



ANTI-INTERNMENT NEWS No4

Bulletin of the Anti-Internment League 3p at least

Why direct rule?

'DIRECT RULE' is a desperate gamble made by a despairing government. No one should imagine that a defeated Tory government is any more generous than one which has the upper hand.

The sole advantage of 'Direct Rule' to the Tories is that in the short term it has given them added flexibility in their handling of the Northern Ireland situation. They have abolished Stormont. This pleases anyone involved in opposition politics in Northern Ireland. It has also fooled some fairly predictable figures into accepting that the Tory party has become a reforming force in Ireland overnight. Jack Lynch and Harold Wilson have backed Whitelaw; Hume and Cardinal Conway have called for peace on Whitelaw's terms. We should be suitably warned: on every previous occasion when these four have called for peace their advice has proved misguided and disastrous. Now once again they greet a false dawn.

'Direct Rule' involved no element of reform. William Whitelaw is described as Minister of State for Ulster—it would be more apt to describe him as Colonial Secretary for Britain's last colony. He enjoys all the dictatorial powers of previous Colonial Secretaries—with the potential for repression that implies. Stormont is abolished, but the draconian legislation of that discredited parliament lives on and is now exercised directly by the British government.

Stop-gap

Whitelaw's armoury at present consists of a smokescreen of bribery and bromides. As the smoke clears two things become evident. Whitelaw is ultimately determined to restore law and order. Secondly, although the present form of 'Direct Rule' is only a temporary stop-gap, no other more permanent settlement acceptable to the British government is acceptable in the Six Counties. Time will run out quickly and that is the situation which the Anti-Internment League must prepare for.

Some internees have been released but 100 men have been detained under the Special Powers Act. Men acquitted in the courts are still being detained under the Special Powers Act as they leave court, witness the cases of Patrick McGashin on 19 April and George Burt on 26 April. The army have to some extent reduced pressure on the Catholic ghettos — but they murdered Jo McCann in cold blood in the Markets and on 21 April they forcibly occupied the Divis Towers Flats.

The Widgery Tribunal, with its white-wash for murder, gives a fair indication of government thinking. Lord Hailsham is just one government minister (responsible for legal matters) who talks of 'the baboons of the IRA.'

The RUC is still busily engaged in assassination and torture under the liberal Mr Whitelaw.

Perhaps we should treat these army and RUC excesses as aberrations carried out by brutalised men. What does Mr Whitelaw himself say: On 21 April referring to the no-go

areas he said 'I'm not going to cause unnecessary loss of life.' But added 'This doesn't mean the problem isn't going to be solved—it is.' Two days later he was telling us 'I am encouraged by the increased co-operation the community is giving to the RUC.'

Mr Whitelaw may be living in a fool's paradise. He may believe that the no-go areas will voluntarily disappear. He may believe that the people of these areas will welcome the RUC once more and repeat the experiment of October '69. If he does believe this he is a fool. On the other hand his present liberal posture may be designed simply to sow confusion and lower the state of readiness of the people in these areas—to make it easier to smash the IRA militarily and occupy the areas when the time is ripe. Either way conflict will come.

Towrope

The implicit contradictions in what Mr Whitelaw is saying are bad enough. What is worse for the Tories is that they have no permanent solution to the problem. The Rev Ian Paisley and a growing number of Unionist leaders support complete integration. This is not acceptable to either major party at Westminster. Whatever they may pretend, they see continuing instability in Northern Ireland and believe that if the area were fully integrated with the rest of the UK it could cause major political problems. Far better to keep the North on a towrope: if it causes intolerable difficulty the rope can be cut.

The Tories are at present engaged in dressing up 'the czar of Ulster' Mr Whitelaw, with some of the trappings of democracy—some kind of consultative council or 'duma'. The Tories by abolishing Stormont have given themselves flexibility in the short term, but they have smashed the Orange Unionist machine which worked within the community for them. They have to attempt to create a new structure. But today no one—protestant or catholic—in the Six Counties can any longer believe that they have representative politics.

BRIBERY

THE FIRST Lord Barrington was created in 1801, the year of the Act of Union. No coincidence this for the first Lord Barrington was an MP in the Irish Parliament. He accepted the bribe of a peerage to vote for the Act of Union. Little wonder that the descendant of such a traitor should turn out to be a butcher.

Just as bribery was used to cement the first Act of Union so also Tories today are busy bribing to give their new Act of Union some credibility. Robin Chichester-Clark, opposed Direct Rule and made it clear that he was not prepared to serve Whitelaw. A week later he was a junior minister at £6,000 a year having changed his tune.

Whitelaw has announced a £70 million development programme for Derry. Something of a trick this, mainly a re-announcement of monies already allocated. Harland and Wolff is to get £40 million—£4,000 per existing employee, an expensive way of buying off the Protestant backlash.

Although the new investment far exceeds the capital value of the company, Harland and Wolff will remain a private company, and private shareholders who own 51 per cent of the shares may well be the long term beneficiaries. Among impoverished Ulstermen expected to benefit is that well known lover of Greek liberty, Mr Aristotle Onassis.

Even wholesale bribery is not expected to purchase for Mr Whitelaw the unstinted loyalty of more than a few local businessmen.

Release the internees Withdraw the troops

Since direct rule a new mood of pungent self criticism has swept Unionist ranks. Out of power they exercise a new magnanimity to their former opponents. Roy Bradford, on Ulster Television, said there had been 'a lack of boldness' over the years. As a gesture they could have made 'a Nationalist deputy Lord Mayor of Derry.' He might have added that if Derry had not been 'disgracefully gerrymandered' no Unionist would have been Lord Mayor of Derry, and indeed there would have been no need to abolish that corrupt council in 1969.

TORTURE CONTINUES

TWO OF the internees interrogated in depth in August of last year, Sean McKenna aged 42 and James Auld aged 21, have had serious nervous breakdowns. Sean McKenna has been in the hospital at Long Kesh since March: 'He shakes continually and now finds it difficult to articulate sentences. He complains of severe headaches and of recurring nightmares about being surrounded and attacked by groups of men.' Jim Auld collapsed last week, was hospitalised and when he left collapsed again. 'He shudders spasmodically and complains of violent headaches, insomnia.

The treatment these men received—Jim Auld was made to stand in a stress position, while hooded, against a wall for 43^{1/2} hours — was described by Compton as 'ill-treatment' not torture. Now Whitelaw has set up an instant enquiry to whitewash the latest series of torture incidents.

The *Sunday Times* has investigated 10 allegations of torture since the introduction of Direct Rule. Mr Whitelaw has set up an enquiry to investigate one case, that of 24 year old John Carlin of Waterside, Derry. He was arrested on 25 April and alleges that he was tortured for 36 hours. Amongst the methods used was to shove a broom-handle up his anus twice. Medical evidence confirms his account.

Massive bruising

More horrifying still was the experience of three men arrested in West Belfast on 20 April. When they appeared in court two days later two of them collapsed. The police doctor said that they were fit to travel to Armagh jail. At Armagh jail the prison doctor refused to admit them and ordered that they be taken straight to hospital. All have massive bruising in particular round the scrotum. The oldest man claims that his penis was penetrated with some instrument, a second man claims that he was dragged along the floor by his genitals. All three have injuries consistent with their allegations. One has had to have a metal plate inserted into his arm as a result of his injuries.

Even a hardened judiciary is becoming sickened by the spectacle of injured and disfigured prisoners being dragged into the dock. The *Sunday Times* comments, 'Since January at least six major cases, ranging from explosions to the shooting of soldiers have collapsed.' Confessions obtained from suspects in circumstances giving rise to these allegations are now commonly held by High Court judges in Belfast to be inadmissible as evidence, because the crown has not proved they were given voluntarily.

The latest case was on 4 May when Mr Justice O'Donnell ruled out a confession because there was clear evidence that the defendant had cigarette burn marks on his legs.

Random brutality

More and more civilians are pressing successful claims against both the police and army for injuries received in incidents of random brutality, or in the course of arrest, or while being held in custody. On 13 April Thomas Irwin, a member of the UDR, received £5,000 damages for injuries he received when beaten up at a road block by members of the Duke of Wellington Regiment. As a result of his injuries he had to have an operation for the removal of a testicle.

On 26 April Noel McIlvenna received £2,250 damages for head injuries he received from two RUC men. He is now deaf in one ear. The judge described him as the victim of 'an unlawful attack'.

The following day nine internees and



seven former internees received £3,900 damages for injuries suffered at the time of their detention. The Government did not even fight the case and the damages were agreed out of court — and yet Compton said there was no brutality!

Again and again the courts have to hear tales of savagery about the troops. At the inquest on 16-year-old Martin McShane from Coalisland, the officer who shot him did not give evidence but a statement from him was read out. McShane was observed carrying something in a field in the twilight. The officer 'had fired a burst of thirty shots from a machine gun from a distance of from 15 to 18 feet, and had continued firing until he saw the approaching figure fall.' McShane was hit by eight bullets. The officer was only 15 feet away — one might have thought he would have looked at the man he shot—but he went away although there was no evidence of anyone nearby in a position to attack him. So the army case is that when *they* had run away, IRA men came up to remove McShane's gun.

New whitewash

So now we are to have an inquiry into the ill-treatment of Carlin. John Hume has welcomed this as another sign of Whitelaw's reforming zeal: Carlin was arrested under a detention order from Whitelaw. We have had Compton and Widgery, both of which Hume condemned as a whitewash—now he welcomes a new whitewash exercise.

With daily incidents of this kind what kind of interpretation can we read into Whitelaw's remark 'I am encouraged by the increased co-operation the community is giving to the RUC.'

The Labour

LABOUR PARTY hypocrisy knows no bounds. Ian Aitken of the *Guardian* was talking to Michael Foot the other day. Foot was angry because Labour had just failed to defeat the government on a series of amendments to the common market legislation. Aitken commented 'Among the scapegoats were the three Irish Catholic members, Mr Fitt, Mr McManus, and Miss Devlin. Labour MPs are particularly bitter about the defections of these three political waifs who have consistently relied on the Labour Party for support on Irish affairs.'

Charade

Let's look at the record. Internment without trial was introduced in August '71. Mr Callaghan said he did not oppose it. By October constituency pressure forced the Labour leaders to ask for an emergency debate. They went through the charade unwillingly. When the vote came — a vote on the policy of outright repression — a vote on the principle of opening concentration camps — what was the principled stand taken by the Labour leadership — Foot included? It was to abstain.

Insult

Some left-wing Labour MPs were pushed into the mild mannered Labour Committee Against Internment. A body which opposed internment and called for 'fair' trials for internees. This fell apart at the seams. Suggestions that the Labour Party should send an independent commission to Long Kesh and demand admittance were greeted with horror. Eventually these 'radicals' went on an all-party visit. One came out and told reporters that he had 'urged the men to play a full part in the political life of Northern Ireland', an insult to men imprisoned without trial which equalled the cruder comments of Tory hacks present.

Army recruit

GEOFFREY JOHNSON SMITH is Under-Secretary of State for Defence. He went to America in the week after the introduction of internment to tell lies about the situation in Northern Ireland, no one believed him. Since then he has frequently been engaged in crude government PR exercises about the role of the army in Ireland.

On one recent occasion he told the truth. Asked about army recruiting he said: 'I would be embarrassed to admit that I had joined through patriotism. Or, if I now, in urging people to join, talked about sacrifice for the country, they would probably sick up.'

Geoffrey Johnston Smith was talking about recruitment to the Territorial Army, but what he said about it applies to the army in general. Soldiers are no longer recruited to fight 'a just war'. Army recruiting propaganda today concentrates on the personal inadequacies of potential recruits. It concentrates on their material problems.

Geoffrey Johnston Smith explains how a young man in a dull job can have 'a feeling of insignificance and inadequacy. But if he

Party record

Northern Ireland. The Act, passed in record time, extended the powers of the Stormont government even beyond those contained in the Government of Ireland Act of 1949 (passed by a Labour Government). When Bernadette Devlin scoured the Labour ranks for a teller to oppose the motion she could find no-one - not Foot, not O'Halloran, not Paul Rose not anybody.

In March it was discovered that all army operations in Northern Ireland carried out under the Special Powers Act up to that date had been illegal. Labour MPs to a man rushed to the support of the Tory Party to pass a retrospective Act, legitimizing both the past and future activities of the army in

Excuse

The Derry Murders alarmed the Labour Party. They thought that they would have to abandon bi-partisanship. Like the rest of the British establishment they used the Widgery Tribunal as an excuse to remain silent, while the Irish MPs pointed out that the function of the Widgery tribunal was to silence criticism.

The Labour Party was saved by Direct Rule. The Tories had to abandon the pretence that it was possible to 'reform' Stormont, a pretence which Labour had always maintained. Now the Labour lefts were able to satisfy their consciences by backing a radical Tory measure, which their party had never dared to introduce.

Foot and Company were given one last chance to show some interest in reform. During the debate on the introduction of Direct Rule an amendment was introduced to suspend the operation of the Special Powers Act. To illustrate the interest of the Labour Party in this it was left to Jeremy Thorpe, leader of the Liberal Party to introduce the amendment. Only 23 Labour MPs voted for the amendment.

ing: the truth

was also a Territorial, he would feel that he mattered and that he could prove it.'

He continues: 'Second there was companionship. Young men and women in their late teens and early twenties could be very lonely, particularly in great anonymous cities when beginning their careers. The TAVR offered scope for making friends.'

Finally, 'Third would be the physical testing and toughening.'

These comments come from an *Evening Standard* special feature on the TAVR. It was not described as an advertising feature, and yet in its three pages contained nothing but advertisements related to the feature. Advertisements from the TAVR and the SAS, from army suppliers Land-Rover and Alvis and also from the following: Burberry's, Lloyd's Bank, National Westminster Bank, Moss Bros, Whitbread, National and Grindlay's Bank, William and Glyn's Bank, and the Guardian Royal Exchange Assurance Group. The feature was a massive financial success for the *Standard*, and no doubt for the bought journalist who wrote the front page 'editorial' - *Evening Standard* Defence Correspondent Tom Pocock.

ANTI-IRISH HYSTERIA

THE DAY of the patronising magistrate dismissing the simple paddy eccentric is well and truly over. Today Irish political activity in Britain is viewed as a serious threat by the government, anxious to keep the peace at home while it wages war abroad. Today all the legal techniques perfected by the government against the black community and other minority groups are being used with a vengeance against the Irish community.

The government requires a continuing level of anti-IRA hysteria to stifle opposition to its policies. The police are its main weapon in this. In March 60 homes were raided - ostensibly in the wake of the Aldershot bombing. The raids were calculated to maintain the impression that the Irish in Britain are hard at work preparing to blow up their fellow English workers. They also constituted effective political harassment.

Bills seized

One member of the AIL had all documents connected with his commercial business seized including all his bills. The police contacted all firms to which he owed money and told them that he would not be able to pay. A week later creditors descended on him.

Elsewhere the raids had a touch of farce. Pieces of car engines seized, the inside of a toilet roll, two chopsticks, a piece of paper with the word shishkebab on it. To justify the raids there had to be captives. Sheamus O'Kane was rushed to the Aldershot murder headquarters, although the police knew he had been in Ireland at the time of the explosion.

Meanwhile more leading members of the Anti-Internment League have been charged with conspiracy in connection with the 5 February demonstration, John Gray, Bowes Egan, Michael O'Kane, John Flavin and Kate Howie now face this charge - and an additional one of riot. Sean O'Toole out on £6000 bail has now been charged with incitement to murder in addition to incitement to arson, riot and possession of an offensive weapon.

Latest victim

Already the first sentences are coming in. Alan Richardson, one of six people beaten up in Paddington police station, has been sentenced to one month's imprisonment, while Michael Tobin, sentenced to the maximum of two years for incitement to disaffection, is the latest victim in the police hunt for suitable IRA scapegoats.

Tobin, a labourer at the Isle of Grain Power Station is a libertarian humanist. He distributed pamphlets about Ireland in co-operation with J Durkin from Southport.

The army is putting on a massive propaganda display at Dartmouth Park, West Brom with, on 1-2 July. Called Armex '72 it is the biggest ever army show in the Midlands. One of its objects is to 'stimulate recruiting'. The army is engaging in an increasing number of these stunts. In the last month we have had the Glosters marching through Bristol, a march in Chatham and one in Chelsea. It is crucial that local meetings be organised in opposition to these recruiting projects.

These included *Letter from a Ballymurphy Mother*, *Letter from a soldier of the IRA to the Soldiers of the Royal Greenjackets* and the *Mini-manual of the Irish Guerilla*. He was charged with distribution of the first two. Tobin would be considered a political eccentric by Irish organisations both in Britain and in Ireland - indeed the Irish press took up a story that the *Mini-manual of the Irish Guerilla* had been produced by the SAS as black propaganda.

The letter to the soldiers of the Royal Green Jackets opened with a reference to 'mugs in uniform' and so was hardly calculated to win recruits. It did later offer £50 to soldiers who deserted, £25 if they brought an officer and £80 if they brought their weapons. The document had no address and did not tell soldiers where to go. When J Durkin came up in Southport on similar charges in relation to these documents the magistrate dismissed the charges as the work of an eccentric, and thus hardly calculated to incite people to desert.

'Extremely undesirable'

Tobin got the maximum sentence. Not content with sentencing him the judge went on to say that Tobin's employment at the Isle of Grain Power Station was 'extremely undesirable' and went on: 'If his employment in that sort of capacity continued after his sentence, the authority would probably be liable if there was an action for damages or negligence.' The judge asked for these remarks to be conveyed to the appropriate authority.

Industrial unrest

As the *Chatham Standard* commented: 'The repercussions of the proceedings at Maidstone Court may be felt far beyond Tobin's council house at Hoo . . . What of other extremists potentially more dangerous, who operate less conspicuously. Power stations like Kingsnorth have been plagued with industrial unrest through the activities of extremists.'

The owner of the *Chatham Standard*, Parrett, had clashed with Tobin before. Tobin was editor of a community paper Sunrise which had attacked the *Standard*. On that occasion Parrett made evident his anti-Irish bias. He said: 'The troublemaker Tobin comes from Ireland - it is unlikely that he or his followers could offer us an alternative half as good as we enjoy now.'

Savage joy

Tobin's case illustrates a number of points. The police lacking evidence of any major IRA conspiracies are under pressure to find them. They fall on loners like Tobin with savage joy. Out of each such scapegoat or fall guy they create a ripple of hysteria. Although the local press in some areas have proved a great deal fairer than the national press, in areas like Chatham they are used to spread the hysteria still wider.

There are lessons to be learned. This is not the period for heroic and useless gestures. It is a period in which we must organise politically and in a disciplined fashion. It is a period in which we must fight growing police repression with other groups in the community who are similarly affected.

Join the Anti-Internment League!

AT A SPECIAL delegate meeting of the AIL on 2 May it was decided to extend the demands of the AIL. The meeting was attended by 40 delegates, 16 from branches of the AIL and 24 from other nationally affiliated organisations.

The demands of the AIL now read:

1. Immediate release of all internees and political prisoners.
2. Immediate withdrawal of British Troops from Ireland.
3. Self-determination for the Irish people (new demand carried unanimously).

Our attitude to the struggle in Ireland was expressed in the following policy resolution: 'We oppose British Imperialism in Ireland in all its forms and declare our solidarity with the Republican and Socialist organisations who spearhead the resistance in h-eland.' (carried 29 - 7 with 2 abstentions).

AIL BRANCHES

South of England

Brighton
Haywards Heath
Southampton
Guildford
Portsmouth

London

South East London
South London
West London
Hammersmith and Fulham
Ealing and District
Kensington and Paddington
Hayes
Acton

North West London

Kilburn
Harlesden
North East London (Haringey)
North London
East London

London Surrounding Districts

Kingston
Sutton and District
Hemel Hempstead
St Albans

Central England

Leicester
Coventry
Birmingham
Cambridge
Colchester
Slough
Reading
Peterborough
Bristol

Northern England

Liverpool
Bradford
York
Newcastle-upon-Tyne

Scotland

Aberdeen
Edinburgh

Wales

Swansea

No 8 Division of ASTMS covering the London area has affiliated to the AIL. So have the Waterloo branch of ASTMS and the No 3 branch (Camden Town) of the AUEW. Branches and divisions of trade unions can affiliate to the AIL nationally for £2.50 or to local branches of the AIL for £1.

Join the Anti-Internment League—send 25p if a student or unemployed, otherwise 50p.

Funds are urgently needed. It is vital to maintain an effective organisation in this period of false calm so that we can mobilise rapidly in the coming months of crisis.

All correspondence to John Gray, Basement Flat, 139 Holland Road, London W14. Cheques/POs made out to the AIL.

Brent Trades Council, with 10,000 members, has called for an end to internment and declared its solidarity with those on rent and rate strike in the North, and solidarity with those on rent strike against increased rents in the South.



Lynch's prisoners

THE FULL hypocrisy of Fianna Fail 'republicanism' can be seen in the attitude of Lynch's government to the republican movement. Jack Lynch once saw himself as the 'second guarantor' of the rights of the Catholic minority in the Six Counties. Presumably the anti-Unionist movement in Northern Ireland, including the republican movement, was the 'first guarantor'. After 'Bloody Sunday' Lynch raised demands which overlapped completely with those of many Northern republicans: for the abolition of Stormont, the release of the internees, and the withdrawal of British troops from Catholic areas.

Now the wind is blowing cooler, and Lynch has seized the opportunity presented by the talk of peace to declare that the IRA is 'not needed' in the Six Counties. The 'men of violence' are the ones who are upsetting the greatest ever chance of settling the Irish Question.

But all the time that Lynch has trimmed his sails to the winds of nationalist feeling in the North and the South, republicans who have been active in the campaign against Stormont and against the British troops have been held in Southern prisons. At the Fianna Fail Ard-Fheis in January the Minister for Justice, O'Malley, as well as Lynch himself, announced a new 'get-tough' line against republicans in the South.

This has begun to take effect; but even before then republican activists had received harsh sentences in Southern courts. The glare of publicity surrounding the cases of Martin Meehan and of 'Dutch' Doherty concealed the fact that:

12 republican and socialist militants are being held in Portlaoise Jail; they are members of the Officials, Provisional, and of Saor Eire; they are serving sentences of up to 12 years for charges of possession of arms, and armed robbery; they are political prisoners, they have no study facilities, only one hour's recreation per day, and visits and correspondence are strictly limited; two of them, Sean Morrissey and Martin Casey are in need of specialist medical treatment which they are not getting.

These men are being held in conditions which contravene those laid down in international conventions. But there are other victims of the struggle against imperialism in Southern prisons:

Between 30 and 40 republicans, members of both wings of the republican movement, are being held in custody in Mountjoy Jail, Dublin; they are awaiting trial on a variety of charges, mostly connected with possession of arms; three of them have been held for nine weeks, repeatedly remanded in custody, another, Seamus Murphy, has been detained from the time of raids on homes and premises of the Official republican movement after Bloody Sunday; some members of the Provisional being held in the Political Wing recently refused food for several days in protest against attempts to have two of them finger-printed and photographed, by force if necessary; one member of the Provisionals was sentenced to seven days' imprisonment for contempt of court while the case in which he and two others face charges of being members of the IRA and of inciting people to use arms was adjourned—he had called the judge a 'bastard'.

There have been pickets on the jails, and a picket on the Department of Justice in support of these approximately 50 men being held in Southern prisons, but they have gone largely unnoticed by the press and the general public. Ministers do not even feel obliged to answer prisoners' requests for treatment as political prisoners.

Towards the end of April, however, there was a demonstration in Monaghan in support of eight men who faced trial there on arms possession charges. Traffic was blocked for nearly two hours, and a meeting was held which was addressed by members of Northern Republican Clubs. Again, when Martin Meehan and four others appeared in Castleblayney court at the beginning of May, there was a large picket.

No doubt the pressure will continue to come from British politicians and from Fine Gael for even more decisive action against the republicans in the South. But let nobody imagine that because 'Dutch' Doherty has been released, there is freedom for republicans in the 26 Counties. The 'safe haven' is increasingly unsafe. As many people tire of the violence in the North, and see no way in which they can help the struggle from the South, Lynch will move hard against the militants.

Already the Fianna Fail government is practicing a form of legalised internment in the case of some. The demand must be raised for the release of the political prisoners being held in the prisons of the 26 Counties.