

TROOPS OUT

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Paper of the Troops Out Movement 15p

NO MORE DEATHS - SUPPORT THE PRISONERS' FIVE DEMANDS

WHEN BOBBY SANDS, MP, WAS ON HUNGER STRIKE HE KEPT A DIARY FOR THE FIRST SEVENTEEN DAYS. IT WAS SMUGGLED OUT AND HERE IS THE LAST ENTRY.

I was thinking today about the hunger-strike. People say a lot about the body, but don't trust it.

I consider that there is a kind of fight indeed. Firstly the body doesn't accept the lack of food, and it suffers from the temptation of food, and from other aspects which gnaw at it perpetually.

The body fights back sure enough, but at the end of the day everything returns to the primary consideration, that is the mind. The mind is the most important.

If you don't have a strong mind to resist all, you won't last. You wouldn't have any fighting spirit.

But then where does this proper mentality stem from? Perhaps from one's desire for freedom. It isn't certain that that's where it comes from.

If they aren't able to destroy the desire for freedom, they won't break you. They won't break me because the 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'll see the rising of the moon.

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**TROOPS OUT NOW!
SELF DETERMINATION FOR THE
IRISH PEOPLE AS A WHOLE!**



Part of the large rally in London on June 13th in support of the hunger strikers



EDITORIAL

"Welcome to politics; get out of terrorism!" bleated Northern Ireland Minister Michael Alison on hearing the good news from Louth and Monaghan: two IRA H Block prisoners elected to the South of Ireland Parliament.

It is a moot point whether he was referring to British or Irish politics, for in the following week the British House of Commons met to discuss the so-called Representation of the People Bill, designed precisely to prevent the said "terrorists" from standing for Parliament in the "United Kingdom". If they were elected, like one Bobby Sands in Fermanagh and South Tyrone (now quite coincidentally facing a new bye-election), it would represent a victory for the IRA; in reality, a truly classic case of closing the stable door after the horse has bolted.

But we are not dealing with reality: escapism is the order of the day in our Mother of Parliaments. The MPs managed a 50% turnout, a rare feat in a debate on Northern Ireland. One Tory MP nearly spoilt the Tea Party by confiding fears that the propaganda being put about that the IRA was a small, unrepresentative group among Catholics in the North was no longer entirely to be believed, but (the Mad?) Hattersley restored the balance by first opposing the Bill for its anti-democratic content and then obligingly pointing out a loophole involving prisoners held in the 26 Counties which could humiliate the Government if the Bill were passed. The hapless Mr. Whitelaw gratefully accepted the amendment and in five days the Bill went through all the stages with only token opposition.

These events must have presented a poor advertisement for British "democracy" around the world, but no real obstacle to the Irish Republican movement, which is well capable of outmanoeuvring the part-time members of the Westminster Defence Regiment. Latest reports suggest that Owen Carron, Bobby Sands' election agent, will be standing for Fermanagh and South Tyrone with broad Nationalist support.

In the meantime, as Joe McDonnell and the other hunger strikers approach agonising deaths for their beliefs, the Troops Out Movement replies to Michael Alison and his ilk: "Welcome to negotiations; get out of Ireland!"

The Troops Out Movement is a movement in England, Scotland and Wales made up of people who believe that the cause of the 'troubles' in the north of Ireland is the continuing British presence there, both military and economic. We believe that British troops are in Ireland not as a peacekeeping force, but in order to maintain British rule, and that their presence is the most serious obstacle to any progress towards peace. For over ten years the troops have been occupying a part of Ireland, coercing and oppressing the nationalist people, maintaining the division of Ireland and ensuring that its people cannot unite to determine their own future.



We have been working as an organisation for immediate British withdrawal since the early 1970s. We now have over 40 branches in England, Scotland and Wales. These branches, working locally in whatever circumstances allow, are the backbone of the TOM. Membership, or affiliation; is open to any individual or group supporting the demands:

**TROOPS OUT NOW
SELF-DETERMINATION FOR THE IRISH PEOPLE AS A WHOLE**

Buy 'No British Solution': TOM pamphlet explaining Britain's role in Ireland from Partition in 1921 to the present day. 50p + 15p postage.



NEW TOM BRANCH IN SLOUGH

Anyone interested in joining or working with a new branch of the Troops Out Movement in Slough, should get in touch with the TOM Office: Box 353, London NW5 4NH, phone 01-267-2004.

TROOPS OUT is produced by an editorial collective drawn from TOM branches in London. Contributions are welcome (although we can't guarantee to publish everything that comes in).

Copy for the next issue must be sent to arrive not later than:

29th July

Subs: Britain and Ireland £3 for 10 issues yearly. Europe £4. USA and Australia £6. Make cheques payable to Troops Out (Literature Committee).

Send to Box 10, 2a St Pauls Rd, London N.1.

If you want to join one of the TOM branches listed below, or if you don't live near a branch and want to join as an individual, fill in the coupon below.

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I would like to join/be sent information about the Troops Out Movement.

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Membership of a branch is £4, payable through the branch. Individual membership is £5

DON'T JOIN THE ARMY~ JOIN THE T.O.M. DELEGATION

Last August the Troops Out Movement organised a delegation to Belfast. At the rally there on the anniversary of the introduction of internment, an IRA volunteer spoke to the crowds and had this to say about the delegation: "It is heartening to see here today comrades from the British working class. We also embrace as comrades some former enemies, ex-British soldiers, who have spent this weekend encouraging Brits to get out and leave us in peace. We call on British soldiers to desert and we assure them of a safe passage to a safe haven. Desertion is a far more honourable course than beating up and killing Irish men, women and children."

In all its colonial wars — whether it was Malaya, Kenya, Aden or Ireland — the British state has used a whole range of barbarous methods to crush resistance. In Kenya the British interned 78,000 Africans in appalling conditions during the "Emergency". There was no outcry in Britain as the media whipped up a racist climate by misrepresenting the Land Freedom Army as blood drinking savages. The agonising deaths of the four hunger strikers in H Block in May were the result of similar colonial barbarity. This time the massive support for the prisoners in Ireland and internationally threatens to overwhelm the treacherous and intransigent Thatcher administration.

CONSCRIPTION ON THE QUIET

The British soldiers who are daily carrying out the brutal tasks of oppression in Northern Ireland are formally members of a volunteer army. But there are many pressures on working class youth to force them to join up. One is the demoralisation of the dole queue — recruitment figures around the country bear a direct relation to unemployment levels — plus the prospect of learning a trade. Another is the coercion of magistrates who tell you you can either go to Borstal or join the army. A third is the racism in British society against the Irish which "excuses" the prospect of shooting down people on the streets of Derry or Belfast.

Many raw recruits might begin life in the services with an open mind but this is soon slammed shut by the reactionary function of the army, and by the army's brainwashing "education" and the viciously authoritarian army structure.

NO TO ARMY RECRUITMENT

English, Scottish and Welsh people have a special responsibility in fighting for peace with justice in Ireland. No more army recruiting with its deceptive lies and false promises! Don't be taken in by it: find out as much as you can about the causes of the war in Ireland. A group formed just a year ago called Veterans Against the War in Ireland already has 70 members — people who have direct experience of being in an army of occupation and now want to see that army out of Ireland.

This year, on the weekend of 8/9th August, the TOM is organising another delegation to Belfast. This will give you a chance to see for yourself both the oppression and resistance of the nationalist community.



On the Saturday there will be a picket of army forts; to show the army that there are people from their own country who condemn the part they are playing in Ireland.

On the Sunday we will take part in the march and rally that recalls the introduction of internment in 1969, and show our support for the Irish people's fight against oppression.

Throughout the weekend we will be staying among the Irish people who have endured the occupying army so bravely and for so long. There will also be special meetings arranged for women, for youth and for trade unionists to meet their counterparts. The Delegation is both for those already committed who want to show their support actively, and also for those who are unclear but want to find out the truth — a chance to break through the "propaganda wall" and see for ourselves what is being done in our name.

If the hunger strikes are still going on in August there is an extra special reason for joining this Delegation since surely we must do everything in our power to help the prisoners win their just demands.

Some of the newspaper coverage of last year's delegation



If you would like to join the Troops Out Movement mass delegation to Belfast, please contact your local TOM branch or return the tear-off slip to the TO national office: TOM, PO Box 353, London NW5.

To: TOM, PO Box 353, London NW5 4NH

Name.....

Address.....

Organisation (if applicable).....

I am interested in joining the TOM mass delegation to West Belfast on 8/9 August. Please send me further information.

15,000 PLASTIC BULLETS FIRED IN TWO WEEKS



Carol Anne Kelly

"12th May in Lenadoon. There was a peaceful protest, of mostly women, following the news of the death of Francis Hughes. Julie Livingstone was coming along the road as 2 Saladins (heavy armoured tanks) approached at some speed. As the protest cleared off the road, shots were fired by the Saladins. Julie was found by local people lying on the green, having been struck by a plastic bullet. She was struck on the head, and died from severe head injury on May 13th."

(Association for Legal Justice [ALJ] evidence.)

Julie's death from an Army plastic bullet was not an isolated incident. At the end of May, the month that saw the death of the first four hunger strikers, and the deaths of Julie and Carol Anne Kelly, the ALJ held a press conference in Belfast, to detail the "deaths and serious injuries from plastic bullets fired by British Security Forces, of totally innocent persons, especially children, in circumstances of non-riot and/or total non-involvement." The conference demanded the "outlawing of the use of these lethal missiles".

In spite of the facts — that there was a lot of rioting after the hunger strikers' deaths; the people's anger and grief often sparked off by the provocative appearance of the Army in their areas; that two young girls were killed; that 15,000 plastic bullets were fired in two weeks

and the Army ran out of them, the conference was poorly attended by the press. Reporters get their information from Army/RUC handouts, and many serious injuries don't appear in our national press. The following extracts from the conference show the effects of these bullets, and how they are used.

"Carol Anne Kelly from Twinbrook was returning home from a message (errand) to a local shop on the 19th May. She was hit on the side of the head by a plastic bullet fired by Army patrol. There was no rioting going on at the time or place where she was hit. She died on the 22nd May."

A neighbour gave this eyewitness account:

"She was alleged by the RUC to have been shot in rioting around St. Luke's School. St. Luke's is in fact some ¼ of a mile completely out of sight of the spot where she was hit . . . there was rioting in Twinbrook that night, but it resulted from a short time after, word went round the estate that Carol had been very seriously injured — people came from all parts of the estate and focussed their anger and attention on St. Luke's school, where a party of British soldiers had been billeted for the election. The British soldiers were jeering and taunting the people from the school, there were a few youths threw stones at the windows of the school — the Army in return smashed the windows . . . to get firing plastic

bullets at the crowd . . . and shortly after that, a party of British soldiers came up . . . The stewards who had emerged from the crowd had by this time quietened the people down, told them not to retaliate . . . that they would damage the school, when the Army came on the scene, they moved up behind 2 saladins, and completely indiscriminately, fired into the crowd, then sent a snatch squad in . . . which batoned and injured a number of people, and as a result of that, serious rioting did erupt in Twinbrook. But the RUC statement completely restructured the timing and the place where Carol Anne Kelly was shot to tie in with the Army story, and that was verbatim reported by the press as fact."

Little David Madden, aged 4½, was coming home for lunch from his school on the 13th May. Coming down the road he met people scattering in all directions. An RUC jeep pursuing the crowd slowed down and fired a plastic bullet. David was hit on the back of the head, and had six stitches put in at the hospital. Two days later, Paul Lavelle, aged 15, passed by a hijacked bus that had been abandoned in the Ardoyne. He was struck on the head by a plastic bullet fired at quite close range. He is on a life support machine at the Royal Victoria hospital. His heart-broken father has publicly invited Thatcher to visit his son and see for herself his son's injuries.

Mrs. McDonald, a woman in her mid-fifties had gone to the top of her street corner to see a relative. This was at 1.30 am on May 19th, and a bin-lid protest had been taking place. The RUC arrived, people scattered and Mrs McDonald got behind an open wall. The RUC reversed in and as she stepped out she was hit at close range, on her right side. She was taken to hospital with a suspected split liver.

The RUC have also held a press conference, shown nationwide on TV and quoted in news bulletins. The aim of their conference was to justify this "low velocity, crowd-control bullet" when faced with an array of often homemade but ingenious missiles. We weren't told that this 'restrained' RUC are also fully armed, drive around in armoured jeeps, nor that the people on the street only have petrol bombs etc against the full technological force of the British Army — helicopters, saracens and saladins, automatic rifles, machine guns, computers, SAS squads, all backing the RUC.

These bullets are lethal. Their velocity is 200-300 mph when fired at close range, often the practice, as the extracts show, and deliberately. When, deliberately, aimed at heads, chests, livers or kidneys they inflict horrific damage and death. The Army don't have to account for the firing of these bullets, as they have to do for live rounds!

When children, youths, older people, or isolated individuals are picked on as easy targets by the Army, frustrated by the continuing and unbowed resistance of the people, or by a sectarian, armed police, who daren't enter nationalist areas without British army support, it is well after time for people in this country to get that Army out of Ireland.

ISN'T IT LUCKY THAT WE'VE GOT A FREE PRESS?

Nothing demonstrates the great and glorious patriotism of the British media more than its coverage of the hunger strike.

The British Government evidently took the media chappies on one side and explained that they needed three jobs done on their behalf. First, to keep the British public ignorant of what is going on in Ireland. Second, to discount and repudiate all evidence of international support for the prisoners. And third, to put all possible pressure on those Irish churchmen and politicians who might be pushed further into their alliance with the British Government.

The valiant media barons have not shirked their duty.

For keeping the people in ignorance, a good example is the Independent Broadcasting Association (IBA) ban on the World in Action programme which included coverage of Patsy O'Hara's funeral. The producer intended to show that the hunger strike was an IRA propaganda stunt of monstrous cynicism. Unfortunately to do this it was necessary to fill the blank screen and actually show some evidence — and that evidence included film of 30,000 people at Patsy's funeral. Well we can't have that! That can't be the truth! The programme was taken off. Of course, the IBA are not "shutting the door on the programme — it just needs further consideration."

Meanwhile in the House of Commons, a propos of nothing, Mr Atkins said there is a "great deal of intimidation" which forces 30,000 people to go to the funerals of the hunger strikers. And no doubt to elect a hunger striker as an MP in a secret ballot.

And Lord Paget (Labour) suggested: "Why don't we forbid any news of the hunger strike . . . and when the hunger strikers die, bury them in prison."

This censorship does not apply outside Britain — which brings us to the second patriotic duty of our freedom loving press: how to deal with those awfully embarrassing statements the foreigners



The broadcasting authority (IBA) ban World in Action documentary, "Lying in State". The programme claimed to cut through the propaganda war in the North. It shows Patsy O'Hara's lying in and funeral. "They don't want the British public to see the massive support for the hunger strikers . . . it would have told for the first time the massive alienation of the nationalist community. . . ." Tom McGurk — the researcher. This is the fourth programme on Ireland banned by the IBA.

produce. Like that of Mayor Koch of New York, for example. The press here could not avoid reporting the boulder's caddish behaviour in broaching the matter of Ireland with our lovely heir to the throne. But what does this ill-mannered non-British lout know about it anyway? "Look before you yell" yelled the Mirror which hasn't looked at anything truthfully for some considerable time. The Sun, however, countered Mr Koch with some careful argument: "Take a running jump Mr Koch. Try the Hudson River."

Could it be that the Government is wrong? As the Mirror said, what right have the Americans to criticise — look at what they did in Vietnam. Quite.

But no, it could not be: God is on the British Government's side. And speaking of God brings us to the third point. If only God's bloody ministers would get into line maybe we could break the heathen Irish resistance, or at least reduce some of their foreign support. The Times said that if the "message of the Catholic Church were to be delivered with unwavering clarity", then those in Europe and North America who see IRA terrorists as freedom fighters and "the fanatics of the Maze as victims of British repression" would be less likely to do so.

The leader of the Catholic Church in Ireland, despite his many pleas for peace, reconciliation and an end to violence, is depicted in the British press as a recruiting sergeant for the IRA. Well, if they don't know their business we'll just

have to teach them. As a letter in the Irish Post puts it: "A new catechism has been born. No Catholic in Ireland from child to Cardinal shall think, speak or act without first getting permission from one of the following English Catholics: a right wing member of the Tory Party, an editor of a Fleet St paper, or a priest who previously served with distinction in the British Army and preferably held a commission."

Sadly, this pressure on Irish bishops seems to have born some fruit. On June 23rd, Atkins praised the "compassion, urgency and directness" of a statement condemning the hunger strike at one point by Catholic bishops in Ireland.

This article opened by saying that the British media is craven and under the Government's thumb. And this is true. But when the Sunday Times can find only one out of 64 leading foreign newspapers which is fully in support of Thatcher, when Labour Party policy is cracking under the strain, and when, as all the press know but won't tell us (for our own good), the Irish situation is very near to being untenable — then, in this situation, that famed British tradition of independent thought is taken out of the closet and dusted down, for it has been there for a long time. And it produces a variety of hare-brained schemes to get the Government off the hook. The best being the Observer's jolly fine wheeze about re-partition.

But wasn't that tried before? 1921 wasn't it?



New York placard: unpalatable truth?

THE ROAD TO THE HUNGER STRIKE

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 *

H BLOCK PROTEST

To go on hunger strike is surely the most terrible form of protest imaginable — acutely painful, drawn out for sixty days or more of minute by minute suffering as one internal organ after another collapses and bones start rubbing against the skin. Most of all it demands incredible determination to will oneself to keep going even to death. Bobby Sands MP, Francis Hughes, Raymond McCreech and Patsy O'Hara carried this through and still the British Government did not budge. The Government killed them but did not defeat the prisoners.

Instead of despair there is now an escalation, with more prisoners joining the hunger strike each week: JOE McDONNELL, aged 30, from Belfast; KIERAN DOHERTY, 25, Belfast; KEVIN LYNCH, 25, Dungiven Co. Derry; MARTIN HURSON, 26, C. Tyrone; TOM McILWEE, 23, Bellaghy, Co. Derry; PATRICK QUINN, 29, South Armagh; and MICHAEL DEVINE, 27, Derry.

FROM INTERNMENT...

Joe McDonnell and Kieran Doherty were both interned in the early seventies. Internment was the British State's attempt to crush opposition to its rule in Northern Ireland. People of the nationalist areas were rounded up wholesale and imprisoned without being charged with anything, let alone tried; once in prison you didn't know whether you'd be there for months or years. Kieran Doherty lost nearly three years of his life in this way.

However, internment exposed the lack of democracy in Northern Ireland and British State strategy demanded above all the appearance of normality to make its rule seem legitimate. So internment was phased out but before that happened a new legal system was introduced (the Diplock Report, published December 1972) to make mass arrests and intimidation still possible. Juries were abolished, police powers of detention for "questioning" were extended from 48 to 72 hours, and the common law test of admissibility of evidence was abolished so that statements or confessions could be accepted by the judge even if they weren't made voluntarily.

... TO THE DIPLOCK COURTS

All the hunger strikers have suffered this charade of justice which has locked them away. The strongest example is Martin Hurson. He was arrested from his house, part of a round-up that pulled in seven men in County Tyrone in September 1976. At Omagh Police Barracks he

was "beaten about the head with clenched fists and with the open hand. I was hit in the privates... punched in the stomach... and my arms were twisted at this stage. My ears and hair was pulled... my legs kicked apart when I was standing against the wall." After three days of this, he and four others signed statements which implicated them in bomb attacks. He was transferred to Cookstown Barracks where, after he said he was going to make a complaint, he was made to sign another statement under threat of being sent back to Omagh. At his trial these statements were the *only* evidence against him and he was sent down for 20 years. The judge disregarded the evidence of five doctors who had examined Martin Hurson after his ordeal and reported swellings and tenderness on his head, neck and abdomen.

Martin Hurson appealed and got a retrial. There the statement made at Omagh was ruled inadmissible because it "might have been extorted through ill-treatment", but he was still convicted on the basis of the second statement. (Meanwhile, another of the men seized in the same round-up, James Rafferty, had ended up in hospital after his "questioning" at Omagh. Last December — over four years later — the first ever public Tribunal of Inquiry by the Police Authority opened to investigate his complaints. Twenty-nine police were summoned to give evidence: they refused on the grounds that they might incriminate themselves, and the Tribunal collapsed!)

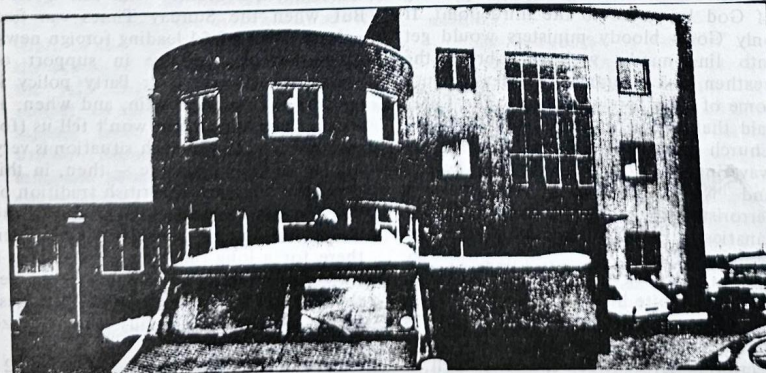
With such systematic injustice as part of their experience it is not hard to see why the prisoners are so determined in their protest and why the nationalist people support them so firmly. The hunger strikers all endured a greater or lesser degree of brutality, then had to go through a year or more remanded in prison, then the farce of a trial ending in enormously long sentences. Kieran Doherty: 22 years for possession of firearms; Joe McDonnell: 14 years for possession of firearms. Compare these to a trial of loyalist UDA members in May who got fines and suspended sentences for possessing rifles and six months and eighteen months for possessing a rifle and pistol!

All the hunger strikers have been three or four years on the blanket protest because they refused to wear criminal prison clothing. The deprivation of being locked up 24 hours a day naked in a bare cell is acute. Joe McDonnell even refused his monthly visits which entail putting on the uniform: he had not seen his wife or children since September 1977 until he decided to go on hunger strike. On top of this they have suffered brutality from the prison warders trying to break their protest: at one point Kevin Lynch (who is a member of the Irish National Liberation Army) was attacked with a hammer. This brutality led to the no-wash protest and thence the hunger strike.

BRITISH JURISDICTION

A Finnish newspaper editor interviewed in the Sunday Times said of the hunger strike, "It made people wake up. They started asking questions about why men were prepared to die, what was their crime, why had they received such heavy sentences?" The history of injustice these young men have suffered comes under British jurisdiction. The hunger strike has exposed that and in doing so it has called into question the right of Britain to rule Northern Ireland. The election of Bobby Sands to the British Parliament, the election of Kieran Doherty and Paddy Agnew (an H Block prisoner on the blanket) to the Irish Parliament, the mass demonstrations and the angry street violence, the extreme determination shown by the hunger strike itself have shown to the world that British rule is not tolerated or acceptable. The policy of "criminalisation" is now wrecked and the very thing it set out to smash — the Irish people's support for the armed struggle — is being consolidated stronger than ever.

Let us, the people of England, Scotland and Wales, do all we can to make sure that no more hunger strikers have to die to make this point.



On the H Blocks conveyor belt : Castlereagh Torture Centre

IRISH ELECTION WATERSHED

STATE OF THE PARTIES

	Fianna Fail	Fine Gael	Labour	Others
Previous Dail	82	45	16	3
New Dail	78	65	15	8 (2 H Blocks)

The intervention of H Blocks/Armagh candidates in the 26 County elections in Ireland has helped to create unprecedented dilemmas for the Dail (Parliament). Neither of the major parties Fianna Fail and Fine Gael have a clear majority to form a new government. On top of that there is the imminence of a Deputy, Kieran Doherty (Cavan-Monaghan), dying on hunger strike in a British prison. His absence, along with that of Paddy Agnew (Louth), will recall the first Dail of January 1919 when 34 elected representatives of the Irish people, "imprisoned by the foreign enemy", were unable to take their seats. The subsequent War of Independence and Partition, followed by 60 years of 'peace', have only swept that issue under the carpet, not disposed of it.

Wherever H Block/Armagh candidates stood, the question of the Northern prisoners was central in an unusually volatile election. How else to explain a protest vote of considerable magnitude in a national contest where supporters of the outgoing Fianna Fail government (under a Prime Minister Haughey, Republican in words if not in deeds) knew that the way they cast their First Preferences could and did affect their Party's chances

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION VOTING SYSTEM

In each constituency, each voter has the same number of votes as there are seats to be won. S/he is asked to express an order of preference. When the votes are counted, if candidates attain a fixed percentage or quota of the total votes cast, then they are automatically elected and their surplus or second preferences are distributed between the other candidates in the next count. Likewise, the candidate at the bottom of the poll is eliminated, and his or her votes are distributed between the other candidates according to second preference, if any. And so on until all the seats have been filled either by the attainment of the quota or by the exhaustion of rivals to the remaining candidates.

of staying in office? In addition, many of the H Blocks voters did not express a second preference, and where they did, the votes went in greater numbers to Socialist-leaning candidates than to either of the two major parties, indicating a strong measure of disillusion with them. Labour's party supporters transferred less votes to H Blocks candidates due to Labour's association with Fine Gael. This alliance worked more to Fine Gael's advantage than Labour's (who lost ground notably in Dublin) and the latter are now split between participating in a coalition to keep out Fianna Fail, or simply supporting a minority Fine Gael government with strings attached.

So the Southern elections have had the following results: they have cost Haughey his majority, at least partly due to his inaction on the prisoners in the North. Any return to Fianna Fail government is dependent on the goodwill of the 6 sitting Independents, at least three of whom are sympathetic to the H Blocks campaign. The high-level talks with the British government will continue much more uncertainly. Finally, the vote for the hunger strikers and their comrades has revealed broad support from all sections of society, notably from the working-class.



Kieran Doherty
TD



Paddy Agnew
TD

HOW THE PRISONERS FARED

CAVAN-MONAGHAN

KIERAN DOHERTY	1st. Preferences	9,121	15%
	Final Vote	10,063	ELECTED

Doherty's remarkably high first preference vote, less than a thousand below the quota, meant that he needed only a few hundred second preferences, which he took equally from Fianna Fail and Fine Gael.

CLARE

TOM McALLISTER	1st. Preferences	2,120	4.7%
	Final Vote	2,183	

729 transferred votes from McAllister to Loughnane (FF), who had spoken for the prisoners from an H Blocks platform, were crucial in getting Loughnane in.

CORK NORTH-CENTRAL

MAIREAD FARRELL	1st Preferences	2,751	6.1%
	Final Vote	3,514	

Collected many second preferences from Labour and Sinn Fein Workers Party (officially anti-prisoners' demands, but with many members supporting them). Had an exceptionally high 1,781 non-transferable votes, possibly feminist ones.

DUBLIN WEST

TONY O'HARA	1st. Preferences	3,034	6.5%
	Final Vote	3,896	

Gained nearly 500 transfers from SFWP and was eliminated only 8 votes behind Labour's Mary Robinson who then received 900 second preferences from O'Hara.

KERRY NORTH

SEAN McKENNA	1st. Preferences	3,860	11.3%
	Final Vote	3,917	

Picked up a high first preference vote. 918 transferred votes to Spring (Labour) helped the latter's election.

LONGFORD-WESTMEATH

MARTIN HURSON	1st. Preferences	4,573	10%
	Final Vote	5,520	

Hurson beat the Labour candidates and got second preferences from all sides.

LOUTH

PADDY AGNEW	1st. Preferences	8,368	18%
	Final Vote	10,814	ELECTED

The only H Blocks candidate to top the first poll, Agnew kept going well on subsequent counts to win a seat.

SLIGO-LEITRIM

JOE McDONNELL	1st. Preferences	5,634	12%
	Final Vote	6,680	

Just lost out in a close race for seats after taking votes from supporters of both major parties.

WATERFORD

KEVIN LYNCH	1st. Preferences	3,337	7.6%
	Final Vote	3,679	

Nearly half his transferred votes went to SFWP; the rest to FF and FG.

WORKING-CLASS STIRRED BY H BLOCK MARTYRS

Earlier this year the Indian Workers Association (GB) stated: "in asking for political status the Irish freedom fighters are not merely making a protest about kangaroo courts, torture and brutality in the prisons, but are challenging Britain's right to rule Ireland. Thus it is an anti-imperialist struggle first and foremost and as such it is connected with anti-imperialist struggles everywhere."

The *Caribbean Times*, a newspaper for West Indians in this country, carried the truest editorial yet printed here: "As the hunger strikers in Northern Ireland's H Blocks continue to die, Margaret Thatcher sticks to her position with a single-minded fanaticism reminiscent of the last days of Hitler or the post-Watergate Nixon..." On the demonstration held in London on June 13th in support of the prisoners' five demands there were strong contingents of Indians and Iranians. Iranians organised a picket of the Tory Party headquarters in London and have supported very strongly the activities of the Newcastle and Liverpool H Blocks Armagh Committees.

It is not surprising that the most immediate working class support for the hunger strikers comes from people who have experienced for themselves the injustices of colonial domination. In Scotland and Wales, too, there is a ready understanding of national oppression: the only mass organisations in "Great Britain" to give positive support to the Irish so far are the Scottish TUC which called on Thatcher to negotiate with the prisoners on the right to wear their own clothes and the right not to do prison work; and the Welsh Party, Plaid Cymru, whose executive passed unanimously motions calling for the unification of Ireland and the withdrawal of troops. They also agreed that their MP Dafydd Thomas should move a writ for a by-election in Fermanagh-South Tyrone whose last MP was Bobby Sands. Scotland has suffered particularly from police repression, with a month ban on demonstrations in Edinburgh and a three month ban in Glasgow, and loyalists too have attacked many meetings: but the work continues on a more intensive scale than in England. When Thatcher visited Edinburgh recently there was a strong H Block/Armagh presence and when the parachute regiment marched her in and out the whole crowd of 3-4,000 erupted in a call for troops out!

In the traditional organisations of the working class, the trade unions and Labour Party, particularly in England, the picture is more patchy. There is a huge gap between the working class membership and the higher echelons. The TUC leadership sticks like an Egyptian mummy to its "Better Life For All Campaign" which glosses over the

British Army's role. The Labour Party in Westminster is creaking at the joints over Ireland, as reported in the last issue of *Troops Out*, but in no way could it be said to have renounced its shameful record in power and in opposition. Often it happens that the feelings of working class members are thrown out by the national leadership (this occurred at the conferences of NATFHE, NALGO and NUPE, for example). An exception to this was the annual conference of trades councils: a motion was put by Brent Trades Council for withdrawal of troops, a Bill of Rights and restoration of special category status. TUC leader Len Murray went over the top, declaring that the motion should not be put (too political, you know), that delegates should not vote for it, that if they did the TUC would not be a party to it. The motion was passed.

In East London, Tower Hamlets Trades Council asked its Irish sub-committee to organise a conference but then backpedalled and postponed it three times. The sub-committee went ahead anyway — the trades council withdrew its support — and over 50 trade unionists passed motions calling for an end to the Better Life for All policy, replacing it with troops out and self-determination; and recognition of "the legitimate demands of the political prisoners in H Block/Armagh and in jails in Britain." A similar chain of events took place in Newcastle earlier when the Trades Council first agreed to have H Block/Armagh speakers at a May Day rally and then withdrew the invitation.

The working class membership of the Labour Party are making encouraging moves, of which we give three examples: — Leicester South Labour Party stood for a minute's silence for Bobby Sands when he died.

— in London, Hackney Central Labour Party passed a motion noting "the complicity of the Parliamentary leadership" in the deaths of the hunger strikers caused by the Government.

— the General Management Committee of Holborn and St Pancras South L.P. passed a resolution calling on the "next Labour Government" to remove the Unionist veto on constitutional changes in Northern Ireland; to plan for a troop withdrawal and abolish the Prevention of Terrorism Act; and to convene an Irish constitutional conference to secure guarantees for both communities in a united Ireland. It also urged the Labour Party, as a matter of great urgency, to support the prisoners' demands.

Resolutions such as these are being passed on a scale not seen before during the twelve years of war. The determina-

tion shown by the hunger strikers is an inspiration: their heroism is breaking through the reactionary mentality that living in an imperialist state can't help but create. But we should also say that resolutions are not enough — resolutions will not save the life of a single hunger striker or a young victim of the next plastic bullet. More positive and public action is needed, and needed now.

MOVES IN BIRMINGHAM

In Birmingham for a long time following the Birmingham pub bombings of November 1974, anyone who criticised Britain's presence in Ireland was denounced as a "terrorist supporter". Many were even physically assaulted for expressing their views. It is still not easy to call for "Troops Out" in Birmingham, but things are changing.

Three years ago in Birmingham the Troops Out movement made a push to widen its work. It had to draw together people who were concerned about Ireland but did not necessarily support the immediate withdrawal of British troops. A conference was organised which was attended by 180 people. As a result the Midlands Committee On Britain's Involvement In Ireland was set up with 18 Labour and trade union organisations sponsoring it, alongside women's and student organisations. It has the following campaigning points:

- For equal treatment in jobs, housing and services for all sections of the Northern Ireland population.
- An end to Government policies of intimidation and harassment of working class communities.
- Repeal of the Emergency Provisions Act 1973 and the Prevention of Terrorism Act.
- Against ill-treatment of prisoners.
- Free discussion on Ireland, an end to media censorship.

The Committee recently organised a delegation to Northern Ireland (which will be reported on in the next issue).

In addition there are these hopeful developments in Birmingham:

— Birmingham Trades Council has finally, after years of sticking to the Better Life for All Policy, has now adopted a troops out now position and support for the prisoners' five demands.

— Birmingham District Labour Party has called for immediate withdrawal of troops and campaigned for this at the West Midlands Regional Conference. It was narrowly defeated but the amount of support given shows an amazing swing of opinion.



The British Intelligence Services in Action

by Kennedy Lindsay (Dunrod Press, Dundalk)

Available in the North and South of Ireland, but not in Britain, this is perhaps the most revealing book to have been produced during the war in the Six Counties. Written by an unusually cosmopolitan Loyalist (Professor, Ulster Vanguard politician and former Canadian External Affairs employee), it throws light on the dirtiest, most Machiavellian schemes of the British Intelligence services. Reading the book leads one inexorably to the author's own conclusion that the power of the British D16, D15, GCHQ and Service Intelligence 'is more uncontrolled and arbitrary than is exercised by the CIA and possibly even the KGB.'

Starting from a rigorous documentation of the affair of William Black, a UDR man whom Army Intelligence attempted to silence when he inadvertently exposed the workings of undercover agents in West Belfast, Lindsay catalogues a series of outrages perpetrated on individual loyalists and certain of their political groupings by the British in the wake of Direct Rule imposed in 1972. His chilling account of a Castlereagh interrogation of a Protestant worker corroborates the Nationalist view of that infamous Holding Centre, only indicating the greater and deeper depths of brutality to which the agents of British occupation have stooped. Unfortunately he does not show the same concern for the beleaguered Nationalist community, his ignorance of it compounded by his failure to conceive of the Royal Ulster Constabulary as anything other than a friendly or at worst neutral police force.

At the heart of the book is the Ulster Workers Council strike of 1974, when the Wilson government (under military advice) pulled back from a major confrontation with the Loyalists and weakened the resolve of the 26 County government for Irish unity. According to Lindsay, the strike "drove home for the first time that Ulster in its present mood would not allow itself to be incorporated into the Irish Republic. The previously unchallenged orthodoxy (in Dublin) that the British government was the main obstacle to the political unification of the island no longer carried conviction. More flexible attitudes began to emerge towards Britain and to institutions such as NATO which have her as a member."

In these "flexible attitudes" we see the basis for the Thatcher-Haughey talks. Lindsay shows how since the mid 1970s the British Secret Service (D16) and the American CIA have conspired in a 'Grand Design' to undermine Irish neutrality and make the Republic part of the American satellite system strategically as well as economically. Where he is wrong is to underestimate the revolutionary heritage of Republicanism that stands in their way.

THE BRITISH INTELLIGENCE SERVICES IN ACTION



Kennedy Lindsay



Revolutionary in Ireland

by Sean MacStiofain

This book is truly the story of a revolutionary – in England, as well as Ireland. Sean MacStiofain grew up in this country and was imprisoned here in the '50s, after an IRA raid on a Training Corps Armoury in Essex. After his release, he went directly to the Free State and continued his both intensely political and military work in the IRA for Irish liberation.

Back in Ireland, Sean's story is at once personal, political and a history of republicanism from 1953-1973; a republicanism that was reactivated from 1968, when civil rights marches in the North started the confrontation of a subjugated people (the nationalists) against this 'Orange' state, created in violence by Britain, and backed by violence. Sean was part of the 'provisional' wing of the IRA, defending a risen people, and went on to become its Chief of Staff. Both as a Director of Intelligence and Commander Sean tells the other side of the war in the North, that swiftly became a war between the British Army and the IRA. His story reveals not only the corrupt and ever more technological military warfare that an army of occupation uses against a guerrilla army of the people, but reveals the principled and political fight of that guerrilla army – its respect for and respect from the people it fights for.

Read this book to find out why the British brought in internment in '71; why they negotiated two truces and broke them; how they used the loyalist paramilitaries; how the determined resistance of the IRA and the people had them developing Kitson's counter-insurgency theories, undercover agents and the SAS. How they used a propaganda war through a network of Army, civilian and media connexions.

The language and explanations in Sean's book are remarkably clear and straightforward, and very human. It probably needs to be read a few times to fully grasp how Britain has attempted to maintain its last colony in N. Ireland.

Available from York Community Bookshop, 73, Walmgate, YO1 2TZ. £4.85p + postage. Also send s.a.e. for a comprehensive list of books on Ireland.

Letter from the H Blocks

The hunger strikers are determined and willing to sacrifice their lives in pursuit of the five demands which entitle us to be treated as political prisoners and which would end the inhuman and degrading treatment which for almost five long years has been practiced in these H Blocks and Armagh women's Jail. Surely such qualities and characteristics can only be admired by most people, irrespective of who they are, and don't correspond – contrary to the claims of the British Government – with those of ordinary criminals. It is indeed distressing that even with the deaths of our comrades these five demands still remain unachieved. If the British Government thinks they have defeated us then they are totally naive, as rather than deterring us, their deaths, or more correctly murders, have served only to strengthen our resolve to carry our protest to a just conclusion.

Women Behind the Wire

Bulletin of the Armagh Co-ordinating Group, London.

This is a clear and useful collection of articles which mainly come from meetings held in Belfast and Dublin on International Womens Day this year. It was an occasion of international solidarity, including women and men from England, Scotland and Wales, and there was a massive picket outside Armagh Jail.

There are two letters smuggled out from Armagh jail appealing for our support and an impressive list of solidarity greetings from Palestinian women, African women, Latin American women and the Indian Workers Association (GB). Among the articles there is a history of the Irish womens movement and a history of the work done by the womens movement in this country in support of the Irish struggle.

The viewpoints put in these and the other articles do not all present the same picture or the same solution: they provide a lot of information and arguments for a discussion that is going on among feminists. This pamphlet will help to make sure that that discussion is not a meaningless abstraction, and many of us will agree with the conclusion of Rita O'Hare's article – "In the aftermath of national liberation struggles around the world we have seen attempts made to force women who were active in those struggles alongside men back into subordinate roles in the new society. This danger cannot be overcome by standing on the sidelines. It can only be totally negated by the fullest possible involvement of determined women in the heart of that struggle. It is time all of us faced up to these realities."

Available from 374 Grays Inn Road, London WC1

45p + 20p post, 5 copies: £2.25 + 90p, 10 copies £4.50 + £1.50.

THE H BLOCKS:

An Indictment of British Prison Policy in the North of Ireland.

Published by Information on Ireland.

A short, very readable account of the issues involved in the H Block hunger strike. It traces the history of the prison protest from its roots in changes in British strategy well back in the early Seventies through to the tragic death of Bobby Sands, MP. It takes up key issues such as what kind of young people now fill the prisons of the North of Ireland, and presents the overwhelming evidence that most are only in prison because of the political situation.

Available by post from Information on Ireland, 1 North End Rd, London W14 8ST.

1 copy costs 40p + 15p post


(50p post, overseas)

10 copies, £2.70 + 80p post

(£1.80 post to Europe, £3.80 elsewhere)

The British Government has shown quite clearly that it hasn't the slightest concern for any Irish, man woman or child: while their intransigence murders Republicans in jail their troops callously murder innocent civilians on the streets of Ireland . . . We must stress the point to everyone that as well as smashing the misery of H Blocks and Armagh there is also a need – in fact a greater need – to smash the root cause of such misery, that is British occupation of our country. However, let us think of our companions on hunger strike. They have only a short time to live, but their lives can be saved by a concerted effort by everyone. I hope and trust that you will not let them die.

From H Block 3 to the Troops Out Movement



Here Is The News

MAY

28th

The RUC raid the headquarters of the UDA in E. Belfast, and find arms cache. 3 members held including leader, Andy Tyrrie — they are released without charges two hours later! (See UDA article)

Volunteers Charles Maguire and George McBrearty killed in shootout with SAS undercover squad. Volunteer Eamon McCourt is badly injured. They had followed a car, containing one man they believed to be an SAS agent, in the Creggan, and when they challenged the driver they were attacked by at least five other agents in two cars. The Army claims there was only one soldier involved in the shootout. Local people help them to get away. Earlier, in the area, the RUC had been fired on. Their return fire badly frightened local people, who had to dive for cover. Barricades then go up again in nationalist areas.

Thatcher makes surprise visit to Belfast, is heckled by HBlock campaigners, and reiterates the government's refusal to grant the five demands. She arrogantly declares that "No-one has asked me to compromise on the prisoners' demands. No-one in any responsible position, in any religion, has asked me to give political status or special category status..." This contradicts the pleas of Cardinal O'Faich and Bishop Daly, the three TDs (Irish MPs) who visited Bobby Sands, and even the SDLP. The British yellow press, prompted by Stormont officials, attack the Cardinal and the Bishop for not attending a dinner with Thatcher, they are both provoked into responding that neither were informed of her presence at the dinner when invited.

29th

David Steel (Liberal leader) also visits the North. He backs Thatcher's intransigence, and after a meeting in the prison hospital with Joe McDonnell, claims that Joe is only interested in 'special political status'. The hungerstriker smuggles out a statement accusing Steel of deliberately lying... "I made it quite clear to him that I was on hungerstrike for the prisoners' five demands..."

National HBlock Armagh Committee announce that it is endorsing 9 prisoners as candidates in the Free State general election, including hungerstrikers Joe McDonnell and Kieran Doherty (see election article for details). 3 other candidates are standing specifically on the HBlock issue. They put out criteria on which to judge candidates in other areas, which include support for 5 demands as a package; endorsement of Committee's call to expel British Ambassador; ending of collaboration and withdrawal of Free State troops from border; and full support for their campaign.

30th-31st

IRA maintain attacks on security forces in North. A British explosives expert killed in South Armagh; an RUC reservist shot dead in Royal Victoria Hospital; a UDR soldier shot in Tyrone; and the following Tuesday a landmine is detonated near landrover containing 5 RUC personnel, outside Derry.

Sunday Times reports volume of international press opinion that government should grant 5 demands.

JUNE

1st

Atkins ignores Sunday Times statement, claiming support for government policy. He explains that special status was granted in 1972 as there was far more 'trouble' on streets then, and less room in prisons! He makes noises about new talks in North towards a political settlement.

Fergus O'Hare (new People's Democracy councillor in Belfast), calls for public enquiry into use of lethal plastic bullets, after Sean Tomelty, aged 24, seriously injured from point blank range bullet day before.

Archbishop Runcie starts 4 day 'peace mission' to Ireland, and confirms government's stance. Princess Alexandra also arrives to promote 'normalization', but the security leak to Paisley beforehand which sparks off row with RUC and NIO, betrays the 'normality'.

2nd

5 member delegation from National HBlock Armagh Committee meet RTE officials to discuss election broadcasts on behalf of prisoners, which they are entitled to. They asked for a temporary rescinding of Section 31, which bars Sinn Fein spokespeople, which was not granted.

UDA announce plans to form political party — and deny this might be in connection with their being banned, after arms find.

RUC demand visa permits for foreign journalists entering the North. Allison rejects this, stating such a restriction of the press "leads to a restriction of the freedom of the people!"

3rd

Irish Commission for Justice and Peace (part of Catholic hierarchy) put out 3 point plan for prison reform in North to solve hungerstrike crisis.

Oliver Hughes, brother of dead hungerstriker Francis, elected vice chairman of Magherafelt DC in Derry as an independent councillor.

Army/RUC mount massive raid on Divis flats, virtually a no-go area since death of Bobby Sands. They arrest 12 people, shoot at a middle-aged man, who is taken to hospital, and dismantle the barricades.

5th

The HBlock/Armagh Committee issue a statement explaining why the hungerstrike is being escalated, by a new hungerstriker starting every Monday. "We feel this escalation is necessary because the existing 4 man relay strategy allows the British a recuperation period during which they can enjoy a lessening of pressure and can callously prepare for the deaths of the next hungerstrikers. The escalation will ensure that no respite occurs... Sooner or later the British are going to realize that we are not going to meekly surrender, that their intransigence is futile, and that only by giving us our demands will the hungerstrike be ended."

6th-7th

IRA shoot dead a UDR reservist lance corporal in South Fermanagh, and attack a RUC patrol in N. Belfast.

8th

Tom McElwee, age 23, joins the hungerstrike. A cousin of the late Francis Hughes, he was caught after a premature bomb explosion in 76, when he lost an eye. He has a brother on the blanket and a friend Dolores O'Neill in Armagh jail.

The mother of Brian Stewart from Turf Lodge, killed by a plastic bullet in October 76, has her claim for compensation put back for the sixth time in Belfast court. Republican Press Centre says this is because the case would have highlighted the danger of and indiscriminate use of these bullets at an embarrassing time. See article on p.4.

Haughey, in election statement on North, says that as a political entity it is a failure, and only Dublin talks could succeed. He continues to divert his lack of attention on hungerstrike by pushing W. European solution.

In England the Home Policy Committee of Labour Party asks the NEC to exert pressure on government to adopt a more flexible approach to prison conditions, and for a negotiated political settlement in North.

The American civil rights lawyer, Paul O'Dwyer will represent the prisoners at the UN Human Rights Commission, on the HBlocks and inhuman treatment, Diplock courts and legal injustice, and statements given under torture. 3 UVF members get life sentences for the murder of Brendan McLoughlin in February last year. They were attempting to murder Joe Austin of Sinn Fein.

9th

58 Trades Unionists call for support for the HBlock candidates in election.

Belfast journalists who were refused access to Thatcher's press conference want support of NUJ in demanding their right to attend and ask Thatcher about N. Ireland policies.

10th

8 republican prisoners on remand in Crumlin road jail escape. They used a gun to get warders uniforms and lock up prison guards. One warder was punished for his attacks on republican prisoners. The second escaping group came under fire outside but got safely away. Three solicitors visiting them are held under the PTA, and 2 drivers of hijacked getaway cars.

12th-14th

Many people in Free State show their support for the hungerstrikers by electing Kieran Doherty and Paddy Agnew as TD's. The others also do well. See election article. A national rally and march in support of the hungerstrikers demands in N. London draws 3,000-4,000 people. Among many passionate speeches, GLC councillor Ken Livingstone declares that the IRA are freedom fighters and that Britain should withdraw militarily and economically from North.

IRA attach a bomb to Lord Gardiner's car while he is in Belfast, but it falls off. "We meant to kill Gardiner, the political architect of the criminalisation policy, and the HBlocks."

15th Patrick Quinn, a comrade of Ray McCreesh, aged 29, joins the hungerstrike. He is doing 14 years for attempting to kill a British soldier, 14 years concurrent for possession of explosives, 5 years concurrent for IRA membership.

16th RUC constable faces a murder charge. Last summer he shot dead Michael McCartan, 16, who was painting a slogan on a wall in Belfast. RUC man claims he thought paintbrush was a gun. But Michael was shot in the back, and he and friends were surveilled by an unmarked police van for some time before the shooting. 4 days later he is acquitted. Michael's father says he is very bitter and that the verdict is "a foregone conclusion".

17th 3 women from Armagh jail, Briega Ann McCaughey, Eileen Morgan, and Shirley Devlin (now released), start a claim for compensation for the brutal attack the women prisoners suffered from a male riot squad at the prison last Feb. There are delays due to the judge knowing some of the witnesses and many witnesses still being imprisoned. This is regarded as a test case. The judgement is due by the end of this month. This week the dire state of the economy in the North is discussed in the European parliament at Strasbourg. Prince Charles faces huge demonstrations on his visit to New York by HBlock activists.

The New York mayor says the "British should get to hell out of Ireland..." and that Charles denied that British rule in the North constitutes colonisation.

18th Nora Connolly O'Brien, lifelong republican and James Connolly's daughter, dies.

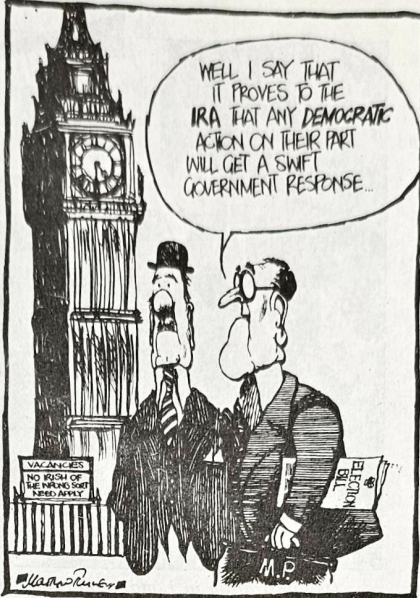
The HBlock blanketmen and hungerstrikers state that the Irish Commissions proposals are not a solution, but that they appreciate their efforts.

21st

3 of the Crumlin Road escapees appear at the Wolfe Tone commemoration in Bodentown, and get safely away.

FBI arrest 2 Irish Americans in N. York, and seize weapons they claim are to be sent to the IRA.

22nd



The Commons Bill to prevent prisoners sentenced for more than one year from standing in elections is passed at its second reading. Whitelaw is frantically trying to seal up the loophole regarding prisoners in the Free State. Labour has a free vote in the end,

and six vote for the Bill. Sam Silkin claims the bill is 'misbegotten and misshaped', Pat Duffy slams it and Thatcher's intransigence on the hungerstrike, 1 Tory MP votes against it. The government is faced with unpalatable democracy again!

Michael Devine, aged 27, and the Officer Commanding of INLA, joins the hungerstrike. He is serving 12 years for firearm possession. The Republican Press Centre says that the number of hungerstrikers will stop next Monday at 8 for now.

Members of Irish Commission (see 3rd June) visit HBlocks and Tom McIlwee. Tom McIlwee then smuggles statement to republican press centre, saying he has outlined the basis for the 5 demands. Fr. Crilly (of Commission) says he believes prisoners to be genuinely pursuing a settlement.

23rd

Commission of Bishops visits National HBlock/Armagh Committee who want to ensure they have not reduced their proposals from last October.

'Don't let Irish prisoners Die Ad Hoc Committee' of Labour MP's and others call for a conference of political leaders, trades unionists and churchmen from the North to attempt to resolve hungerstrike. Ernie Roberts (chair) declares "the way to resolve the issue is by conceding to the HBlock prisoners the wearing of their own clothes, and work within the prison system on an agreed basis. The other three points at issue were virtually agreed following the ending of the pre-Christmas hungerstrike..."

Liberal friends of Ireland attack David Steel for backing the government's Irish policies, and failing to come up with any positive alternative.

Owen Carron, Bobby Sands' election agent, will stand for election in Fermanagh/South Tyrone. New problem for House of Commons?

Arrests in Coventry

On May 7th four supporters of the Coventry & District Hunger Strike Committee hung banners over a ring road footbridge saying "Victory to the Hunger Strikers" and "Political Status Now". Police arrived and immediately arrested them. They have been charged under the Public Order Act ("displaying insulting writing"). In the past people have been asked to remove placards and banners but instant arrest shows a big stepping up of police harassment.

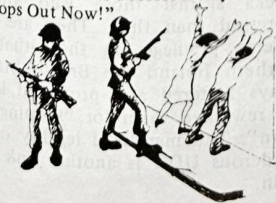
The four are pleading not guilty, and if convicted they intend to appeal to the High Court. The committee would appreciate messages of support:

Coventry & District Hunger Strike Action Committee
c/o Students Union
Coventry Polytechnic
Priory Street Coventry



Anti-Recruitment

On 20th June the newly formed Newham TOM carried out its first activity: leafletting in front of army displays at the Newham Festival. The displays had their usual tempting array of artillery, machine guns, rifles etc and the soldiers did not take kindly to our unexpected arrival and the unwelcome truths of our leaflets. Such activity against army recruitment is a forceful way of saying "Troops Out Now!"



Sponsored Walk

Paddy Kelly, a member of the James Connolly flute band, is doing a sponsored walk to highlight the hungerstrike in the H Blocks and to raise money for the Belfast H Block/Armagh Committee. He starts his walk from Glasgow to London via the Lake District and the A1 on June 30th, and should arrive in London in about three weeks.

Please help Paddy's brave endeavour by sponsoring him (and send contributions to him via Box 353, London NW5 4NH) and by contacting a local TOM branch and walking with him when he reaches your area.

The following poem is dedicated to the memory of Vol. Patsy O'Hara, I.N.L.A. Officer Commanding, H-Blocks, Long Kesh Concentration Camp, who died after 61 days on hunger strike for political recognition.

FAREWELL DEAR FRIEND

O're James Connolly House the Black Flag flew,
As 'neath it wept, comrades old and new,
Hundreds lined in columns long,
To bid a last farewell to our martyred son.

Filing past his flower-decked bier,
The common people sighed 'mid tears,
For a worker's son had come back home,
To the Bogside folk, always one of our own.

Like hundreds he had lain in jail,
Each cell their tomb, a sole blanket grey,
A brother too on protest stayed,
Neither to meet, not 'hello' say.

For four long years in solitude,
No books or papers ever to read,
The outside world was far away,
Even God's sunlight denied each day.

They cried for justice, but few took heed,
The rich man as ever stayed aloof,
The clerics mainly they were deaf,
As politicians like the ostrich stood.

When all other means did not prevail,
On hunger strike went four for 'ore sixty days,
Yet freedom came, but with it death,
While the May flower blooms we won't forget.

In sorrow & Pride,
Finn O'Foyle

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2 St. Paul's Rd., London N1.

DON'T JUST STAND THERE!

JOIN THE HUNGER STRIKE MARCHES

MANCHESTER

SATURDAY 18TH JULY

Assemble: 1 p.m., All Saints, Oxford Road, Manchester 15.

Further Information:
Manchester Hunger Strike Committee
164-66 Corn Exchange Buildings
Hangingditch, Manchester M3 4BN.

LEEDS

WEDNESDAY 29TH JULY
(Royal Wedding Day)

Assemble: 1 p.m., Potternewton Park, Harehills Avenue, Leeds 7.

Further Information:
Leeds Hunger Strike Committee
Box LAP 1798,
29 Blenheim Terrace, Leeds 2.



Demonstration in London on June 13th sets off from Finsbury Park led by a coffin. Please do all you can to ensure that no more coffins are needed at the H Block.

For details of buses etc. contact your local TOM branch or Hunger Strike Committee or write to Box 353, London NW5 4NH, or phone (01) 267-2004.
This office is staffed every weekday afternoon and can deal with inquiries concerning both the Troops Out Movement and Hunger Strike Committees.

U.D.A.: LEGAL ASSASSINS

The UDA (Ulster Defence Association) is a loyalist organisation claiming a membership of 33,000 men, 3,000 women and from these a trained military force of 18,000. Its stated political aim is to have a negotiated independent "Ulster". It is quite openly an armed paramilitary outfit that is responsible for the murder of several hundred Catholic civilians, yet it is not banned, proscribed or driven underground. This legalised existence is the clearest proof that the British Army is not a neutral peacekeeping force in Northern Ireland but an instrument to maintain British rule by a policy of divide-and-rule.

The UDA is "the only terrorist organisation in Europe listed in a telephone book" (New York Daily News). A police raid on its headquarters on May 27th uncovered a considerable quantity of guns and ammunition stored there. Yet not one member of the organisation was arrested. Two days later UDA leader Andy Tyrie was interviewed by the *Washington Star* and stated, "Political assassination carried out against active Republicans is not wrong. I support it." And, "In the early days of the troubles the UDA killed Catholics indiscriminately under the impression that they were

all Provos, but now engages in selected political assassination of active IRA members." Another spokesperson for the UDA isn't so choosy: asked what would happen if there were riots about the hunger strike he replied, "Great demands will be put on the loyalist paramilitaries to go out and exact revenge. This organisation is prepared. We have a contingency plan." (New York Daily News) The UDA training manual gives detailed instructions about bombings and shootings and other methods of killing (eg plastic bags — "never take off the bag until your victim is dead").

Last November the UDA stated publicly that it was out "to eliminate certain Provisionals active in the H Block campaign". In the following weeks they attempted to kill footballer Matt Bradley and Sean McConville. They claimed to the *Irish Times* that they assassinated Miriam Daly, Ronnie Bunting and Noel Little — all active in the H Block campaign — and this claim was supported by a military intelligence report. Many other activists and Catholic civilians have been murdered since the hunger strikes began but other loyalist terror groups and the Army SAS squads have also played their disgusting parts.

Yet despite these admissions, despite constant proof that the UDA possesses and uses weapons, despite Thatcher's determined principle that "a crime is a crime is a crime", the organisation is not banned. The reason can only be because the UDA is useful to the British State — it is on the same side.

Finally, lest anyone should have illusions about the UDA's politics because they have a working class membership and prisoners in the special category compounds of Long Kesh, their political orientation was shown up at the end of May when they played host to a "fact-finding" delegation of the National Front! Andy Tyrie claimed that the UDA didn't identify with the NF's Nazi and racist politics, but the two organisations have this in common: instead of fighting against the exploiting class or oppressor nation, they direct their attacks against those who are more oppressed than they. They are out to preserve privilege. In the situation of Northern Ireland the British State has always fostered and protected loyalists and rewarded them for "keeping Paddy down". The mantle of legality over the murderous UDA is another link in this chain.