Council for Civil Liberties set up a research project in 1984 with a view to collecting information about its application in Britain. An important source of their information comes from talking to people detained under the Act about their experience.

In covering the process from arrest through to charge/release or exclusion, including the nature of interrogation, conditions of detention and legal access amongst other things, the NCCL aims to provide a comprehensive picture of how the Act is used by the Home Secretary and police.

The NCCL has completed its research into detentions up to 1986 and will be producing a report later this year. Information is currently being collected on PTA detentions since the introduction of the Police & Criminal Evidence Act 1984, using custody

record sheets were possible. One continuing problem is the difficulty in tracing all those detained. NCCL's PTA Research Project will be visiting Ireland at the end of March and are naturally anxious to contact anybody who has been detained under the Act in Britain during 1986 or 1987.

Those willing to help the NCCL should contact either Mary McKeone or Fran Russell, at NCCL, 21 Tabard Street, London SE1 4LA. The telephone number is 01 403 3888. Complete confidentiality is, of course, assured.



Fast for Nicaragua

A 24-HOUR FAST in solidarity with the people of Nicaragua was held outside the United States embassy in Dublin on Wednesday, March 4th.

Among those who took part was Charles Liteky, a former US army chaplain. Last year he returned the

Congressional Medal he won in Vietnam as a protest against US support for the *contras* in Nicaragua.

Liteky also staged a fast outside Congress in Washington against US aggression which threatens "another Vietnam" in Central America.



INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY 1987



THURSDAY 5th MARCH

WOMEN'S MARCH AGAINST MALE VIOLENCE
7pm Crescent Arts Centre
University Road
BELFAST

DISCO & 'WOMEN'S NEWS' BIRTHDAY PARTY
9pm Orpheus Inn
York Street
BELFAST
Taille £2 (£1.50 UB40)

FRIDAY 6th MARCH

MARCH & RALLY AGAINST STRIP-SEARCHING
6.30pm assemble at Beechmount Avenue
March to Dunville Park
BELFAST
Banners and torches welcome

WOMEN ONLY CABARET
9pm College Square North
BELFAST
Taille £2 (£1.25 unwaged)
Tickets from Just Books
WCAI, Falls Road
Women's Centre
(Bring your own drink!)

SATURDAY 7th MARCH

STALLS & DISPLAYS
Groups supporting include Rape Crisis Centre, Cherish Anti-Apartheid, Women's Press Stop the Strip-Searches Campaign
Defend the Women's Clinics
From 9am SFX Hall
DUBLIN
Social later

WOMEN'S WORKSHOPS
10.30am to 4pm
Whiterock Community Centre
BELFAST
Creche and food available

BUILDING ON OUR DIFFERENCES WORKSHOPS
.3pm to 7pm
Great Hall
Rosemary Street
BELFAST
Creche - disabled access

DEFEND THE WOMEN'S CLINICS MARCH
5.30pm GPO
DUBLIN



DURHAM JAIL ALL-NIGHT VIGIL
(For Martina Anderson & Ella O'Dwyer)
6pm Saturday to 8am Sunday
Old Elvett
DURHAM

CEILI
Songs, dancing, recitation and a play, *Sign on the Dotted Line*, by Belfast Community Theatre
8pm A'town Social Club
BELFAST
Come early

SUNDAY 8th MARCH

INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY RALLY AGAINST STRIP-SEARCHING
2pm Sunday 8th March
MAGHABERRY JAIL
County Antrim

VIDEO PREMIERE
If You Didn't Laugh You'd Cry
8pm Conway Street Mill
BELFAST

Ag labhairt amach-new video in Irish

THE SINN FEIN Cultural Department has produced a lively 25-minute video film of the highlights of the all-Irish Slogadh held in Navan, County Meath, in September 1986.

Contained on the video are excerpts from the main speeches (including the opening oration by Gerry Adams) as well as contributions from Coireal Mac Curtain, Áine Nic Giolla Easbaig and An tAth Piarais Ó Dúill.

Copies of *Ag Labhairt Amach* cost £10 (plus £1 p+p). Hire of a copy for public showing costs £3 (plus £1 p+p).

Orders should be sent to Aengus Ó Snodaigh, 44 Cearnóg Pharnell, Baile Átha Cliath 1; or Bairbre de Brún, 147 Bóthar Bhaile Andarsan, Béal Feirste 11.



● PIARAIS O DUILL

JOIN SINN FEIN

If you would like to join Sinn Féin, or find out more about our activities and policies, fill in the form below and send it to: Sinn Féin Head Office, 44 Parnell Square, Dublin 1.
Ainm
Seoíadh



Woman's Aid benefit

WOMEN'S AID, a group which offers refuge to victimised women and children, opened a new purpose-built hostel in Dublin last year and from January to December 1986 dealt with a total of 20,410 women and children.

The opening night of the comedy *Noises Off*, in Dublin's Olympia Theatre on Wednesday next, March 11th, will be a special benefit for Women's Aid, which is still paying a large debt for its

badly-needed accommodation.

At a press reception to announce the benefit on March 4th, the group revealed that in 1986 they housed 205 women and 523 children overnight. Women's Aid's

oldest resident was 71 and their youngest just four days old. All were battered women and/or children who had to leave home due to violence, sexual abuse and mental cruelty.

Women's Aid says that its refuge "provides a place of safety and respite where, with counselling and practical help, a woman

may have an opportunity to assess direction and plan a future".

GROWING NUMBER OF VICTIMS

Women's Aid has reported a growing number of victims seeking aid, particularly victims of child sexual abuse.

Tickets for the opening night can be obtained at £10 from Women's Aid Administration (phone 334569).

Those seeking help can contact the group at PO Box 791, Dublin 6 (phone 961002).

Imeachtaí

**COMÓRADH MHAIRTIRÍ
CHLUAIN ARD/CUILEAN**
FUNCTION
Featuring Thatch
Friday 6th March
Cluain Ard GAC
BELFAST

**FEILE AN EARRAIGH
AN IRISH CELEBRATION**
8pm Friday 6th March
Tottenham Municipal Hall
HARINGEY

8.30pm Saturday 7th March
Riverside Hall
Rennell Street
LEWISHAM

8pm Saturday 14th March
Nettleford Hall
1 Norwood High Street
LAMBETH

7.30pm Sunday 15th March
Greenford Hall
Ruislip Road
EALING

Details and prices from
Maggie Cronin (phone 633 3657)
Organised by the
London Strategic Policy Unit

**AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL
SPRING FAIR**

Sale of work: plants, books,
cakes, bottle stall, records,
arts & crafts, antique clothes,
bric-a-brac, teas, wine bar,
kiddies' corner, Amnesty info
11am to 4pm Saturday 7th March
Mansion House
DUBLIN
Táille 30p
(accompanying children 10p)

10-MILE SPONSORED WALK
(In aid of Irish Prisoners' Appeal
& Stop the Strip Searches
Campaign)

1pm Saturday 7th March
Clerkenwell Green
LONDON
Info from/donations
and sponsorship
to c/o Lambeth IBRG,
245a Coldharbour Lane, Brixton

**ANTI-HARASSMENT
PICKETS**

Saturday 7th March
2 to 3pm Ronsanstown Barracks
Clondalkin
3.15 to 4pm Ballyfermot Barracks
DUBLIN
Organised by Sinn Féin

SOCIAL FUNCTION

(To honour Vol Jim McKernan)
Music by Perfect Strangers
Saturday 7th March
Ramblers' Rest
DUNDALK
Táille E1
Proceeds to
National Graves Association

**INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S
DAY EVENTS**
Sunday 8th March
See page 11

**COMÓRADH MHAIRTIRÍ
CHLUAIN ARD/CUILEAN**
1pm Sunday 8th March
Assemble Milltown Cemetery gates
BELFAST

**WOMEN'S AID
COMEDY BENEFIT**

Noises Off
Wednesday 11th March
Olympia Theatre
DUBLIN
Tickets £10 from Women's Aid
Administration (phone 334569)

BALLAD SESSION

Music by The Jolly Beggarman
8pm Monday 16th March
Camelot Hotel
Malahide Road
DUBLIN
Táille £2

Proceeds to Republican Prisoners'
Relatives' Transport Committee

**DUBLIN BRANCH
ANTI-APARTHEID MOVEMENT**
8pm first Monday every month
Teachers' Club
36 Parnell Square
DUBLIN
Or phone Pat Carroll/
Joan Burton at 303675



● People queuing for EEC food in Poleglass, Belfast, last Tuesday

MOVING MOUNTAINS?

THE SCHEME to distribute surplus EEC food free was widely welcomed when it began on February 16th but is becoming a severe embarrassment as complaints grow all over the country about distribution methods.

In order to cut costs, the task of getting rid of the 'food mountains' created by the Common Agricultural Policy was given to charities like the Salvation Army or the Society of St Vincent de Paul. But no government attempts were made to publicise the scheme and the only guideline issued about distribution of millions of pounds worth of beef, milk, flour, cheese and sugar was that it should go to "the needy". Pensioners and people on social welfare or supplementary benefit are either failing to get their share or being bypassed as a result.

Although in the Six Counties the North's main voluntary organisations (Age Concern, Red Cross, St Vincent de Paul, the British Legion and the Council for Voluntary Action) are overseeing distribution there has been widespread difficulty in ensuring fair shares for those most in need. From Belfast to Derry to Dun-

gannon, distribution is being conducted on an extremely haphazard basis. Several charities have criticised the churches which have failed to co-operate significantly despite their large resources.

From the outset, the loyalist UDA has been to the fore in distributing vast amounts of food in North and East Belfast, but instead of the British government clamping down hard on this sectarian murder gang (as it would if republican groups were involved) the UDA has instead been highly praised by several of the more pro-British charities co-ordinating the scheme.

In Derry, Belfast and elsewhere it is estimated that between 50% and 60% of those eligible are receiving their food quota every week while the other 40% are either incapable of getting to the centres or are simply not prepared to stand in lengthy queues for hours because they feel they are

being further humiliated and degraded by the system.

The fact that people with young children and old age pensioners are prepared to stand for hours in these queues in all types of weather for a few pounds of butter and meat is a grim indication of the desperation among the North's poor.

26 COUNTIES

When £15 million worth of food was allocated to the 26 Counties, the government passed the buck to the Society of St Vincent de Paul who expected to deal with 300,000 people. Already applications stand at over 400,000 and suppliers are unable to cope. In Cork city, a single parent was told this week, "No more applications will be accepted," although the scheme is intended to run until March 31st. In Kerry, a Vincent de Paul spokesperson said that "really needy" were likely to go hungry and in Sligo the Social Service Council warned that those not regularly in contact with charities were likely to miss out.

Unemployed centres and community groups in parts of Dublin helped with distribution this week to avoid the humiliation many would feel at 'accepting charity'. But in Mayo and many other areas the likelihood of such humiliation was doubled when the needy were told to give their names to local clergy. In most working-class estates, distribution

amounted to serving food off the back of a truck to anyone who turned up.

But in areas where local communities controlled the distribution (such as Ardoyne in Belfast or Sheriff Street in Dublin) there were few problems. In Ardoyne, families in need simply had the food delivered to their doorsteps.

QUESTIONS

Spokespersons for the Dublin Agriculture Department behaved as if the food had, in another sense, "fallen off the back of a lorry". Embarrassed silence greeted questions about the distribution chaos from AP/RN and from the weekly *Kerry's Eye*, and a Sligo enquiry was incorrectly told that only those on state assistance could receive the food.

Sinn Féin Dublin City Councillor Christy Burke said at a recent corporation meeting that because the St Vincent de Paul Society relies on a limited pool of voluntary labour, Inner City areas were failing to get the food. He has helped communities organise distribution for themselves.

If you are in need of the food, you need nobody's word but your own. Phone one of the following telephone numbers:

Dublin 757027
Galway 63233
Tralee 21989
Waterford 72442
Belfast 752561

AN PHOBLACHT/REPUBLICAN NEWS SUBSCRIBE NOW

Ireland	Ir£25	Name
Britain	g£25	Address
Europe Surface	Stg£30		
Europe Airmail	Stg£45		
USA	US\$60		
Canada	Can\$65		
Australia	Aust\$65		
Elsewhere	Stg£40/Ir£45		

Send to AP/RN, 44 Parnell Square, Dublin 1, Ireland.



REVIEWS

Tarnished image

BY MAIRIEN MacDIARMADA

IT HAS NOT been a good week for the tarnished image of the British judicial system in Ireland or in Britain itself.

On top of revelations of shoot-to-kill inquiries (though these have not been reported in Britain), spies and dirty tricks, has come another ITV *First Tuesday* report which has further exposed the conspiracy against the Guildford Four.

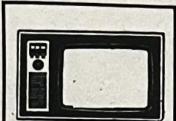
In July of last year, *First Tuesday* dealt in detail with the case of Paul Hill, Patrick Armstrong, Gerard Conlon and Carol Richardson. It publicised the true story of how, in the anti-Irish hysteria of the time, the British police made scape-goats of the four and framed them for the 1974 Guildford bombings, acts in which they were not and could not have been involved.

It was a story of a perverse judicial system which condemned four innocent young people to life imprisonment and a story which, for over ten years, few people outside the prisoners' families and friends, their supporters and the Republican Movement wanted to know.

CAST-IRON ALIBI

The *First Tuesday* programme on Tuesday, March 3rd, revealed new evidence making cast-iron the alibi of Paul Hill.

His aunt and uncle, Ann and Frank Keenan, were with him in his flat on the night of the bombing. Obviously distraught when they were interviewed they defended the evidence they gave at the trial and which was ignored in favour of the elaborate web of lies woven by the Special Branch.



TELEVISION

"This would have saved us a lot of heartbreak," said Ann Keenan as she explained how they maintained their story over the years.

Then another witness spoke, one who was not called at the trial but whose testimony would have been vital.

Yvonne Fox was also in the flat with Hill on the night of the bombing. After she left, Hill and the Keenans watched the TV newflash about the pub bombings.

Despite new evidence and a growing lobby for their release, the Guildford Four remain in prison, as do the Birmingham Six and Judith Ward, other frame-up victims of the mid-1970s.

CREDIT

Much of the credit for highlighting their innocence must go to Alasdair Logan, the lawyer assigned to them from the legal aid panel and who has tirelessly worked (unpaid) for 13 years to secure their release. He has battled against the British Home Office, which continues to use lies and deceit to protect itself, and the reput-



● One of the Guildford Four being taken to court in 1974

ation of a sizeable section of the British establishment which was centrally involved in the frame-ups. In its 'enquiry' into the Guildford Four case last year

the Home Office commissioned two leading experts on confessions to study those of the four - the only 'evidence' on which they were convicted. When the report of the experts said that the confessions were unreliable the Home Office ignored them and excluded their findings from its summary of the case.

Another enquiry has now been promised after the evidence of Yvonne Fox. We watch and wait.

It was interesting to see Olivia O'Leary presenting *First Tuesday*. As a willing and obedient practitioner of Section 31 she obviously finds no problem in the fact that such investigative programmes are taboo on her other RTE job. *Today Tonight*, after all, only showed an interest in the Guildford Four and the Birmingham Six after British stations had carried major investigative reports on them. The 'national' station then just repeated them - with the interviews with republicans cut out.

AITHNE

Ag scríobh sa *Sunday Tribune* cupla seachtain ó shin rinne Gene Kerrigan léirmheas ar an toghchan ar RTE. Leirigh sé nach raibh aithne aige ar Sean Ó Tuairais a bhí páirteach sa chláir toghchán agus a chuir ceisteanna as Gaeilge ar na pólaiteoirí agus ar roinnt 'experts'.

Dúirt Gene Kerrigan go raibh sé, fero deorant. Is trua sin. Ba bheag f an chuid Ghaeilge sa chláir i comhthéacs easp na gcláracha Gaeilge ar RTE ach b'fhíú é.

Ba chóir go mbeadh aithne ag léirmheastóirí tailifíse ar leithéid Uí Tuairais agus ar a gclár *Cursai* ina mbfionn sé páirteach. Bíonn sé suimúil uaireanta, mar a bhí sé an tseachtain seo.

Rinne Ó Tuairais agallamh le Eoghan Harris a scríobh scannán faoi Micheál Ó Coileán don léiritheoir Michael Chimino (*The Deerhunter agus Heaven Gate*). Is ball gníomhach den Workers Party é Harris.

Ar *Cursai* bhí sé ag rá go raibh an scéal 'fuitteach' agus léach de 'foreigin' - agus tair-bheán do Harris an 'slocháin' ar ndóig.

Sinn Fein AGMs

DONEGAL

Donegal Comhairle Ceantair
Cathaoirleach Pat Doherty
Leasathaoirleach Gerry McMonagle
Runai Rosie Diamond
Cisteoir Enda Craig
Airdeas Veronica Molloy
OCP Mick Quinn
Eagraí Liam McIlhinney

Letterkenny

McBrearty/Maguire Cumann
Cathaoirleach Denis O'Donnell
Leasathaoirleach Liam Molloy
Runai Veronica Molloy
Cisteoir Rosie Diamond
Mna Rosie Diamond
V. Molloy
Cimi Brendan Eakin

DOWN

Newry
John Mitchell/Newry Martyrs Cumann
Cathaoirleach Sean Mathers
Leasathaoirleach Michael Hughes
Runai Deborah Morgan
Cisteoir Bernie Collins
Anne-Marie Willis
Oideachas Dary Hyland
OCP Eileen Morgan

DUBLIN

Ballyfermot
James Connolly Cumann
Cathaoirleach/Oideachas Eamon O'Donoghue
Runai Jimmy Delaney
Cisteoir/AP/RN Emmet Blount
OCP Eamon O'Dowd
Cultúr Fergal O'Cuillinn
Ceardchumann Padraig Hannon
Eagraí Noel Kavanagh

Dublin North-East

Martin McKenna Cumann
Cathaoirleach Albert O'Caithain
Cisteoir/Comhphobal/
Leasathaoirleach Daithí Bratnach
Runai Séamus Lundy
OCP/Cultúr/Oideachas Micheal Mac Donncha
Mna/Oige Pamela Ní Chathain

KERRY

Killorglin
Bobby Sands Cumann
Cathaoirleach Johnny Sheehan
Runai Dave O'Shea
Cisteoir Mick Gillan
Oideachas/Oige Dan Dwyer
OCP Mick Quinn

LIMERICK

Limerick City
Comhairle Ceantair
Cathaoirleach Niamh Rattigan
OCP/Leasathaoirleach Richard Neill
Runai Anita Malone
Cisteoir Alec Murphy
Benny Ryan

MEATH

Crosskiel
McDonnell/Gogan Cumann
Cathaoirleach Pat McCabe
Leasathaoirleach Pat Guirk Sr
Runai Ann McCabe
Cisteoir Steven Connolly
Gerald McCabe
OCP Martin Farrell

Dunboyne

Martin Hurson Cumann
Cathaoirleach A. Poleon
Leasathaoirleach E. Hanly
Runai/OCP M. Dowdall
Cisteoir C. Poleon
S. Poleon

Torthaí crannchur

Ballymun Sinn Fein
Februáir Draw
£25: Colm Havery, c/o Fingal Inn; £13: Dennis Egerty, c/o Fred, Connolly Tower; £10: Stephen Reddy, Cabra; £5: Mick Neeson, Poppletree; £5: Padraig, c/o McCabe/Quilley Cumann.

Belfast letters

BY JANE PLUNKETT

TWENTY YEARS on from the Civil Rights marches, the British public remains largely ignorant of what is done in its name in Ireland, and the same is unfortunately true for much of the British left.

One of those whose writings, have done something to remedy this woeful state of affairs is Belfast socialist Bill Rolston who, among his other writings, since 1983 has contributed a regular *Belfast Letter* for the *Chartist*, a bimonthly magazine produced by the Chartist Collective and sponsored by the Labour Co-ordinating Committee and Clause Four groupings within the British Labour Party.

Some 13 of Rolston's *Belfast Letters* have now been collected into a 20-page pamphlet. Topics covered include repression, paid-perjury show-trials, Britain's use of life prisoners as 'political hostages', the dying economy, the electoral rise of Sinn Fein, the Forum Report (remember that!) and the Hillsborough Agreement.

They are prefaced by a newly-written introduction in which Rolston demolishes the Labour Party's 'ultimately



BOOK

ludicrous' policy of 'Irish unity by consent' and outlines some measures that might be implemented by a future Labour government genuinely committed to a united Ireland.

IS BELFAST NORMAL?

Though republicans might disagree with Rolston on some points, these articles are well worth reading for their clear and well-thought-out arguments which frequently tackle the roots of outsiders' misconceptions. See, for example, the excellent *Is Belfast Normal?*

In an article on the latest trade union 'Campaign Against Sectarianism', Rolston points out that the Northern state is 'is at its most clearly sectarian

at the level of repressive forces - one in all Protestant men now find their employment in state security'. Therefore, he argues, any republican campaign to smash the state 'of necessity' come up against the armed Protestant state.

By contrast, the logic behind the random assassination of nationalists mounted by loyalist paramilitaries is counter-insurgency: loyalists hope by these methods to intimidate nationalists into tolerating the sectarian statelet and to drive a wedge between the IRA and its nationalist support base.

'MORALISTIC' CONDEMNATIONS

The trade unions in the North, says Rolston, have confined themselves to 'moralistic' condemnations of violence so that campaigns such as the 'Better Life for All' campaign have petered out 'without... having done anything to dent the structures of sectarianism in the North'.

This article, like the others in this pamphlet, deserves a wider audience among socialists in Britain, internationally and in the 26 Counties too.

And *Belfast Letters* is well

IRELAND'S BRITISH PROBLEM



republican/socialist viewpoint.
● *Belfast Letters* is available from Chartist Publications, 48 Woolston Road, London SE23 2SG, price 50p.



WORLD VIEW

Peru

IN A REPORT recently published, Amnesty International has accused Peru's Socialist Alliance President Alan Garcia of a massive cover-up concerning the torture and massacre of political prisoners.

The report, *Peru, Disappearances, Torture and Summary Executions by Government Forces After the Prison Revolts of June 1986*, reveals that Peruvian armed forces deliberately blew up a section of El Fronton Prison after protesting political prisoners had surrendered. The Peruvian military claimed that "missing prisoners" were buried under the rubble.

The report also reveals that at least 100 other political prisoners were summarily executed at Lurigancho Prison on the outskirts of Lima, the capital. In all, nearly 300 prisoners were massacred.

The prisoners were mainly members of the Maoist Sendero Luminoso (Shining Path) guerrilla movement and they were protesting against brutality and conditions in El Fronton, Lurigancho and the women's prison Santa Barbara in Callao. The Amnesty report also says that:

"At the core of the prisoners' demands was their claim that they were to be the victims of a genocide plot by the military."

The previous month (May 1986), they had asked for court protection against possible human rights violations and a judge later ruled that statements made by a navy admiral had constituted "a clear threat to their lives". The judgement was arrived at after the prisoners had been murdered.

The prisoners (there were 900 up to June 1986) were mainly

remand prisoners and many had been incarcerated since 1981 "pending completion" of their trials. They were organised much along the lines of the republican POWs in the 'Cages' of Long Kesh and in Crumlin Road - a situation that the Peruvian administration, like their British counterparts, violently disapproved of.

Peru's President Alan Garcia demanded that the prisoners be deprived of their 'political status' and transferred to the new maximum-security prison at Canto Grande. There the prisoners would be kept in controlled conditions and housed in individual cells with no 'open association'. The prisoners refused and issued a 31-point programme of demands including their claim of a plot to massacre them.

SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL

At the time of the protests, Garcia was preparing to host a meeting of the Socialist International Congress (none of the participating parties, including the 26-County Labour party, made any protest about the murders - four socialist parties pulled out of the congress - Italy, Norway, Sweden and Israel - but only out of selfish concern for their own safety). Before Garcia issued the orders for a general assault on the prisoners he needed to get the



● (Above) Peruvian military personnel who assaulted the imprisoned Sendero Luminoso guerrillas in June 1986, resulting in (below) the massacre of over 400 prisoners



approval of the Catholic Church and the leaders of Peru's establishment parties in order to impress on his foreign guests that he was dealing with a matter of 'national security'. The church and the politicians delivered the goods, advising Garcia to use any means possible to end the situation.

At the time that Garcia had taken the decision to attack the prisoners, a 'peace commission' was negotiating an end to the protests. Amnesty accused the Garcia regime of "aborting attempts to negotiate" by handing

total responsibility and unlimited power to the armed forces to suppress the prison revolts. The army was ordered in on June 19th and, after expelling the civilian peace commission, attacked the prisoners with artillery, mortars, bazookas and rockets.

At Lurigancho Prison, all 124 prisoners were murdered, 100 being summarily executed after surrendering. All were shot in the head or mouth as they lay on the ground. Their bodies were then buried in secret, some over 200 miles from the prison. A similar

picture emerged from the El Fronton Island Prison. Here, out of 154 protesting prisoners, 36 survived. Amnesty declared:

"Officially, secrecy on events at the island prison of El Fronton was and has remained almost total. Of at least 154 prisoners, 36 were acknowledged to have survived. A number of them have testified to interrogation, torture and summary executions beside the damaged Blue Pavilion cell-block on the island."

The Garcia administration claimed that the rest of the 'mutineers' (120 prisoners) were buried under the rubble of the building. Amnesty discovered that at least 60 prisoners and possibly 90 were taken away from the prison and their fate remains unknown to this day.

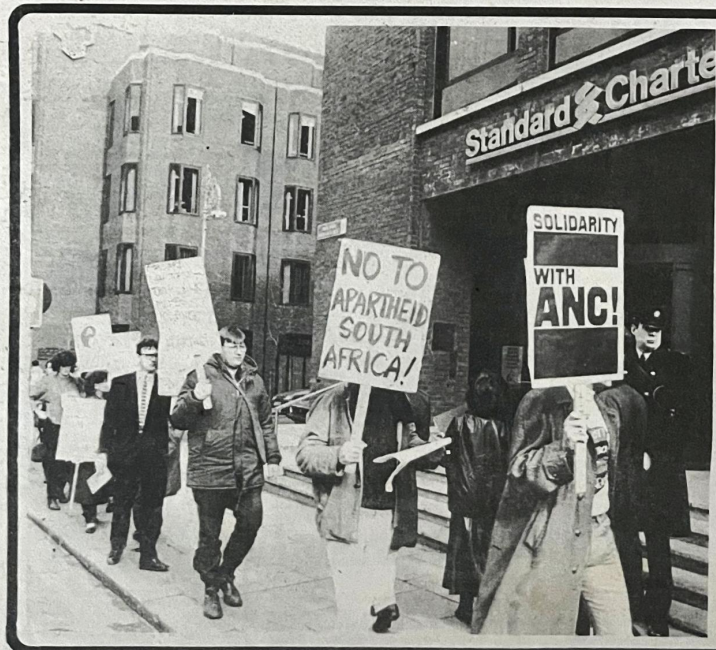
BODIES MOVED

Amnesty concluded its report by saying:

"The government ordered the armed forces to remove bodies from all three prisons as quickly as possible and bury them by night in different cemeteries. No relatives were notified and no information on missing prisoners has been made public. [This action was] calculated to prevent or delay impartial investigations into the killings."

Since 1981, over 500 political prisoners have been murdered in Peru. And in a report issued on 'disappearances' and summary executions by government forces, it was revealed that in just one area, Ayacucho (designated an 'emergency zone') at least 3,000 have 'disappeared' or been murdered. Any area that disagrees with government policy or that gives shelter to the Shining Path guerrillas is designated an 'emergency zone' and thus comes under the military control of the armed forces.

Peru's Socialist Alliance government, an administration that prides itself on its 'popularity', has earned itself a reputation for murder and repression equal to that, if not surpassing, the worst of the regimes that have ruled Peru in the past.



APARTHEID BANK PICKET

STANDARD Chartered Bank, the world's biggest lender to the apartheid regime in South Africa was the target of an International Day of Action on Wednesday, March 4th, when anti-apartheid activists demanded the bank's withdrawal from the racist state.

In Dublin, the Irish Anti-Apartheid Movement demonstrated outside the Standard Chartered offices in Dawson Street on Wednesday. They explained their protest in a letter to the managing director:

"Standard Chartered is today the world's biggest lender to apartheid and is thus directly responsible for the economic health of the regime. Loans have been made in recent years both to the South African government itself as well as to state corporations, and as late as last year Standard was still refusing to stop making new loans."

"Standard Chartered also has substantial interests in the South African Stanbic Bank, and through the latter in the Standard Bank of South-West Africa. It also has a stake in the Standard Bank of Bophuthatwana. Thus it is also involved

in loans to the illegal Namibian government and in recognition of the disgraceful bantustan system of apartheid.

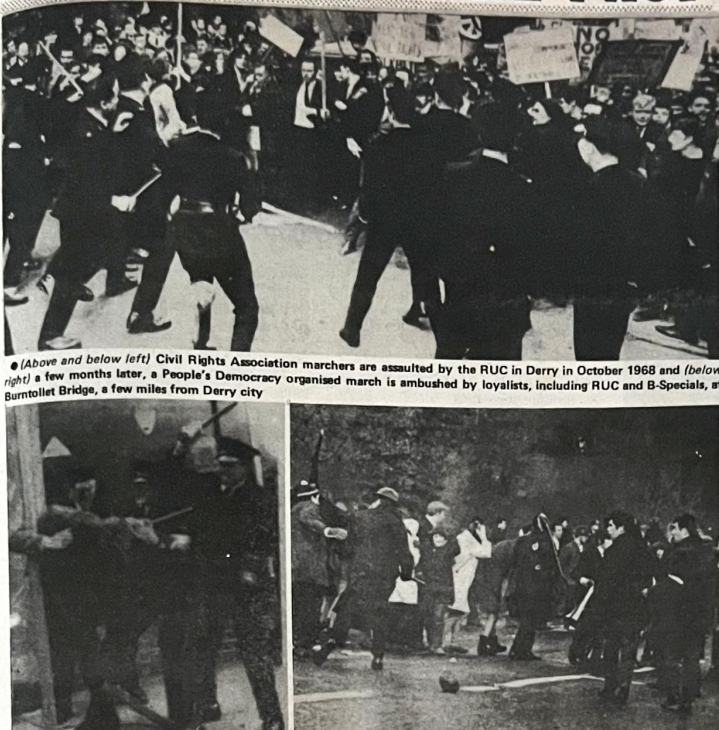
"Both the ANC and SWAPO, the liberation movements of South Africa and Namibia, have called on Standard Chartered to divest from their countries."

"It is time Standard Chartered considered the needs and wishes of the oppressed majority of South Africans, and cut its links with their oppressors."

IRISH WORKERS AND STANDARD

Irish workers have also experienced some of the profiteering of Standard Chartered. It was Standard Chartered which called in the receiver to the Leinster Paper Mills in Clondalkin, Dublin.

REMEMBERING THE PAST



(Above and below left) Civil Rights Association marchers are assaulted by the RUC in Derry in October 1968 and (below right) a few months later, a People's Democracy organised march is ambushed by loyalists, including RUC and B-Specials, at Burntollet Bridge, a few miles from Derry city

Civil Rights Association

BY PETER O'ROURKE

TWENTY YEARS AGO, a campaign to secure basic civil rights for the nationalist population in the North began with the formation in Belfast of the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association.

Their aims were, 'One man, one vote' (sic) in council elections, the removal of gerrymandered electoral boundaries, laws against gerrymandered electoral boundaries, laws against discriminatory practices within local government authorities, the establishment of machinery to investigate complaints against local authorities, the allocation of council housing on a points system, the repeal of the Special Powers Act, and the disbanding of the B-Specials.

For almost a year following its formation, the Civil Rights Association went through a low-key period of citizens' advice activity while the main agitation for improved housing and campaigning for civil rights was left to the Housing Action Committees in Derry and Belfast.

By November the British government led by Harold Wilson was becoming alarmed and O'Neill was forced into offering a package of reforms to placate the alienated minority. Although these looked like sweeping reforms, much of the package was imprecise and would take years to implement.

In January 1969, a march from Belfast to Derry organised by the People's Democracy was ambushed and attacked along the route at Burntollet Bridge by loyalist mobs assisted by the B-Specials and RUC. For many of the marchers and the civil rights supporters, Burntollet was the turning point. There was to be no turning back.

The following week there were violent clashes between civil rights marchers and the RUC in Newry.

LOYALIST ATTACKS
During the Spring of 1969, in an attempt to discredit the Civil Rights Association and to bring down O'Neill's administration, loyalists bombed vital installations throughout the North. Backed by the RUC and B-Specials, loyalists also began a campaign of murder and led organised pogroms against the nationalist community.

FIRST PROTESTS
It was not until April 1968 after the banning of an Easter commemoration parade in Armagh, that the NICRA held its first protest rallies in Armagh and Newry.

PROGRAMME
The CSI drew up a programme for civil rights. In 1966 Terence O'Neill the North's prime minister, agreed to the abolition of the business vote for local elections but rejected all other points in the civil rights programme.

The Civil Rights Association was a broad-based movement, embracing a wide spectrum of political opinion. It was modelled on the National Council for Civil Liberties in Britain (to which it was affiliated) and on the movement led by Martin Luther King in the United States. The association adopted the American civil rights anthem, *We Shall Overcome*.

rights campaign into the world headlines.

By November the British government led by Harold Wilson was becoming alarmed and O'Neill was forced into offering a package of reforms to placate the alienated minority. Although these looked like sweeping reforms, much of the package was imprecise and would take years to implement.

In January 1969, a march from Belfast to Derry organised by the People's Democracy was ambushed and attacked along the route at Burntollet Bridge by loyalist mobs assisted by the B-Specials and RUC. For many of the marchers and the civil rights supporters, Burntollet was the turning point. There was to be no turning back.

The following week there were violent clashes between civil rights marchers and the RUC in Newry.

LOYALIST ATTACKS
During the Spring of 1969, in an attempt to discredit the Civil Rights Association and to bring down O'Neill's administration, loyalists bombed vital installations throughout the North. Backed by the RUC and B-Specials, loyalists also began a campaign of murder and led organised pogroms against the nationalist community.

FOLLOWING THE POGROMS OF 1969
the Falls Road Curfew of 1970, and the introduction of internment in August 1971, many of the civil rights supporters and the vast majority of the nationalist community realised that the North was irreformable and henceforth they regarded armed resistance as the only effective response to the sectarian Stormont regime. The demands for reform were replaced by support for the revolutionary armed struggle of the IRA to achieve a united Ireland.

The Civil Rights Association continued in existence, however, and in the months following the introduction of internment it was engaged in promoting a civil disobedience campaign which led to a widespread withholding of rents and rates. During the 1970s it highlighted the ill-treatment of prisoners by the RUC.

The Civil Rights Association was founded in February 1967, just over 20 years ago.

THIRTY ONE

BRADLEY, Francis (1st Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Francis Bradley who was murdered by British forces (SAs) on February 18th 1968. Mary, Queen of the Gael, pray for him. Always remembered by his friends Paddy, Kieran, Terry, and his friends and his friends in South Derry.

BRESLIN, Charles; DEVINE, Michael and David (2nd Anniversary). In proud memory of our good friends Vols Charles Breslin and Michael and David Devine, who were murdered by the SAS on February 23rd 1965. Remembered always by Dan and Philomena Brown, Upper Carry, USA.

BRESLIN, Charlie; DEVINE, David and Michael (2nd Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vols Charlie Breslin and David and Michael Devine, who were brutally murdered by British assassins on February 23rd 1965. Fond are the memories, silently kept, no words are needed, I will never forget. Always remembered by Danny and family, Derry (1st Anniversary).

DUFFY, Brendan (8th Anniversary). In loving memory of a dear husband and loving father, who died on February 21st 1978. We will always be in our hearts. From Olive and family.

HOGAN, Henry; MARTIN, Declan (3rd Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vols Henry Hogan and Declan Martin, Óglaigh na hÉireann, who were murdered by the SAS while on active service on February 21st 1968. We stand for an ideal older than any empire. Never forgotten by Pat McGovern and family, Dublin.

HOGAN, Henry; MARTIN, Declan (3rd Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vols Henry Hogan and Declan Martin, Óglaigh na hÉireann, who were killed in action on February 21st 1968. "It is better to fight on our feet, than live on our knees." Always remembered by Loughguile Republican Youth.

HUGHES, Charlie (1st Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol Charlie Hughes, 2nd Battalion, Óglaigh na hÉireann, who was shot dead by Workers' Party gunmen on March 8th 1971. I measc laochra na nGael go raib sé. Always remembered by his friends and comrades in the Belfast Brigade.

HUGHES, Charlie (16th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol Charlie Hughes, 'D' Coy, 2nd Battalion, Belfast Brigade, Óglaigh na hÉireann, who was shot dead by March 8th 1971. I measc laochra na nGael go raib sé. Always remembered by Sinn Féin Burn to bhFál.

KAVANAGH, Albert (15th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol Albert Kavanagh, 'A' Coy, 2nd Battalion, Belfast Brigade, Óglaigh na hÉireann, who was shot dead by the RUC while on active service on March 4th 1972. Fuair sé bás as troid ar son na saoirse. Always remembered by his friends and comrades in the Belfast Brigade.

KAVANAGH, Albert (15th Anniversary). In loving memory of our dear brother Vol Albert Kavanagh, 'A' Coy, 2nd Battalion, Belfast Brigade, Óglaigh na hÉireann, who was killed on active service on March 4th 1972. Mary, Queen of the Gael, pray for him. It matters not how many years, there's still the heartache.

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still the tears. Whatever else we fail to do, we never fail to think of you. Remembered with pride by his parents, brothers and sisters, and his friends.

KAVANAGH, Albert (15th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of my dear brother Vol Albert Kavanagh, 'A' Coy, 2nd Battalion, Belfast Brigade, Óglaigh na hÉireann, who died on active service on March 4th 1972. St Joseph, pray for him. "As long as Ireland is for Irish men and Irish women is for an attitude of revolt." Will never be forgotten by his brother Paul (Laces).

KAVANAGH, Albert (15th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of my dear brother Vol Albert Kavanagh, who was killed on active service on March 4th 1972. Mary, Queen of the Gael, true and tender, just to show we still remember. Will miss you, those who think of him today, a little prayer to Jesus say, loved and missed by his sister Paula and family.

KAVANAGH, Albert (15th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol Albert Kavanagh, 2nd Battalion, Belfast Brigade, Óglaigh na hÉireann, who was shot dead by the RUC on March 4th 1972. Fuair sé bás as troid ar son muintir na hÉireann. Always remembered by Sinn Féin Burn to bhFál.

MAGEE, Joseph (15th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of our father, Joseph Magee, who was loved in the line of duty on February 21st 1972. Masses offered. "Lay him away on the hillside along with the brave and the noble, his name on the roll of fame in letters of purest gold." Remembered by son Joseph, daughters Margaret and Sarah.

MAGEE, Joseph (15th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol Joseph Magee, Óglaigh na hÉireann, who was killed in action on February 21st 1972. Masses offered. Sacred Heart of Jesus have mercy on his soul. Sadly missed by Margaret Fitzsimmons.

GUIMHNI BREITHLAE

BURNS, Sean (Birthdays memories of my dear son Sean Burns, who was murdered by the RUC on November 11th 1982 and whose birthday would have occurred on March 8th. Always loved and remembered by his Mammy and Daddy.

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COMHBHRÓN

FITZSIMONS. Deepest sympathy is extended to Paddy and family on the tragic death of his brother Michael. From the John Francis Green Sinn Féin Cumann, Mourne.

GIBNEY. The staff of APR/N extend deepest sympathy to our comrade Gerry and the family and friends of Kathleen Gibney who died on Monday, February 23rd.

GIBNEY. Deepest sympathy is extended to the family on the death of Kathleen. From the Seamus McCusker Sinn Féin Cumann, New Lodge.

McLOUGHLIN. Sincere sympathy is extended to the McLaughlin family on the tragic death of Noel. Always remembered by Pat and friends in County Monaghan.

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ADMHAIL

O'CONNELL. The family of the late Vol John O'Connell, all our greetings. Our thoughts are with you. God bless you all. From Joe O'Connell (Gartree).

BEANNACHTAI

BIRTHDAY GREETINGS to all Irish POWs with birthdays this month. You are in our thoughts and prayers, not only on your birthday, but every day. God Bless. From Mike Duffy.

DOUGLAS, David (Portlaoise). Happy birthday son. From Daddy and Mammy.

DOUGLAS, David (Portlaoise). Happy birthday David. From the Fitzsimmons family.

DOUGLAS, David (Portlaoise). Happy birthday David. Thinking of you always. From Jimmy, Angie, Sharon and Clint.

SINN FEIN WOMEN'S DEPARTMENT extends warmest greet-

ings for International Women's Day to all our comrades and to Ella O'Dwyer and Martina Anderson (Durham).

INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY. Sisters, especially all those women POWs presently incarcerated in Maghlin, bring prayers and love greetings. Martina Anderson in Durham prison whose strength is an inspiration to all women in the struggle against imperialism, sisterhood. Outwrite Women's Newspaper Collective.

O'DWYER, Ella (Durham). Happy birthday Ella. Love and best wishes. From Mum and Dad.

O'DWYER, Ella (Durham). Happy birthday Ella. Keep the spirits up. From the North Tip O'Leary Sinn Féin Comhairle Ceantair.

O'DWYER, Ella (Durham). Many greetings. Our thoughts are with you. From Irish Prisoners Appeal (London).

O'DWYER, Ella (Durham). Happy birthday Ella. From Sean 'Grieg', Charlieville.



THE FLYING COLUMN

HAVE YOU HEARD the joke about the little girl who was charged by a mad bull while she was picking flowers? Well, the wee lassie was completely unaware of the danger and didn't hear the cries of warning from her parents who were too far away to help.

Luckily, a passing motorist saw what was happening. He screamed his car to a halt, jumped out, vaulted a fence and leaped at the oncoming animal. Grabbing the bull by the horns, he wrestled it to the ground and, in an amazing feat of strength, gave a sudden twist and broke its neck.

Setting aside the family's heartfelt thanks with a casual, "Anybody would have done the same," our modest hero excused himself, saying he was hurrying home to Crossmaglen, and drove off.

The next morning the story was reported on the front page of a well-known Irish newspaper under the headline "IRA killer slaughters little girl's pet."

AND WHILE we're on the subject of Irish News headlines, last Thursday's edition carried a report on the *Anglo-Irish Agreement* - *A Legacy of Violence*, a 112-page journal of events following the signing of the Hillsborough Agreement, published jointly by the Official Unionists and the DUP, with the headline, "Unionists bring out 'pact horror dairy'".



● Brookeborough - a sick bigot

Watch out for the tall orange tinge in your milk bottles.

SHOWING THE FLAG is frowned upon by Fine Gael.

A late news bulletin from the election front informs me that during the count at Sligo Town Hall an objection was made about Fine Gael's Joe Sweeney sporting a rosette bearing a candidate's name (Ted Nealon, Minister of State).

Quick as a flash, the Sweeney turns on Sinn Fein activist Timmy Newell and points to his lapel badge as being "objectionable".

"But it's the national flag, the Tricolour, the flag of every Irish person - even you," explains Timmy Newell, showing the patience of a saint despite the Fine Gael lunkhead's tantrum.

"Well I find it objectionable," insists our blustering Blueshirt. "It's the Sinn Fein flag!"

A quick consultation of the rules and regs by election officials eliminates the name-bearing rosette and declares the Sinn Fein challenger the winner.

Exit our fuming Fine Gaeler.

ONE DEFENDER of the realm who will be turning the other cheek is British Parachute Regiment Corporal Paul Walker (28).

Walker has been sentenced by a court in Nairobi, Kenya, to receive three strokes of the cane and 15 months' imprisonment for assaulting a Kenyan in a local disco and disorderly conduct.

A second Parachute Regiment corporal, Sean Hughes, (20), has been jailed for three months for disorderly conduct.

STRATHCLYDE TORY Councillor James McInnes (52), a failed Conservative Party parliamentary candidate in 1983, was jailed for two years by Glasgow High Court last week for false expenses frauds involving £16,000 from his council and other bodies.

McInnes was a member of the Clyde River Purification Board and a justice of the peace.

THREE BALLYNAHINCH men - Raymond Richard Nelson, of Brian Drive; David Nelson, Bawnhill Road, Dromara; and Francis James Fulton, Isle of Shinny Walk - received the usual draconian sentences at Belfast Court last week when they admitted possessing an Armalite rifle, two revolvers and a quantity of ammunition with intent to endanger life.

The three, members of the Ulster Defence Force, a wing of the UDA, walked free after the infamous Judge Andrew Donaldson gave them recorded prison sentences.

JUST FOR THE RECORD.

The governor of Portlaoise Prison, William Reilly (45), died in a Dublin hospital on Friday, February 27th.

Lord Brookeborough, the well-known unionist bigot who was pretty sick even when he was healthy, is ill in hospital after returning from a holiday in South Africa.

Former RUC boss and London police chief Sir Kenneth 'Castlereagh Torture Centre' Newman (60) is hanging up his rubber hosepipe early and retiring, possibly to eventually join Lord Brookeborough within the padded walls of the House of Lords.

A HONG KONG policeman who stopped an "unusually-shaped" man last week found that he was wearing 18 bras and 45 pairs of knickers.

If I worked for *The Phoenix* I'd say that the man's brief slip led to the unusual bust.

DUIRT SIAD

Intelligence would come across the border from my sources [including Garda officers] there about where [republicans] were living, what they were doing, what time they were likely to be in.

My local brigade would arrange for soldiers to be waiting, for example, on our side of the border, and a team would go across, sometimes Ulster Volunteer Force people or Ulster Freedom Fighters who were being used by the army and by the police, the Special Branch in the North, and they would try and kidnap the chap and bring him across to the North.

In other cases there were murders carried out.

- Former British Intelligence Captain Fred Holroyd.

The record of these covert operations read like a Mafia-type novel. Bribery, corruption, blackmail were commonplace. Both police forces in this island of ours have lent themselves to the most blatantly illegal of activities.

- Irish News editorial on Captain Holroyd's revelations.

Authoritative medical reports which cast "profound doubts" on the unsupported confession of Carole Richardson, still serving life 12 years after the Guildford IRA pub bombings, have been suppressed by the Home Office.

- The Observer.

I am aware, too, of the effort of the Workers' Party to isolate me. I tried to organise an alliance of the left but the decisions of the parties to go their own



ways makes that more unlikely every day now.

- Tony Gregory on the refusal of the Workers' Party and the Labour Party to form a left alliance against the conservative parties.

I don't know if you recall, in the first year of Ronald Reagan's presidency, the sickening sight of the administration putting air traffic controllers in chains for daring to take strike action. Imagine what the Western press would have made of that had it happened in the Soviet Union, Poland or Hungary.

Contrast the attitude of your govern-

ment and your media towards Solidarity in Poland where they are applauding unofficial strikes, applauding decisions to defy the law whilst here at home any trade unionist who does the same is condemned as irresponsible and is condemned for attacking democracy.

- British miners' leader Arthur Scargill speaking to Hot Press in Cork.

Only two political decisions were taken.

One was to call the brigade after Rosario Cuevas, Guatemalan human rights

worker and mother of two who went missing last year. She is one of many people presumed to have been killed by the Guatemalan army.

The other decision was prompted by some of the British women who felt that our own countries had much to learn from the rehabilitative and non-punitive Nicaraguan prison system. It was decided to send a letter to the governor of Durham Prison protesting at the strip-searching of Irish prisoners Martina Anderson and Ella O' Dwyer there.

- RTE's Betty Purcell reporting from an International Brigade in Nicaragua.