

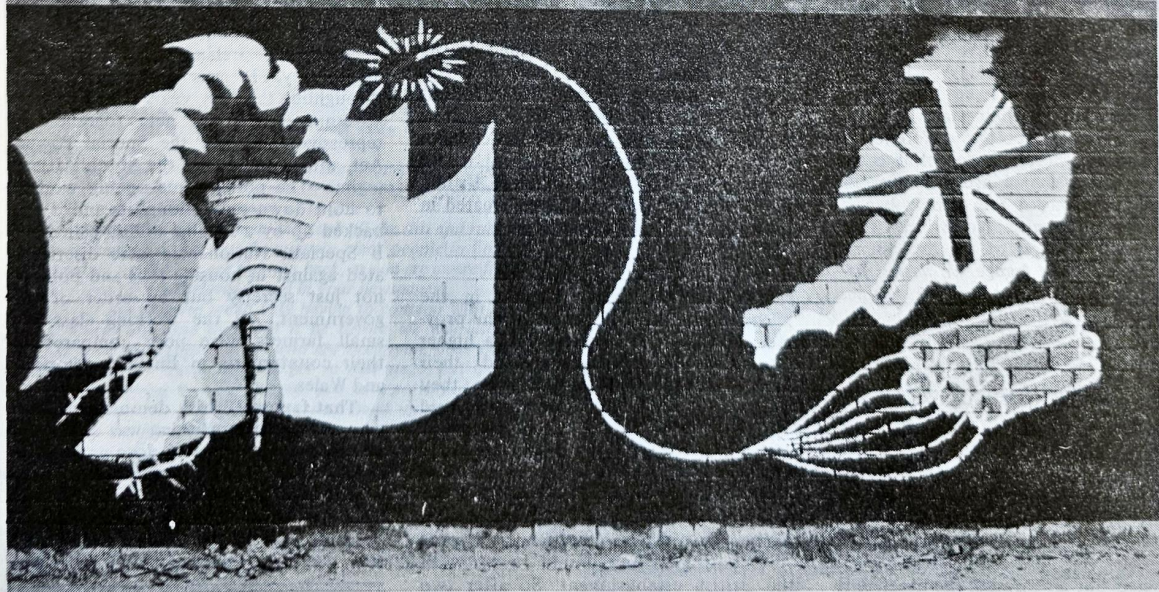
THE NORTH OF IRELAND 1981



Troops Out Delegation



20p



800 Years

To begin with Ireland and England were two separate countries. They each had their own kings, their own languages, their own economies. But in the twelfth century England invaded Ireland, English feudal barons drove the Irish off the land and set up estates and fought a long series of wars with the Irish chieftains.

Ireland became a colony. By the end of the eighteenth century the Irish owned less than a tenth of their own land. They were not allowed into politics and many Irish industries and much of their trade were banned where they competed with British commerce. Britain grew richer and expanded its Empire all over the world, Ireland grew desperately poorer.

ARMY OCCUPATION

Of course the Irish fought back against the injustice of it all. They used Parliamentary opposition whenever it was possible, guerrilla warfare and armed uprisings. 1601, 1641, 1690, 1798, 1803, 1848, 1867, 1916, 1919: nearly every generation has fought for independence, and Britain was only able to hold onto its colony by ruthless military occupation. The soldiers patrolling the streets of Belfast and Derry today are nothing new.

DIVIDE AND RULE

In addition to the naked aggression, settlers from England and Scotland were sent over to act as a loyal garrison. The first settlements failed to do the job because the settlers assimilated and became as Irish as the best of them. But in 1609 came the "Plantation of Ulster" and in 1652 the Cromwellian Settlement, when the Irish were driven off wholesale and the settlers were given the pick of the land with better tenancy agreements, thus building up a degree of prosperity. In other British colonies in Asia, Africa or the West Indies, the settlers kept their loyalty to Britain both by their material advantages and by the colour difference. In Ireland where there was no colour difference, religion was used instead. Protestantism, the religion of the settlers became the badge of *loyalism* to Britain. Catholicism, the religion of the dispossessed Irish, became the badge of *nationalism* (for a free independent Ireland). A whole set of laws (the Penal Laws) brought apartheid to Ireland throughout the second half of the eighteenth century.

EASTER UPRISING

The United Irishmen Uprising in 1798, however, united all religions against British rule and the authorities took great pains to foster the divisions again by blatantly discriminating between the two communities as they went about crushing the revolt. But the spirit of resistance never died out all through the nineteenth



Siege of Drogheda 1649. The whole population of 3,000 were slaughtered by Cromwell's army.

and twentieth centuries: 1916 saw the Easter Uprising when a tiny handful held the centre of Dublin for a week. They were smashed down by British artillery and the leaders were executed, which only brought stronger opposition to British rule. In the General Election of 1918, the Republican party Sinn Féin won 73 out of the 103 Irish seats on a platform of independence. The British ruling class chose to ignore this democratic mandate and the War of Independence followed in 1919 with the IRA proving equal to all that the British Army and hired mercenaries (the "Black and Tans") could throw at it.

It looked as if colonial rule would finally be ended. And this did not please the ruling class in Britain: it had considerable wealth invested in Ireland, it had cheap labour and cheap food coming from Ireland, it needed to protect its Western flank from any foreign enemies — which an independent Ireland would not guarantee. So at this stage Britain played on the divisions it had created in Ireland to forestall total defeat.

1921 COMPROMISE

The divisions were sharpest in the North East of Ireland, most of the province of Ulster. Here there was a higher percentage of Protestants and their loyalism was kept intact because they were given more jobs and better paid jobs. It was here, too, that industry was concentrated and the employers were loyalist as well, because their main markets and sources of raw material lay with the British Empire. The employers formed a powerful political grouping — Unionism — that found favour with the British establishment. So after two



years of war, the British Government met with the Irish republican leaders in London and used the excuse of loyalist opposition to force through a compromise settlement. In 1921 Ireland was partitioned: 26 Counties were given independence and 6 Counties in the North East of Ireland remained part of the United Kingdom.

Northern Ireland was never a democracy. It was a one-party state throughout the fifty years it had its own government. It was held together by repressive laws like the Special Powers Act, much praised by the South African regime. The police force openly worked to hold down the nationalists and it was backed up by a loyalist militia called the B Specials. Nationalists were discriminated against in housing jobs and politics, not just secretly but by order of the government. All the working class and small farmers were poor compared to their counterparts in England, Scotland and Wales.

That famous British democracy didn't care as long as everything was quiet. But of course such a system does not remain quiet forever. The economic boom of the Sixties created hopes of a better life and when the Civil Rights Association began peaceful agitation for reforms it set off a train of events that are with us today.



Troops Out Delegation

This year was the second 'Troops Out' delegation to the North of Ireland, on the weekend 8/9th August.

August 9th 1971 was the date of the first internment swoops on the nationalist people, chiefly in the ghettos of W. Belfast and the Derry Bogside and Creggan. Over 300 men were dragged from their homes, which were ransacked. They were thrown into lorries, armoured jeeps, even furniture vans, and taken to interrogation centres where they faced physical and psychological torture. They were subsequently dumped in prison camps or ships and left there, without any trial. It was an attempt by the British authorities to intimidate and oppress a people that were resisting being kept on their knees, a people who were fighting back. As such, it is remembered every year. Bonfires are lit, and at 4am dustbin lids are banged outside the forts to let the Army know that people are still resisting. On the Sunday, a huge Anti-Internment march goes through the streets of W. Belfast — well attended by Army helicopters. It is now as much an Anti H-

Block/Armagh march.

Our delegation goes at this time, to support the march. Last year we were clapped by people in appreciation of our presence. This year we were placed at the front of the march, with other international groups. Representatives came from Denmark, Norway, France, W. Germany, Spain. American activists, and American Black and Indian representatives were there too. The H Block issue has become an international issue and our place at the front was in recognition of that.

We have also picketed the Army and Army/RUC forts which you find only in the nationalist areas. They are on street corners, looming over housing estates, strategically placed by schools, so that they cannot come under bomb or gun attacks without innocent civilians being injured. This is our way of telling British soldiers that we don't want them there, that they shouldn't be there. It embarrasses and unnerves the soldiers, and must make them think about how they are being used there.

The delegation is also about how people in, or thinking of joining, the Troops Out movement get an unforgettable experience of what it is like to live under an army of occupation. It's about how we learn of Ireland's colonial history, a still-living history in the 6 Counties. People make a point of talking to you, telling you their, their families' and friends' stories, and their ideas, activities and feelings now. This was particularly impressive this year, when most people's energies are fully stretched with the hunger strike, with the British government's cruel intransigence, with the British Army's vicious response to the mass campaigning around the 5 demands. Sinn Féin arranged educationals and workshops where political, economic and cultural information was discussed in more detail — essential in the face of the imperialist propaganda in our country.

Lastly, the delegation is a truly energising experience. That might sound strange, but you can feel and gain hope from the people's strength, and sense their spirit of freedom.

TOM Speech At Rally

Lloyd Hayes — a former soldier — spoke on behalf of the Troops Out Movement at Sunday's rally on the anniversary of the introduction of internment. He thanked the people of Belfast for their welcome and went on:

"In addition I would like to express my personal thanks to you for welcoming me as an ex-soldier, one who for eight months in total wreaked havoc and destruction upon your daily life, upon your very existence."

"I am sure you are very aware that the situation in England today, as far as black people are concerned, is in no way very different from what it is for you here in the North of Ireland."

"For many years we sat back and took all the shit and rubbish that was being heaped on us, but fortunately black people in England are now standing up and we are fighting back, as you are aware from what you have seen on your television and in your newspapers."

"Now at the moment we're only having to contend with the racist fascist police. But how long will it be before we will also have to contend with the British Army, who are occupying your country? I hope that we will never have to get to that stage, but if it should happen, then, having seen the courage you have portrayed, I hope that we also will be able to emulate you and stand up and fight, if it is needed, to defeat the British Army."

"I say this in conclusion. That whatever happens it is up to you, and up to you only, to decide what happens in your country. It is not for the British to say whether you live as a united country or as a divided country; and what we've seen so far is a situation where Britain has dictated for so many years. This cannot continue for much longer. So we say: VICTORY TO THE HUNGER STRIKERS! VICTORY TO THE PEOPLE OF THE NORTH OF IRELAND!" (Photo: TOM)



The Desire For

Belfast Resists

There is no doubt who supports the prisoners in West Belfast. Everywhere there are photos of hunger strikers, black flags and tricolours. These are not just on garage doors, hoardings or empty buildings, as they would be in England, they are in people's front room windows next to the china ornaments and potted plants. At the end of a short street of terraced houses will be an elaborately detailed painting, expressing the residents' view of the war — a firing party over a graveside, or the phoenix rising from the flames.

When the Army appear there is no way they look anything like a peace keeping force. When you walk by the footpatrols they point rifles straight at your head — an adolescent armed to the teeth stares straight at you with an arrogant expression and his finger already on the trigger. At 12.00 on Saturday we hear dustbin lids being banged in the distance — Tom McElwee had died, murdered by the British government. The delegation lines up along the Falls Road and black taxis and cars drive up and down hooting until they form a road block at one end. A group of women gather with rosaries to pray together, while youths drag milk-crates out from nowhere, filled with petrol bombs.

We march silently to several of the forts where the army are encamped, the last one is right in the middle of a housing estate. The Army boasts of the sophistication of its surveillance techniques, continuous sound recording and photography but the fort is nicknamed Jericho here because it keeps falling down.

I stay the night on the Twinbrook

"If they aren't able to destroy the desire for freedom, they want to break you. They won't break me because the desire for freedom and the freedom of the Irish People is in my heart."

"The day will dawn when all the people of Ireland will have the desire for freedom to show."

"It is then we will see the rising of the Moon."

B. Sands

estate where Bobby Sands used to live. The father of the house was imprisoned in H-Block 3 for four years and on the blanket for four months. When he describes it — sitting in a small dark room, naked but for one blanket and a bed to lie on for four months, 24 hours a day, I can't imagine coping with it for 3 hours. Yet some men have existed like this for four and a half years. In the afternoons when the screws are not on the wings, the prisoners have educationals, this means shouting to each other between cells, learning Irish and having debates such as 'should Republicans support the Palestinians or the Israelis?' and debates on women's rights.

At 9pm the Twinbrook Youth have a torchlight procession around the estate and at midnight the bonfires are lit because it is the tenth anniversary of internment. Both of these are arranged by youth between 9 and 13 years old. At 4am we are out again banging dustbin lids which echo around the estate. In one street there are four sixteen or seventeen year olds with cropped heads and denim jackets and jeans and a woman of about 85 years old sitting on the pavement banding lids together. Republicanism and support of the prisoners has got nothing to do with a small group of activists.

BIG BROTHER

The Army forts are a bizarre sight. They are surrounded by a jumble of corrugated iron and netting, to deflect stones and petrol bombs, behind which are reinforced concrete walls and 'pill box' type observation posts. The lenses of cameras can be seen in the slits of these posts, busily photographing the delegation outside. The three major forts we picketted — Springfield Road, Andersonstown, and Fort Jericho, all have radio antennae, and powerful directional microphones and amplifiers, which can monitor conversations in the surrounding streets and houses.

Republicanism

PADDY BOLGER, OF PROVISIONAL SINN FEIN

Well, our enemy — our main enemy — is British imperialism. And we have to fight British imperialism in various ways.

In the six counties of the North we have direct rule, the presence of an army occupation backed up by local militias, supported by a reactionary church, supported and encouraged by the loyalists, and apologised for and supported — when they can get away with it — by the SDLP.

So therefore our main struggle towards a united socialist Ireland is in the six counties. 'Cause that's where the struggle is most urgent and most dramatic.

ARMED STRUGGLE AND POLITICAL STRUGGLE

...Well, in the North there's an armed struggle being conducted; but that armed struggle isn't just an idealistic, militaristic armed struggle. It's based on the support of the people — it's a struggle that couldn't survive without the support of the people. I think the sentiment that backs that struggle up is apparent to you all as you marched through these areas this afternoon.

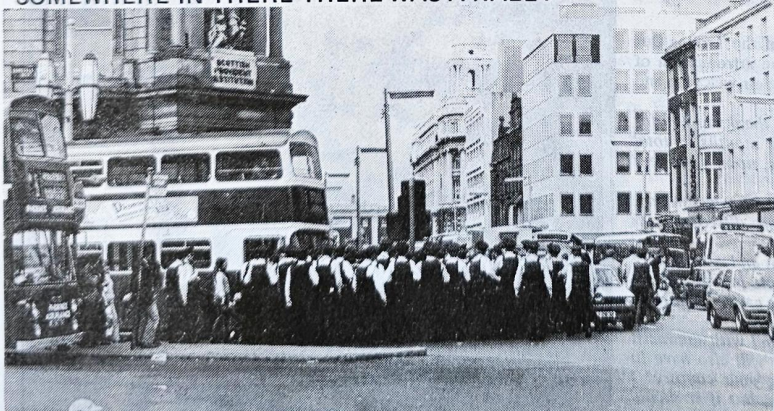
Now the armed struggle is directed at destabilising the Six County State and rendering it ungovernable. There's no illusions about getting the big divisions and pushing the British into the sea. Also in the six county area there's an intense political struggle, mostly directed against repression and against collaboration by the non-republican forces. This has had its highest expression since 1969 and the civil rights wave that essentially ended with Bloody Sunday in '72. It has had its greatest expression in the support for the hunger strikers: and that is a political struggle, it isn't just an adjunct to a military struggle.

NORTH AND SOUTH

In the South, for many decades, Republicans have been to the fore in the social and economic struggle. As in the North our base is among the working class and among the small farming communities and, to a certain extent, among small business people who, because of the gradual encroachment of multinationals in recent years and because of the domination of Irish industry by Britain, haven't had a vested interest in supporting British rule.

(Saturday, August 8th)

SOMEWHERE IN THERE THERE WAS A RALLY



On the Saturday morning some of the TOM Delegation witnessed the RUC police brutality smashing up an H Block rally in Belfast City centre. The police were armed and, as always, wore flak-jackets; they made nine arrests. (In June a similar police attack resulted in 33 arrests — including six Councillors).

It was a disturbing reminder that the nationalist people are not free in their own country, and are tolerated only if they stay in the ghettos. Their own city centre, where loyalists rally freely, is out of bounds to them. It showed us too how the police make damned sure the communities stay divided by discriminating in this way. (Photo: TOM)

Freedom

(photo: TOM)



On Saturday night more than a thousand petrol bombs were thrown in Belfast alone, two RUC men were shot and wounded; more than fifty people were arrested, and two Catholic men were shot and murdered (and one by a plastic bullet).

I'm certain that every single member of the delegation would urge other people to go to Northern Ireland, if they have the opportunity — not only to demonstrate their support and solidarity with the Irish peoples' struggles, but also because it is an opportunity of seeing for yourself how grossly misleading is the media's reporting of the situation there. In Northern Ireland, the Army is on the defensive. The soldiers are confused and demoralised with little idea of why they are there in the first place. In contrast we met a people who are totally unafraid of the Army presence. The people, even the youngest child, have been politicised by the struggle. They are disciplined, defiant and courageous; women, children and men, who are united, both in their support for the hunger strikers and in their support for the armed struggle.
(Reprinted from *Class Struggle*)

Background To The Hunger Strike

In 1969 there were only 712 prisoners in the Six Counties of the North of Ireland. Now there are over 3,000. This huge increase is due to the war.

"Crimes" that are politically motivated are dealt with by special British laws. People are arrested under *Special Powers*, interrogated in *special* centres and jailed by *special* non-jury courts to *special* long sentences.

Yet the claims to Special Category are denied the prisoners. Why? And why was this Special Category Status granted them in 1972 and taken away in March 1976?

The answer is simple: in 1976 the British Government was faced with an embarrassing statistic — 3,000 POLITICAL PRISONERS in a tiny population of one and a half million. This exposed to the world that British rule was tyrannical and undemocratic. Their response was to magic the statistic away, by branding all the political prisoners as mere criminals and terrorists.

RESISTANCE

The prisoners' fight against criminalisation started in 1976 first by a simple refusal to wear prison clothes. For this they were punished by loss of all remission, loss of parcels, letters, newspapers, radio and TV. In fact they had no contact with the outside world except for a monthly half-hour visit. They were confined to their cells 24 hours a day because the warders forced them to walk naked if they wanted to leave their cells. The women prisoners suffered similar punishments for refusing to do prison work (all women prisoners are allowed to wear their own clothes).

CALCULATED BRUTALITY

Over the next two years the warders increased the suffering in Long Kesh with

severe beatings and obscene body searches. The warders started to kick over the pots in the cells and not bringing around the slop-out buckets so the pots overflowed.

The prisoners responded with a declaration of total non-cooperation. To punish them all the furniture was taken out of the cells and the warders insisted that they had to ask permission to go to the toilet — and get beaten up on the way, more often than not. Thus began the "No wash" protest, the men using their cells as toilets.

It is impossible to imagine how the prisoners survived conditions — the stink, the maggots, soaking mattresses on the floor, the cold and the nakedness.

ATTACK IN ARMAGH

In February 1980 the women in Armagh were brutally attacked and beaten up by male warders (a special riot squad brought in from Long Kesh). Since then beatings have become a regular occurrence and male warders are permanently on the wing day and night.

The prisoners were locked up without toilet or washing facilities, and were told that these were privileges they'd have to beg for. They too went on a "no wash" protest.

HUNGER STRIKE

On the 27th October 1980 seven prisoners from the H Blocks, joined on the 1st December by three women in Armagh, began a hunger strike for the five demands.

Massive international and national

support grew up. The British Government declared that it would make no concessions, and repeated that week after week.

On the 53rd day of the H Block hunger strike — with Sean McKenna on the point of dying — and the 18th day of the Armagh hunger strike, the British Government caved in. The prisoners were presented with a 34-page document granting the substance of the five demands. Further political recognition was given when officials from the Northern Ireland Office went in to negotiate with the prisoners' own appointed leaders.

But once the hunger strike was finished the British authorities began to evade, delay and make excuse after excuse. The prisoners grew suspicious, although still doing their best to cooperate. Twenty blanketmen were chosen to pilot through a scheme in the H Blocks to settle the clothing issue, but this attempt floundered when the prison administration accepted clothes sent in by relatives but refused to hand them over to the prisoners unless they wore prison clothes first.

Totally frustrated, the men in the clean furnished cells smashed up the furniture. Most were subsequently assaulted by warders. Another hunger strike became inevitable.

"We the blanketmen and we the women political prisoners in Armagh have had enough of British deceit and broken promises. Hunger strikes to the death if necessary will begin commencing March 1st 1981."

Statement 4th Feb 1981

THE PRISONERS' DEMANDS: THE RIGHT NOT TO WEAR PRISON UNIFORM • THE RIGHT NOT TO DO PRISON WORK • THE RIGHT OF FREE ASSOCIATION WITH OTHER PRISONERS • THE RIGHT TO ORGANISE THEIR OWN EDUCATIONAL AND RECREATIONAL FACILITIES AND TO RECEIVE ONE VISIT, ONE LETTER AND ONE PARCEL PER WEEK • FULL REMISSION OF SENTENCE.

Life And Death Of



(photo: TOM)

Tom McElwee's Life

The hunger strikers and their comrades in the H Blocks and Armagh all come from a generation whose lives were changed by the repression of the Northern Ireland minority at the hands of the British Army. Their latent nationalist feelings were stirred by the atrocities of curfew, internment and Bloody Sunday between

1970 and 1972. In those years, as teenagers, they made their choice to get off their knees and drive the army and their collaborators, the Royal Ulster Constabulary, off their streets and fields. For the prisoners, hunger striking is not a choice to die, but an extension of that choice to fight.

To illustrate this, we look at the life of one of the hunger strikers, Thomas McElwee, who died on the morning that the TOM delegation arrived in the Six Counties.

Tom McElwee was born into a family of eight girls and four

Funeral In Bellaghy

Just after 11.00am, on Saturday 8th August, the death was announced of Tom McElwee after 62 days on hunger strike. I was proud and privileged to attend his funeral on the Monday.

We hired a car in Belfast and having successfully passed all the RUC checkpoints set up near Bellaghy, to try to discourage the mourners, we parked the car and proceeded to walk the several mile long route to the house of Tom McElwee's parents from where the cortege was to leave. We joined the several thousand strong crowd outside the house just in time to see the McElwee sisters carrying the coffin out of the house to be placed on stands in order to allow the final salute to be paid to their brother. At this point, a representative from the Republican Press Centre who was with us explained that the IRA carry out final salutes by holding the pistols with two hands, but the INLA use only one hand on the pistol. With six Army helicopters hovering very closely overhead, the traditional three shots were fired and the

three-man firing party disappeared into the crowd amid much cheering from on-lookers. The procession then moved on, the coffin being carried by a six-man colour party — again in full uniform — accompanied by six uniformed women. This was followed by relatives of the deceased, relatives of the other hunger strikers and official dignitaries, and wreath bearers. Stewarding was very tight, the men forming a ring around the procession. The thousands of mourners followed on behind, some cutting across the local farmlands to get to the graveyard and church which were about four miles away.

We joined the procession with the wreath bearers to walk to St. Mary's Church for the requiem mass and interment. At this point the relatives were joined by Owen Carron, desperately trying to get rid of the hundreds of television crews and journalists who were reporting on the funeral, and seemed to be chasing him everywhere he went.

Inside the church, I sat with a member

R.I.P.

**Bobby Sands
Francis Hughes
Raymond McCreesh
Patsy O'Hara
Joe McDonnell
Martin Hurson
Kevin Lynch
Kieran Doherty
Thomas McElwee
Michael Devine**

of the Maghera Hunger Strike Committee and we listened in disgust as Father Flanagan said that he thought the relatives of those elected to positions of power (he was obviously referring to the elections of Bobby Sands and Kieran Doherty) should

A Hunger Striker

boys in Bellaghy, County Derry, in November 1957, the son of Jim, a local builder, and Alice, raised in Philadelphia, but one of the very few Irish emigrants to have returned home. Bellaghy is separated from Derry City by the Sperrin mountains and lies in the catchment area of Ballymena, Co. Antrim, a predominantly loyalist town.

CHILDHOOD

As a boy Tom went to Catholic schools, but he helped out freely with the children of Protestant families on local farms. While doing well at school, he also developed a passion for motor car maintenance and stock cars. Evenings he would listen to Irish folk records or attend small town dances and ceilidhs with his contemporaries, among them his cousin, Francis Hughes, later also to die on hunger strike, who lived half a mile away. On leaving school, Tom enrolled at the nearby Magherafelt Technical College, but then decided to pursue his career as a motor mechanic at Ballymena Training Centre.

By 1972, outside events had impinged on the relatively tranquil rural surroundings of Bellaghy. Internment of republicans in the previous year had unleashed massive resistance and the nationalist areas of the Six Counties were now saturated by the British army and the Ulster Defence Regiment, heirs to the notorious 'B Specials'. Bloody Sunday and the replacement of Unionist Stormont by Direct British Rule from Westminster polarised the nationalist and loyalist communities. At work, any Catholic suspected of republican sympathies could forget about advancement and was marked out by loyalists. At leisure, the nationalist youth faced harassment and beatings from British soldiers for any Irish cultural expression. Ballymena was rapidly becoming a stronghold of the Democratic Unionist Party, the political wing of Ian Paisley's Free Presbyterian Church, and the town council was to be the first in the province under the outright control of the DUP. Their activities extended beyond the council chamber in the form of their paramilitary wing, the Ulster Volunteer Force, whose members entered a Ballymena pub in 1973 and shot dead five Catholic drinkers. Not long afterwards, Tom McElwee was intimidated out of his apprenticeship and went to work with a local Catholic motor mechanic.

ACTIVE SERVICE

In 1972, Tom had joined Na Fianna Eireann, the youth

section of the Official Republican movement, but when the Official IRA called a ceasefire and accepted the 'status quo', Tom followed Francis Hughes into an independent unit in the Bellaghy area which was to merge with the Provisional IRA in 1974. He continued to live in the family home, which soon became the target of regular raids by the security forces. Tom was lifted for the first time in 1974, being held for three days at Ballykelly Interrogation Centre before release. After another raid he was taken to Coleraine Police Barracks with his younger brother, Benedict. Then, in October 1976, a bomb exploded prematurely in their car while in Ballymena, as a result of which Tom lost an eye and two of his comrades a leg, and toes, respectively. The three of them, plus Benedict, less severely hurt, were held on remand for 8 months after hospital treatment, along with Dolores O'Neill, Tom's girl friend, and Ann Bateson, both now on the protest in Armagh Gaol. In another explosion in Ballymena that day, a woman, Mrs Dunlop, had been accidentally killed, and Tom was subsequently convicted by a non-jury court of her murder in addition to possession of explosives. On appeal, 'murder' became 'manslaughter', but the sentence of 20 years stood. Meanwhile, the UVF kicked to death a young Catholic, Mr Crystal, in revenge for Mrs Dunlop's death.

PRISON YEARS

Tom confessed to nothing and went straight on to the blanket protest when he was imprisoned in the H Blocks of Long Kesh. A year earlier he would have received Special Category Status, but now the strategy of the British State was criminalisation of Irish prisoners of war. Tom got numerous beatings for his refusal to accept criminal status. Despite the conditions of his imprisonment, he mastered the Irish language and developed his political education. As an H Block comrade has put it: *"He often spoke of the necessity to get amongst the working class people and illustrate why a class system existed, and the need for its removal force of arms. The construction of local projects demonstrating in the simplest fashion the equality and justice of socialism were, Thomas maintained, vital in the unification of the Catholic and Protestant working classes, exposing the evil of imperialism."*

Such a man needed no prompting to join the H Block hunger strike, which he endured for 62 days until he died, suddenly and alone, on Saturday 8th August. His life spanned a short 23 years, but he did not waste them, spending his time productively in the service of his oppressed people.



Tom McElwee at home 1974

have urged them to give up their fasts. Needless to say the grief on the faces of Sean Sands and Kieran Doherty's brother was immeasurable, and when he went on to say that the hunger strike was a waste of time and that the IRA should give up fighting, it was Bernadette McAliskey and five of her friends who stood up to him by walking out of the mass, making as much noise as they could on their way. Had this event taken place in a public meeting, I'm sure everyone would have cheered her actions.

With Danny Morrison, the editor of Republican News, having hastily rewritten his speech to include references to the disgraceful behaviour of this priest, we joined the procession to the Republican plot, to be the last resting place of Thomas McElwee, next to the grave of his beloved cousin Francis Hughes, who had died on 12th May, just 88 days earlier. This time two of the people who carried the coffin were Benedict McElwee, Thomas's brother who is also serving time in Long Kesh and was given compassionate parole for twelve hours to attend his brother's funeral, and Oliver Hughes, Francis's brother.

With the oration over, the wreaths

were laid, from the McElwee family, from the families of other dead hunger strikers, from the Troops Out Movement, from the prisoners currently on hunger strike, and from Hunger Strike Committees from over all of Ireland.

We left as the helicopters still droned overhead, returning to the car to drive to Belfast, via Larne. But the drama was not over. As we watched, two RUC landrovers had decided to stop and question the driver of the minibus which had followed the cortege. They found inside the uniforms of the firing party, and promptly arrested the driver. The two coaches of mourners either side of the minibus were not prepared to let the RUC win without a battle. They got out of the coaches and pelted the vehicles with small glass bottles of lemonade and coke which had been on sale after the interment. One of the RUC landrovers got a puncture!

However, the funeral was a fitting tribute to one of the ten bravest soldiers of Ireland, a tribute which would never have been necessary had the British Government granted the five demands. And had that happened, those ten brave men would still be alive today.

Resistance Growing

Derry And The Bishop

The reasons that we wanted people to get to Derry was to experience a much less tense atmosphere than in Belfast. The city is over 50% Catholic and despite being the scene in the past, and now, of fierce repression, has a less embattled feel about it. In fact, 10 people have died in Derry from plastic bullets or army 'road accidents' since the hunger strike started, so despite the relative ease that people can move about in their areas, the army's presence, though hidden at times, can be strong and violent and often seems more intrusive than in Belfast because of their very intimate knowledge of individuals.

One particularly nosy captain who prides himself on knowing everyone's name in the nationalist areas, managed to sneak into the H-Block/Armagh office in Waterloo Street after the door had not been locked. He asked us all in turn our names with a really smug look on his face while his patrol poked around the office. One well-known story about this captain concerns a time when he stopped an H-Block/Armagh activist so he could search his car. After a while the activist was told he could go and he'd better hurry as the meeting at the Centre was waiting for him...

We set off on the march around the forts at 12.30. The first was in a narrow street in Shantallow, where we chanted and made speeches. We were able to speak directly to the soldiers in the turrets who alternately took pictures of us and shouted abuse.

Before the next fort we passed by Bishop Daly's residence and four of us were asked by the H-Block/Armagh activists guiding our march round Derry if we would try to go in and see the Bishop.

Surprisingly we were allowed in and the Bishop saw us for about thirty minutes. The interview was an exercise in double-talk on his part, since every time we asked why he did not support the prisoners, he went into lengthy detail to explain he had never actually condemned them, and that he spent a lot of time visiting people from Derry who were in gaol in various English gaols; and that his priests were constantly at the various gaols in the North. When reminded about his statements, after Bloody Sunday, "There will never be peace in Northern Ireland as long as the troops are here," he denied he had ever said it. When he also realised that the question came from a Derry person, he got progressively more aggressive and pompous and we made our excuses and left. When the Derry Journal reported our march the next day with surprising detail, they left out the visit to the Bishop.



(photo: Class Struggle)

Hunger Strike Campaign

As the condition of Mickey Devine, hunger striker, grew critical, the local Hunger Strike Action Committee in Andersonstown, W. Belfast, called an emergency meeting.

About 60 people came along. Their age range, the number of women and girls there, and everyone's full involvement in the discussions was immediately striking. Discussion centred on how to both maintain and increase the support for the prisoners' five demands.

Maintaining people's support is not easy when the Army's response to it is to increase their use of plastic bullets. People are being frightened off the streets by the deliberate use of these weapons to maim and kill people in non-riot situations — such as rosary pickets or bin-lid announcements of a hunger striker's death. The memory of the live rounds fired at panic-stricken families of mourners at Joe McDonnell's funeral was still fresh. The discussion took this into account. Some people were worried that the youth would use a large picket of a fort after a death as cover for rioting. This fear was refuted by several young people who asked for more effective stewarding and direction. It was pointed out that youth have been actively involved in the street murals, working out slogans, choosing the most appropriate words to fit the painted images. They weren't into just rioting.

In terms of increasing support the meeting recognised the need to still go from door to door arguing the case for the 5 demands — this was organised immediately after the meeting. Petitions

demanding that the SDLP and Church hierarchy start to support the 5 demands were also organised.

But the problems this group confront shows the solidity of the hunger strike campaign in the North. That strength has also shown itself in the South. In July 20,000 marchers were batoned off Dublin streets by the state police force who were protecting the British Embassy, the fitting end of the protest march. The marchers were attacked with a savagery that shocked many people. The next weekend thousands took to the streets again, many having already walked over three days from other counties. They refused to be intimidated off the streets.

The extent of the support for the 5 demands and the imagination that goes into showing it, is also impressive. Around the same time members of the Gaelic Athletic Association (GAA — a body promoting Irish sport) formed an H on the pitch during half time at the Ulster GAA finals at Clones (Co. Monaghan). Fans stood in a minute's silence in tribute to the dead hunger strikers. In Tralee (Co. Kerry) 3 people chained themselves to the Dublin train, delaying its departure, while others picketed the Station, the Allied Irish Bank, and had a British Leyland promotional caravan removed from the High Street.

In all these ways the support is growing, and getting to more and more people. The principled stand of the prisoners in the hungerstrike and the ten deaths have moved people all over Ireland and they are acting.

The Prisoners' Relatives

In Derry members of the Delegation stayed on the Creggan estate, where hunger striker Mickey Devine lived. "I spoke to someone who had visited him the day before. He told Mickey that the organisation (Irish Republican Socialist Party) would give him their full support if he decided to end the hunger strike. He replied that it was all right for people on the outside to talk of ending the hunger strike, they could then go off and have a pint and forget it. But what did he have to go back to? Just an H Block cell."

Several hundred relatives of the republican prisoners met over the weekend, after British media speculation that they didn't support the protests. They

unanimously agreed this short statement: "It is unknown in Irish history for eight men to die on hunger strike for the principle of human dignity. We the parents, wives, brothers and sisters, welcome the statements from the protesting prisoners in the H Blocks and Armagh prisons of July 4th and August 6th.

"We find them clear reasonable statements. We find the British Government guilty of the most callous cruelty and lack of responsibility, care and compassion in the present crisis. We, the relatives, stand united in full support of the protesting prisoners and the hunger strikers."

(Reprinted from Leeds Other Paper)



Plastic Bullets Do Kill

In the wake of the riots in this country, William Whitelaw stated in the Commons that plastic bullets would be used "as a last resort" here, correctly recognising their danger.

Army and Government propaganda promote this same plastic bullet as a low velocity, harmless aid to the security forces in N. Ireland, when they are faced with a riot. This bullet replaced the rubber bullet in 1975 because the serious injury and disability rate of the rubber one was considered to be too high, ie dangerous to life and limb. The plastic is 1/2 in. lighter, it is also designed to hit its human target directly, not after bouncing, and to be aimed at the lower part of the body. However, it has a 110 foot pound impact at a range of 50 yds; and from the time when it was first introduced the US Army Warfare Lab (who ought to know) has it on record that an impact of over 90 foot pounds means serious damage. Scientifically the harmlessness of the plastic bullet was always exposed as a lie. Delegation members also learned about its use, or abuse.

The Army does not have to account for plastics fired during any patrol. Army superiors only have to know when live rounds have been expended. If they don't have to be accounted for they can be used quite freely - out of fear or panic, out of revenge for fellow soldiers killed or wounded, or politically - to frighten off people who come out onto their streets to protest at a hunger striker's death, or to try to avert a further death. This is what the security forces do. The plastics can be fired from slits in the sides and back of armoured jeeps or tanks, soldiers or police are not exposed, they can fire away. This has been done indiscriminately and discriminately.

These lethal missiles cost the Defence budget £5 each. 19,000 were fired between January and June this year (Commons announcement), 15,000 in the two week after Bobby Sands' and Francis Hughes' deaths. This is indiscriminate, designed to stop the mass campaign born out of the hunger strike for the 5 demands.

Their discriminate use is even more horrific. Between April and June this

Armagh

After the march on Saturday we attended a reception given to us by Sinn Fein. Among the speakers were Paddy Bolger from Sinn Fein and Sile Darragh, who had been released from Armagh Jail the Wednesday before. When Sile was introduced she received a two-minute long standing ovation from the packed audience - an overwhelmingly moving moment not only for Sile but for many of us on the delegation also.

(Reprinted from Class Struggle)

FROM SILE DARRAGH'S SPEECH

THE NO WASH PROTEST,
FEBRUARY TO WINTER 1980

We were locked up 23 hours a day. We had one hour's exercise. We weren't allowed any toilet facilities. We weren't allowed to get washed. We were allowed out one at a time to collect meals and if you didn't get along that wing fast enough it took sometimes six, seven screws to beat you up, drag you along the wing and throw you back in your cell. That's the type of thing that happened in Armagh Jail.

THE PRESENT SITUATION

Then when the no wash protest ended things went back to the way they were before February. We get washing facilities, let out to go to the toilets. We're allowed one clothes parcel every month. Due to being allowed our own clothes, we get association time from five to half past eight.

At the moment the morale of all the women - I can tell you: I was only released on Wednesday - the morale of all the women is absolutely sound. It's a very bad time for the women in Armagh. It's not easy: we are with our comrades inside H-Block. It's not easy to sit back and hear that one has died, another one has died. To watch the British allow the men to die.

But it is also to be realised that hunger strike is the only way. It was the last option. It was the last thing left open because the British were going to let us sit and rot. And that was it. We had to mobilise the people behind us. We had to mobilise support. And that's what it is doing. It's a very, very sad thing. But there's nothing else.

year 7 people have been killed by plastic bullets (reported at an International Tribunal, Belfast August 3/4th). Three were children, one a young mother. None were involved in rioting. They all received wounds to the head or chest. The security forces aimed to maim and kill, and they aimed at those who were vulnerable, through age, or being apart from a crowd and so 'easy' targets. Witnesses who volunteered statements about these deaths at local RUC stations were threatened with arrest for rioting; people who tried to avert a shooting were themselves shot at. The Army and RUC have a licence to kill with these bullets. A Woman who lives in the Lower Falls told of a friend of hers, shot in the head for telling the Army to get out of her street: she said that they were trying to "turn us all into vegetables."

Two tribunals in Belfast have called for plastics to be banned. Families, friends and plastics' victims have also set up a campaign which includes publicising their 'political' use. They are combatting a murderous weapon.

Owen Carron's Election



Nora and Mary McElwee (Tom's sisters), Malachy McCreesh (Raymond's brother) and by members of the Troops Out Movement from London and Birmingham, who had stayed on after the delegation. Their hard work and dedication paid off, and despite allegations of personations (ie voting twice under different names), at 4pm on Friday 21st August, when the election results were announced, the farmer's son from Eniskillen, Owen Carron, had not only won the election, but had fought off the challenge from the Workers Republican Clubs' candidate, and increased the majority to 2,230, once again showing the British Government that there was plenty of support for the five demands and again embarrassing Thatcher's propaganda campaign.

On Thursday 9th April 1981, 30,492 voters in the constituency of Fermanagh and South Tyrone elected Bobby Sands, a prisoner in the H Blocks of Long Kesh who had, at that time, completed 40 days on hunger strike.

His election manifesto was simply the five demands of the prisoners and his one opponent was Harry West, standing for the Official Unionist Party. West received 29,046 votes, giving Bobby Sands a majority of 1,446. Just 26 days later, with his five demands ungranted, Bobby was to die, the first Republican prisoner in the North of Ireland to die while on hunger strike. The people of Fermanagh were once again without an MP.

Fermanagh and South Tyrone is one of the largest constituencies in the United Kingdom. It is 70 square miles and 73,000 people are entitled to the vote within it. The largest towns are Eniskillen, Omagh and Dungannon, and it is mainly an agricultural area.

is raised by another member of that party. In the case of Bobby Sands, there was no other party member. So, on Tuesday 28th July 1981, a writ was moved by Dafydd Ellis-Thomas MP, member of the Welsh Plaid Cymru party, and seconded by Ernie Roberts MP, member of the Labour Party, thus forcing the Conservative Government to call a by-election. The date chosen was Thursday 20th August.

On closing date for nominations, six candidates had declared that they would be standing. They were:

Owen Carron	Anti H-Block
Ken Maginnis	Official Unionist
Tom Moore	Workers Republican Clubs
Seamus Close	Alliance
Martin Green	Peace
Simon Hall-Raleigh	Amnesty

CHANGING THE RULES

Since he was unable to actively campaign for his election, Bobby Sands appointed Owen Carron as his election agent and representative. After he died, it was decided by the British Government that they would not allow another prisoner to stand in his place so, true to form when the rules do not suit them, they introduced a new law which disqualified any prisoner in an Irish jail, whether in the Free State or the North, to stand as a candidate in a by-election. Not to be outdone, the National H Block/Armagh Committee agreed that the best candidate, therefore, would be the representative of their late MP, Owen Carron.

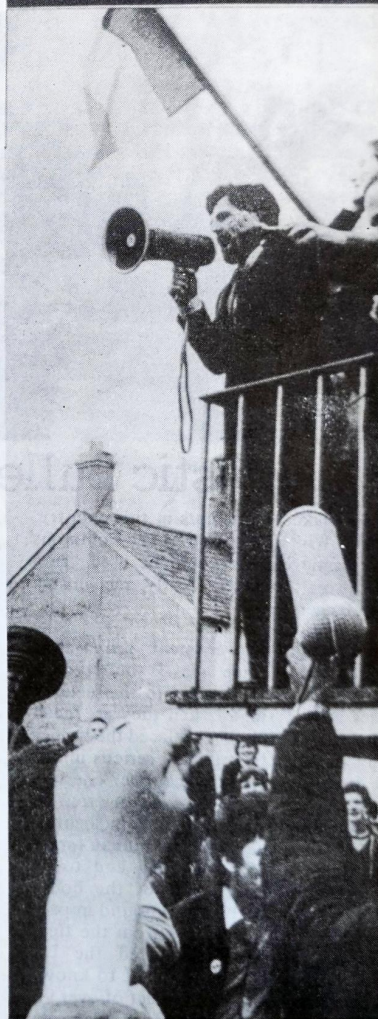
However, the next problem that they had to overcome was to actually make the election take place. In any normal situation, the writ to move a by-election

BATTLE BUS

After an introductory press conference in Belfast on Tuesday 11th August, Owen Carron's campaign began in earnest on 15th August, the week before the election, when he and his supporters hired a large pink coach which came to be known as the 'battle bus' and several cars all equipped with PA playing loud Republican music. At 11am on Saturday 15th August, in Coalisland, following a short speech for the many television crews and journalists who had gathered, the coach left to carry out a whistle-stop tour of towns and villages in South Tyrone, to wind up in Eniskillen, Fermanagh, on the Wednesday night, eve of the big day.

During that week of campaigning, Owen Carron was accompanied at various times by: Bernadette McAliskey, Sean and Marcella Sands (Bobby's brother and sister), Goretti McDonnell (Joe's widow),

ELECTION VICTORY



(photo: AP/RN)

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From 1968 To 1980

1968 1968 1968 1968

October 5th: N. Ireland Government of Stormont bans civil rights march in Derry. It goes ahead, attacked by RUC police and B Specials, barricades go up in nationalist Bogside, two days of riots.

1969 1969 1969 1969

January: "Peoples Democracy" organise march from Belfast to Derry. Attacked at Buncrana by loyalists and B Specials.

Spring: More civil rights marches; more civil disorder. Talk of reforms splits Stormont Unionists.

August: Traditional loyalist parade in Derry leads to Battle of Bogside: police attack ghetto for two days and are repulsed by nationalists. In Belfast loyalist mobs attack nationalist ghettos: 150 homes burnt out, 6 killed. On **August 14th** Stormont asks British Government for troops, who duly arrive.

December: B Specials disbanded. But the Ulster Defence Regiment (UDR) is set up in its place (same difference!).

1970 1970 1970 1970

January: IRA Army Council splits into Officials and Provisionals. The Provisionals start building up armed forces to defend nationalist ghettos.

June/July: Traditional loyalist marches go ahead, followed by attacks on nationalist ghettos: two loyalists are killed by IRA sniper in Short Strand. British Army responds by invading nationalist Falls Rd: they impose a curfew (illegally), raid houses and kill four nationalists.

August 21st: Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP) formed as a opposition party in Stormont and Westminster.

1971 1971 1971 1971

February 6th: The first British soldier and the first IRA volunteer are killed.

May: SAS (Army undercover squads) start operating in N. Ireland, but it is not until January 1976 that Government admits this.

August 9th: Internment introduced, over 300 mainly 'innocent' nationalists pulled in massive night raids. 20,000 nationalist households go on rent and rates strike.

September: Ulster Defence Association (UDA) formed from local loyalist vigilante groups. A similar paramilitary group, UVF, is already operating.

1972 1972 1972 1972

January 30th: Bloody Sunday. 13 unarmed civil rights demonstrators shot dead by Paratroop Regiment in Derry (another died from injuries).

March 24th: Stormont is disbanded; it is incapable of government. Direct Rule from Westminster begins.

July 21st: Bloody Friday. Nine die in central Belfast from IRA bombs: warnings were not passed on by Police/Army. IRA suspend bombing campaign.

July 31st: Operation Motorman. Army invade nationalist 'No Go' areas, dismantle barricades and set up permanent army bases.

A longer hunger strike by Republican prisoners wins Special Category Status (political status).

1973 1973 1973 1973

March 20th: British Government White Papers sets out new strategy: Stormont back with a power-sharing executive (between nationalists and loyalist).

July: Emergency Provisions Act comes into force, replacing the equally repressive Special Powers Act: no-jury Diplock courts, 72-hour detention, "confessions" accepted as evidence.

October 5th: Power-sharing Executive set up, consisting of Faulkner's Unionists, Alliance Party and SDLP (who renege on rent and rates strike). Opposition from Paisley's DUP and other hard-line loyalists.

December 6th: Sunningdale Conference between Executive and British and Irish Governments. Agree to set up a Council of Ireland.

1974 1974 1974 1974

February: General Election decimates Faulkner's Unionists and boosts Paisley's.

May 14th-30th: Ulster Workers Council loyalist strike against the Council of Ireland. Executive resigns on May 29th — back to Direct Rule.

June 3rd: Republican prisoner Michael Gaughan died in Parkhurst from being force-fed while on hunger strike.

November 21st: 21 killed in pub bombs in Birmingham (not claimed by any organisation). Prevention of Terrorism Act is rushed through and becomes law on 29th.

December: Irish Republican Socialist Party (IRSP) and Irish National Liberation Army (INLA) formed from split in Official Sinn Fein which had become anti-nationalist.

1975 1975 1975 1975

January 30th: Gardiner Report sets out British strategy for next five years, known as Ulsterisation, Normalisation and Criminalisation. Recommends

abolition of Special Category Status and building of H Blocks.

February 10th: Truce between IRA and British Army; direct negotiations follow, including IRA prisoners being secretly allowed out for talks.

May 1st: Elections to Constitutional Convention (Stormont Mark III; hardline Unionists demand majority rule (i.e. no nationalists) and control of Army. It breaks down in March 1976.

December 5th: Last internees released.

1976 1976 1976 1976

February 12th: Republican prisoner Frank Stagg dies in Wakefield on hunger strike.

March 1st: Special Category Status abolished — all prisoners now to be regarded as criminals.

Easter: Relatives Action Committees (RACs) formed to agitate on behalf of Republican prisoners.

August 21st: Peace Movement forms and basks in media limelight for some months because it only condemns Republican armed activity.

September: Blanket protest begins in the H Blocks which first prisoner (Kieran Nugent) convicted under new rules refuses to wear convicts uniform.

September: Britain found guilty of torture by European Commission of Human Rights. The case involved twelve men picked out for special treatment in the first internment round-up of 1971.

October 10th: 13 year old Brian Stewart of nationalist Turf Lodge area killed by Army plastic bullet: leads to big upsurge of street militancy and exposure of Peace Movement's pro-British bias.

November-March 1977: Loyalist assassinations against anyone who is Catholic.

1977 1977 1977 1977

March 1st: Edward Rooney "falls" from second floor window during interrogation at Springfield Rd Barracks. Throughout 1977 pressure builds up to expose torture being used by police and Army.

March 7th-April 22nd: mass hunger strike in Portlaoise Prison in S. Ireland wins secret agreement to what amounts to political status.

May 2nd-13th: Loyalist strike led by Paisley and UDA calls for return to majority rule and increased "security": loses first, wins second.

1978 1978 1978 1978

January: Archbishop O'Fiaich visits H Blocks, describes them as "like the slums of Calcutta".

March 20th and 27th: warden brutality force blanket men to go on "no wash" protest as they cannot leave their cells without being beaten up by warders. Cells covered with excreta and urine.

1979 1979 1979 1979

The H-Block nightmare continues through the year, with mass support from the nationalist people.

March 8th: International Women's Day demonstration outside Armagh Jail leads to 11 arrests. This highlights the continuing protest of the women Republican prisoners.

March 16th: Bennett Report admits ill-treatment of suspects in interrogation centres.

March 30th: Tory MP Airey Neave killed by INLA car-bomb in House of Commons.

August 27th: Mountbatten killed by IRA bomb and 18 Paratroopers killed at Warrenpoint by IRA bombs.

October 21st: National Smash H Block Committee set up — later becomes National H Block/Armagh Committee-covering whole of Ireland.

December: S. Irish Premier Lynch's collaboration with British forces his resignation.

1980 1980 1980 1980

January: Devolution conference starts; drags on and gets nowhere.

February 7th: male warders attack Armagh prisoners, who then go on no-wash protest.

May 21st: First "Summit" between Thatcher and Irish premier Haughey: discussions not published.

June 4th: John Turnley of Irish Independence Party killed by loyalists. Later in the year three more prominent H Block activists are killed: SAS involvement suspected.

October 27th: Hunger strike begins for the five demands by seven Republican prisoners in H Blocks. On **December 1st** three women in Armagh join in.

December 8th: Second Thatcher-Haughey Summit: much publicity about new relationships etc but little concrete results.

December 18th: Hunger strike ends with apparent victory for the prisoners: a Government document concedes most of their demands. BUT THE BRITISH FAIL TO HONOUR THIS AGREEMENT, AND SOW THE BITTER HARVEST OF 1981.

BRITISH TROOPS OUT OF IRELAND . . .

Imagine living our lives facing the barrel of a gun
Our streets closed off by concrete and barbed wire
Soldiers watching ceaselessly from the shadow of their fort
Patrol our council estates with jeeps and armoured cars
Try to defend ourselves with makeshift barricades
Trip wires, petrol bombs and armoured cars
Every move is watched by helicopters droning overhead
Any protest faces the risk of death.

In Ireland it's happening – we see it on the news
The papers say the Irish are to blame
But why do we find it so hard to see
The repression carried out in our name?

We say we're campaigning against the nuclear bomb
but in Ireland the Brits are killing people now
We're outraged when they use plastic bullets in Liverpool
but in Ireland they've used them all along

How do we find it so easy
to stand by freedom wars in far-off lands?
In Palestine, South Africa, Chile and Vietnam
– but when it's next door it's too hard to understand?

The prisoners on hunger strike are continuing to die
all this time, and we still say we're confused
But they've been thrown in prison without a proper trial
tortured till they confess to things they didn't do

Why do we find it so hard to see
The repression carried out in our name?
Labour or Tory, it doesn't matter who's in power
The British State treats Ireland just the same.

It's no good trying to say that it's just a religious war
It's no good wishing the two sides would live in peace
The only thing to do is get the British out
Leave the Irish people to find their own destiny

It's no good drawing back for fear there'll be a war
There's a war now, it's not too hard to see
Victory in Ireland will shake the British State
and we'll all be one step nearer being free.

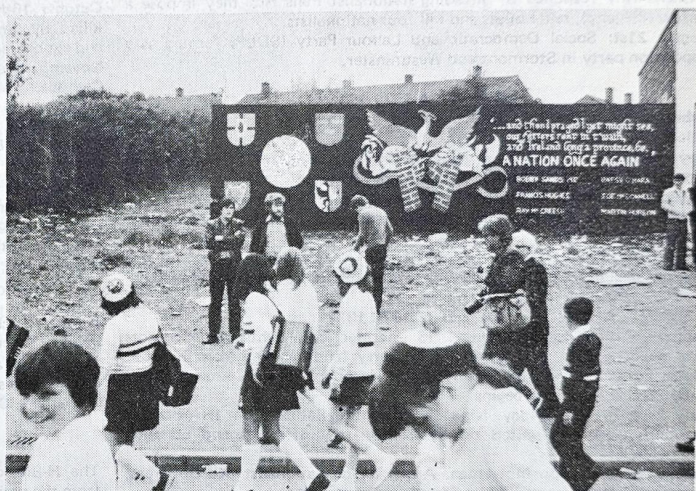
Sheona York

16/8/81

after participating in the Troops Out Movement
delegation to Belfast and Derry, 8/9 August
1981, the 10th Anniversary of the introduction
of internment without trial. Music available by
request from the TOM.



(photo: Class Struggle)



Reading List

HISTORY – ALL-IRELAND, FREE STATE

T.A. Jackson – *Ireland Her Own* (Lawrence and Wishart)
F.S.L. Lyons – *Ireland Since the Famine* (1973)
George Dangerfield – *The Damnable Question: A Study in Anglo-Irish Relations* (1975)
Leon Uris – *Trinity* (fictionalised history)
D.R. O'Connor Lysaght – *The Republic of Ireland* (Mercier, Cork, 1970)
Terence Brown – *Ireland: A Social and Cultural History 1922-1979*
James Connolly – *Selected Writings* (ed. P. Berresford Ellis) (Penguin)
Samuel Levenson – *James Connolly* (1974)
Emmet Larkin – *James Larkin, Irish Labour Leader* (1968)
Ernie O'Malley – *The Singing Flame* (personal account of the Civil War)
J. Bowyer Bell – *The Secret Army* (IRA 1916-1979)

HISTORY – THE NORTH OF IRELAND

Michael Farrell – *Northern Ireland: The Orange State* (1976)
Eamonn McCann – *War and an Irish Town* (1974)
Bernadette Devlin – *The Price of My Soul* (1969)

Liam de Paor – *Divided Ulster* (Penguin 1970)
Geoffrey Bell – *The Protestants of Ulster* (Pluto 1970)

THE WAR AND THE REPRESSION

John McGuffin – *Internment* (Anvil 1973)
John McGuffin – *The Guinea Pigs* (Penguin 1974)
D. Boulton – *The UVF 1966-1973: An Anatomy of Loyalist Rebellion* (Dublin 1973)
Kennedy Lindsay – *The British Intelligence Services in Action* (Dundalk 1980)
K. Boyle, T. Hadden, P. Hillyard – *Law and State: The case of Northern Ireland* (1975)
Peter Taylor – *Beating the Terrorists? Interrogation in Omagh, Gough and Castlereagh* (1978)
Tim Pat Coogan – *On The Blanket* (Quartet 1980)
Nell McCafferty – *The Armagh Women* (1981)
Liam O'Dowd, Bill Rolston, Mike Tomlinson – *Northern Ireland: Between Civil Rights and Civil War* (1980)
Troops Out Movement – *No British Solution* (1980)

This pamphlet was produced by The Troops Out Literature Collective. For more information on The Troops Out Movement write to PO Box 353, London NW5 4NH