

Troops *Out*

MAGAZINE OF THE TROOPS OUT MOVEMENT

£1

Volume 15 Number 4 May/June 1992

IRELAND: The issue that won't go away



● Tony Benn
interviewed

● Martin McGuinness
on peace

● See back cover for
delegation details

Troops Out Movement

The Troops Out Movement is made up of people who believe the cause of the 'Troubles' in the north of Ireland is the continuing British presence there, both military and political. We believe that British troops are in Ireland not as a peacekeeping force, but in order to maintain British rule. Their presence is the most serious obstacle to any progress towards peace. The Troops Out Movement has been working as an organisation for British withdrawal since the early 1970's. We have branches in most major towns and cities working locally in whatever way circumstances allow. Membership or affiliation is open to any individual or group that supports our demands:

Troops Out Now! Self Determination for the Irish people as a whole



The Troops Out Movement is an open, democratic organisation that is not aligned with any political party or faction. Policy and strategy are determined by the annual conference at which all members and affiliates can vote. The movement is co-ordinated regionally by elected representatives, and as a whole by the Steering Committee elected at annual conference.

The Troops Out Movement office in London provides support and information to members and branches, distributes books, videos and magazines, pamphlets and papers. It is open every weekday from 1-6pm. Tel no. 071-609-1743.

We need your support in campaigning for British withdrawal from Ireland, and can support you in challenging media censorship, anti-Irish racism, state violence and any of the other issues that arise from the British occupation of Ireland. Complete the slip below and return it to The Troops Out Movement Box 353, London NW5 4NH

I would like to **join** a local branch of the Troops Out Movement.
I enclose a cheque/p.o. for £6(waged), £2(unwaged) ☐

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Troops Out is produced by a
collective drawn from branches
of the Troops Out Movement.

Readers views, articles and
letters are always welcome but
we can't guarantee to publish
everything that comes in.

All correspondence should be
sent to : *Troops Out*, PO Box
353, London NW5 4NH, Tel
071-609-1743, Fax 071-607-
4463

Copy for the next issue
should reach us by 9th June

Design : *Troops Out*
Cover: Marta Rodriguez
Print: Blackrose Press(TU)
London EC1.

Signed articles represent the
view of the author not
necessarily those of the
Troops Out Movement

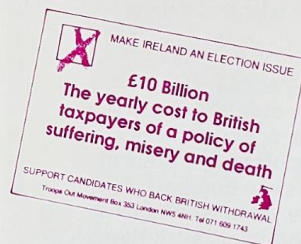
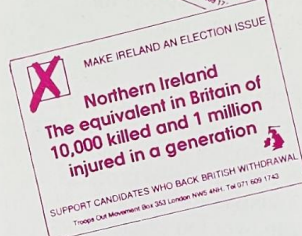


The *Independent on Sunday* in its headline three days after the general election unwittingly summed up the tragic reality of political life in Britain: 'Huge bombs blast a way on to the political agenda' ran the story. It followed four weeks of an election campaign when politicians in tandem with the media did everything possible to keep Britain's role in Ireland off the political agenda. There is a yawning gulf between British politicians and the electorate about this issue - demonstrated by a decade of opinion polls as well as the positive response both to our election campaigning and local poll results.

For these reasons, like it or not, Ireland will continue to be on the agenda and not just because of the IRA. While Major's government may believe they have some kind of mandate for the next five years, they have no mandate in Ireland none in Scotland, (particularly on the Union) and none whatsoever from people in Britain on their policy in Ireland.

Brooke's replacement by Mayhew is simply an acknowledgment of failure even on their own terms. His appointment reflects the fact that after thirteen years of 'initiatives' their only real option left is to increase repression. The truth is that Britain has failed to stabilise its 'Irish problem'. The IRA, the 78,000 who vote Sinn Fein and the vast majority of the people in Britain and Ireland, for a variety of reasons seem set to frustrate that goal and keep Ireland to the forefront of political life until peace through self determination has been achieved.

Unfinished business



The election results confirmed one thing - that the kingdom is not united despite yet another Tory government who have declared their firm intentions of defending it.

That the Tories are unequivocal about the continuation of the union, despite majority opinion in Scotland, must mean further divisions. Tory rule means the denial of the right to self determination for both Scotland and Ireland it also means the continuation of conflict, division and the denial of peace.

Mayhew and mates

The appointment of Patrick Mayhew, as Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, with Michael Mates as his running partner, signal continued Tory support for the unionists. Mayhew's hard line record in refusing to prosecute any RUC officers named in the Stalker/Samson inquiry because of 'national security' and his aggressive position as Attorney General suggest further erosion of the legal

NORTHERN IRELAND POLL RESULTS

	Total Votes cast	% of vote	MP
Sinn Fein	78,291	10.0%	0
SDLP	184,445	23.5%	4
DUP	103,039	13.1%	3
UUP	271,049	34.5%	9
Conservatives	44,608	5.7%	0
Alliance	68,665	8.7%	0
Others	34,996	4.5%	1

processes for those facing an endless torrent of human and civil rights abuses in Northern Ireland.

Michael Mates, a former Lieutenant Colonel in the Queens Dragoon Guards and supporter of the death penalty has made clear his views on the need to prioritise "the defeat of terrorism".

Their appointments, despite known opposition to Mayhew from both Dublin and the Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP) reflect a decision to push 'security' to the top of the agenda and to prioritise the military campaign in an attempt to finally destroy the nationalist struggle for self determination.

Sinn Fein

In Northern Ireland every attempt by Sinn Fein to develop a political campaign has been met with civil and military obstruction. Changes in election rules, the broadcasting ban, elected representatives murdered, harassed and imprisoned are just part of a systematic campaign to marginalise the most outspoken opponents of British rule in Ireland. The seat in West Belfast was won by the SDLP as a result of unionists switching votes. This cynical piece of manoeuvring could not be called victory for the SDLP over Sinn Fein (Adams increased his vote) but a victory for the Northern Ireland Office and sections of the unionists promoting the SDLP in their fight against republicanism.

Throughout the election period Sinn Fein workers were stopped and searched by British soldiers and the RUC and subjected to verbal abuse and death

threats. Danny Cassidy, a Sinn Fein election worker in Co Derry, was murdered by the Ulster Freedom Fighters (UDA/UFF) on 2nd April. Only 2 days earlier the RUC had stopped and threatened him. Sinn Fein reported two other attempts on the lives of election workers as well as several assaults by British soldiers. Key workers were arrested, including two from Derry who were held in Castlereagh for two days and questioned solely about the election.

Media

Despite this obvious erosion of democracy, the media did not cover Northern Ireland in the election campaign. This catalogue of events would be subject to international scandal if it took place elsewhere in the world, leading to demands for international observers, the British media however chose to disregard events on its own doorstep.

Foreign affairs coverage during the election was dismal. The Guardian reported zero percent of time given to this topic on TV/radio and tabloid front pages. Kevin McNamara (Labours shadow Northern Ireland Secretary) made no appearances on the TV or radio. Despite the lifting of the broadcasting ban for discussion of election campaigns, censorship remained rife. The Troops Out Movement was reliably informed that a decision had been made that Northern Ireland would not be covered on the main news programmes, only on the local news.

Media and party policy was explicitly revealed early in the campaign on Channel 4's Election Special on 17

March by Jonathan Aitken MP, (Conservative): "I think there's a quiet determination, which is a consensus in British politics, across the party divide, that no-one is going to say anything in the election that gives any comfort to the idea that we are either going to pull out of Ireland or have talks or truck with the IRA. So I think there is a broad support for the security status quo...."

Phoney vote

And so an issue rarely out of the headlines in the months before and days after the election, was not once discussed in the media during the campaign. This obvious subordination of Irish national and human rights to the 'interests' of British political parties is further reflected in the very appointment of a 'Secretary of State for Northern Ireland'. In effect this person is a colonial 'Viceroy' answerable only to the British cabinet. As the Troops Out Movement pointed out in our submission on the denial of self determination to the Northern Ireland Human Rights Conference "Elections are held in Ireland, but no vote and no combination of votes cast in elections north or south of the border can determine whether or not Britain remains in Ireland. As a colonial relationship, the Union could be ended only by a decision of the British government. There is no clearer indication of the fact that British rule in Ireland is wholly in breach of the right to self-determination."

Poll

During the election campaign the Troops Out Movement distributed over 30,000 leaflets calling on

people to question their candidates position on British withdrawal. We wrote to over 600 prospective candidates and attended meetings in many towns and cities questioning candidates and raising the issue of British withdrawal from Ireland.

The Troops Out Movement also carried out local opinion polls in a number of towns and cities. A total sample of 1,452 were polled and all areas reported that people were more than willing to give their views on the subject. Some 58% said they thought Britain should withdraw from Northern Ireland, and 69% thought that the government should hold a referendum on the issue.

Peace work

The result of the General Election means we cannot expect the government to work towards peace between Ireland and Britain; but these were the dismal facts when the election campaign opened. Our opinion poll does show that the majority of people did not choose a 'war cabinet' and it is at this local level that we must continue to build support. Dissent is being organised, particularly in Scotland where only 25% of voters supported the fourth term of Tory misrule. Human rights are firmly on the agenda and the demand for self determination is an issue of international concern which will not disappear. It is now as true as ever that peace will not be achieved without justice and equality, and it is these facts that we must continue to push for.

Mary Mason

Working for equality

A well-attended conference on 29 February in Birmingham, organised by Tulink, (Trade Union Ireland Labour Network) on 'Jobs and Discrimination in Northern Ireland' included representatives from :- NALGO, MSF, UCATT, NUT, NGA, AEU, NUS, RMT, NATFHE, EETPU, TGWU, NUPE, the Labour Party, Irish in Britain Representation Group and various left journals. Trade unionists with experience of raising issues of equal opportunities as well as human rights contributed to the conference.

In his opening talk Oliver Kearney, formerly of the Fair Employment Trust and currently with the **Economic Equality Campaign** compared Northern Ireland to South Africa, and argued that economic inequality was fundamental to Northern Ireland, with catholic to protestant emigration currently running at a ratio of 2:1 and unemployment at a ratio of 2.5:1. Employment figures (available in the Campaign's *Directory of Discrimination*), covering manufacturing industry, banks and public services show unemployment to be entrenched in the catholic working-class which is denied the right to peacefully evolve as an economic and social community. The

Commission, based on the MacBride principles, is engaged in a number of activities including a boycott of Northern Bank notes because it operates a discriminatory employment policy against catholics. (The bank is a subsidiary of Midland Bank).

Mike Tomlinson of the Belfast group **Obair** explained to the conference the group's aims to end employment discrimination in West Belfast. Formed in 1987, Obair's charter states that "access to meaningful, properly paid employment is a basic human right" and that "equality of opportunity in employment is a basic human right". Obair believes that development and democracy are the only ways to transform the discriminatory economic and political relationships that have held West Belfast down since the rise of industrial capitalism in the north-east.

Mike Tomlinson attacked the weakness of the new Fair Employment Act: "The biggest danger is that the monitoring exercise and arguments over what constitutes a representative workforce become substitutes for real action to bring employment to those who need it. The real challenge is two-fold. Politically, ways must be found to negotiate peace,

Economically, radical measures must be developed to achieve economic justice."

The conference discussed the role of trade unions in discrimination and questioned the relationship between the Northern Ireland Congress of Trade Unions, the British TUC and the anti-MacBride lobby. The British trade union movement has allowed northern sections to deny debate and to dictate policy. "Attempting to open up debate on discrimination in Northern Ireland is taken to be as subversive as firing guns."

Activists from various unions, Birmingham Trades Council, Nalگو Black Workers Group, the Labour Party and ASUI/MSF considered the issues/difficulties in organising around employment discrimination and Ireland. Points made included: activists need to rely on self-organisation against the bureaucracy and acknowledge that progressive policy was usually generated in small groups. Lively discussion in workshops covered the Labour Party, private sector, public sector (general) and public sector (education). There was a welcome freedom from sectarian point-scoring,

and a number of proposals and recommendations were put forward, to be developed in the next Tulink quarterly meeting in Coventry on 11 July.
Kathleen Egan

Available from TULINK, Full conference report, including Mike Tomlinson's speech, £1 incl p&p
Conference Information pack, £1 incl p&p
The Directory of Discrimination, 1991, £2.50 incl p&p
Unemployment in West Belfast: The Obair Report, 1988, £4.50 incl p&p

...next issue... in-depth feature on the labour movement and Ireland.....

TULINK, Trade Union Ireland Labour Network was formed in June last year. it aims to bring together a wide range of activists who are willing to work together to promote the politics of 'British withdrawal' and 'self-determination for the Irish people as a whole' within the labour movement. If you or your union branch would like more information about the network please contact us at TULINK, Box 353, London NW5 4NH

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Human rights denied

A panel of seven commissioners including Professor Kader Asmal, member of the national executive committee of the ANC and professor of human rights law, received almost 200 submissions at the recent Northern Ireland Human Rights Assembly in London organised by Liberty (formerly NCCL).

Witnesses from many individuals and organisations detailed widespread abuses of human rights. The families of Fergal Caraher, Aiden McAnespie and Patrick Duffy, all killed by British soldiers gave evidence as did the parents of Karen Quinn, one of the women forcibly strip-searched at Mughaberry Prison this March. Organisations



represented included Amnesty International, NUPE, Casement Accused and the Glasgow University Media Group.

The sheer number of submissions and the weight of evidence reflected the frustration experienced by people trying to seek justice through the legal system. Commissioners were visibly shocked at the arbitrary nature of the law and at the individual and often discriminatory power invested in cabinet ministers. Martin Sweeney, a victim of torture in Castlereagh, was due to give evidence at the

Assembly, but was arrested under the PTA at Heathrow. He was held until the close of the conference when he was released without charge.

The Troops Out Movement made two submissions to the assembly. One on Freedom of Expression covered censorship of Troops Out Movement events and representatives, state harassment, denial of access to public meeting places and wrongful arrest. *The introduction states: "We are especially concerned that the marginalisation of the issues concerning Britain's*

military and political involvement in Ireland from the realms of public and media debate and discussion means that not only is progress towards a resolution to the conflict made slower but human rights abuses by the British state in Ireland are presented as only being of concern to the people of Northern Ireland - this is far from the case."

Our submission on self-determination concludes:

"The Irish people, whose national identity is as well-established as any in Europe or beyond, was denied by partition the opportunity to pursue its own political course as a united society. Subordinating their national rights to its own perceived security interests, Britain has chosen to maintain the division of Ireland by armed force in defiance of known preferences of a majority of the Irish people as a whole."

Copies of both submissions are available from the T.O.M. office. Please send £1 per submission to cover costs.

Right wrangle on abortion



The influence of internationally organised anti-abortion and anti-women lobbies last year persuaded

the Irish government to negotiate an insertion in the draft Maastricht Treaty recognising Ireland's ban on abortion. That ban arose out of a 1983 amendment to the constitution, the demand for which was generated by the same lobbies. The denial of rights to a 14 year old rape victim in the

beginning of this year however, has thrown up legal problems with both the constitution amendment and the Maastricht Protocol.

The Irish government now proposes a November '92 referendum, limiting its brief to the questions of the right to travel and the right to information on abortion. They also say their EC partners have agreed to 'a solemn declaration' clearing up the legal mess in the Maastricht Protocol. Lost in the mists of all this

confusion is the fact that abortion is illegal throughout the whole island of Ireland. In the ventures of the anti-abortion lobbyists the border which claims six counties of Ireland for Britain has never been a problem. Whilst limited abortion rights were legalised in the UK in 1967, local protestant, presbyterian and catholic church hierarchies united to ensure the Act was never extended to Northern Ireland. Churches, unionist parties and the Social Democratic

and Labour Party again combined to oppose the setting up of Brook Advisory Clinics for women in Northern Ireland last year.

In the next issue, Troops Out examines in depth the controversy surrounding abortion rights throughout Ireland.

Maedbh Quinn

What's left?

Within the Labour Party there are few voices sympathetic to British withdrawal from Ireland. Here Tony Benn talks to Jane McCauley from Troops Out about his views on British policy in Ireland.

T.O: Even though the broadcasting ban was lifted during the election there was a consensus between politicians and the media to sideline British policy on Ireland. How does this conspiracy of silence work? Can you give your experience?

T.B. Well unfortunately there has been a bi-partisan policy in practice on Ireland for a very long time. In my view the Labour Party's formal position about wishing to see a united Ireland has remained in writing but it has never been followed up with anything serious. When we discussed the manifesto on 16 March when the shadow cabinet and the National Executive met I moved that we delete the passage on Ireland and say that the Labour Party believes that the time has come to end British jurisdiction in Northern Ireland.

The strange thing about the media role is that if you say you are in favour of a united Ireland then they say you are a supporter of every bomb that ever explodes. On that basis you could argue Nelson Mandela was a terrorist indeed Mrs Thatcher said he was. I've often made a comparison in my mind with the situation in Yugoslavia where they always say the 'Serbian-dominated' Yugoslavian army moving into Croatia they never say the English-dominated British army moving into Ireland. Language is very important in preparing people for the message they want you to get. I'm not a supporter of violence but I think that it is a known historical fact that if you cannot get justice by other means then violence does occur. I think that language and what you might call crude political blackmail are the two means by which the British establishment has maintained its position and removed the issue from the political agenda during general elections.

T.O: A lot of people tried to get through on the election specials to ask about Ireland and were told that people weren't allowed to ask questions about Ireland because it threatened the lives of the people answering the questions. What do you think of this?

T.B. Well I don't accept that. I mean the fact is there is total press censorship on Ireland. I remember Gerry Adams coming up to a meeting a couple of years ago in Sheffield and I did a press conference with him and I spoke from the same platform. When I spoke the cameras were rolling, and when he spoke everything went off and a chill went round my heart. This was the police state frightened of an argument. In fact all his arguments were about how to get peace in Northern Ireland which is what he obviously wants.

T.O: Prior to the election Labour party policy on issues relating to Ireland were already being undermined from sections within the party, for instance reform rather than repeal of the PTA or baton rounds to replace plastic bullets. In opposition will the left be on the defensive about these issues or can progress and advances be made?

T.B. One factor you have to take into account is that before the election everybody in the Labour Party wanted to win and that whatever the leadership wanted they did. People were so keen to get rid of the government they went along with the policy you describe of softening all the policies that we had previously been clear about and that was a pity. But in opposition now, with five years ahead of us, I think you will find that the feeling of the Labour Party which has always been sympathetic to the Irish cause will reassert itself with exceptions, there are people who don't take that view

T.O: Do you see the new Tory cabinet, particularly with the appointment of Patrick Mayhew to Northern Ireland secretary as a change of emphasis away from 'talks' even in their current form, and towards repression?

T.B: I can't answer that because I don't know enough about the Tory Party but Peter Brooke who has been sacked, was associated with the talks although they were very limited because they didn't include Sinn Fein. If there had been a hung parliament and the government had been dependent on the Ulster unionists who were opposed to the Anglo-Irish Agreement the situation might have been different. But I cannot really tell you what they might do, except that if you don't succeed with repression you intensify the repression, and that has been the history right back to the Civil Rights movement.

T.O: What about Europe?

T.B. Well if the Tory government is opposed to the Social Charter which is a weak document imposed or supposedly imposed from Brussels it is not going to be in favour of Brussels intervening in a matter that has always been regarded as fundamental to the integrity of the UK. But of course it is very often argued that if European integration goes further, then all the parts of the UK, Scotland, Wales, England and the Basque country in Spain, will melt away from their nations states and have direct relations with Brussels. However I think the move to European integration is going to be set back dramatically by the slump, by the rise of Le Pen in France, of the Nazis in Germany and the fascists in Italy. External influence could be good insofar as it withdrew the predominance of the British government in Northern Irish affairs. I don't believe the common market with its capitalist structure and its undemocratic framework could possibly be an agency to improving that situation.

T.O: Throughout the labour movement the unionist veto has tacit and in some cases explicit support. How can this be changed?

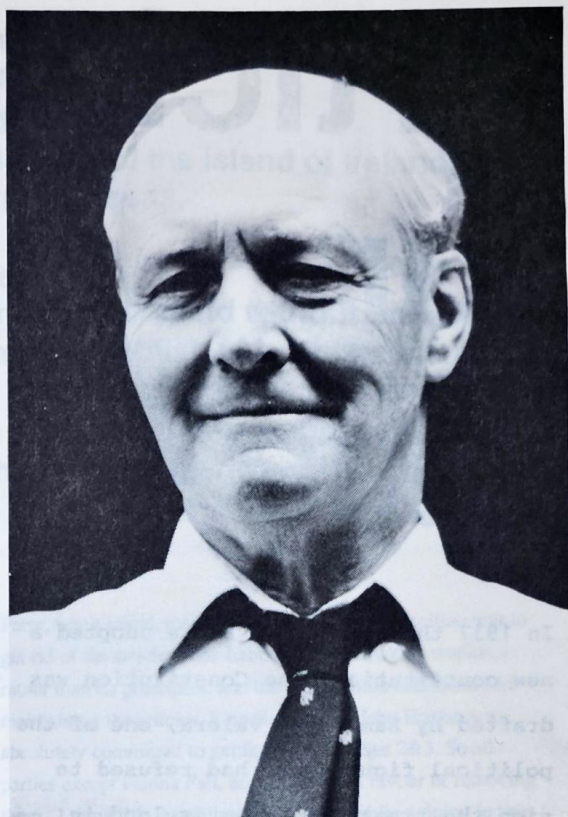
T.B. The Trade Unions, because they have members in Northern Ireland, both loyalists and nationalists, are afraid that if the border question is discussed it will weaken their unions. So the Trade Union movement in general has been a very powerful agent for the status quo.

But you have a combination of trade unions that are nervous of divisions, of parliamentarians who are nervous of elections and constituency parties who are increasingly clear about what should be done. The unionist veto of course is a veto on anyone else having a say in the matter. If you were to have a referendum, not just in the north but in the whole of Ireland and the whole of the rest of Britain, I think there would be an overwhelming majority for a new arrangement.

It's not for me to come along with how the Irish should organise themselves because I think enough British politicians have intervened in that way, but without British jurisdiction and without British troops my own opinion has been that this problem would resolve itself by agreement in some way between the two communities and between Dublin and Belfast.

T.O: Following the general election results what prospects do you see for the union?

T.B. Well I think the next five years in Britain will be very troubled years. I think the defeat of Gerry Adams could well precipitate/accelerate the danger of violence. I think the situation in Scotland is intensely frustrating because they regularly vote Labour and get Tory governments. I think the



Welsh have a similar feeling. I think the English are waking up to the fact that it isn't just London, it isn't the English dominating the Irish and the Scots but the English establishment dominating the the English, the Scots, the Welsh and the Irish.

So I do see quite a lot of movement underneath for constitutional change, and I would have thought that any serious examination about the future would bound to be based upon the assumption that Britain would at some stage end its jurisdiction. And I have stuck my neck out and said that I do not think Britain will be in Northern Ireland by the end of this decade and I stick to that. With Germany re-united, with a whole range of other problems in the Middle East being tackled, I cannot believe that the partition of Ireland will remain.

Thats why I suspect Ian Paisley broke the talks because he could see that they were the beginning of a shoe-horn that in the end would get us out. Its a funny thing to say given what I've said about the government, but I do think that the British cabinet if you polled them privately would like to be shot of the whole thing. Its expensive, its unsuccessful, it leads to violence, it leads to counter violence. The whole thing is an absolute dead loss for any British government looking at British national interests. So I'm still hopeful.

Articles for sale?

In 1937 the Irish Free State adopted a new constitution. The Constitution was drafted by Eammon De Valera, one of the political figures who had refused to sign the treaty dividing Ireland in 1921/2. Articles two and three of this Constitution lay claim to *"the whole of the island of Ireland"* and jurisdiction over it.

In recent years there has been increasing pressure from northern unionists to have these articles removed from the Constitution of the Irish republic. These calls have been echoed by a political establishment in the South that has rarely sought to fulfil the stated objective of national unity. Below *Fycsene Shields of Troops* Out talks to **Robert Ballagh** of the Irish National Congress, one of the main organisations leading a campaign to defend Articles two and three.

TO: Can you tell me about the campaign that the INC is launching around Articles 2&3 of the Irish Constitution?

R.B: There are actually several campaigns up and running already. The Campaign for Democracy, based in Belfast has already launched a declaration calling on the southern state to retain articles 2&3 of the Constitution. A group called Forum 2&3 is in favour of retaining the articles. There's another ad-hoc committee called the Declaration for Peace in Ireland Committee. We launched a document defending articles 2&3 which goes into detailed argument about the whole nature of the sovereign claims about the North. The INC is pledged to defending articles 2&3, as is the 75th Anniversary of the Easter Rising. That committee proposed calling together all these disparate groups and others who have expressed an interest in this issue, to a private meeting in Dublin to raise the issue of the articles.

All of us working on this issue have felt that consistently, the point of view attacking articles 2&3 has been getting enormous publicity. Extraordinary things have happened which have gone unremarked, like last year's Tory Party Conference, when Brooke and Hurd publicly stated that articles 2&3 were 'unhelpful'. This extraordinary interference in the internal affairs of another country certainly would not be tolerated by any country with any sense of pride or identity. Imagine a situation where the Foreign Secretary of a friendly government criticised, for example, the American Constitution. I think they would get a phone call from George Bush very quickly, telling them to mind their own business. Yet there was no response from here. And in Westminster last week, I understand Brooke again raised

Article 2:

The national territory consists of the whole of the island of Ireland, it's islands and territorial seas.

Article 3:

pending the re-integration of the national territory and without prejudice to the right of the parliament and government established by this constitution to exercise jurisdiction over the whole of that territory, the laws enacted by that parliament shall have the like area and extent of the application as the laws of Saorstat Eireann and the like extra-territorial effect.

the issue of the articles and Major said that it would be helpful if they were on the table for discussion.

So I think there is enormous pressure being brought to bear on this and, of course, in the southern state politicians like John Bruton, support the demand for the removal of articles 2&3 to mollify the Unionists. They present no cogent arguments as to why they believe this would be a good idea. We believe it would be a Pandora's box to interfere with the articles. I can't help but think of a parallel with the eighth amendment of the Constitution, which was pushed through in an ill-considered way in 1983 and we are now living with the results of that. I would argue, very strongly, that interfering with the Constitution for some hoped-for notion of peace is very foolish.

Those of us who've been trying to oppose that view have found it extraordinarily difficult to get our views across. Our press conferences aren't covered by the papers and this has bred a fair degree of frustration, that's one of the reasons we feel that a public meeting with all the interested groups involved would be one way of making the public aware of the dangers involved.

T.O: Who are the forces behind the campaign to get rid of articles 2&3?

RB: It's Fianna Fail's Constitution, and their position at grass roots level is to retain the articles. But the leadership is very weak and prevaricating. Albert Reynolds, in his campaign for the position of Taoiseach, stated that articles 2&3 were not on the agenda. Within a day of being elected he said everything was on the table. So that just shows you how firm they are on their resolve! The Progressive Democrats are categorically in favour of getting rid of the articles. De Rossa of the Workers

Party, when asked, maintained that his party's position was to get rid of the articles. The Labour Party differs on emphasis rather than on principles, and has shown little enthusiasm for maintaining the articles. Fine Gael under John Bruton are absolutely committed to getting rid of articles 2&3. So all parties except Fianna Fail, are stridently in favour of removing them. I think this is totally at odds with public opinion in this country.

One of the things that should be stated right from the start is that all this emphasis on articles 2&3 seems to forget the conflict of sovereign claims with regard to the North of Ireland. Articles 2&3 match, almost equally, section 75 of the Government of Ireland Act which has been in existence far longer than the articles, which only date from 1937.

The interesting thing about the British claim to sovereignty is that it included all of Ireland until Ireland became a Republic at the end of the 1940's, after which, the British claim to sovereignty was reduced to cover only the six counties. The British claim is far more arrogant than ours, but this is rarely raised. If there is to be a constructive debate about this, all sovereign claims must be discussed and analysed.

T.O: How do you perceive the role of the British Government in this?

R.B: The British Government is acting in its own interest. It has essentially abandoned its loyalist allies and now sees its ally as an Irish government which respects the British position. That's what's been going on over the last five or six years, and the unionists are getting very upset because it has slowly dawned on them that they are not significant players in the game any



Robert Ballagh addressing a crowd in Dublin at the commemoration of the Easter Rising

more. Everything is being decided between the two sovereign governments. Now that would be fine if we had an Irish government that was strongly articulating the traditional Irish position. But we've an Irish government that is seeing the problem from a British perspective.

T.O: What do articles 2&3 mean to northern nationalists?

R.B.: The last poll in the South showed that a majority of people were in favour of retaining articles 2&3. This is remarkable in the light of extraordinary propaganda and that's why I think it is absolutely critical that a rational, logical and objective debate is raised. Only then can the Irish people make an informed judgement based on the facts. In the North, I've discovered a desperation, a feeling of abandonment at the prospect of the articles being dropped. There are practical considerations too, like citizenship. Not just for northern nationalists but for all citizens of the six counties who are entitled to Irish passports.

I think it's ironic, that if articles 2&3 are done away with, not only nationalists but unionists will not be entitled to have an Irish passport. Right of citizenship is granted under the 1965 Citizenship Act, which draws on article 2 of the Constitution to define the national territory. In other words, if you live within that definition you are entitled to a passport; if you live outside that definition you are not.

On a lighter level there's the Irish rugby team, the vast majority of the northern players of the team are protestants and again there is the argument that they would not be entitled to play for Ireland any more. Maybe people wouldn't lie awake at

night worrying whether people from Ballymena could play for Ireland, but it does underline that interfering with articles 2&3 will further cement partition, not just the physical border, but the psychological border. That's what the new Europe is all about, and it seems contradictory that those in Irish politics who are arguing for the removal of articles 2&3, are the very same people who are arguing for us to vote for the Maastricht Treaty.

T.O: What do you think is the level of awareness in the six and 26 counties regarding the importance of articles 2&3?

R.B.: I would think that in the last week or so, the articles have been the last thing on people's mind, with the whole debacle about the eighth amendment of the Constitution, and that unfortunate girl... Also, in the South we have a failed economy, 1/4 million people unemployed, young people leaving the country in droves, huge poverty and deprivation. Constitutional questions are not at the top of most people's lists: they are worrying about a job and how to put food on the table. The vast majority of people in this country would want a united Ireland, coming about by peaceful means. Articles 2&3 provide the constitutional framework for this unification. Those who argue that getting rid of the them would help bring about peace, are ultimately ignoring the facts. If you get rid of the constitutional peaceful path to unification, the only resort left is a violent path. Obviously, the nationalists in the North are far more aware of this than people in the South, because we have 'hands on' experience of the constitutional context. It's no accident that a very high proportion of nationalists in the North hold Irish passports. That seems to me ample proof that they cherish this

right. The irony, of course, is that if this ever went to a referendum, the very people who would be affected most by this change would not be entitled to vote. Those politicians in this country who argue against articles 2&3, are arguing from a position of ignorance. But the level of ignorance in Britain on this is staggering. For example, I was watching *Question Time* a couple of weeks ago, and somebody said that articles 2&3 should go, Shirley Williams said that it would be very difficult for Albert Reynolds to put this through his Parliament. She showed total ignorance of the constitutional situation in this country; we have a written constitution and change must be by national referendum. That's the irony in this debate about sovereign claims. For us to change our sovereign claim is far more difficult than for Britain to change its sovereign claim; we require a referendum whereas for Britain its claim is simply an act of Parliament.

T.O: Do you see a referendum on this as being inevitable?

R.B: I'm not sure at all. Politicians are very nervous about referenda, they are not things they can control as easily as elections. Fianna Fail will not go for a referendum unless they are utterly convinced that their side will win. If they are going to abolish the articles they would have to first convince their grass-roots supporters that this was something to be desired and this will be an enormous battle. A new minister, Charlie McGreevey stated some time ago that he would leave Fianna Fail if the articles 2&3 were to be removed.

T.O: If the articles were amended, rather than being removed, to an aspiration rather than a claim, what difference would that make?

RB: No difference. Either acknowledge that the British claim to sovereignty in the North of Ireland is superior to the Irish claim, and that if you delete or change it to an aspiration, an aspiration has no legal standing whatsoever. In the McGimpsey case, the supreme court ruled that the Irish government was constitutionally bound to work for a united Ireland in a peaceful way. If that changes to an aspiration, the situation is radically altered.

I would argue that the Irish government, certainly in the last ten/fifteen years, are in contempt of the constitution in that context. I believe that the British resolve to maintain the union is as weak as it has ever been. Peter Brooke has said that there is no strategic or economic reason for them to remain, and Labour is committed to re-unification by consent. At a time when the Irish claim to unity would have the best chance, we have an Irish government which seems to be absolutely committed to

appeasement. I find that singularly depressing. We should be articulating the constitutional claim from the root up and providing a focus for peaceful unification. We are simply not doing that and that is a lost opportunity and a tragedy.

T.O: So, how do you see a campaign being built?

R.B: The difficulty at the moment is that the only campaign that is ongoing is the sniping campaign against the articles. We try to respond to that, but in the Irish media there is this attitude that attacking articles 2&3 is news, but demanding them is not. I feel that a public meeting may be a galvanising point, because now there are several organisations which could attempt to co-ordinate their endeavours.

I am absolutely convinced that the right path for a lasting peace should be for the Irish government not to abandon the constitutional claim but to articulate it strenuously and to encourage the British government to try and develop consent for re-unification. By maintaining the unionist veto, the British are just putting off the inevitable. If they tried to work with all fair-minded people to achieve some kind of consent...because the protestant people are not all dyed in the wool loyalists. People talk about how you can't force one million protestants to do this, that or the other, but I don't think you are talking about a monolith like that. If the British government was prepared to go down the road towards consent, then I believe that there are an awful lot of protestants who would see that their democratic interests are best served in a democratic united Ireland. They haven't had democracy in the North since direct rule was imposed. Inevitably, there is going to be a handful of right wing extremists who are not going to be satisfied until they have the return of Stormont and Orange supremacy, but I don't think that the fear of that should deter us from working towards peace.

T.O: Do you see the INC expanding?

R.B: Yes. We campaign on individual issues: articles 2&3, the border roads campaign, the enquiry at Cullyhanna, votes for emigrants and several other issues. We are still small, but in a few years we have been very successful.

We had a debate in which some people felt that we should become a party and stand in elections, but it became apparent that that would not be the sensible way for us to develop. The phrase used by a lot of us is "try and build a broad front" in Irish politics, that would be progressive and nationalist. That remains the goal. We try to back up initiatives that have developed within the community, rather than muscling in and telling people what to do; we have found that this has been the most satisfactory way to operate.

The ideology of loyalism

Continuing our examination of partition **Mark Hayes** looks at the ideology of those supporting the union with Britain

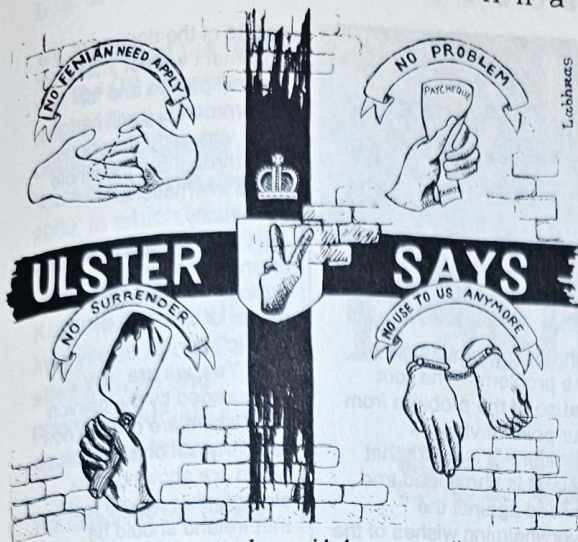
Ever since Ireland was partitioned by the Government of Ireland Act (1920) the statelet of 'Northern Ireland' has been dominated by the ideology of loyalism. Loyalism is the ideology of those groups and individuals who wish to retain the link with Britain. Loyalism therefore has been the key factor in the politics of the six counties, informing the attitudes and activities of the unionist parties, the state, and the 'security forces'. This is certainly not to suggest that the ideology of loyalism is somehow monolithic within the protestant community, because there are significant and subtle variations between different styles of loyalism - ranging from the 'moderate' unionist politician, to the militant paramilitary gunman. However in more general theoretical terms we may identify a set of particular components which together constitute loyalist ideology.

Central to loyalism is, of course, a commitment to Britain - or to be more specific, a fervent desire to remain 'British'. It is important to be precise because there is a paradox here. Despite ostentatious protestations of loyalty to the British Crown, loyalists have never been able to fully trust the transient British politician. Apparently recognising their own precarious

position, loyalists have always feared betrayal by Westminster. Indeed loyalists have, on occasion, felt the need to rebel in order to remain loyal - they are quite prepared to defy Parliament in order to remain 'British'. As a result the 'patriotism' displayed by loyalists has assumed a more frantic, vulgar and desperate tone. Excessive chauvinism, jingoism and xenophobia characterise militant loyalism. Loyalism also reflects a severe identity crisis within the protestant community, because 'British' is not really a nationality as such. Consequently loyalists persistently distort the true nature of nationality, and agonise over whether they are really Irish, Scots-Irish, or Ulstermen. In the pages of the Ulster Defence Association (UDA) magazine *Ulster* there has often been talk of a 'hybrid race', of 'Picts'. And through the use of the Ulster Heritage Agency and references to tales of Cuchlainn an attempt has been made to give 'ulster nationalism' a mystical/romantic focus. Indeed reference has even been made to 'ulbrits' (Ulster/British) and the 'protestant nation'! Thus unrequited loyalty and an identity crisis have resulted in an abrasive ('British') patriotism, and in confused attempts to manufacture an alternative 'national' identity.

Another key component of loyalism is a belief in the inherent superiority of the protestant population (over catholics). This obviously dates back to the plantation of Ulster by loyal protestants in the 17th century, when religion came to identify the antagonists in what was essentially a colonial conflict between planter and native. With the protestants as England's colonial surrogates in Ireland there emerged a strong sense of protestant supremacy. This supremacy was maintained in practical terms by the English and became known as the Protestant Ascendancy. This historical legacy spawned a whole range of bigoted and sectarian attitudes. Certain immutable qualities are believed to characterise 'them' and 'us'.

Protestants are perceived to be honest, reliable, thrifty, industrious, clean, and respectful of property and authority; catholics are disloyal, subversive, feckless, unclean, etc. References to 'Taigs', 'Fenians', 'white niggers' and so on reflect the deeply held nature of such attitudes. As Geoffrey Bell put it in his study *The Protestants of Ulster* '...the catholics are drunken, filthy, cowardly Fenian scum who should be put down by any and all available means. By contrast protestants appear a superior species...' (Bell p. 52-3). Obviously these attitudes are interwoven with cultural and religious antagonisms. For example Ian Paisley's own brand of Free Presbyterian paranoia adds immeasurably to the fear of catholicism prevalent in the protestant community. And through institutions such as the Orange Order, with its overtly sectarian outlook and symbolism, the images and practices of superiority and subordination have been perpetuated down the generations.



Such attitudes have not only provided a perverse 'justification' for periodic pogroms against the catholic community, but have had a highly corrosive effect on social relations in general. Comparisons here and with South Africa, or with the deep south in the U.S.A., are hard to ignore.

More importantly, the blatant supremacism inherent in loyalism clearly manifested itself, in practical institutional terms, in the form of an authoritarian state. The tangible and conspicuous benefits bestowed upon loyalists were mediated via an orange/protestant state. For 50 years the unionist political machine in Stormont systematically discriminated against catholics: electoral boundaries were gerrymandered, with housing and jobs directed toward the loyal protestant community. The Special Powers Act, the RUC and B Specials ensured a compliant catholic population. The loyalist state made no attempt to mitigate the evident divisions within the society, but simply pursued policies which would accentuate divisions, to the detriment of the catholics. When the Civil Rights Association claimed rights as equal citizens in the 1960s they received an unambiguous reply from militant loyalists when they were attacked on Burntollet Bridge and in the Bogside. When power-sharing offered a glimpse of a more progressive society in 1974, the loyalist Ulster Workers Council (UWC) wrecked the Executive with a general strike. The loyalist state was evidently unreformable. The British government, passive guarantor of the sectarian state, was forced to intervene. All doubt and ambiguity about Britain's role was, of course, removed by the Parachute Regiment in Derry (January 1972). Despite the unionist split and direct rule (March 1972) the situation, in essence, remained the same - and the structures of domination still exist. An essentially sectarian loyalist state, intent on preserving ancient material and psychological privileges, and unable to legitimise its rule by creating consensus, relies instead on coercion. Faced with a rebellious minority the state has

utilised a vast array of repressive techniques: internment without trial, Diplock courts, plastic bullets, CS gas etc. As such 'Northern Ireland' resembles a Latin American military-bureaucratic state, rather than a conventional western European liberal democracy.

Contemporary loyalism has been constructed upon the most undemocratic of foundations - the denial of national self-determination. Partition transformed the minority loyalist/protestant population in Ireland into an artificial 'majority' within six counties of Ulster. With everything subordinated to the need to preserve the union, progressive elements within the protestant community have been suffocated - the radical heritage of Tone, McCracken and Mitchel is sadly obscured or ignored. The unionist patricians, of course, have always detested 'progressive' ideas, especially socialism. They not only opposed much post-war welfare legislation, but have been among the most vociferous exponents of individualistic enterprise capitalism. And when events have seemed likely to induce cross-community cooperation they have been quick to play the sectarian card - what was the fenian/bolshevik menace became the republican/communist threat. More disappointing working class protestants have succumbed to the poisonous myths and marginal privileges offered by loyalism. What social radicalism there is in the protestant community sits uneasily with excessive patriotic symbolism and sectarian practices, and may indeed be a perfunctory attempt to attract a working-class constituency. Unfortunately the slogan '*this we will maintain*' daubed across some of the worst slums in Europe bears eloquent testimony to the triumph of loyalism over more progressive social ideas within the protestant working class.

Loyalism is an ideology which evolved as a creature of colonialism fostered by the British establishment, and which was functional in terms of safeguarding British interests. Yet this ideology has a dynamic of its own and can be identified as a distinctly reactionary phenomenon. It is clear from the evidence that loyalism bears a strong family resemblance to certain types of fascist ideology. They have key elements in common: the abrasive patriotism; the cultural supremacism and persecution of out-group; the authoritarian state; pseudo-democratic/populist practices orchestrated by demagogues; the instinctivism and intolerance; the anti-socialism/liberalism. There is very little scope for compromise with such an ideology. And yet a meaningful compromise must be reached at some stage. Disengaging Irish protestants from militant loyalism, therefore, is a key task. As long as the British remain in Ireland, committed to the loyalist veto, thereby enabling the most intransigent loyalists to dictate the political agenda, this task will prove exceedingly difficult - if not impossible.

An agenda for peace

Over the next few issues *Troops Out* will examine how different political organisations seek a resolution to the conflict in the north of Ireland. In this issue **Martin McGuinness** of Sinn Féin talks to **Fycsene Shields** about a new initiative, launched by the Party.

TO: Is your new document, *Towards a lasting Peace* a gesture towards the incoming British government

MM: The document will be distributed quite widely and if they wish to see it as a gesture, that's a matter for themselves. It's certainly, from our part, a very important initiative in that we believe that it actually points out what we believe to be the critical four-step scenario for a final resolution to the problem - to put it to the British government and the Dublin government that the time has come now for them to consider a joint approach to the resolution of the Irish problem.

TO: Is it a departure from the previous document, *Scenario for Peace* in that it demands British withdrawal within the lifetime of a British parliament?

MM: No, that's our position as it sits at the moment. But in a situation where you would get a British government becoming amenable to a policy of withdrawal, and in favour of the reunification of Ireland, then the period of time in which it would take for them to disengage would have to be negotiated between the Irish people and that government.

TO: How does *Towards a Lasting Peace* relate to the respective positions

of the British political parties - Labour, Conservative and Liberal, on their acceptance of the unionist veto?

MM: We would be quite interested by the change in policy which has taken place within the British Labour Party, even though it still contains support for the unionist veto. It is an important statement for any British political party of that size, to be saying that they accept that best long-term solution to the problems of Ireland is Irish reunification. We are quite satisfied that eventually such a change will take place within the other political parties within Britain. And we would say to all of them that after all that has happened over the last 23 years, and particularly what has happened in the last 12 months, that it's incumbent upon all of us, to discuss

Towards a lasting peace

Main points:

British rule in Ireland and peace are incompatible. A peace process must address the root of the conflict and be set in the context of democracy and self-determination

British denial of self-determination has caused the ruptures between the Irish people themselves and between Ireland and Britain

The unionist veto bestowed by the British government is the cornerstone of the current impasse.

Towards a lasting peace in Ireland

what is the root cause of the problem. The root cause of the problem from our point of view, is partition. It is a fact that Ireland is partitioned and divided against the overwhelming wishes of the Irish people, and also against the wishes of the British people.

TO: Given the censorship of British media, how do you intend to get this initiative onto the agenda in Britain?

MM: Well it's very difficult, the censorship against us is quite intense. Not just the censorship which has been imposed by the state, but there is a tremendous amount of self-censorship that takes place within journalistic circles and a tremendous amount of dishonesty about the whole situation. But there are other ways of doing it, through discussions with different groups, different support groups throughout the world and in England. They will also be receiving

copies of the document, the document will not just be for political parties and for governments, it will be for a very, very wide distribution right throughout the whole of the international community.

TO: Do you sense a change then in the atmosphere and the views of the British public?

MM: Yes, we are very encouraged by the opinion polls which are coming now regularly out of England which are showing quite strongly that people feel that Ireland should be united, that the British presence in Ireland - the presence of British soldiers - is not a contributing factor to peace, it's actually the opposite.

TO: In the context of the changes in Europe which are taking place, you mention the possibility of United Nations intervention and also possible European Community intervention. In what form do you think that could be realised?

MM: We are not proposing that there should be a UN peacekeeping force in the north, we would be opposed to that. But we believe that there is a responsibility on the UN to begin to ask questions about what Britain is doing in the six counties. We think that there is a tremendous responsibility on the governments of all those other countries to question Britain about what they are doing in Ireland, to become involved in the peace process which we are suggesting. We are saying that if they were prepared to show an interest in becoming involved that we will not be found wanting.

Copies of *Towards a lasting Peace in Ireland* are available from Sinn Féin, 44 Parnell Square, Dublin 1, Ireland

In the wake of the Gulf war the US armament firm Universal Dynamics outlined a 'scenario for the year 2000' in which India and Pakistan are on the brink of a war over Kashmir and the US intervenes to neutralise sites in India and prevent a nuclear strike against Pakistan.

The reason for the West's intense covert interest in Kashmir is that it has been seen as a strategic area - during the cold war because of its proximity to Soviet controlled Afghanistan, and now because it lies next to the so-called 'Islamic belt' from Pakistan to Iran and further, which has been identified by the US as its latest enemy.

However Kashmir is not just a strategic region, it is a nation with a written history going back 5,000 years. Since 1947 it has been divided between India and Pakistan and its people have been struggling for unity and freedom.

India became independent in 1947, but independence was followed by partition into India and Pakistan, and a war between the two countries over Kashmir. Eventually the UN intervened, a ceasefire line was established and it was agreed that a plebiscite would be held in which the

The Troops Out Movement offers a platform in *Troops Out* to anti-racist and anti-imperialist campaigns. Groups wishing to take advantage of this facility should contact *Troops Out* c/o Box 353 London NW5 4NH

Kashmir's struggle for freedom

people of Kashmir would have a chance of choosing between India, Pakistan and remaining independent. However like so many other UN resolutions it was ignored and Kashmir has remained divided and effectively colonised by both India and Pakistan.

Since January 1990 the struggle for independence has intensified in Indian occupied Kashmir and so has the repression by the Indian state. More than 10,000 people have been killed by Indian army and paramilitary forces. In Srinagar, the ancient capital of the Kashmir valley, civil infrastructure has been virtually dismantled and taken over by the army. Many public buildings have

been turned into interrogation centres where in the first six months of 1990 alone more than 200 people were tortured to death. In the countryside villages have been burned down, crops destroyed and the scale of murder and rape is unprecedented even for the Indian 'security forces'. Gang rape is being used in an attempt to destroy the community. In Kuhan Poshpora last February a regiment of the Rajput Rifles removed the men at gunpoint and raped the women, not sparing the old, the very young and the pregnant - as Rahemma a 14-year old girl put it in her testimony to Indian journalists documented on film - *"One of the soliders put the bayonet against my chest and said don't shout."*

It was like blood pouring out of the sky." The Indian government has dismissed the events at Kunnan Poshpora as a fabrication and international human rights organisations continue to be banned from Indian occupied Kashmir.

Pakistan occupied Kashmir consists of two regions: Gilgit Baltistan, a mountainous region where the people not only have no right to vote but no basic facilities like drinking water; and Azad Kashmir which is technically independent but where political parties are an extension of parties in Islamabad and every government employee has to legally affirm his or her loyalty to Pakistan. Here too the struggle for independence faces increasing violence from the army and police.

The main Kashmiri liberation movement, the Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front which has been confronting the Indian army (now said to be the second largest in the world), is now coming increasingly into conflict with Pakistani security forces. Against this background and despite these major attacks on their basic human rights the spirit of the Kashmiri people has not been crushed - their struggle continues.

South Asia Solidarity

PROFILE OF PATRICK MAYHEW

1929 born in Berkshire
Mother descended from
Anglo Irish family from
Cork.
National Service - British
army Royal Armoured
Corps
Studied at Oxford
University - president of
Oxford Union and the
University Conservative
Society.

1955 became a Barrister
1972 became a Queens
Counsel.
1974 elected MP for
Tunbridge Wells
1982 knighted when
appointed Solicitor
General.
1986 appointed Privy
Council.
1987 appointed Attorney
General.
1987 opposed safeguards in
the Extradition Amendment
Act.
1987 won an injunction
banning a TV programme
featuring a reconstruction of
the Birmingham Six appeal.
1988 clashed with
ministers in Irish Republic
over the refusal to extradite
Father Patrick Ryan.
1989 announced decision
not to reveal details of the
Stalker/Sampson report and
not to charge named RUC
officers on the grounds of
"national security". Gerry
Collins, Foreign Minister of
Irish Republic, said that a
person who took such a
view was not fit for public
office.
1992 criticised by judges
for trying to increase the
sentence of a juvenile.



Photo:AP/RN

State violence against women



The strip-searching of 21 women political prisoners at Maghaberry prison just days before

International Women's Day was "*done when the women's moral was very high and was intended to break their spirit*", Mrs Enright, mother of Karen Quinn, told Troops Out during the Human Rights Assembly in London. Karen was taken to hospital for treatment after the assaults took place.

Describing the strip-search of Karen, who has three children, Mrs Enright said that the assaults had taken place from 8am to 8pm with the prison officers (POs) going from one cell to the next, dressed in riot gear and attacking the women. Throughout the day those waiting to be strip-searched could hear the screams of other women.

When Karen's turn came four POs entered the cell, grabbed her legs and threw her on the ground, holding

her arms behind her. The PO who was stripping her knelt on her head and began pulling clothes over her face. Feeling that she was being smothered Karen struggled, at which point the officer banged her face continuously on the ground.

Mr and Mrs Enright were not informed that Karen was in hospital until two days after the assault. They made a routine request for a photograph of Karen; permission was granted only to be withdrawn the following day. Three weeks after the attack Karen still had a black eye yet no photograph has been allowed.

The strip-searches were carried out by female POs with male POs standing at the cell doors watching events. However male POs helped break down Bronwyn McGahan's barricaded door and followed this act of bravery with sexual assault, with one PO running his hands up her leg when she was naked.

The governor has refused

to give a reason for the assault beyond the fact that "*something was overheard*" two days previously. However he waited two days before ordering the strip-searches. Nothing was found. The women are waiting to see whether this assault is the beginning of a renewed attempt to use this torture to break the women's spirits.

The women lost 14 days' association and between 7 and 14 days' remission of sentence as a punishment for 'refusing to obey a governor's order'. In a judicial review a judge overturned the governor's action, suspending the sentences for six months pending a court case. The women are at present working with their solicitors in taking out cases regarding their injuries.

The Women and Ireland Network is circulating a petition against this vicious attack. Copies of the petition can be obtained from the T.O.M. office.

Update . . . Update . . . Update . . . Update . . . International womens day delegation



Over 50 delegates travelled to Belfast for the International Women's Delegation organised by the Women and Ireland network and hosted by Sinn Fein Women's Department.

Irene Sherry, Jennifer Mc Cann and Una Gillespie from the Women's Department, Tish Holland a local Sinn Fein Councillor and Chrissie McAuley from Sinn Fein Foreign Affairs welcomed the delegate; and workshops on repression, border roads, youth, prisoners and women's health enabled us to discuss the issues with local activists at length.

We visited community projects such as Glór na Gael, the Irish language school, the Falls and Ardoyne women's centres, *Women's News* magazine and the Belfast Rape Crisis Centre. The workers described the pressures of operating under the constant threat of political vetting. At a benefit disco for women POW's Veronica Martin detailed the horrific strip-searching of 21 women political prisoners in Maghaberry the previous Monday - an event which overshadowed the whole weekend.

The delegation took part in a large picket outside Maghaberry prison. The names of the 21 prisoners

were read out and we called our support to each of them in turn. In a petty act of retribution prison officers turned away some delegates who had arranged visits to prisoners.

During the weekend we joined a picket at Belfast City Hall calling for all-inclusive negotiations and an end to censorship of elected representatives. Councillors Tish Holland and Lily Fitzsimmons were barred from the council's International Women's Day banquet because they are Sinn Fein councillors.

Fycsene Shields

US Presidential candidates get the message

In marked contrast to the Election in this country, election fever in the United States is producing positive shifts in attitudes towards the conflict in the north of Ireland.

Both the contenders for the Democratic nomination for the US presidency, Governor Bill Clinton and Governor Jerry Brown, have gone on record supporting the MacBride Principles Campaign for fair employment practice in the 6 counties, as well as other human rights campaigns. They have also supported

the appointment of a special envoy to meet with all the parties to the conflict in the North, including Sinn Fein.

Both candidates have also supported the granting of an entry visa to Sinn Fein President Gerry Adams.

The positions being adopted by the two Democratic contenders have received widespread media coverage in the U.S. and are a major success for the Irish American Community.

Glór na nGael

Congratulations to Glór na nGael, the Belfast Irish language school on the restoration of government funding. The Northern Ireland Office withdrew its £90,000 grant last year, and since then, workers at Glór na nGael have struggled to survive on donations from organisations and individuals worldwide. The NIO reversal has been hailed as a victory against the policy of political vetting.

Talk talk

"The problem is you lot, if you didn't stick your nose in we'd sort it out. Just give us six months - we know who they are."

Michael Mates to journalist 'off the record'.

"Now there's a new president, Mary Robinson, divorce will be on the agenda and the Unionists will be appeased also articles 2 and 3 are on the table for discussion so there's more room for peace."

Labour MP Harriet Harman at Democracy Day Charter 88 meeting

"You could walk for a week in West Belfast before you heard any anxiety about the quality of justice in the Diplock Courts. Its not a real issue."

Patrick Mayhew

Letters

Hip idea

Dear Troops Out

As for a very long time the majority of English people have been unmoved by any moral argument against a presence of troops in Ireland, might it be useful to employ a more cynical, financial, argument. Currently illustrations of daily life in terms of NHS facilities seem to be fairly potent attention-getters. Perhaps therefore an example of the costs of maintaining a single soldier for a month in the north of Ireland detailed alongside the facilities which that sum could purchase in terms of NHS hip replacements/child ear operations etc. might impress.

In the financial ruins of post-Thatcherism, acquiring a conscience about the day to day realities in the north of Ireland might suddenly seem an attractive bargain.

Yours Sincerely

Ann James
London

Amnesty trap

Dear Troops Out

I read with interest the article in your last issue on the 500 years of resistance: native people in the Americas and their reaction to the forthcoming Columbus 'celebrations'. It is important that the issues of international imperialism (as well as British imperialism in Ireland) are covered in your magazine to draw together the plight of different people suffering from similar/identical oppressors.

But, the article covered

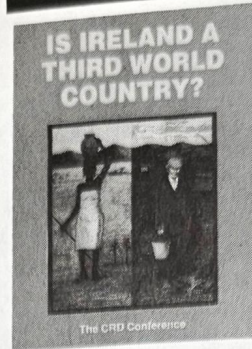
Latin and South America only. And though the horrors of the conditions in those countries need to be exposed, let us not fall into the Amnesty International trap of indicating that suffering is imposed on Nicaraguans, Guatemalans etc. because they are 'third world' countries under brutal dictators (although they are that to). The United States and Canada have equally terrible histories as far as indigenous rights are concerned.

Look at the 'third world' conditions of Indian reservations, the imprisonment of political activist Leonard Pelter, the deforestation of native land in Canada, the horrors of uranium mining in the south west USA, the confrontations at Oka and gambling, drugs and abuse at Akwasane reserve, the relocation of 10,000 Hopi/ Navajo Indians at Big Mountain... the list is endless. Also, do not forget the role of the US in places like Chile, Nicaragua and El Salvador. These people are criminals! And with the contempt Irish people feel for British 'democracy', 'freedom', 'justice', and 'peace negotiations' - spare some for the bastards making money from cold - blooded murder and pillage all over the Americas, shadowed by the White House and the Statue of Liberty.

In Solidarity

Anna Loufti

Reviews



Is Ireland a Third World Country?

The CRD Conference (Centre for Research and Documentation)
Beyond The Pale Publications
1992
£4.50.

So what's in a name? Does the terminology matter?

The CRD was founded by Irish people who have worked in 'Third World' countries or who are interested in development issues. The purpose of their conference, reported in this booklet, was to give workers in community groups, solidarity groups and development agencies the opportunity to examine and compare the processes through which 'Third World' countries - including, Ireland - seek to solve their problems.

The conference examined the labels Third/First, rich/poor, developing/undeveloped for what they reveal about how the nations so labelled are perceived, and come to perceive themselves.

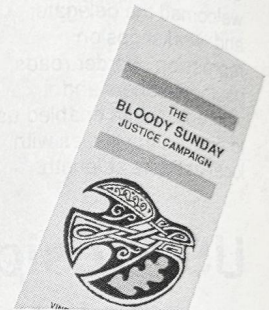
The discussions make constant reference to the history of Ireland and of other peoples in direct conflict with the state. The position of women, racism, economic structures, human rights, poverty, the church, local communities and power, the media, multinationals are all looked at in the context of Ireland's status in the world.

I would have been interested in further discussions about the potential for success of different

kinds of struggle; resistance to state power has taken many forms as well as armed struggle in Third World countries, and it might have been illuminating to take a look at some of those struggles. On the other hand, the keeping of a slight distance from the immediate issues of day-to-day struggle gave the contributors the opportunity to explore different visions of a more equal and participative society, sometimes with power and inspiration.

It would be interesting to know what were the follow-up events which have been organised as a direct result of the conference. The CRD must surely be a useful forum for the development of understanding and ideas outside of the constraints of party loyalties.

Sal Jenkinson



Bloody Sunday justice campaign

The Bloody Sunday Justice Campaign has been launched, following the 20th anniversary of the murder of 14 unarmed civil rights demonstrators in Derry. The campaign has published a leaflet explaining the need for a total re-appraisal of the events of January 30th 1972. The campaign has three objectives:

1. That the British Government should publicly and unambiguously acknowledge that all those killed or injured were totally innocent.
2. That the British Government publicly repudiate the Widger report in its entirety.
3. That those responsible for the murders on the streets of Derry on 30 January 1972 be prosecuted.

The campaign can be contacted at: 1 Westend Park, Derry City, Ireland, BT48 9JF

Buried Alive

As Troops Out goes to press the Court of Appeal will consider the appeal of Judith Ward. Convicted in 1974, Judith Ward is the longest serving woman prisoner connected with the conflict in the north of Ireland, and one of the longest serving female prisoners in Britain. Just like the Birmingham Six, the Guildford Four and the Maguire Seven, she is innocent. Most people, however, know little or nothing about her case.

Judith Ward was convicted for the bombing of an army coach on the M62 which killed nine soldiers, a woman and two children. She was convicted on the basis of her own confessions and forensic tests, some of them carried out by the controversial Birmingham Six scientist, Frank Skuse. In her initial confession, extracted after two and a half days of intense police interrogation, Judith Ward 'admitted' planting the coach bomb. A week later the police discovered that she had been drinking with half a dozen people 100 miles from the coach station in Manchester at the time the bomb was planted. This, and several other anomalies in subsequent statements, all indicated that she was responding to suggestion from her interrogators. She did not see a solicitor until three and a half weeks after her arrest. At her trial she repudiated all her confessions. The jury, swayed by the wave of anti-Irish feeling whipped up by the press in the wake of IRA attacks, were in no mood to agonise over discrepancies in the evidence. Despit the fact that there were no eyewitnesses, no identification, no fingerprints, arms or explosives found, Judith Ward was sentenced to life imprisonment plus 30 years.

Judith Ward has maintained her innocence throughout her ordeal. But with little family support, no political backing and few Irish connections, her case has lingered on the margins of the civil liberties agenda. Recently formed Support Groups are now established to help see her through the Appeal and can be contacted through the following addresses:
Britain - c/o 1 Orlestone Rd,
London N7 8LH
Ireland - c/o Irish
Commission for Prisoners
Overseas, 57 Parnell
Square West, Dublin 1

Prisoners birthdays

Please remember to send birthday greetings to Irish political prisoners in British jails. Let them know they are not forgotten.

15th May
JOE O'CONNELL 338635
HMP Gartree, Market
Harborough, Leicestershire LE16
7RP

29th May
PAT MAGEE B75881
HMP Full Sutton, York YO4
1PS

22nd June
PAUL HOLMES 119034
HMP Full Sutton, York, YO4
1PS

30th June
PETER SHERRY B75880
HMP Parkhurst, Newport, Isle of
Wight.

Troops Out Cash in

During the election The Troops Out Movement brought the issue of Britain's undeclared war in Ireland to the attention of thousands of voters. Leaflets, posters and pamphlets were distributed in most major cities. An opinion poll was conducted that re-affirmed the wish of the majority of the people is for military and political withdrawal from Ireland.

The Troops Out Movement will continue to press home this message whichever party is in power as long as the government denies to the Irish people as a whole the opportunity to govern themselves.

To do this effectively the Troops Out Movement needs your support. Your contribution can make a difference to our ability to pursue these goals. We need your, if you can give it now. Please consider supporting us financially by completing the standing order form below, or by making a donation, no matter how small.

Please complete this part and send it to your bank.
To (your bank address).....

Re Acc. No.....
In the name of.....
Please credit the account below as follows and debit my/
our account accordingly.

Details of account to be credited
Bank: Co-operative Bank
Branch: Islington
Code No: 08 -90-33
Acc: Troops out Movement
Acc. No: 50504051

Please make the payments detailed below :
Amount in words.....
Amount in figures.....
First payment to be made on(date) and
thereafter on the same day each month/week. (delete as
appropriate)
Signature(s).....
Date.....

Please complete this part and send it to T.O.M. , Box
353 London, NW5 4NH.

Name.....
Address.....
.....
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Monthly amount.....
First payment.....
Donation.....

Delegation

to Belfast August 1992



Photo: Digger

It's never out of the news for long. Politicians of all sides have loudly praised the changes in countries such as USSR, Germany and South Africa, but seem unable to even discuss the issue of Ireland openly and democratically. Ireland is portrayed by the media as an insoluble problem of 'sectarianism', 'violence' and 'terrorism'.

We rarely hear the views of Irish people living in nationalist areas. The delegation is a chance to cut through the censorship and find out what the British presence there really means.



Photo: Digger

The delegation, runs from 7th to 10th August..

As a delegate in Belfast you will have the chance to:

- * stay with local families in West Belfast
- * attend workshops and visit community and cultural centres
- * make a visit to the border area
- * attend events of the Belfast Community Festival
- * take part in the annual march and rally to commemorate the introduction of internment

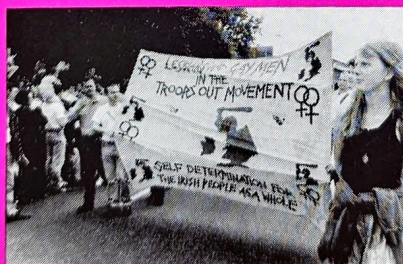


Photo: Digger

If you think you may be interested in going on this year's delegation contact the Troops Out Movement
PO Box 353, London NW5 4NH, tel 071 609 1743