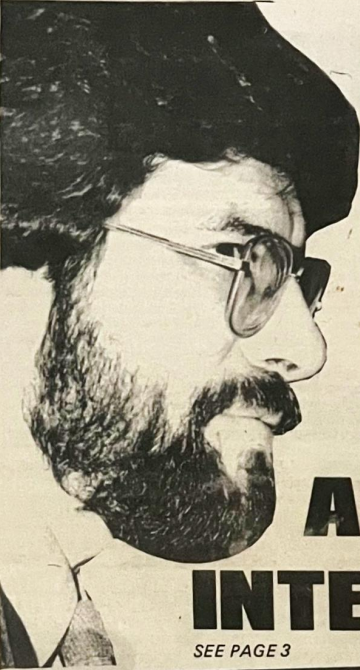


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IRELAND'S BIGGEST SELLING POLITICAL WEEKLY

**AN PHOBLACHT**  
 Republican News

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IN AN INTERVIEW, Sinn Féin President Gerry Adams, MP for West Belfast, talks frankly about the tragic deaths in Enniskillen, the wholesale condemnation of republicans and the consequences for Sinn Féin.

He says that the political reaction underlines the urgency of the republican struggle and the need for republicans to take up, with renewed determination, the political challenges that face them in the struggle for peace and justice.

**ADAMS INTERVIEW**

SEE PAGE 3

**EXTRADITION ACT IN TROUBLE?**

THE FIANNA FAIL parliamentary party held a stormy meeting on Wednesday in which the overwhelming majority of deputies expressed their opposition to the ratification of the Extradition Act in its present form on December 1st. The backbench revolt represents a major setback for Fianna Fail leader Charles Haughey who had hoped to announce to the British and to his unofficial coalition partners in Fine Gael that the Act would go through unchanged.

Now Haughey must either alienate large sections of his own party or displease the British government in not conceding wholesale extradition.

The battle against the Extradition Act is not over.

**FULL REPORT PAGE 5**

**ENNISKILLEN AFTERMATH**

**IRA refutes RUC claim**

AN RUC PROPAGANDA PLOY 11 days after the Enniskillen tragedy has been rejected by the IRA.

The RUC and British army staged a press conference on Wednesday at which they claimed that the bomb was set off by a timing device and was timed to go off when it did.

This was categorically denied by the IRA which repeated that the bomb was remote-control and that the RUC had produced selective forensic evidence for their own propaganda purposes.

*FULL IRA STATEMENT PAGE 2*



# OPINION Livingstone

"He's a widow-maker" with "blood on his hands", provoking "fury" and giving "comfort to the enemy". The British gutter press is once again whipping up a hate campaign against Ken Livingstone but there's nothing new in that. Livingstone became the first major British political figure in history to consistently advocate Irish freedom when, as leader of the Greater London Council, he supported the H-Block hunger-strikers and welcomed Gerry Adams to London. Hysterical media attacks have accompanied nearly every statement he's made on the subject of Ireland since then.

What spurred the latest press smears was Livingstone's statement in the wake of the Enniskillen tragedy — which he condemned — that the IRA "will eventually get their way":

Livingstone logically and calmly repeated views he has held for many years. Unlike the Irish political and religious figures who hurriedly changed their tone in the wake of the explosion, he stood firmly on principle.

These shrill denunciations have so far failed in their central purpose — to isolate Ken Livingstone and reduce the influence of his views within the Labour Party. He was recently elected to Labour's National Executive by a surprisingly large margin. He survived an equally heated press campaign some years ago to become MP for Brent East.

To the deep disappointment of newspaper owners, Livingstone is not alone and his views are popular among trade union activists and those most oppressed by the Thatcher govern-

ment. For many years public opinion surveys have shown that the majority of British people want withdrawal. Black communities and trade unionists in struggle have tasted police brutality which has been tried and tested in the Six Counties. Miners, during their recent strike found their villages occupied by riot police and suffered mass arrests. Their union and that of the railworkers now supports British withdrawal from Ireland.

Livingstone represents a growing awareness within the Labour Party that British colonialism in Ireland must end. Many Labour activists now believe that their party must take a confident stand on basic principles if it is ever again to win an election. The huge popular support for Livingstone's campaign to save the Greater London Council showed that his radical answers were no bar to winning elections.

By stating that history is on the side of the republican struggle, by reminding Britain of all the other colonies it has left, Livingstone suggested the only course of action which could bring peace to Ireland. It will also benefit British working people in the long run. The rich and powerful are committed to continued colonisation but it's directly against the interests of the vast majority of British people.

It's not a criticism of Ken Livingstone to say that republicans knew British withdrawal was inevitable long before he said it. His statement and his courage in sticking by it are important because millions of British people need to realise that their army is engaged in a pointless, hopeless task and that their best interests are served by bringing their boys home.

# IRA refutes RUC claim



**THE IRA has completely repudiated RUC claims that the Enniskillen bomb was detonated by a timing mechanism and not by a radio-controlled device.**

On Wednesday, the British army's chief technical officer in the North presented, what he claimed, was a mock up of the bomb. He said that the bomb had been built "around a Swiss-made electronic timer using a printed circuit board" and claimed that "never before" had the IRA used both a timer and a radio trigger.

In a statement the IRA rejected his comments, saying:

"The Irish Republican Army completely repudiates the RUC statement on the particulars of the device used by our Volunteers in the Enniskillen bombing. The RUC knows that many of the components used in our remote-controlled radio receivers are also compatible with those used in electronic timers. The RUC, as expected, are being deliberately selective in the forensic evidence they have produced."

Several days before Wednesday's press conference by the crown forces, a report in Monday's edition of the London-based Independent newspaper quoted IRA sources as saying that its "radio-

controlled devices are routinely fitted with timing mechanisms, not to set them off but to protect the men planting them. The timers are not used to detonate the bombs but to activate them once they have been placed."

Derry Sinn Fein Councillor Mitchel McLaughlin described the RUC press conference and claims that the bomb was directed "intentionally against civilians" as "nothing less than political opportunism designed to milk the tragedy of Enniskillen of every drop of political propaganda possible". He continued:

"Eleven days after the bombing — for which the IRA has given its version — the RUC, in attempting to exploit the tragedy to the full, suddenly produces a concocted story about the mechanism used to detonate the bomb.

"Comments from a sectarian force which in the past has lied, perjured themselves and instructed its members to do so in the recent shoot-to-kill trials are not the sort of comments one can lend any credibility to."

# LOYALIST SHOOTS CATHOLIC

BY EAMONN TRACEY

**THE 31-YEAR-OLD North Belfast Catholic who was shot and critically wounded on Wednesday evening, November 11th, lost his battle for life and died in hospital five days later, on Monday.**

Tommy McAuley, a married man with two young children, Clare (9) and Stephen (4), lived at Wheatfield Gardens, off the Crumlin Road. He was the owner of a chip shop, the Boh Appetit, which is on the nationalist side of the Crumlin Road across from the loyalist Woodvale area.

Shortly before 6pm on the day of the attack, a lone, unmasked gunman, believed to be a member of the UVF, walked into the chip shop. He opened fire, hitting Tommy McAuley several times in the groin and lower part of the body. The

gunman then walked out across the Crumlin Road and into Woodvale.

The fatally-wounded man was rushed to hospital where he underwent emergency surgery before being placed on a life support machine in the intensive care unit. He had injuries to his kidney, gall-bladder and spinal cord. His wife, Pat, said:

"The wee chippy was his pride and joy. He only bought it 18 months ago and things were going well for us and the two children."

**RUC'S  
'OPEN MIND'**

Comments by the RUC that



● The Boh Appetit chip shop where Tommy McAuley was shot and wounded by a loyalist gunman

it is "keeping an open mind on the motive" have been condemned by Sinn Fein Councillor Gerard McGuigan who said "it was clearly sectarian".

"In the last ten days, five nationalist teenagers from the

New Lodge have been shot and wounded, another nationalist from the Oldpark narrowly escaped death in an assassination attempt, and a Protestant man was shot and killed by loyalists in mistake for a Cath-

olic. The silence of the various church leaders, establishment politicians and media over these murders and attempted murders has been in marked contrast to their vociferous condemnations of the IRA."

# INTERVIEW WITH GERRY ADAMS

## After Enniskillen

There have been many calls on you to condemn the IRA. Why didn't you do so after the Enniskillen bombing?

It would be hypocritical for me to condemn the Army for any action if I disagree with that action. In my view the IRA are freedom fighters. They made a terrible mistake at Enniskillen. They must not repeat that mistake. I have no doubt that the Volunteers involved are terribly distressed by the tragic consequences of their operation. That should not stop other republicans being critical of them. But condemnations would not be part of my criticisms.

Every IRA Volunteer must realise that he or she has the capacity to advance or retard the national struggle. The British crown forces will exploit IRA operational mistakes in a ruthless manner. They have no concern for the civilian population. Concern for the civilian population must be a key factor in the IRA's deliberations. I deeply regret that Enniskillen happened and my sympathy is with the relatives of the dead and injured. Their dignity in mourning was very moving and their forgiveness, and particularly the words of Mr Wilson, had a deep effect on me and I am sure on other republicans, much more so than the nauseating wave of condemnations that were heaped on us by a wide range of self-righteous political and religious leaders. They are well versed in the politics of condemnation. They, more than any other element, will ensure, tragically for the rest of us, that Enniskillen will not be a watershed but merely a cynical propaganda exercise of exploitation of the dead.

What do you mean by that?

Condemnations of the IRA are always used by the establishment in much the same way as they exploit mistakes by the IRA — to advance their strategy and to retard the republican struggle.

Since Enniskillen there has been an unprecedented propaganda onslaught on the Republican Movement. The dead and injured have been utilised as the basis for that campaign and there has been a massive effort to convert the natural revulsion of ordinary people about what happened in Enniskillen into anti-republican sentiment. In other words, they have tried to invalidate the entire struggle on the basis of the Enniskillen tragedy.

While there have been many sincere pronouncements, those emanating from Thatcher, Reagan, Kinnock, King, the various political leaders in Ireland, the Catholic hierarchy and RUC boss Hermon have been aimed primarily at eroding the republican base and creating an atmosphere wherein mass repression and punitive actions against republicans will be more easily implemented. For example, internment is now a live option and will, when/if it is introduced, be more likely to be on a 32-County basis.

The British have seized on the Enniskillen tragedy because they believe that the emotional response will be to their political benefit. It is no exaggeration to say that the British administration, with the aid of the media and the Catholic bishops, have manipulated the events of Enniskillen in such a way as to expedite increased repression. Examined coolly this means more British soldiers, more torture, more plastic bullets, more violence and more deaths. And to what purpose? To expose Britain's rigidity? To prove — as if we needed any proof — that Britain does not have the political will to negotiate a peaceful and real solution in the whole island of Ireland? It implies more attempts at reaching some 'internal' solution in the Six Counties. It means that the Irish establishment, political, business and clerical, will welcome a return to the worst excesses of Stormont



rule in the hope that some form of temporary pacification programme can be introduced. It means they accept the necessity of repression and the permanence of repression in the Six Counties.

What effect has the bombing had on the republican base?

It is too soon to tell what effect it has had on the base. That will emerge as we meet out membership in the weeks ahead. What is clear, however, is that our efforts to broaden our base have most certainly been upset in all the areas we have selected for expansion. This is particularly true for the 26 Counties and internationally. But despite Enniskillen, and in some ways because of Enniskillen, this work must now be done with even more urgency than before.

Sinn Fein must play the key role in the fightback to reassert the legitimacy of the republican struggle and to win support for Irish national sovereignty as the only durable basis for lasting peace and reconciliation in this island.

What other political ramifications have arisen because of Enniskillen?

Well, the Fianna Fail leadership will almost certainly support the Extradition Act despite the fact that nothing has really changed in the Six Counties in those areas in which they demanded changes as a precondition for their support.

Charles Haughey has said, "I share the view of those who do not have any confidence in the system of justice in Northern Ireland. We should not be anxious to submit any person... to the mercy of that system." On the same occasion he also declared: "Our view is that Northern Ireland is a failed entity." Nothing has changed since he said that. In fact, things have got worse. On the basis of Fianna Fail logic there are more reasons for them not to support the act now than there were before Enniskillen.

In the ongoing debate about the ratification of the Extradition Act there has been a complete failure of nerve among these so-called constitutionalists. Two weeks ago there was universal acceptance that the Act should not be

activities of Dessie O'Hare with the Enniskillen tragedy and the republican struggle is despicable. Everyone knows that O'Hare has nothing to do with our struggle and that no republican would assist him. On a more important level, they want to make it a sin "to join organisations committed to violence... It is sinful to support such organisations or to call on others to support them."

Then, in the same breath, they call for support for the RUC: "We call on all people to co-operate with the police in bringing the guilty to justice."

This is a totally dishonest and inconsistent position. My own bishop, Cahal Daly, had to go further, of course. He has made it a sin to join or vote Sinn Fein. He is absolutely wrong, as he was in his allegation that the walk-outs from West Belfast churches (and elsewhere) were contrived. They were not. Many republicans, including myself, did not walk out. To do so would be to leave Cahal Daly with the church he wants. For Catholics to accept the bishops' dictate, for Catholics to support the RUC or any arm of the British war machine, for them to inform on their neighbours, would appear to me to be a sin. But then I'm not a bishop, only an Irish citizen living in a British colony — Ireland. When the bishops say it is also a sin to support or join the British crown forces in Ireland then we can start taking them seriously.

What will be the long-term effects of the Enniskillen bombing?

I don't know. Obviously there has to be a political solution.

We feel real sympathy for the dead, for their relatives and for their friends. Of course, our enemies cast doubt on our sincerity, not because they seriously doubt it but because it enables them to castigate and vilify our movement without having to argue in a logical and rational fashion the legitimacy or otherwise of our cause. By refusing to consider the legitimacy of the Irish people's right to self-determination, by seeking through blatant propaganda, to dehumanise republicans, they are rejecting history and they are rejecting reality.

Britain and its local allies believe that it is perfectly acceptable for governments and states to use force in pursuit of their global imperialist ends. That right, however, is never accorded to an oppressed people seeking an end to foreign occupation and injustice. Enniskillen was a terrible tragedy, part of the real tragedy and the real agony of Ireland, the fact that the Irish people have been denied the right to self-determination. That is the root cause of unrest. All the deaths, injuries and injustices stem from that undeniable fact. The Irish people have the right to seek freedom from England. Do our opponents deny us that? Is there a moral justification for Britain's occupation of Ireland?

We accept the fact that the Enniskillen bombing has had the most serious consequences for the Republican Movement. We will have to live with those consequences, just as those who justify and maintain partition, state repression, injustice, discrimination and the denial of freedom in Ireland must live with the consequences of their politics, their utterances and their actions.

Paul Corrigan — and I wish to commend him and his fellow councillors — put his finger on it when he said: "What is required is that Britain recognises that its claim to Ireland, backed up by the centuries of oppression, is the overall context against which today's disaster has occurred. Britain must drop that claim and let all of the people of Ireland determine their own future."

This is the challenge that faces Irish republicans and indeed all Irish people, to make that objective a reality, sooner rather than later, and so rid our country of all manifestations of violence. I have no doubt that we will be successful in that task. We are not going to go away. Our message is more relevant today than it ever was.

ratified. Has everything radically changed? Is British 'justice' more acceptable now than it was a fortnight ago? One thing is crystal clear. In the renewed climate of anti-republican hysteria there will be more, not less, Birmingham Sixes and Guildford Fours. There will be more undercover death-squads, more torture in interrogation centres, more injustice, and more suffering. There is something obscene, something unreal about people like Thatcher and her cronies waxing moral about the deaths of 11 people in Ireland and there is something deeply disturbing about the ability of Irish establishment figures to slavishly echo Thatcher's denunciations. The woman who sanctioned the sinking of the *Belgrano* with the loss of hundreds of lives, who supplies weapons to dozens of reactionary regimes, who supports the apartheid system in South Africa, who established death-squads in Ireland, who approved the US bombing of civilians in Libya, and who has presided over the most overtly anti-working-class regime in living memory is hardly a suitable person to be taken seriously in matters of morality.

Another effect will be a major acceleration of the British-government sponsored campaign against Sinn Fein elected representatives and voters in the Six Counties. Already the SDLP is jumping on that bandwagon. So, all in all, we are in for a difficult period. The irony of the situation is that, amidst all this, two English men, Tony Benn and more especially Ken Livingstone, have emerged as politicians of some integrity and vision. It is a sad reflection on Irish political life that Livingstone articulated the Irish position better than any of those in the Irish establishment who purport to represent the aspirations of the Irish nation. Furthermore, we saw an incredibly politically-orchestrated response in the 26 Counties, the implicit intention of which was to reinforce the ethos of partitionism, that the 'Republic' is a nation and that national aspiration and identity stop at the border.

Have you any comment to make on the statement from the Irish Catholic Hierarchy?

I think their attempt to link the

# Dr Skuse loses his memory

THE ENGLISH COURT OF APPEAL, which has been hearing the case of the Birmingham Six for almost three weeks, concentrated this week on the scientific tests that the British police used to convict the men.

Frank Skuse, the Home Office forensic scientist who performed the police tests on the men, appeared in court for the crown. Lawyers for the six cross-examined Skuse about his notes from the time the men were arrested, and discovered that he was 'unable to explain' certain parts of the notes, such as the reference to William Power's test which said "five to ten seconds — late". Skuse denied that it meant that the test had developed five to ten seconds late, but

it was a total mystery to him what it could refer to!

Skuse claimed in the dock that he had tested playing cards at the time for positive results to the Greiss test and had a negative result, but had kept this vital information to himself for almost 14 years because "I was never asked."

The police scientist did not see anything unusual in the fact that he had a positive result from Power's right hand but a negative one from his left one.

Skuse began to contradict himself, claiming that Patrick Hill's nails were short to avoid detection of explosives and then agreeing with a statement he had earlier made which said they were

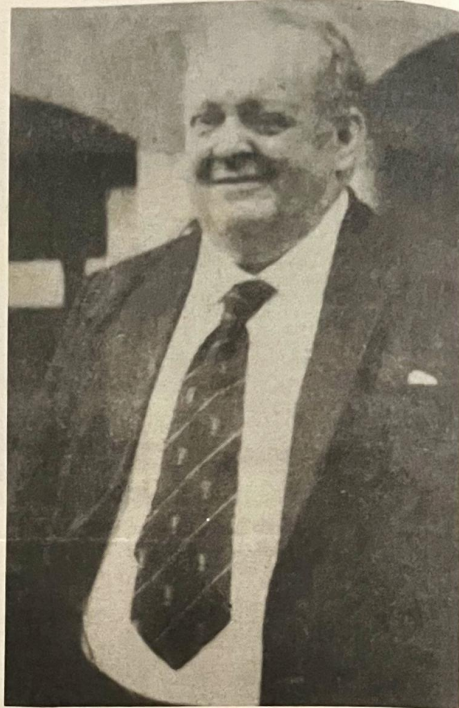
of normal length.

He was questioned about his time-sheet, why had he changed it and how did police Chief Superintendent George Reade (who stumbled and stammered through with the most inconsistent evidence last week) have the corrected times on his schedule? But Skuse had no idea why he had altered his timetable.

He denied that he had made a telephone call to Chief Superintendent Reade on Sunday, November 24th 1974, although a call was claimed for on his expenses sheet. Then he went on to claim he had never seen George Reade until six months later.

## AILING POLICE CASE

The evidence given by Skuse and fellow police witness, Dr Janet Drayton, did nothing to



● The discredited Dr Skuse

bolster the ailing police case. Altered documents, witnesses mystified by their own evidence and changing their statements in court, and collective police amnesia when it comes to essential evidence, have in fact discredited

the British authorities' case beyond all doubt. The only question that now remains is whether or not the three Appeal Court judges are prepared to admit that the Birmingham Six have been framed from the very beginning.

## RUC THREATS IGNORED

BY EAMONN TRACY

RARELY A WEEK goes past in the North without someone from the nationalist community revealing how the RUC have made threats demanding their co-operation as informers.

Various methods are employed by the RUC Special Branch, the most common being the promise to drop charges in return for information.

Gerard Logan, a 20-year-old married man from the Clonard area of West Belfast, was arrested at 5.30am on Tuesday, November 10th. He was taken to Castlereagh Interrogation Centre where he was accused of being involved in the punishment shooting several weeks ago of a well-known West Belfast criminal.

### MASKED MAN

During one of several interrogation sessions, Logan was told that they had a witness outside the door. When one of them opened it, Logan saw a man wearing a balaclava mask pointing at him.

The RUC gave Logan the names of people they claimed are active republicans and demanded that he watch them. They ordered him to meet them on Friday morning at the car park at the Maysfield Leisure Centre. "We'll pick you up in a car, tell you our names and give you a phone number," they said. When he was released, Logan contacted Sinn Fein and a solicitor.

# GUILDFORD CAMPAIGNERS IN US

RELATIVES of imprisoned Guildford Four member Paul Hill concluded a one-week whirlwind tour last week with a major address to the Irish-American Unity Conference in Hartford, Connecticut.

The tour, sponsored by the Guildford Four/Maguire Family Committee, was designed to generate American interest in the cases of those prisoners and the Birmingham Six, whose appeal is currently taking place.

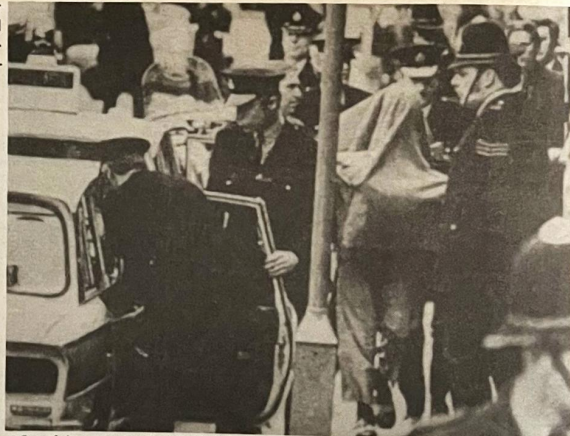
One of the two relatives, Errol Smalley — an Englishman whose father served in the British army — said the incident had shaken his faith in the British judicial system. The Guildford Four, he said, were found guilty of bombings although there was no evidence against them except contradictory confessions extracted by beatings and threats. Nine alibi witnesses were ignored and in fact were threatened with prosecution in order to silence them.

Later, Irish Republican Army Volunteers captured at Balcombe Street, London, claimed responsibility for the bombings and proclaimed the total innocence of the Guildford and Birmingham defendants and the

Maguire family. The IRA were able to provide detailed information that could only have been known to participants. This evidence was never allowed to be heard by a court or considered grounds for a new trial.

### IMPRISONMENT

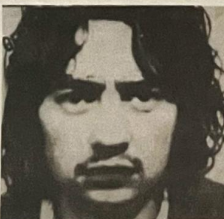
Belfast woman Mary Smalley, another relative, spoke about the brutality inflicted upon the Irish prisoners. The Guildford Four members were beaten both by prison warders and other prisoners at the instigation of the warders. They would be routinely placed in solitary confinement. A practice of 'ghosting' (transferring) prisoners immediately prior to family visits was implemented. She added there was no question but that these Irish victims were innocent, but Britain was prepared to imprison them for life rather than lose face, unless compelled to do so by public pressure. The tour began with



● One of the men accused of the Guildford bombings being led away from a court hearing in 1974

addresses in Rochester and Syracuse which included television coverage. The couple then visited Philadelphia where they addressed the Brehon Society of Lawyers & Judges as well as

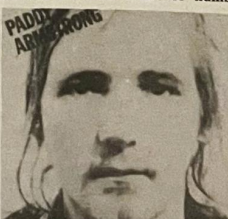
the Federation of Irish prominent jurists, lawyers and journalists also promised to monitor the case. The visit concluded with an address before the Irish-American Unity Conference in Hartford.



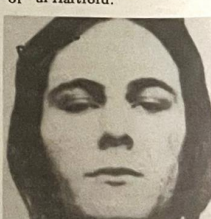
● GERRY CONLON



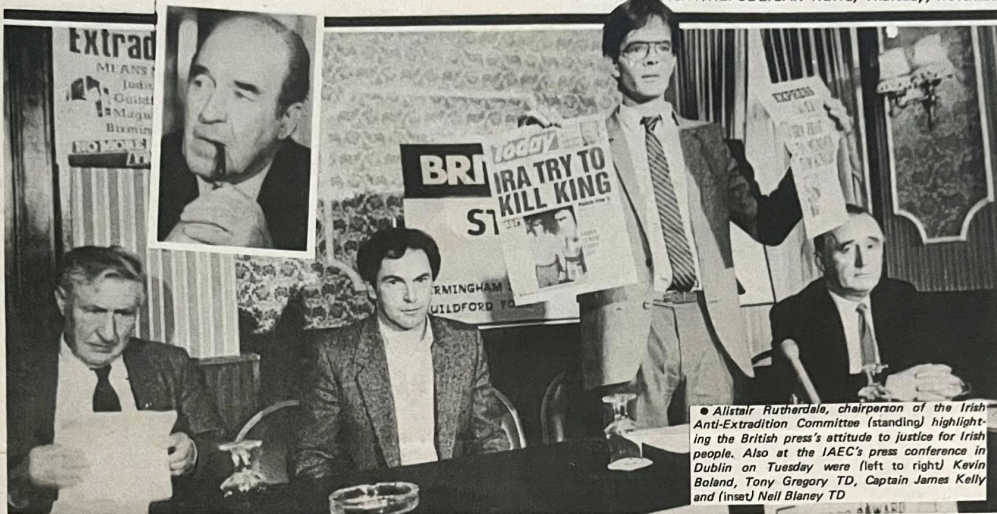
● CAROLE RICHARDSON



● PADDY ARMSTRONG



● PAUL HILL



● Alistair Rutherford, chairperson of the Irish Anti-Extradition Committee (standing) highlighting the British press's attitude to justice for Irish people. Also at the IAEC's press conference in Dublin on Tuesday were (left to right) Kevin Boland, Tony Gregory TD, Captain James Kelly and (inset) Neil Blaney TD

# Crisis for Fianna Fail

BY MAIRIN MacDIARMADA

THE DETERMINATION of the British government to resist even the most superficial and meaningless changes in the Extradition Act has this week deepened Fianna Fail's crisis over the legislation as opposition to it within the party and the country remains largely undiminished despite the Enniskillen bombing.

The emotional aftermath of that event was used by the British government to apply maximum pressure on Fianna Fail. It was widely predicted in the media that the Haughey administration would announce the decision to ratify the Extradition Act to Leinster House on Wednesday. It soon became clear though that opposition from inside Fianna Fail was proving a major obstacle and the announcement, which was being heralded as a certainty at the weekend, was postponed for another week.

The days after Enniskillen saw the pro-extradition lobby in full flight to panic the Dublin government into ratification. Margaret Thatcher, Tom King, RUC chief Jack Hermon and British Labour Party leader Neil Kinnock (who made a special trip to Ireland) all joined in the chorus. They were backed by Fine Gael, Labour, the Progressive Democrats, the Workers' Party and by an overwhelmingly uncritical media, particularly RTE, which totally failed to give coverage to the case

against the Extradition Act (for fear that it would 'jeopardise the Hillsborough Treaty'), one leading RTE television journalist told an Anti-Extradition Committee sponsor).

## POLL MAJORITY SAYS NO

In spite of all this, the strength of opposition to the Fianna Fail sell-out soon made itself felt. On the very weekend of Enniskillen an *Irish Times*/MRBI poll showed that the largest proportion of people polled (43%) wanted the Extradition Act

either scrapped altogether (20%) or postponed (23%). Fianna Fail backbench TDs continued to make their voices heard and it was all this which overshadowed the meetings on Monday of the London-Dublin Inter-Governmental Conference.

While it was stated that extradition had not been discussed at the main session between Tom King and Brian Lenihan it did come up in the 'informal' meeting between King and Haughey. The Fianna Fail government came out of the Dublin meetings without the smallest sop to throw to its opponents. The British, apparently, were not even prepared to give a guarantee about the certification of extradition warrants by their own Attorney-General. This was the latest meaningless 'safeguard' floated and was quickly followed by speculation that Haughey was seeking a further 'safeguard' involving the 26-County Attorney-General certifying warrants.

There can be little doubt that this was a smokescreen, that the Fianna Fail government was ready to announce ratification with or without concession and that it was fear of a party revolt that held them off.

So on Wednesday, instead of announcing ratification in Leinster House, Haughey was facing his parliamentary party and telling them that the Act would have to go through. The next day, Fianna Fail's national executive was due to meet with extradition topping the agenda.

With only 12 days to go before December 1st, Haughey's crisis must be resolved with possibly the future of his government at stake. All now depends on the British giving some paltry concession and on the Fianna Fail leader's ability to sell it to his party.

## FF GRASSROOTS SAYS NO

Speaking at a press conference called by the Irish Anti-Extradition Committee, Captain James Kelly of the Fianna Fail National Executive said the issue "goes to the very base of Fianna Fail" as what he called a "constitutional republican party". He said that opinion in the party was overwhelmingly against the Act. These views had been confirmed throughout the week with backbench deputies led by Hugh Byrne of Wexford voicing the opposition of the grassroots organisation.

Alistair Rutherford (chairperson of the Anti-Extradition Committee) said that certification of warrants by the British Attorney-General was "nonsense" and that "the truth is that the British government will only accept extradition on their terms and not on anyone else's".

"Last December, Mr Dukes said that people extradited would not face interrogation in the North. However, former Northern Secretary, Mr Prior, has been quoted as saying that the RUC could apply 'for extradition to question a suspect rather than to charge him'. In the case of Robert Russell the RUC refused to guarantee that the defendant would not be interrogated. Even the *Irish Law Times* has described previous extradition attempts as fishing expeditions with the gathering of evidence beginning after extradition."

## WHERE IS THE RUC EVIDENCE?

Former Fianna Fail Cabinet Minister Kevin Boland also spoke at the press conference, as did TDs Neil Blaney and Tony Gregory. Blaney said that it was proposed to hand over people to a system that "displayed total maladministration of justice as far as Irish people are concerned". He said that if the British had the evidence against all those they claimed in the 26 Counties, then why had they not been pursued under the Criminal Law Jurisdiction Act? "Where are the warrants, where is the evidence?" he asked. He concluded by calling the Act "the greatest travesty of all time".

Tony Gregory pointed out that it was in Haughey's political interest to please both his unofficial coalition partners in Fine Gael and the British by ratifying the Act. Only opinion within Fianna Fail was now holding him back.

One of those present at the press conference was Sean Sheridan, a founder member of the Fianna Fail party who has supported the anti-extradition campaign.

## CAVAN RALLY

The border town of Belturbet in County Cavan was the venue of an anti-

extradition rally on Sunday, November 15th. In spite of torrential rain, 100 people turned out for the rally which was addressed by Alistair Rutherford, Monaghan Sinn Féin Councillor Pat Treanor, and Donal Carlin of the local committee.

Two more local authorities have called for the setting aside of the Extradition Act. Reflecting the strong opposition in the county, Wexford Fianna Fail succeeded in having a motion against the Act passed at the county council. New Ross Fianna Fail Councillor Jim Walsh said that there were three main reasons for opposing extradition: the administration of justice in the Six Counties, the system in Britain as seen in the Birmingham Six case, and the continuation of partition which he described as "the main argument against". Fine Gael/Labour amendments were defeated and the original motion was passed by 12 votes to 6.

Bantry Town Commissioners in County Cork held a meeting on November 10th at which a motion was passed against the ratification of the Extradition Act. Three Fianna Fail and one Progressive Democrat commissioner supported the resolution.

## MINISTER SAYS NO

A meeting in Nenagh, County Tipperary, was held ten days ago by Fianna Fail Minister Michael O'Kennedy that extradition would not be implemented on December 1st. This message was conveyed by local Fianna Fail Councillor Jimmy Moran who said that O'Kennedy had stated this to a local Fianna Fail cumann. The Nenagh meeting elected a local committee. Also in County Tipperary, at the 17th Branch of the ATGWU called for repeal of the Act recently.

## SIX COUNTIES

The concern of nationalists in the Six Counties about the Extradition Act has been made clear with meetings and other activities being stepped up.

Meetings have been held in the last week in Portadown, County Armagh, and in Queen's University, Belfast. Portadown nationalists sent a letter of protest to Leinster House and all nationalist homes in the town were leafleted. Speaking in the Nelson Mandela Hall in Queen's, Eamonn McCann said:

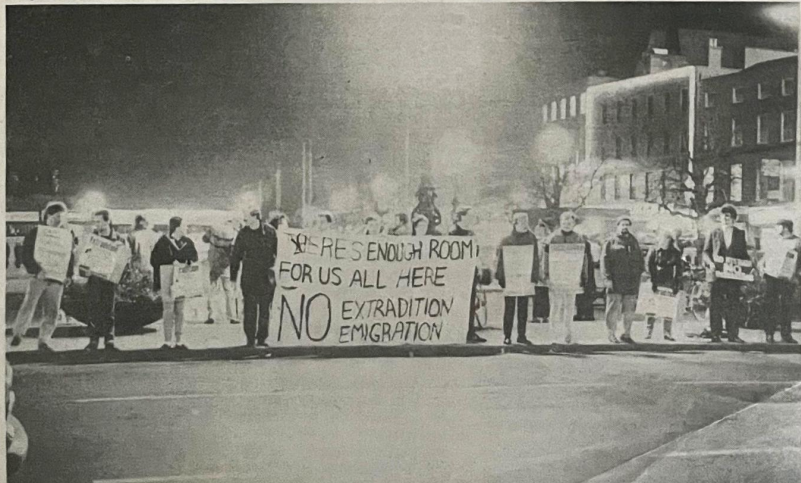
"After the terrible carnage in Enniskillen, it will be hard to get people to consider the facts on extradition. If people had rationally thought of the situation after the carnage in Birmingham in 1974, six innocent people would not have had to suffer 13 years in jail and 80,000 Irish people would not have suffered under the Prevention of Terrorism Act."

## DERRY

In Derry, the anti-extradition committee has called for full support for a march next Saturday, November 21st. The march has the support of the Derry Trades Council and speakers will include John Mitchell of IDATY and Joe Austin of Belfast Sinn Féin. The march commences at 2.30pm from Westland Street to the Guildhall.

A Derry anti-extradition spokesperson said:

"Many Derry people will be put at risk if this Act goes through. We call for a march which will indicate to the Dublin authorities the level of opposition which we believe exists in the city."



● An Anti-Extradition picket on O'Connell Bridge, Dublin on Monday, November 16th

HILLSBOROUGH TWO YEARS ON...HILLSBOROUGH TWO YEARS ON...HILLSBOROUGH TWO YEARS ON...HILLSBOROUGH TWO YEARS ON...

# A BULWARK AGAINST IRISH FREEDOM



BY HILDA MacTHOMAS

**THE HILLSBOROUGH TREATY** is two years old. Last weekend, loyalists marked the anniversary and demonstrated their continued (if less massive) opposition to the Treaty at rallies in Hillsborough, Derry and Dungannon. Claims have been followed by counter-claims about the supposed 'achievements' of Hillsborough. Has it ended the unionist veto? Has it ended the 'nationalist nightmare'? Has it brought Irish unity closer? Any clear-minded assessment of the last two years must begin with a look at the origins.

### THE LEAD-UP

Two years ago last Sunday, an international photo-call took place in the small County Down village of Hillsborough as a treaty was signed by British Premier Margaret Thatcher and her Dublin counterpart, Garret FitzGerald.

For ten months preceding its signature, talks had taken place between the Dublin and London governments which led to much leaking and speculation from the media, anticipation from the SDLP, and trepidation from the unionists. One year before the Hillsborough Treaty was signed, in November 1984, Thatcher had publicly rebuffed the Irish establishment and its Forum Report which asked for Irish unity, or at least an Irish federation, or failing that, joint government of the North by London and Dublin. All three proposals were "Out! Out! Out!" Thatcher announced.

The Dublin Forum (1983-84) had also been a bit of a media circus: public sessions, commissioned reports, open letters, press conferences, what were the bishops going to say, were unionists going to send observers...

Sinn Féin, in spite of a number of recently elected representatives, had not been invited, and there lay a clue to this frenzied, publicity-oriented activity which has occupied the front of the political stage from 1983 till today: encouraged by the electoral results of prisoner candidates during the 1981 hunger-strike, Sinn Féin had embarked on electoral intervention and secured seats.

For years the British propaganda machine put across the lie that the IRA was "a small criminal gang without popular support". The hunger-strikers, at the cost of their lives, smashed the 'criminal' tag the British were branding them with. And continued success for Sinn Féin at the polls smashed the myth of 'no popular support'. The SDLP had lost the initiative, its image reduced to that of a middle-aged, middle-class and middle of the road party. And as the so-called middle ground was under pressure, the British government's

room for manoeuvre in the Six Counties was shrinking rapidly.

### BRITISH MOTIVES

A look at successive British initiatives in the North since they brought in military reinforcements in August 1969 shows that they have constantly worked a three-pronged tactic:

1. Military and legal repression of republicans.
2. Encouraging the pragmatic middle class of both unionist and nationalist communities to share power.
3. Involving Dublin in policing the border and in supporting British initiatives.

The British want to retain some control over their closest neighbour and oldest colony, Ireland. An understanding of this is the key to understanding British policy in Ireland in the last 18 years, and more particularly the Hillsborough Treaty. The reasons why the British want to regain control are economic, strategic and political. Ireland is a market for their industrial output and financial institutions, and a ready supply of English-speaking low-paid workers when they need them. An independent Ireland would be a liability in strategic terms, especially if it was neutral or - even worse - British eyes - non-aligned. And politically, an independent and socialist Ireland would cause ripples in the political life of Britain because of its proximity, its former colonial links and common language (assuming such an Ireland was bilingual). It is Britain's interest to retain control of Ireland or at least to ensure that Ireland remains in the hands of conservative power blocs and that it is linked to NATO on the strategic front, and to the EEC on the economic front. Paradoxically, the safest and cheapest way for Britain to do so is to maintain the border, while ensuring an economy of British lives by handing the reins of 'security' to the RUC and UDR in the North and the Garda and Free State army in the South. That is what cynical phrases such as "the acceptable level of violence" are all about. Having balanced their books, the British found that the lives of a few hundred soldiers are an acceptable

price to pay in pursuance of their objectives.

### IRISH ESTABLISHMENT MOTIVES

Sixty-six years after the 1921 Treaty, the 26 Counties have all the trappings of an independent, industrialised parliamentary democracy, and all the hallmarks of a Third World underdeveloped country. In 66 years, the South has never been run by a labour or even social democratic administration. The alternance of landowner right and populist right supported by a powerful and conservative Catholic hierarchy presided over the formation of an economy relying heavily on foreign investments, with to date the highest unemployment rate and the highest emigration rate of all EEC members.

The Southern political establishment therefore depends on the border for its survival. For decades its Fianna Fail wing managed to keep a tight rein on the aspiration to national unity by verbalising on it while 'standing idly by'.

In 1965, when Lemass visited O'Neill in Stormont, the objective was not to introduce a united Ireland by the back door - as unionists said at the time - but to stabilise the relations between the two states and facilitate economic exchanges. The serious threat to the stability of the Six-County state came probably in the aftermath of Bloody Sunday when irate crowds stormed and burned the British Embassy in Dublin. This was a shock to the Dublin government, as well as the British, and led to serious thinking on both sides.

Since then, successive Dublin governments have, by and large, emulated the three-pronged tactics of the British by passing repressive legislation against republicans, including one barring them totally from RTE radio and television, by supporting power-sharing initiatives, giving financial support to the SDLP, and by assisting with 'security' duties while sometimes making a fuss about it to keep appearances of independence or when they think the British are being 'counter-productive'. And this was accompanied by campaigns of black propaganda aimed at the Republican Movement and insidious revisionism to erode any feelings of sympathy, support or even understanding of what was happening.

In 1981, another groundswell of opinion showed signs of building up in the South because of the hunger-



strike. From that period Garret FitzGerald's ill-fated 'constitutional crusade' was born, and later, when 'nationalist alienation' in the North - a code word for the Sinn Féin vote - showed no sign of abating, the Dublin Forum came about. While the Forum Report was supposed to lead to negotiations with the British about eventual Irish reunification, the self-appointed negotiators disclosed their bottom line in the report. When all three Forum Report options, including the bottom line, were dismissed by the British, Dublin discovered itself another bottom line: a consultative role in the North in exchange for increased collaboration on the 'security' front.

Essentially, the Dublin government's strategy has not changed since November 1985, and this regardless of which administration is in power. What Hillsborough has achieved is that Dublin is now "more consistently and publicly condemning the IRA", as a leaked British Foreign Office document said in January 87. The role of Dublin as intercessor and spokesman on behalf of 'alienated' nationalists of the North has also been recognised by London - better than Sinn Féin, the British decided.

### THE TREATY AND UNITY

Article 1 of the Hillsborough Treaty says that the two governments "declare that, if in the future a majority of the people of Northern Ireland clearly wish for and formally consent to the establishment of a united Ireland, they will introduce and support in the respective parliaments legislation to give effect to that wish".

Much has been made of that Article by the SDLP leader John Hume. It is the proof, Hume says, that Britain

has no interest in remaining in Ireland further than is needed and that it is up to nationalists to convince unionists that their best interests lie in a united Ireland.

The realities of the Six-County state and of unionism belie this claim, the contrived numerical majority of unionists plus 50 years of Stormont rule have institutionalised political and economic injustice in the Six Counties. Apart perhaps from housing, which was removed from the control of local governments in 1969, the economic life and most areas of administration are still dominated by unionists. In particular, despite the setting up of a Fair Employment Agency in 1976, Catholics are still two to three times as likely to be unemployed as Protestants.

The ending of the old Stormont in 1972 removed from the unionists the trappings of self-government - it did not mark the end of unionist hegemony in the state.

In order to maintain their privileged position, unionists need the border: their numerical superiority, encoined position - backed if need be by several thousand armed RUC, UDR and unofficial loyalist militias - ensure the reproduction of the status quo.

That is why unionists have never seriously entertained the idea of integration, that is why they are not so much worried about their Britishness as about consolidating the border. Article 1 of the Hillsborough Treaty, far from removing the unionist veto on Irish unity, enshrines it in an international treaty signed by Dublin. As NIU Minister Brian Mahoney declared in November 1986, "Irish unity has never been so remote." He was only echoing an earlier and at the time controversial statement by Tom King who said that the Treaty showed that Dublin had, "in fact, accepted that for all practical purposes and in perpetuity, there will

ROUGH TWO YEARS ON...HILLSBOROUGH TWO YEARS ON...HILLSBOROUGH TWO YEARS ON...HILLSBOROUGH TWO YEARS ON...HILLSBOROUGH



not be a united Ireland". What the Treaty removes, however, is the unionist veto on reforms brought to London in order to appease nationalists, pending the acceptance by unionists of power-sharing in some shape or form. Whether power-sharing happens depends, of course, on unionists since it cannot happen without them. So far, if the last Official Unionist annual conference is an indication of what unionists are at, it is an overwhelming 'no' for any power-sharing with the SDLP, at least while the Treaty stands.

**UNIONISTS**  
The January 1986 by-elections two months after the signing of the Hillsborough Treaty showed a slump in the Sinn Fein vote to the SDLP's advantage. While that trend was not confirmed by later election results, it showed clearly that Northern nationalists approved of the Treaty and expected changes from it. Their approval and expectations rested mostly on the immediate and massive unionist opposition to Hillsborough.

Yet what have unionists lost? They still have a veto on Irish unity. Their privileged status has not been seriously challenged by any new legislation. Such challenges could only come from adopting comprehensive and affirmative action measures in the employment field, but such measures have been rejected by London. Unionists have complained that some repressive legislation passed by Britain was directed at them, such as the Public Order Order or the removal of the Flags & Emblems

Act. The reality of the latter is that to get an offensive Union Jack removed, one has to make a complaint which has to be referred to the RUC chief constable... As for the Public Order Order, it has already been used extensively against republican demonstrations. Loyalists always filed for their parades anyway, and the Order for them is at most an irritant.

The RUC has proved more than an irritant to loyalists during their marching season, but this predates the Hillsborough Treaty by a few months. Nevertheless, RUC rerouting of some loyalist parades was seen by loyalists as a response to Dublin and SDLP intervention, and resulted in rioting and in hundreds of houses being burned in loyalist areas, some belonging to RUC members, but most belonging to Catholic families. So what's new?

Unionist opposition to the Hillsborough Treaty is directed chiefly at the existence of the Treaty itself, the fact that it makes official Dublin's role in the British strategy of stabilisation of the North, and the presence, symbolic though it may be, of 26-County civil servants in the Maryfield secretariat.

After two years, the unionist anti-Treaty campaign seems to have run out of steam. The Treaty's first anniversary had been marked by a Belfast demonstration as massive as the first one which took place a week after its signing. This year, unionists opted for a lobby of Westminster and smaller demonstrations in three towns in the North. Robinson resigned from the deputy leadership of the DUP, Frank Miller left the OUP altogether, a unionist Task Force Report, which those two had contributed to and which recommends power-sharing with the SDLP, has been shelved by the

two unionist party leaders. Yet what the unionist leadership is doing at the moment — precisely nothing — is enough to prevent London from achieving its immediate objective for the North of a devolved power-sharing administration. In the meantime, the British are concentrating on Dublin's collaboration — soon to include the extradition treaty — on refining their methods of repression and bringing about some minor reforms.

**CROSS-BORDER COLLABORATION**

By the end of this year Dublin will have a new extradition treaty with London. There was never any real doubt that the extradition agreement would be concluded at some stage; the Enniskillen bombing may simply have hastened its conclusion.

Post-Hillsborough collaboration by Dublin included regular consultations between the RUC and the Garda, exchange of intelligence, and joint cross-border surveillance. But Hillsborough did more: it made the Dublin government a junior partner in the strategy of maintenance of British rule in Ireland, politically as well as militarily. Dublin is now quoted by British embassies all over the world as London's ally in any repressive measure it decides to take, all in the name of 'the fight against terrorism'.

And this official collusion of the two states has had another important spin-off: it has got Britain off the hook of the 'Northern Irish problem' on which its image had been severely damaged from Internment to Bloody Sunday to the H-Block hunger-strike. Since the Hillsborough Treaty, Ireland has become a 'dead story' with most of the international media. Northern nationalists are entitled to be sceptical about the recent flurry of media attention that followed the Enniskillen tragedy.

**SYMBOLIC REFORMS**

At the end of October, British direct-ruler Tom King issued his own 'official' list of achievements of the Hillsborough Treaty. It listed the repeal of the Flags & Emblems Act, the Public Order Order (see above), a reform of electoral law and the decision of demolish Divis, Unity and Rossville Flats.

The reform of electoral law he mentions changed the rules of identification for voters. The list of acceptable documents did not include unemployment ID and medical cards, and has, since 1986, proved a hindrance to many working-class and old people in the exercise of their right to vote.

The British plan to further amend electoral law to include a declaration to be made by all future candidates that they will not support "proscribed organisations", a rule directed solely at Sinn Fein candidates.

The decision to demolish high-rise flats may have been discussed at Inter-Governmental Conference meetings. It may have been decided to attribute the move to the Hillsborough Treaty in order to bolster up the SDLP. But it certainly was the result of years of pressure by local housing groups and the fact that those flats were situated in areas where Sinn Fein receives electoral support.

King also mentions changes in the Emergency Powers Act regarding the rules on bail, the right of access to solicitors while in detention, and the end of 'supergrass' trials. The fact is that supergrass trials ended because it became harder to find perjurers who would go the whole way, and because of a campaign by concerned relatives at home and civil liberties groups abroad.

Among the promised reforms which have not materialised, Irish street names are still illegal. Funding was withdrawn from a number of community projects including an Irish-language nursery school. There has been no sign of an increase in Irish language programmes on either BBC or ITV. The UDR, which the SDLP deputy leader Seamus Mallon and past Dublin administrations had clamoured should be disbanded, still patrols the roads of the Six Counties and harasses nationalists. The RUC code of conduct will remain a private document, Diplock courts remain. 'I' voters are still waiting for the right to vote in Six-County elections.

The Diplock courts have recently been at the centre of a controversy between the two governments. While most human rights organisations ask for a return to jury trials, the SDLP and Dublin have made quite a fuss about an increase in the number of judges, a change which would be as symbolic as it would be ineffective. Thatcher's refusal to move on that one gave the proposal an image of being radical, just as unionist opposition to the Treaty had for a while made it attractive in nationalists' eyes.

As for fair employment, the success of the US-based campaign in favour of the MacBride Principles forced the British government to issue last October *A Guide to Fair Employment Practice*, a glossy brochure which Tom King took with him to lobby in the US and which does little more than explain to employers how to apply the existing law, a law which has proved ineffectual in removing discrimination in employment in the last 11 years.

Another change which was floated by the SDLP and church sources at the end of 1985 was the release of some prisoners, including 'those held at the Secretary of State's pleasure' (SOSPs). This has not happened.

The Hillsborough Treaty was heralded by the then Dublin Minister for Foreign Affairs, Peter Barry, as announcing "the end of the nationalist nightmares". In two years, more repressive legislation has been passed. No significant reform has been brought about that would change the lives of nationalists for the better. The Treaty is now perceived by people in the South as having achieved little, as a recent *Sunday Press* opinion poll shows. Northern nationalists, especially those in the most impoverished areas, would agree. The only people to rejoice in the Treaty are to be found in the ranks of the SDLP.

**THE SDLP**

SDLP members are of two kinds: the pragmatic middle-class variety which will go for a reformed Six-County state in which they can get some power, and the moderate nationalist variety, which wants to see an increase in the pace of reforms and an

increase in the Dublin input in the North before it finds the Six-County state acceptable. The first type is much thicker on the ground these days.

Hume plays both styles but mostly none as he has carved himself a niche as 'international statesman' and believes he is the SDLP. Seamus Mallon was the accepted voice of the second type but he also now appears to have developed a pragmatic style. For example, last April, he said approvingly that the "quintessential element" of the Treaty was to "facilitate security forces on both sides". He is no longer to be heard asking for the disbandment of the UDR.

Hume has evolved a stages theory to back up the Treaty: Stage 1 is equality, which should be brought about by reforms; Stage 2, reconciliation or power-sharing; and Stage 3, unity (he means Irish unity). Two years on, Stage 1 has obviously not started yet, much as Hume would like Northern nationalists to believe it has. Meanwhile, the rest of the SDLP has basked in the Hillsborough sun for the last two years, and especially since the January 1986 by-elections. But it is becoming increasingly difficult for the SDLP to show any significant results for its support of Hillsborough. For example, Hume did not produce a list of 'achievements' of the Treaty at this year's conference, unlike last year. It would have been too short! As for the electoral shot in the arm for the SDLP, recent local by-election results in West Belfast suggest it had its limitations.

The SDLP now finds itself having to explain to its base that the Treaty is 'jam tomorrow', that the SDLP will have an input into whatever happens through the Inter-Governmental Conference. But all this is rather thin. The political party which was the main beneficiary of the Treaty now shows signs of growing concern. Two of its so-called 'young lions', Alex Attwood and Adrian Coulton, have left the party executive this month, an indication of some frustration in the grassroots. But all this, both at the lack of progress with the Treaty and with Hume's unaccountability with the party.

**AND NEXT YEAR**

In November 1988, the Hillsborough Treaty comes up for review between the two governments. If inter-party talks have not started by then between unionists and the SDLP, will it be scrapped? Given all the advantages that the Treaty has brought to London, it is unlikely. But the Maryfield secretariat, so vehemently demanded by the SDLP in 1985 as a 'symbol' of Dublin involvement, may have to go, temporarily at least, to placate unionists and allow for talks to start. When that happens, many Northern nationalists will remember the Sunningdale Agreement of 1973, which left as its only tangible reminder the Criminal Law Jurisdiction Act in the South.

Will power-sharing be acceptable to unionists then? Many unionists still remember the days of the Faulkner administration. Many do object to a permanent institutionalised form of power-sharing. Many more object to any change in employment practices. Unionism may no longer be a monolith, but it is as rigid as it ever was. The Hillsborough Treaty may be the last attempt by the British to convince Dublin and the SDLP that it is not. But in two years the moderate unionist leadership which even Hume predicted would emerge has failed to appear.

The success of the British in stemming republican resistance is equally doubtful. The IRA has been more, not less, active since the Treaty was signed. The Sinn Fein vote has not slumped. It is here to stay. If Northern nationalists have proved anything in the last 18 years, it is their grim determination and staying power. This generation will see the struggle through.





Tourist brochure jargon describes Crossmaglen, with a population of 2,000, as a "picturesque village". Of course, it omits details of the bleak and heavily-fortified British army/RUC base which grimly dominates the main square.



cles of the ceiling falling on your face."

The SDLP's Seamus Mallon has speculated that the British Ministry of Defence is considering giving grants for insulation but this, if it ever transpires, is viewed as "very cosmetic and probably too little too late", said Mary Briggs. "A lot of the houses are structurally damaged as it is so it would take thousands to repair them, never mind properly insulate them against such noise." Earlier this year, a local woman won a compensation claim against the MOD for hearing impairments and nerve-related problems caused by low-flying helicopters.

**USING CIVILIANS FOR COVER**

The day-to-day life of local people is one of being stopped and searched by British army patrols. Often they are verbally abused and sometimes physically abused and arrested off the street and taken to the local barracks. But Mary Briggs observed:

"Nobody, not even the children, will look at a British soldier or the RUC. That's that. You can see that the British feel terribly isolated. "When you go into the town for the messages the next thing you'll be in the middle of them and they'll cling to you like a leech. They use you for cover. They are on tenterhooks, you can see it in them, you can see it as they're passing."

She also voiced the fears of local people about the dangers of living in such close proximity to heat-seeking, radioactive surveillance equipment: "If this was any other country there'd be a public outcry. I don't even have to turn a light on in the kitchen because of the red lights from the surveillance equipment."

There is a deep sense of community spirit in Crossmaglen and in the surrounding South Armagh hamlets and villages. Any transgression against an individual of that community by the crown forces is seen as an attack against all. The British presence, their observation posts, hilltop forts, their harassment of the nationalist people and the ongoing destruction of the hills, trees and countryside where they were born is the biggest transgression of all.

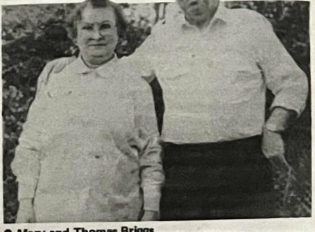
The words of local poet Randall McDonnell speak more than two centuries and are as true today as they were then. He was lamenting the destruction of a tree in historic Creggan churchyard when he called the person who cut it down a "Gall gan cheart ach neart" - "A foreigner with no right but might."



● South Armagh residents protesting at the confiscation of their land and the erection of spy-posts



● Patrick Meegan and Henry McElroy



● Mary and Thomas Briggs

low-flying British army helicopters. The huge Wessex carriers ship in both supplies and military personnel from Bessbrook to outlying bases, under cover units and observation posts. This is their lifeline - they cannot travel the roads of South Armagh as they do elsewhere. Tourist brochure jargon describes Crossmaglen, with a population of 2,000, as a "picturesque village". Of course, it omits details of the bleak and heavily-fortified British army/RUC base which grimly

dominates the main square. In a striking paradox of oppressor vis-a-vis the oppressed, a splendid monument in honour of Ireland's dead looks across the square towards the base. British soldiers with blackened faces patrol in full combat gear. They are landed by helicopter to patrol the countryside and to relieve under-cover units to relieve under-cover units dotted all over the area. They hug the walls of shops and houses in Crossmaglen very tightly. They are nervous and agitated. The two

patrols run the last few yards to the base, their progress scrutinised every inch of the way by the powerful surveillance cameras. The distant drone of a helicopter becomes increasingly louder and from over the rooftops it appears, large and threatening. A massive net of supplies dangles precariously from its belly. The noise is deafening as it hovers over the rooftops and remains there for seemingly endless minutes before it is given the all-clear to land in the base.

bed wire fence cattle loose on Meegan and in the area, sheep and 12 men they were or downed in from low-flying helicopters. British army effect on his worse, no mate- ble say. The onense has e thing worse know what's you anything y the cameras m constantly onomically I'm n't graze my ain fields all ut rid of these ter." PTERS of South Ar- ne unusual if an about the quiet ide being shat- cessive noise of

# Women's work?

BY  
TOM  
ODWYER



FRANK CALLAGHAN, the Amalgamated Engineering Union's divisional officer for Ireland supports discrimination against women. But the sheer bigotry of his remarks this week on the question has actually highlighted the injustices faced by Irish women workers.

The top full-time engineering trade union official in the country wrote to Aer Lingus demanding that the airline should hire no women apprentices. Equality laws in the 26 Counties are fairly ineffective. But Callaghan was using the power of his union to call on a semi-state body to totally disregard these laws.

When Callaghan's letter was raised at an ITGWU women's conference over the weekend and complaints about its contents were made to the ICTU, he followed up one insult with an even more blatant one:

"How can a woman be man's equal when she's taken from Adam's rib?" he asked an amused RTE interviewer while many listeners wondered, "How can a

dinosaur like this become a trade union leader?"

## MEN ONLY

Callaghan's provocative remarks drew attention to the fact that women are excluded from certain better-paid jobs — such as skilled engineering posts in Aer Lingus which he wanted kept for men only. They also showed that certain sections of the trade union movement are quite happy with inequality. Embarrassed executive members of his British-based union assured journalists that the AEU was committed to equality. But they couldn't explain how someone so willing to abuse his position of responsibility ever got there in the first place.

They were deeply worried by the threat of Syl-

via Meehan, chief executive of the Dublin government's Employment Equality Agency, to take legal action over the letter because this might further expose the fact that skilled male trade unionists have done little to defend their sisters.

Women workers are in fact excluded from well-paid jobs and by allowing this to happen male trade unionists aren't doing themselves much of a service. Pay discrimination against women means that the wages of the whole workforce can more easily be kept down. As long as male workers accept low pay for women they're also allowing employers to say: "If you don't accept this pay cut then I'll just get someone else who will!"

Throughout Ireland women occupy the worst-paid jobs. In factories the manufacturing jobs will most likely be for men while the packing jobs will be for women. Wages for cant-

een workers will be far lower than those of the general staff.

A recent case in the Dublin Labour Court involving two workers from Silvercrest Foods at Coolock in Dublin was not unusual. The women, aged

17 and 18 worked for £70 per week but were required by contract to do up to 20 hours' overtime on top of the normal 40-hour week. Exploitation of this type inevitably pulls down the wages of all workers, male and female.

Since 1982 Irish trade unions have adopted policies to fight such low pay. Their demand is for a statutory minimum wage equal to the average industrial income but their "fall-back position" is for 80% of that sum. The sad fact is that unions have in practice "fallen back" to much less than this and that in many jobs this policy must seem little more than a dream. The average earnings of adult women have at no time since then come near the figure which the ICTU set as the minimum.

In 1986 the average earnings for all workers were £182.42 per week while women got £130.29. Congress had decided that its absolute minimum wage was to be £145.93 but most women were getting £15.64 per week less than the rock bottom.

Defending the right of a living wage for women workers may not suit Frank Callaghan but as long as divisions like these remain, his own workers will be all the weaker. Even the relatively well-paid engineers at Aer Lingus are likely to feel the pinch rather soon. Pressure is building up for the privatisation of the company — a move which is almost certain to bring redundancies. His members will need the support of all Irish trade unionists — including women — if that move is to be stopped.

A VOTE IN FAVOUR of the Fianna Fail government's 'National' Recovery Plan at today's (Thursday's) special ICTU conference was never really in doubt as the plan had been heavily backed by the ICTU leadership. But the results of union ballots coming in as AP/RN goes to press show that many trade unionists have deep misgivings about its effects.

The 23,000 members of the ATGWU voted to reject the plan by a margin of 15 to 1 following a call for rejection by the union's executive. The Local Government & Public Services Union's members have accepted it but only by a small majority. The Electoral Trades Union's 10,000 members firmly rejected it. Other unions likely to show substantial votes against the plan were the Association of Scientific, Technical & Managerial Staffs and the building workers' union, UCATT.

The two major unions in the country, the ITGWU and the FWUI, could nearly decide the issue on their own. While the ITGWU decided to keep its results secret until the conference, the FWUI released its voting figures. They show a surprisingly large minority of members were opposed to the deal — although the FWUI leaders emphatically supported it, one third of their members said no.

## FRIGHTENING CLOSURES

A total of 1,270 hospital beds have been closed in voluntary hospitals within the Greater Dublin area under the health cuts. The ITGWU Women's Conference at the weekend was given the details. The list of hospitals makes frightening reading:

Hospitals	Beds closed
St James's	157
Meath	69
Adelaide	37
Harcourt Street	26
St Vincent's	97
Baggot Street	97
Dr Stevens	92
St Michael's	87
Blanchardstown	104

# Predictable result



● Charles Haughey and ITGWU president John Carroll have something to smile about as the special ICTU conference looks set to adopt the 'National' Recovery Plan aimed at further eroding working people's living standards

Mater	70
Jervis Street	33
St Laurence's	64
Temple Street	70
(and 20 more due to close)	
Crumlin	66
Rotunda	7
Coombe	21
(13 cots for sick babies closed)	
Rehab Hospital	44
St Luke's	36
(Cervical smear testing suspended)	
Eye & Ear	66
Cappagh	32

## COUNCIL JOBS TO GO

Wexford County Council has announced cuts of 14% this year on top of last year's 10% drop in its budget. Clerical and outdoor staff will lose 63 posts and 16 of the council's 24 lorries are being taken off the road.

Twelve lorry drivers have been offered work on the road maintenance until the end of the year and the council's machinery yard is to be closed down. The rural refuse service in the county is to be phased out.

In spite of the loss of council jobs, the county council is allowing private contractors access to the lucrative contracts for road development funded by the EEC.

## TOBACCO JOBS BLOW

Two further blows to Irish employment were announced on Monday, November 16th, when Carroll's, the tobacco company, and Irish Shell, the local subsidiary of the Anglo-Dutch multinational, reported they were seeking a total of 225 redundancies.

Carroll's is seeking 140 redundan-

cies and will transfer almost all the remaining 600 staff to Dundalk, its centre of operations.

The decision by Irish Shell to cut its workforce by a third to 215 is in some ways more ominous. Throughout the world the tobacco industry is declining as health consciousness and cigarette taxation increase side-by-side. One of the reasons given by Irish Shell for its job cuts was "falling oil demand". Oil is the basis of all economic development and if the oil companies expect a drop in demand that means they also expect that more people will lose their jobs.

Job losses will affect staff at the company's eight plants in the 26 Counties despite the £25 million it has recently spent in improving facilities.

# FUEL POVERTY CRISIS

JUST WEEKS after the Sinn Fein Ard-Fheis supported a comprehensive paper on Fuel Poverty in the North, new evidence has been published exposing the inadequacy of welfare benefits in meeting fuel costs.

In this month's edition of *Scope* magazine, which is published by the Northern Ireland Council for Voluntary Action, an article by Sean Stitt entitled *Lack of Money Main Fuel Poverty Problem* reveals that "as another winter approaches, a growing number of pensioners in Northern Ireland will freeze to death, young children and infants will suffer from serious cold-related illnesses and will possibly die, families will go to bed

early in order to keep warm, fuel supplies will be disconnected".

The article examines the amount of money allocated by the DHSS within benefits to cover fuel costs. It is generally referred to as the National Fuel Element or NFE. Stitt compares the NFE and its ability to meet the fuel needs of claimants with estimates released by the Energy Efficiency Office of the Department of Energy, which presents "amounts which they say are neces-

ary to heat different types of homes".

In a clear effort to minimise the NFE within benefits, the DHSS calculates it "from data obtained from the Family Expenditure Survey (FES) on the average expenditure on fuel by all pensioner households".

Pensioners spend less on fuel than any other social groups, largely because they try to avoid debt.

#### NFE ADEQUATE

On the basis of EEO information, an average four-person household living on supplementary benefit and using electricity will spend around £17.02 each week. A similar household using solid fuel would spend £17.36, while oil central



● Failure to tackle fuel poverty will condemn more people to death from cold and ill health

heating would cost around £23.79. The National Fuel Element allows only £8.85.

Commenting on the article, Sinn Fein Councillor Pat Rice pointed out that the abolishing of supplementary benefit in April and its

replacement by income support and the Social Fund will mean even less assistance for those at risk:

"Sinn Fein's recently-agreed policy paper on the issue recognises the gravity and the scale of the problem

and has proposed a series of measures, including increased benefits and the scrapping of the Payment of Debt Act. Failure to tackle fuel poverty will condemn more people to death from cold, ill health and debt."



● The River Mourne flooding Strabane on October 22nd

## NOT ENOUGH!

WHILE MANY FAMILIES in Strabane are still trying to clear up the damage caused by severe flooding several weeks ago, Sinn Fein Councillor Ivan Barr has described as a "mere pittance" the £57,400 that the European Commission have decided to pay "to help the victims of the recent flooding".

The border town of Strabane in West Tyrone was devastated when the River Mourne broke through a retaining wall on October 22nd, sending a torrent of water pouring into the town. The force of the deluge was such that doors and windows in houses were smashed open and furniture destroyed as it was flung off walls.

Several people were lucky

to escape with their lives when the flood water quickly rose, in some places to a depth of eight feet.

Apart from the damage done to household items, like cookers, washing machines, televisions and fridges as well as furniture, many houses, which were originally built in the nineteenth century have suffered structural damage. An additional problem for many is that they either own their

own homes or are tenants of a private landlord and therefore face difficulty getting damage repaired. Poor insurance cover also means that many families will not be able to replace lost or damaged property.

Councillor Barr, reacting angrily to the announcement of EEC funding, said:

"A percentage of this money will go to the voluntary agencies to replace finance they have already used, leaving the 300 families in Strabane with a mere £100 each. Twenty-five families living in the rural part of the district will receive nothing."



DRUG-PUSHERS were given an ultimatum to get out of Ballymun in Dublin last week when over 500 people showed their will to rid the community of the drugs menace.

Hundreds of people gathered in the shopping centre on Wednesday night, November 12th, for a meeting called by the Concerned Parents Against Drugs. Six known drug-pushers were called forward to answer the charges against them. Two of the pushers, Paschal Boland and Christy Morrison,

were previously evicted from Finglas for their activities. Both denied they were involved in the drugs trade but this was refuted by the evidence of local people who reported seeing known addicts and pushers entering and leaving the Ballymun flat into which they moved after leaving Finglas.

It was stated that other pushers were using their flat and the meeting ended with Boland, Morrison and five other pushers being told to get out. The people then marched on the Boland/Morrison flat. The pushers' refusal to go resulted in their furniture being turfed out of a seventh floor window of the flats by the angry crowd.

Earlier, local Concerned Parents activist Niall Donnelly had

vowed that the people of Ballymun would "return again and again until all pushers are rooted out". He said that drugs are one of the main problems afflicting Ballymun and that pushers who had been evicted from other areas had moved into flats and there had been a steady traffic of drugs as a result.

#### WORKERS' PARTY ABUSE

In what was seen as a clear

reference to the Workers' Party TD for the area, Proinsias de Rossa, who had attempted to stifle militant CPAD activity, Donnelly said that "the only input from elected representatives has been abuse".

Other speakers including John "Whacker" Humphries, Dan Connolly and Bill Stacey echoed Donnelly's views and promised to give full support to the people of Ballymun in their continuing successful fight against drugs.

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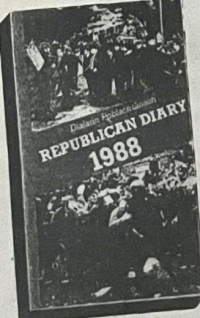
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## ENNIKILLEN TRAGEDY

A Chairde, Remembrance Sunday, Enniskillen. Yes, let us not forget. Let us not forget the British media's cynical opportunism in trying to exploit this tragedy for cheap propaganda, after having carefully ignored the real causes of the greater tragedy of the North of Ireland. A fascist state is a state in which the ruling classes arm a lumpen section of the proletariat in order to resist demands for greater democracy. The definition could have been written for the North of Ireland, which has now been an affront to decency for 65 years.

Let us not forget a ruthless profiteering Prime Minister Thatcher trying to score cheap points, while forgetting that she casually ordained the death of 700 Argentinian seamen, sent in their obsolete battleship to an icy grave in the winter Atlantic.

Let us not forget a sycophantic "leader" of the Opposition, who, by consistently refusing to make any comment on the underlying reality of the North of Ireland, has forfeited the right to respect or trust.

Let us not forget that British leaders have offered no word of apology or regret for the deaths of innocent Irish people at the hands of their forces; for the wrongful conviction and imprisonment of Irish people; for the kangaroo courts in which Irish people receive savage sentences on ludicrous evidence for trumped-up charges.

The British, with childish arrogance, are suddenly keen to talk about Northern Ireland. It is a pity they have not been so keen to listen for the sixty-five years that that insult to humanity and justice has existed. It is a pity that when they do talk they talk only to unionist politicians, whose bizarrely narrow vision has been allowed to pervert Anglo-Irish relations for too long.

The colonialist activities of the British have brought nothing but tragedy to Ireland, just as they brought tragedy to Aden, Cyprus, Kenya, Zimbabwe, South Africa, Fiji and India. Their presence only makes things worse - in God's name, go!

A Newlove, Belgium.

A Chairde, I am writing in response to an international appeal by the mouthpiece of the British military, Margaret Thatcher, when on Australian television she requested that overseas groups which support the Irish Republican Movement stop forthwith after the Enniskillen tragedy. May I, through your newspaper, inform the British government and its military, and all the rest of the collaborators in both civilian and clerical garb, that we shall redouble our efforts in support of the Irish Republican Movement and shall maintain that support until the Irish people are rid of British imperialism and are allowed to determine their own destiny.

We admire the honesty of the Irish Republican Movement in accepting and apologising for the loss of civilian lives, unlike the British who decorate the captain of the British submarine which killed 450 young Argentinian sailors and also the commander of the Parachute Regiment which murdered 14 civilians on Bloody Sunday in Derry.

We salute all in the Irish Republican Movement and pledge our continuing support. Jimmy Irvine, Australia.

A Chairde, This is a sad day for Ireland indeed. In one single act, members of the Republican Movement, of which I am a member, have made a dreadful mistake and have, in one single act, done more to hurt the future aims of our movement on which we pin our hopes.

The death of innocent civilians grieves us all, especially us who know the horror of war, but their deaths must not be in vain. They must be shown as the continued harm and trouble inflicted upon Ireland by the continued presence of the British forces in Ireland.

We must never allow this to happen again. We cannot afford to jeopardise our future through careless acts. We must not fall into this situation again. Why give excuses to those who have none.

Yesterday I was a republican. Today I am a republican and tomorrow I will be a republican, for the struggle must go on. Although this bomb not only injured civilian bystanders but also the hopes and ideals of many people, we must renew our commitment by seeing that this never happens again. Let us not become the imitators of those we oppose.

Aodhan de Paor.

## BUY-A-BRICK

A Chairde, I would be very grateful if you would allow me space in your column to inform your readers about the new buy-a-brick building appeal campaign which has just been launched by Naonora na Fuiseoige in Belfast.

Naonora na Fuiseoige was set up in 1984, to act as an Irish-language pre-school playgroup in the greater Twinbrook/Poleglass area of West Belfast. Our aim has been to involve the whole community in our project and both Irish- and English-speaking children attend the playgroup.

However, since opening we have had to operate out of a temporary and cramped accommodation which has meant that we have had to limit the numbers of children in the group to 20. Our first premises was a back room in the local community association's community flat.

After a period we then moved into a changing room in a local leisure centre and now we have temporary use of a local hall kindly lent to us by local priests. However, it has always been obvious to us that we would eventually need our own permanent premises so that all children in the area who wish may be able to attend the playgroup.

Up to now we've raised several thousand pounds towards the cost of a new building and have acquired a plot of land. We hope to have

our new building erected by September 1988 but to do this we still need to raise at least another £15,000. We received no financial assistance from the government and have thus had to depend on the generosity of the local community to keep going up to now.

As I'm sure your readers are aware, the West Belfast area is noted for its high unemployment rates (80% in Twinbrook) and high levels of social-economic deprivation. It is for this reason that we have launched our buy-a-brick campaign in order to broaden our appeal. We appeal to your readers to consider helping us so that we can improve the life chances of our children, and at the same time provide the next generation with an opportunity to speak and practice their native language.

Marie Flynn, Naonora na Fuiseoige, 33 Paic na Coille, An Poll Glas, Beal Feirste.

## FIGHT THE CUTS

A Chairde, The right-wing, monetarist Fianna Fail government, following the example of its Fianna Fail Labour predecessor and with the support of the Progressive Democrats, has targeted local government and the health service for public spending cutbacks, the impact of which is being felt very severely in County Wexford.

During September, the Fianna Fail Environment Minister, Pádraig Flynn, wrote to Wexford County Manager Noel Dillon informing him that the central government subvention to Wexford County Council was being cut by 14% on last year's figure, which in turn represented a 10% cut on the previous year, but that more would be forthcoming to fund redundancy proposals. At present, Wexford County Council has an accumulated debt of £1.2 million.

In response, Wexford County Council circualised its workforce, informing them of the possibility of redundancies, and have met in committee to draw up plans to shed 63 jobs, both clerical and outdoor.

Sixteen lorries out of a total of 24 lorries and four refuse trucks are to be de-commissioned and 12 lorry drivers are being offered road work employment only to the end of this year. The council's machinery yard is to be closed down, but the refuse service is to be phased out.

These cutbacks and job losses are taking place against a backdrop of EEC funds being diverted by Wexford County Council to private contractors for road development, much to the annoyance and consternation of workers.

In the health service, the closure of the public geriatric hospital in Enniscorthy, Brownwood, and the dispersion of their patients has made way for the proliferation of private nursing homes.

There are already six registered private nursing homes in the county. These are to be joined soon by two more - one in Barnown, the other in Kilmore - and two more are at the planning stage. Indeed, Brownwood itself is about to undergo the change from public geriatric hospital to private nursing home.

Most County Wexford homes charge between £110 and £150 per week, depending on the type of bed the patient children in the area who wish may be able to attend the playgroup.

The South-Eastern Health Board which has cut back on its funding of the public part

of the health service continues to subsidise 67 beds in these homes at a cost of £6.45 per day.

County Wexford Sinn Fein has issued a statement condemning the cutbacks and the policies of Wexford County Council and the SEHB. It says: Whereas the Fianna Fail government bears primary responsibility for administering cutbacks, the help provided by local administration and the SEHB makes these bodies equally culpable.

The preparedness of the SEHB to subsidise beds in private nursing homes while taking funds out of the public health care service is a scandal. This fact and the proliferation of private nursing homes prove one thing - health care is being converted from a right of everyone into a luxury that only the rich can afford.

Likewise, the preparedness of local administration to consider redundancy for council workers while giving contracts to private firms is symptomatic of the general privatisation by stealth process.

Sinn Fein calls for monies to be diverted away from cross-border collaboration with the British oppressor, the introduction of a wealth tax, and an increase in capital and corporate taxes to pay for proper public services including a free, comprehensive health service.

We call on the local authority and SEHB to work towards this end by making the necessary demands on government, by refusing to proceed with redundancies or cutbacks, and invest existing funds in the public service.

Sean Cullen, PRO, Wexford Sinn Fein Comhairle Ceantair.

## FLJI

A Chairde, I always read your feature *World Views*, and mostly I find it well-informed and interesting. Views on the Gulf War were particularly good, as also those on the Falklands/Malvinas conflict some years ago.

But I must disagree with the article entitled *Sandhurst Racist Rules* in a recent issue. Not only is this heading perjorative but so also are other references to the native Fijians. For instance: "Rabuka announced a racist constitution... The racist Taukei movement... (Rabuka) trained with the elite of the British army at Sandhurst," etc.

I would like to ask your contributor whether it is racist to aim at maintaining a native culture. Because, if so, we are wrong in the Six Counties to maintain our native language and culture, just because through military might and a policy of extermination and plantation, the British forced us into a minority position as it has done in the case of Fiji where slave labour was imported by Britain from India in the past hundred years. Is the Taukei movement racist because it wants the supremacy of Melanesian culture in its own country? After all, there is no fear of Indian national identity with its population of 700 million.

(As regards Rabuka having been trained by the British army, so were great Irishmen in the present century, like Major John MacBride, Tom Barry, etc.)

Incidentally, as far as I am aware there has never been any suggestion by the Indian majority community in Fiji of breaking links with the crown and Commonwealth, which Rabuka seems quite prepared to do (before Fiji was expelled, that is).

It so happens that in neighbouring New Caledonia the Melanesians (Kanaka) have

been forced by a French policy of encouraging settlement by French colonists of these islands into the same minority position. Does anyone suggest that the Kanaka should over a period of time become assimilated by the French? The Kanaka want an independent ethnic republic and are being compelled to resort to physical force to attain that aim because, for them, voting has become irrelevant.

The opposite of course can also hold true. Though unassimilated Indians form a majority of Ecuador, Guatemala Peru and Bolivia, nevertheless their languages and cultures have no standing and are subordinated to Spanish colonial culture.

I think we should be careful of making a sacred cow of either democracy or the counting of heads. It all depends on circumstances. Meantime, I hope we will continue to have the benefit of your correspondent's usually well-informed contributions.

Port Cinnsealach.

## APOLGY

A Chairde, In an article headlined *Coercion* (AP/RN, November 12th) you correctly report my son John's public apology for his involvement in damaging the Whiterock Community Centre.

What he did was very wrong and I do not attempt to defend his behaviour. However, unfortunately the article gives the impression that he was also involved in the attack which caused so much damage to the inside of the premises.

John smashed windows and for this he has apologised to his community and he has agreed to pay the costs of the damage he has stupidly caused. He was not involved in the incident in which so much damage was caused.

What John did was bad and wrong. I would appeal to other parents who have similar problems with their children to help prevent them from getting into trouble and hurting their own people. Thank you for printing this letter. Danny Mallon, Belfast.

## NO CONNECTION

A Chairde, Recent issues of *An Phoblacht/Republican News* have been carrying letters on the subject of the Revolutionary Communist Party/Irish Freedom Movement (RCP/IFM) and their book *The Irish War*.

In order to clear up any confusion, the editorial board of the Glasgow-based, pro-republican newspaper *Ireland's War* wish to make it clear that the newspaper *Ireland's War* has no connection, and indeed has never had any connection whatsoever with the Trotskyist grouping, the RCP/IFM, or its publication, *The Irish War*.

The newspaper *Ireland's War* gives its full support to the Irish Republican Movement and wishes you well in your just struggle against British imperialism.

Kirstin Coakley, Editorial Board, *Ireland's War*, Scotland.

ALL LETTERS should be clearly written or typed, double-spaced (one line of space between each line of writing), and on one side of the paper only.

Please try and keep your letters as short as possible. Names and addresses must be included, even when not for publication.

# REVIEWS

## MEDIA

### Church organs

BY JOE GABRIEL

THE *SUNDAY WORLD* is perhaps the only publication originating on this island for which the journalists use their organs to write what they have to say. Draped casually around the semi-naked bodies of women are the words of wisdom from such greats of Irish life as Gay Byrne, Fr Brian D'Arcy, Micheline McCormack, and so forth. Thus "a little bit of religion" is faced with a little bit of titillation. It would appear that sex is constantly on the minds of most of those who write for the *World*. And why wouldn't it? After all, it is part of what we are.

But I would pose just one interesting question. And that is in relation to Brian D'Arcy. When I've seen him on TV or heard him on the radio, he always seemed... well, such a nice man. And the question is this; What's a nice guy like him doing in a place like that? It may be that he is engaged on some deep counter-espionage work for his church, and we therefore wish him well. If, however, it emerges that he's only in it for the money, I think we should be told. If that is the case, he should make his excuses... and so on.

Bertie Ahern is a Fianna Fail TD. Bertie Ahern gave an interview to a community-based magazine called *The Bru*. *The Bru* is a publication put together by people who have a genuine concern for the heart of the Inner City of Dublin. The latest threat to the Inner City comes in the form of a proposed financial centre. This centre is intended to make Ireland one of the major locat-

ions for foreign capital in Europe. During the course of the interview, Bertie had the following to say: "We have lost 43 industries in the last seven or eight years because of the security. The IDA is finding it impossible to get people into the new centre up above (Gardiner Street) and some of the docks industries are in danger of pulling out."

The bottom line, according to Bertie, is that the people of the area have driven industry out. He also stated that he wasn't having any of that 'ol' shit' about people not having an opportunity. Bertie is nothing if not outspoken... and wrong.

It was a pleasant surprise, therefore, when Bertie made an appearance on *Day by Day* (RTE Radio 1) last Tuesday. By now, of course, Bertie had revised his opinion somewhat, and he also claimed that the interview had been taken out of context. It was nice to hear him squirm and wriggle his way around the unputdownable John Bowman.

Sometimes, just some-



times, it's nice to have Mr Bowman there.

**LEGION OF THE REARGUARD CHARGES**  
Isn't Charlie Haughey the great man all the same? Isn't he the cute hoor?

His latest dodge is to charge the Fianna Fail

party faithful a fiver for the privilege of seeing him at their annual Ard-Fheis.

Let's see now how much that will raise for the coffers. Take the total number of Fianna Fail delegates, subtract the numbers who are due to resign over the Extradition debacle, add to that the

numbers who have already quit over health cuts, education cuts, U-turns, codology and general slyness, and that leaves a grand total... My God. That just leaves Charlie and Lenihan and a few of the lads in the bunker. Civilisation (as we know it) must surely crumble.

## MUSIC

### Talent and style

BY ALEX WEST

MARY BLACK'S LATEST album, *By the time it gets dark*, has just been released for the Christmas market, and it keeps up with the high standards that she has set for herself. The songs are well-chosen and the production is very stylish.

The album is dedicated to Declan Sinnott, the ex-Moving Hearts guitarist who has played a great part in bringing Mary Black to her position as one of Ireland's top-selling performers today. Sinnott not only plays on every track on the record, but he also produced it, and there can be no doubt that he has done an excellent job.

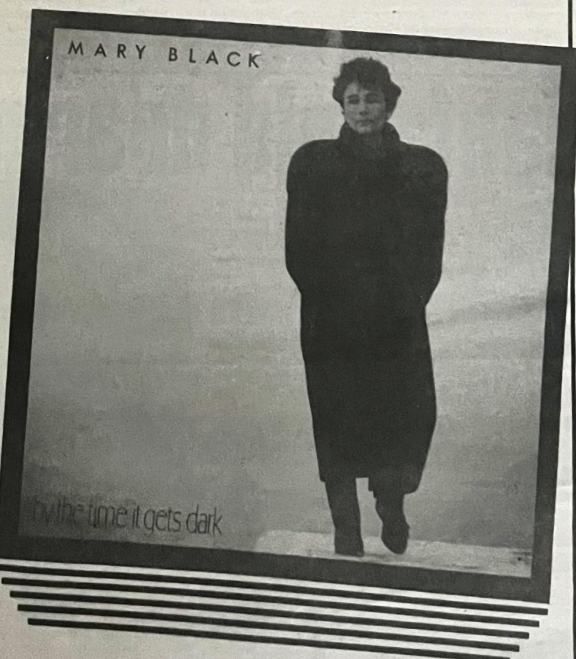
Black and Sinnott are joined by Pat Crowley on piano and Noel Bridgeman on percussion, two very talented musicians, with Mandy Murphy, who accompanied Freddie White at the Self-Aid gig, on backing vocals.

Made up in the main of new material, the al-

bum displays the talent of Irish songwriters. Jimmy McCarthy's *Katie*, already released as a single, Noel Brazil's *Sparks might fly* - to my mind the best song on the album with its easy changes of tempo - and two songs from Johnny Duhane are fine examples of the promise that Irish music holds.

Overall, the album is a pleasure to listen to and of the same calibre that we've had from Mary Black up to now. It's not going to set the world on fire, but you could do a lot worse than to find it in your Christmas stocking.

By the time it gets dark is priced IR£6.99 and is available on both record and cassette.



## IMEACHTAI

IRISH ANTI-EXTRADITION CAMPAIGN PUBLIC MEETINGS

Friday 20th November  
Speakers: Adrian Hardiman & Garret Sheehan  
UCG Law Society  
GALWAY

Saturday 21st November  
Speakers: Joe Austin & John Mitchell  
March to Guildhall  
DERRY

MID-KERRY SINN FEIN Comhairle Ceantair AGM  
8pm Thursday 19th November  
Benner's Hotel  
TRALEE

SOCIAL NIGHT  
Featuring guest artists  
Friday 20th November  
No. 5 Blessington Street  
DUBLIN  
Organised by  
Rathfarnham Sinn Fein

EDDIE CARMODY COMMEMORATION  
8pm Friday 20th November  
BALLYLONGFORD  
County Kerry

PUB QUIZ  
Saturday 21st November  
The Bird Flanagan  
Fisher  
DUBLIN  
Proceeds to the  
Irish Anti-Extradition Campaign

CONFERENCE ON STRIP AND BODY SEARCHES OF IRISH WOMEN  
7.30pm Saturday 21st November  
Small Hall  
Camden Centre  
Bidborough Street  
LONDON

MANCHESTER MARTYRS COMMEMORATION  
2.30pm Sunday 22nd November  
Assemble Elk Bar, Newbridge  
March to  
TOOME  
County Antrim

BALLAD SESSION  
Music by Johnny and Enda  
Sunday 22nd November  
Whelan's Lounge  
BALLYROAN  
County Laois  
Tails 1  
In aid of the  
Irish Anti-Extradition Campaign

CONFERENCE ON MACBRIDE PRINCIPLES  
Speakers: Kevin MacNamara, John Carroll (ITGWU), Inez McCormack, Noreen Green (ITGWU), Ken Livingstone and John MacBride  
Saturday 28th November  
The Camden Centre  
Bidborough Street  
LONDON  
England  
Organised by the  
Labour Committee on Ireland

CHARLIE KERINS COMMEMORATION  
7.30pm Friday 4th December  
Assemble Denny Street  
TRALEE  
County Kerry

CONFERENCE ON STRIP-SEARCHING  
10am-5pm Saturday 5th December  
Lambeth Town Hall  
Brixton Hill  
LONDON  
England  
Organised by the London Strategic Policy Committee & the Association of London Authorities

WELCOME HOME DANCE  
(for Paddy Boyle)  
Music by Sealpin  
Speaker: Cyril MacCurtain  
9pm Thursday 17th December  
Benner's Hotel  
TRALEE  
County Kerry

# CAMDEN SAYS IRISH OUT

CAMDEN Borough Council in North London is repatriating Irish people against their will. Homeless Irish emigrants and those in the council's temporary accommodation are told when they apply for council housing that because of cutbacks they must return to Ireland.

British local authorities have a legal duty to provide housing for all, but under new legislation an authority can refuse to house people who have newly arrived in its area from another part of Britain on the grounds that housing is available in their home area. Someone who arrives in Camden from Cardiff may be refused housing in London but cannot be left homeless if they return to Cardiff.

The same rules don't apply for emigrants as British law can't ensure housing in Dublin or Dhacca. The Camden Labour councillors, who owe their election at least partly to the votes of thousands of Irish people, have reluctantly agreed to house emigrants from all countries... except Ireland.

## OUTRAGEOUS

Ken Livingstone, MP for a neighbouring area, said the decision by Camden Labour Council was "outrageous" and many Irish community groups have strongly protested. On Monday, November 18th, 400 Irish people and Labour supporters picketed a meeting of the Labour councillors which decided to go ahead with the racist policy. Eleven of the councillors opposed the policy and intend to split the Labour vote at the next council meeting on December 9th.

Angela Birrell, spokesperson for the 11 Labour rebel councillors, told AP/RN: "Camden Council is imposing its own Immigration Act aimed principally at Irish people. This is even worse than what Tory councils have done."

# WORLD VIEW

## Frontline against apartheid



UNITA mercenaries who are backed by the South African and US governments

HUGE SOUTH AFRICAN and United States involvement in the Angolan civil war was expected by the country's president, Jose Eduardo dos Santos, on Sunday as the revolutionary government continued a major military offensive against UNITA mercenaries. The war is causing major problems for the apartheid regime at home.

Dos Santos told a meeting of the Frontline States in Luanda, Zambia's capital, that there are more than 3,000 South African troops in his country with a further 30,000 waiting along the border with Namibia. These forces are the backbone of the UNITA army which holds a substantial portion of Angola's underpopulated south.

The Frontline States (Angola, Mozambique, Botswana, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe) have united to defend themselves against South African aggression and to support the liberation struggle of the ANC. Each of the six countries suffers directly from South Africa's dominant role in the region.

Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda also condemned US military aid to UNITA which includes Stinger anti-aircraft weapons and anti-tank missiles. Kaunda accused the Reagan government of trying to "create a new Korea" by splitting Angola in half between UNITA and the revolutionary government.

In order to defend their country, the Angolans have been forced to rely partly on military assistance from Cuba and the Soviet Union. Washington has used this as an excuse for resuming military aid last year to the counter-

revolutionary forces after a ten-year break.

Increasing white South African army (SADF) casualties have begun to shake the self-confidence of apartheid supporters. Front-page stories in Johannesburg newspapers on the casualties show rising concern and have forced government ministers to visit troops stationed in Angola as a propaganda stunt.

There is also a growing movement among young whites against the war. The End Conscription Campaign (ECC) aims to persuade the 58,000 white youths who face the call-up each year to refuse to join the SADF. ECC members face beatings, death threats and slander but their campaign is beginning to bite. Around 7,500 men failed to report for duty in 1985 and many of these were consciously refusing to die for apartheid.

# Mozambique Massacre

TANINGA is 48 miles north of Maputo, the capital of Mozambique and is an important staging post on the country's main north-south road. On October 29th it was the scene of a massacre by South African-backed bandits which left over 278 people dead and 100 wounded.



Women returning home after a MNR attack

Two civilian convoys, one travelling north and the other south, met in the town and were attacked by the Mozambique National Resistance (MNR), an organisation funded, organised and directed by South Africa in its struggle to destabilise the post-colonial nations on its doorstep. Around 80 vehicles were destroyed in the ambush and travellers were forced to flee as guns raked their buses.

The government of President Joaquim Chissano accused South Africans of "indiscriminate slaughter of men, women and children" and of attempting to cut off the capital from the rest of the country. The apartheid regime hopes to weaken opposition within its own borders by escalating the civil war and famine it has brought to Mozambique.

The day before the ambush at Taninga, the MNR sabotaged the rail link between Maputo and Swaziland and earlier in the month it blew up a railway bridge on the route to South Africa. Two weeks before the Taninga massacre, 53 people had been killed in the same area.

The Mozambique government is organising local defence groups to fight the MNR as the country's poverty means that its defence forces are unable to protect its vast borders. Joaquim Chissano addressed a series of meetings throughout the country to persuade communities to join up. "I don't want to lead the people," he said at one of the meetings. "I want to be part of my people directing its own destiny."

## Shot on sight

AS BANGLADESHI opposition forces continued their "hartal" (all-out strike) this week, the military-backed government of Hossain Mohammed Ershad threatened to shoot demonstrators on sight. After a week of protests aimed at bringing down Ershad's government, the hartal ended on Tuesday, November 17th, with a mass rally. Over 5,000 activists, including Begum Khaleda Zia and Sheikh Hasina Wazed (the two main opposition leaders), were jailed as protests grew in all the major towns. Despite their im-

prisonment, the two women continue to direct the hartal and described the mass protests as "a complete success".

In 1982, Ershad, then an army general, seized power in what may be the world's poorest nation. Last year he 'retired' from the army and staged a mock general election after which he was announced president. A broadly-based opposition alliance timed the present protests to coincide with the anniversary of Ershad's 'civilian rule'. Over 100 people have been injured since the start of the hartal and 12 have been killed.

# Ní dhéanfaimid dearmad oraibh

**RAYMOND, comrádaí le Oglach Eddie Mac Sheffrey a fuair bás le Oglach Paddy Deery i nDoire ar an 28 Meán Fómhair, a scríobh an alt seo thíos. Cuireann an scríobhneoir, atá ina chime i mBloc H4 na Ceise Fada, síos ar a chara a fuair bás ar son saoirse.**

CASADH ORM Eddie Mc Sheffrey i dtéach a mháthair in aice le McCann's Fish Shop sa bhliain 1973. Bhog a chlann ansin de bharr pléasc anabái ina gcéad teach in Acaid Drumcliff.

Fuair beirt Oglach bás an lá sin, John Brady agus Jimmy Carr. Bhí an-damáiste déanta don teach. 14 bliana d'aois a bhí ag Eddie ach tá a fhios againn gur mhílte leis míse ag rá go raibh cumaíocht 11 bliana d'aois air. Níorbh eacshrannach é leis an chrústaín a tháinig leis an choimhlínt. Cháit a ghearradh aida afa faoi ghlas i cCasanna na Ceise Fada. I 1973 bhí sé ag fanacht ar triail i bproiasín Bhaile Feirste. Uair dúirt Felim O'Hagan

ag magadh liom nár thug sé mionn ar son Oglaidh na hÉireann ach gur báisteadh ann é. Tá an abairt seo crochta go deas ag ghuaislí Eddie. Níl an fhéinne ar lámh againn cathain ar chuelg sé isteach i nGluaiseacht na Poblaíochta (tá sé seo ag daoine éile) ach a rá go raibh sé an ois 6ige.

### MAC A ATHAIR

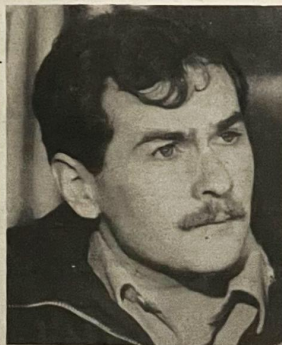
I gcáil fir ba dheis-mhianach agus díoghrhaile é. I

bhfocal eile thiofadh leis troid thada ríghin a dhéanamh. Tá a fhios againn freisin go mbeadh bród air agus ar a athair an rud seo a rá faoi - ba mhac a athair é. Thiofadh liom sáchtraf a chur i gcúimhne daoibh faoin bhfeir, faoina chuid tionsú. Déanfadh rud amháin é sin. Tháinig sé as pléasc Inar chaili sé a chomrád Charles English. Bhí Eddie gearthaite go dona. Níorbh leighdeadh a fhonn chun troid ar son mhuintir na hÉireann. Is leor sin a rá.

Chuaigh sé istigh i bpríosúin i 1976. Bhí sé 17 bliana d'aois. Bhí sé ar na hOglach a rinne garda onóra ag sóradáil Brian Coyle. In iomaí sílte tig liom Brian a fhéicéil in Eddie agus a mháthair go cruinn. Mar sin féin ní raibh cuma colp eatarthu. Ba ollmhór an fear Brian, ba chaoil curtha Eddie.

### ÁR NEART

Cailleadh Brian Coyle mar fear óg; a cuid saothair a thug Eddie dúinn tuigimíd ar gcaillínt. Anois tá Eddie agus Paddy Deery cailite againn ach



• OGLACH EDDIE MCSHEFFREY



• OGLACH PADDY DEERY

as bhealach céanna tá buachaill agus cailíní eile mar Brian, Eddie agus Paddy sásta a gcuid saothair don tír seo a thabhairt. Is é seo ár neart.

Ní raibh ach aithne shúil againn ar Paddy, ach a chom-

radáí, tá mo chroí le do bhean is le bhur bpáistí óga. An míneach a tháispéin sibh in bhur saolta tá bhur gclanna a léamúint anois. Is breá an sampla a léirigh mna na hÉireann dúinn i rith na

coimhlínite. Thug Mary agus Collette sampla eile le déanaí. Tugaim ómós don bheirt agaibh, ní dhéanfaimid muidne dearmad oraibh a Eddie is a Phaddy. Beir bus againn a chomrádaíthe.

# He led by example

HEADED by a civilian colour party and the St Patrick's Youth Band, almost 100 people marched to St Patrick's Church, Cullyhanna, on Sunday morning, November 15th, to commemorate the 14th anniversary of the death of Volunteer Michael McVerry, who was fatally injured during an attack on Keady Barracks in 1973.

After 11.30am Mass, over 200 people assembled at the McVerry burial plot in the adjoining cemetery. A wreath was laid on behalf of the Republican Movement and a moving oration was delivered by Dugganonn Sinn Fein Councillor Francie Molloy.

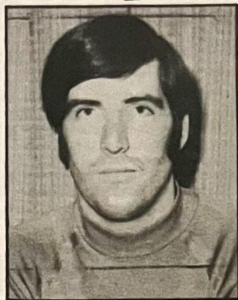
### COMMENT

Francie paid tribute to Volunteer McVerry's courage and commitment, pointing out that, having been injured, he could have stood back with honour

but he did not do so and continued to lead by example until his death. Francie spoke of "the abuse by our opponents of people's genuine sympathy after Enniskillen" and, pointing to the large number of British soldiers partially hidden in nearby hedge-rows, described them as "the real terrorists in our country".

Among those who attended were Volunteer McVerry's sister, Carmel, her husband, Gerry, and their children.

The ceremony concluded with the playing of *Amhrán na bhFiann*.



● VOL MICHAEL McVERRY



● PETER CASSIDY



● JAMES FISHER



● RICHARD TWOHIG



● JOHN GAFFNEY

## REMEMBERING THE PAST RANK AND FILE VOLUNTEERS

BY PETER O'ROURKE

DURING THE WINTER of 1922, in addition to its policy of murder and internment, the Free State government began the systematic execution of republicans.

In September of that year, Richard Mulcahy, as Minister of Defence, introduced in the pro-Treaty parliament the Army Emergency Powers Act, which proposed the setting up of secret, military courts with powers to pass the death sentence.

The "courts" were to have power to try any person charged with aiding or abetting an attack on the Free State forces, with damaging property, with being in unauthorised possession of arms or ammunition or committing a breach of "any general order or regulation made by the army authorities", and to inflict punishment of fine, imprisonment, deportation or death.

Despite strong opposition from the Labour Party led by Thomas Johnson who denounced its in-

roduction as amounting to establishing a military dictatorship, the act was passed by 47 votes to 15.

The Free State government's actions were backed by the Irish Catholic hierarchy, who had earlier individually condemned the 1916 Rising and the Tan War. Collectively they had refused to recognise the First Dail Eireann, but they had rallied immediately to the support of the new 26-County Free State.

Following a meeting at Maynooth in early October they issued a Joint Pastoral Letter in which resistance to the Free State government was once more condemned; and the war, on the republican side, was described as "morally only a system of murder and assassination of the national forces".

On the day that Erskine Childers (who was soon to be shot while his sentence was being appealed to a higher court) was being tried by the military court, it was announced that the first four republican prisoners, rank and file members of the IRA, had been executed in Dublin.

They were James Fisher, Richard Twohig, Peter Cassidy and John Gaffney, who had been found guilty of possession of revolvers.

Kevin O'Higgins, the Minister of Home Affairs, explaining to the Free State parliament why unknown IRA Volunteers had been executed first, said:

"If they took as their first case some man who was outstandingly active and outstandingly wicked in his activities the unfortunate dupes throughout the country might say that he was killed because he was a leader, because he was an Englishman (a reference to Childers), or because he combined with others to commit raids."

Altogether, between November 1922 and the end of the Civil War in May 1923, 77 republicans were executed by the Free State forces, almost twice as many as those executed by the British between the years 1916 to 1921.

The first four were executed by firing squad in Kilmainham Jail on November 17th, 1922 - 65 years ago this week.

## NDIL CHUIMHNE

**BRADY, Paddy** (3rd Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Paddy Brady (Sinn Féin), who was murdered by loyalist gunmen on November 16th 1984. "They may kill the revolutionary, but never the revolution." Always remembered by his friends and comrades in the Republican Movement.

**BRADY, Paddy** (3rd Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of my dear husband Paddy Brady, who was assassinated on November 16th 1984. RIP, Mary Queen of the Gael, pray for him. Always remembered by his loving wife Mary and daughter Patricia and Frances.

**BRADY, Paddy** (3rd Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of my dear brother Paddy Brady, who was assassinated by a loyalist murder-gang on November 16th 1984. Always remembered by his brother Martin (Albany).

**BRADY, Paddy** (3rd Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of my friend Paddy Brady, who was murdered on November 16th 1984. Always remembered by his friend and comrade Paul Holmes (Durham).

**BRADY, Paddy** (3rd Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of our friend and comrade Paddy Brady (Sinn Féin), who was assassinated by a loyalist murder-gang on November 16th 1984. Always remembered by Belfast Sinn Féin Comhairle Linn Léir.

**BRADY, Paddy** (3rd Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of our friend and comrade Paddy Brady (Sinn Féin), who was assassinated on November 16th 1984. Always remembered by Lár na bhFián Sinn Féin (Beeshmountain/St James'), Belfast.

**BRADY, Paddy** (3rd Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of our friend and comrade Paddy Brady, who was murdered by loyalist assassins on November 16th 1984. "They may kill the revolutionary, but never the revolution." Always remembered by Donagh and Robin. **BRADY, Paddy** (3rd Anniversary).

In proud and loving memory of our comrade Paddy Brady (Sinn Féin), who was murdered by the UDA on November 16th 1984. Always remembered by the POWs in Long Lartin Prison, England.

**BRADY, Paddy** (3rd Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Paddy Brady, Sinn Féin, who was assassinated by loyalist gunmen on November 16th 1984. Always remembered by the Martin Forsythe Sinn Féin Cumann, Rathfarnham.

**CROSSEY, Michael** (16th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol Michael Crossey, who was killed in an accidental explosion while on active service on November 22nd 1971. I measc laochra na nGael go raibh sé. Always remembered by his friends and comrades in the North Armagh Battalion.

**LAVERY, Charles** (3rd Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Charlie Lavery, who died on November 18th 1984. I measc laochra na nGael go raibh a nam. Always remembered by Upper Bann Sinn Féin Comhairle Cantair.

**LAVERY, Charles** (3rd Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Charlie Lavery, who died on November 18th 1984. I measc laochra na nGael go raibh a nam usail nam. Always remembered by our thoughts and prayers. In our friends and comrades in Hurston Court, Lurgan, Armagh and Bann.

**MCVERRY, Michael** (14th Anniversary). In proud and loving memory of Vol Michael McVerry, South Armagh Brigade, Colliagh, Hill-eann, who was killed in action on November 15th 1973. "They rose in dark and evil days to fight their native land. They kindled there a living blaze that nothing can withstand. With comrades brave he trod the path of Emmet and Wolfe Tone; their dream was his, he only fought for one great cause. Always remembered by Aidraibh Michael and Sean O'Caiste, the Crossmaglen Patriots' Republican Flute Band, Wistow, Scotland.

## COMHBHRÓN

**DEERY, McSHEFFREY**. Deepest sympathy extended to the families and friends of Paddy Deery and Eddie McSheffrey, who were killed in action on October 28th. Gone but not forgotten. From George Doherty and John McDevitt (H-Blocks), Nilly, Derry city, and Paul Lynch, Dublin.

**DEERY, McSHEFFREY**. Deepest sympathy is extended to the families, friends and comrades of Vol Paddy Deery and Eddie McSheffrey, who were killed in action on October 28th. "Life comes from death and from the graves of patriot men and women spring living nations." - P.H. Pearse. Always remembered by Dids, Frankie and all at Kildrum Gardens.

**HARDY**. Deepest sympathy is extended to Leonard and Basil, and the complete family circle, on the death of their father Patrick, from Brian.

**HARDY**. Deepest sympathy is extended to Leonard and Basil, and the entire family circle, on the death of their father Patrick, from Goose, Eugene, Tommy and Martin (Portlaoise).

**HARDY**. Deepest sympathy to Leonard 'Hardy' on the death of his

father. From Seamus and Mary Mc Loughlin.

**HARDY**. Deepest sympathy is extended to Leonard on the death of his father. From Seamus Gibson and family.

**HARDY**. Deepest sympathy is extended to Leonard (Portlaoise) on the recent death. From Frankie, Eleanor and family.

**MCCARTHY**. Deepest sympathy to the McCarthy family on the death of Mrs McCarthy. From the Casement/Noan Sinn Féin Cumann, Dun Laoghaire.

**MCCARTHY**. The Dún Laoghaire Sinn Féin Comhairle Cantair extends deepest sympathy to the family and friends of Mrs McCarthy, who died recently.

**MAGUIRE**. Deepest sympathy is extended to Leonard, Basil, and the Maguire family on the death of Colm. From Stephen (Gartree) and Jutta.

## BUÍOCHAS

**MULQUEEN**. We would like to thank Sinn Féin for the support they gave us in organising a benefit dance recently. From Mr and Mrs Mulqueen.

## SEANNACHTAÍ

**CROSSEY, Arthur** (Portlaoise). Happy birthday Art. Put yours on pause. From Daborrah and Brendan.

**CROSSEY, Arthur** (Portlaoise). All our very best wishes. From Colette and Dessie.

**CROSSEY, Arthur** (Portlaoise). Happy birthday Art. There's a pint waiting for you in your corner. Best of luck from Jim and Pat; love also from Conall. It's how you see that counts. Always in our hearts. From James and Brendan.

**CROSSEY, Arthur** (Portlaoise). See you soon. All the best. Ernie.

**CROSSEY, Arthur** (Portlaoise). Happy birthday Arthur. Always thinking of you. From Ted, Super, Taxi, Mary and Bob.

**DOHERTY, Sean** (Crumlin Road). Always thinking of you Sean from Michael, Maureen, Sean and Neil. **QUIGLEY, Francis** (Portlaoise). Happy birthday Henry. Keeping the red flag well wrapped. From Brian. **QUIGLEY, Francis** (Portlaoise). Breithis go duit a thollán. Ag dul in aois go fóill Henry. Caw, caw ón Iathríd féir.

## CHRISTMAS GREETINGS

ALL GREETINGS to republican prisoners in the Christmas edition of AP/RN must reach our Belfast or Dublin offices no later than 5pm on Thursday, December 3rd.

Due to restrictions of space, we may have to shorten or combine greetings to individual prisoners so that all greetings received can be included. Please bear this in mind when writing out your messages. There is no charge for greetings insertions but all donations to either An Cumann Cabhrach or Green Cross, the prisoners welfare organisations, would be gratefully received.



OUT NOW! STOP STRIP SEARCHING

A new and up-dated edition of the *Stop the Strip Searching* booklet is now available.

The new edition includes a statistical breakdown of the strip-searches carried out in Armagh Jail and in Maghaberry, a list of the supporters of the campaign, as well evidence of the physiological effects of strip-searching on women, the history of strip-searching and what a strip-search is.

Copies are available from the usual outlets. 70p each.



# THE FLYING COLUMN

**FORTY-NINE HEAVILY-ARMED** Garda Special Branch men, backed up by a large number of Free State army troops, swooped on the Holy Ghost Fathers' theology faculty and residence, Kimmage Manor, in Dublin last Friday.

The gardai launched the dawn raid when almost the entire community was attending daily Mass, and the 20 students and 40 elderly, retired priests were made to run a gauntlet of sub-machine guns as they came out from the chapel.

Three armed men burst into the room of the community's 93-year-old retired bishop and began interrogating him. He was, naturally, confused about why these people were in his bedroom and is still badly shaken by the ordeal.

The raiding party had search warrants and claimed, predictably enough, that they were 'acting on a tip off' and were looking for renegade criminal Deslie O'Hare.

When scholastic priests were unable to find the key to one room in the building, several Special Branch officers levelled their Israeli Uzi machine pistols at the door and demanded that it be opened. In the end a caretaker had to be fetched from Griffith Avenue, several miles away, to try to find a key.

Nothing was discovered by the Garda gang.

police 'acting on information received about terrorist activities'. Recently, when Whelan moved to a new house in East London, he was astounded to learn that all of his new neighbours had been visited by detectives investigating his past: "It's true that I'm Irish and I often play the part of a terrorist, but being spied on because of the characters I play is crazy."



Read all about it! Bono in US vandal scandal after Welsh love tussle is ripped in the bud... Snnoooooz

of the British army along the border, but the last week has seen a new question added to the Brits' list.

Locals crossing the border at Swanlinbar/Derrylin are now being asked not only their name, address, destination, date of birth, etc, but also, 'Will you contribute to the Enniskillen bomb-victims' fund?'

Many of those who refused to hand their cash over to the British soldiers, who hold an SLR in one hand and a collection tin in the other, have found themselves under immediate suspicion, with their cars gone through in a very thorough fashion.

**A 26-YEAR-OLD** British soldier who was injured when his Land Rover overturned near Lisnakea last Thursday, November 12th, died later in hospital.

**PARISHIONERS** at St Mary's Church, Bellaghy, County Derry, were treated not only to hearing the Catholic bishops' vitriolic, anti-republican pastoral letter, but seeing it too. The church provided Mass-goers with an A4-sized leaflet with the entire front page dedicated to a tirade against 'violence', including the full text of the letter.

But on the reverse side of the leaflet is a list of parish events and meetings including one advertising... the Ballynease Gun Club.

**AND FIANNA FAIL'S** Jim Geraghty, who sits on Dublin County Council, got a surprise last Sunday when about 30 Garda Special Branch officers, armed with sub-machine guns took over his house in Rush, County Dublin.

Claiming they were 'acting on a tip-off' they rooted through the house for up to an hour. Councillor Geraghty said he was not shown a search warrant and "in the confusion and fright I did not think to ask for one". His wife and two children were described as terrified by the Garda action.

He has demanded an apology from the Minister for Justice.

**OCCUPATIONAL HAZARDS.** The inability to distinguish between fact and fiction is not just limited to the Harriers.

Irish actor Gary Whelan, who played Inspector Rich in the BBC soap *EastEnders*, is better known for his numerous acting roles as an 'Irish terrorist'. This has brought him to the unwelcome attention of the ever-vigilant British Special Branch (I've seen 'im before, gov'nor! He's an IRA man!).

After the Brighton bombing, Whelan was hauled off an Irish-bound ferry by the Special Branch and interrogated for hours until his innocence was established. Since then he has been frequently interviewed by the

**ESCAPE IS IMPOSSIBLE.** No matter which newspaper you read, which television channel you watch, which radio station you listen to, the wave is ineluctable.

Yes folks, what Bono had for breakfast, Bono's latest mundane record, Bono's latest solution to the world's problems. Last week saw the release of an entire book about Bono and we also heard that Bono is to be taken to court in San Francisco for a little bit of wanton vandalism. During an impromptu open-air gig he sprayed an ornamental fountain with paint. To make matters worse, the artist who created the fountain told the press that he didn't mind it being vandalised!

"Bono shot in the bot!" was the headline in a recent *Evening Press*. The man who wrote the U2 book, one-time Millwall soccer supremo Eamon Dunphy, revealed that Bono went to Wales to meet a girlfriend but was met instead by her new boyfriend, who shot Our Hero with an air-gun in the backside.

Now that's what I call an Unforgettable Fire! Eamon Dunphy is 42.

**PEOPLE FROM THE Fermanagh/Cavan** area have never looked forward to the routine harassment by members

**WHEN DAY-SHIFT** workers at Irish Steel's Haulbowline plant arrived in for work last Monday morning they discovered two huge hydraulic lorries crashed through the steel fence which divides the factory from the Free State naval base.

Rumours spread that two Norwegian sailors who had been at the steel plant the previous evening with a scrap boat were responsible for the joy-riding, but Slags Systems boss Bobby Cann, who owns the trucks, has been approached by a naval officer who told him that the Department of Defence will cover the damage.

It is now understood that two drunken Free State naval officers mistook the bright yellow lorries for hovercrafts and tried to drive them into the sea. Had they not been stopped by the wall they would have been the first Irish sailors to use submarines - and yellow ones at that!

## DÚIRI SIAD



There is no reason to doubt the sincerity of the expressions of regret made by Sinn Féin, the IRA's political wing, over the murder of 11 people at the Enniskillen Remembrance Day ceremony. No tactical or strategic objective is served by it; and the overwhelming objective, to retain the support of a substantial part of the nationalist community, has been badly damaged.

- The British political weekly, *New Statesman*.

According to Dr Sydney Elliot, senior lecturer in politics at Queen's University, Belfast, the Anglo-Irish Agreement, designed in part to undermine Sinn Féin, has failed to do so...

"People say their vote has gone down since Hillsborough, but there's no evidence of that," he said.

- The pro-Thatcher *Sunday Telegraph*.

In August 1976, after a clash between the [British] army and the IRA, a car skidded out of control and killed three children. This led to the formation of the Peace People... which aroused great enthusiasm - for a time. But it could get no leverage on politics here, nor could it grapple with the causes of the conflict.

- *Sunday Telegraph*.

That is one reason for having contacts with the ANC - to seek to persuade them that violence is not the right approach.

- British Foreign Office Minister Lynda Chalker, whose colleagues still refuse to meet Irish republicans.

