

TROOPS OUT OF IRELAND

**TROOPS OUT
NOW**

**SELF
DETERMINATION
FOR THE
IRISH PEOPLE
AS A WHOLE**



Paper of the Troops Out Movement 30p

Vol. 8, No. 2, November 1984

Architecture of Control



The results of 15 years of British Army occupation: the so-called 'Peace Line' dividing Protestant and Catholic areas.

TORY BOMB

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Politics and Violence

The Brighton Bomb

On Friday 12th October at 2.45am, a bomb exploded on the fifth floor of the Grand Hotel, Brighton. At the time the hotel was occupied by senior Tory MPs and party members, including the Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher. The explosion killed 4 people and injured many others.

In claiming responsibility the IRA stated *'Mrs Thatcher will now realise that Britain cannot occupy our country and torture our prisoners and shoot our people on their own streets and get away with it. Today we were unlucky, but remember we only have to be lucky once - you will have to be lucky always. Give Ireland peace and there will be no war.'*

The reaction among the establishment politicians and the media was a chorus of outrage. Leaders of all parties were united in their condemnation of this 'barbaric' attack.

Yet the fact is that Britain maintains its rule in Northern Ireland against the wishes of the Irish people as a whole. Comments from Thatcher such as *'Democracy will prevail... an inhuman attempt to massacre innocent unsuspecting men and women'* ring hollow in the ears of the Irish nationalist people. They have suffered the full brunt of British repression. Sean Downes was an unsuspecting innocent. He was killed by a plastic bullet fired at point blank range. He was only the latest of hundreds of such victims.

Against this background, the politicians' condemnation of violence used for political ends is the

depths of hypocrisy. 300 Argentinians were murdered in the Belgrano, contrary to all international law, in order to wreck peace negotiations and ensure Thatcher's re-election on a tide of victorious patriotism. And to say that Britain will never give in to violence is equally false. History clearly shows that violence drove Britain out of numerous colonies when rational argument had failed for decades (for example, Aden, Palestine, America!).

The harsh truth is that violence is and will be used for political ends, both by governments and popular movements. Its justification or condemnation depends entirely on your political stand.

There is a war going on in Northern Ireland. It is a war for national freedom. This war from time to time will come to Britain. Gerry Adams, Sinn Fein president, described the bombing as *'an inevitable result of the British occupation of the Six Counties'*. Until Britain chooses to end the war by withdrawing from Ireland, such incidents will continue.

Many in Britain find this hard to understand. Most feel that the troops should some time be called home and there is a widespread, if vague, sympathy with the ideal of Irish reunification, but they cannot accept the violent means used. Few of these critics are true pacifists. Most would accept that it is sometimes necessary to fight, and would probably feel resistance justified if the army of a hostile foreign power was on regular armed patrol through our streets. Yet they are unable to see that this is exactly what the nationalist people of Ireland are fighting against.

The British media must take much of the blame for this. For 15 years they have blatantly failed in their role of explaining the situation in Ireland. Scores of articles have examined the 'human tragedy' of the conflict. Alternatively, the 'two warring communities' are depicted, with the British Army struggling vainly to keep them apart. Little or no political analysis of the situation has been attempted. It is no coincidence that such analysis would swiftly reveal the repressive and brutal role played by Britain in Ireland to this day.

The power of the media to shape opinion, and thus leave people ignorant or confused, is awesome. Yet there are signs that it is lessening, and fewer are believing all they read. The miners' strike in particular has brought home to millions in Britain the blatant lies told by the press in the interests of their political masters. They are now thinking twice before accepting the establishment line on other issues, including Ireland.

After bomb attacks in Britain, it is normal for the Irish Embassy

to receive numerous abusive phone calls. After Brighton they received practically none. It would appear that the horror and outrage expressed by the politicians and media is not as widespread as they would like to think.

The view of the Troops Out Movement about such a bombing as happened in Brighton is that it is insufficient to respond just to the event itself. Whether you agree or disagree, you have to look at the reasons for it to see if there can be a solution.

The Troops Out Movement argues that there is a solution, and it will be found by looking to the causes of the war. It is pathetically inadequate, for example, for Labour Party figures like Kinnock and Archer to express outrage and go running to a 'security solution' when their own party has a policy of seeking the reunification of Ireland.

That policy didn't get a mention after the Brighton bomb - yet surely this is precisely the time when it should be brought to the top of the agenda. The solution, the end to the bombings, is Irish self-determination.

There will be difficulties in effecting a withdrawal, naturally. There will have to be debate about the military, political and economic measures needed to make the transition as peaceful as possible. But that debate is different from whatever debate there is at the moment in British establishment circles which revolves around the question of how best to preserve the status quo by tinkering with this aspect or that aspect. The real debate has yet to start.

The Troops Out Movement

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 political. 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 15 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 have a number of branches in England, Scotland and Wales. These branches, working locally in whatever ways 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



TROOPS OUT

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

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

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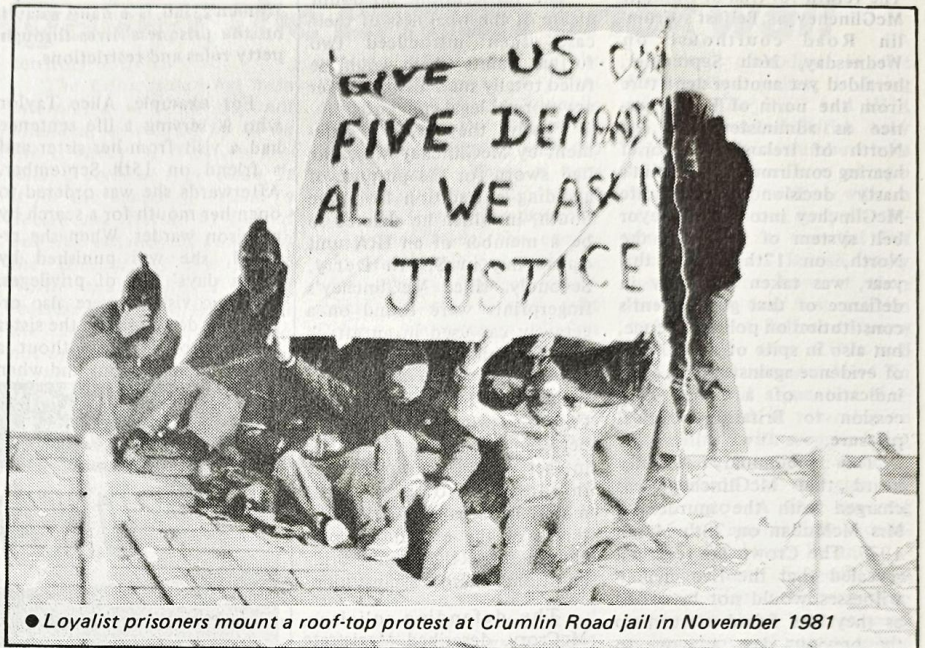
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LOYALISTS REFUSED SEGREGATION

The British government is refusing to segregate loyalist and republican prisoners in spite of a hunger strike by ten loyalists in Magilligan jail, and in spite of protests and mediation by Unionist politicians.

Loyalist prisoners are mostly members of the Ulster Volunteer Force (which is illegal) and the Ulster Defence Association, both paramilitary organisations. The loyalist demand for segregation is partly racist and sectarian; it is also based on long experience of provocation by prison warders, who often deliberately put prisoners together in order to create tension. For example, when the fast was suspended on September 18th, 4 of the hunger strikers were taken to an empty wing in Long Kesh and in an obviously inflammatory move, the authorities then put Republican prisoners alongside them. This led all ten of them to begin their fast again temporarily. Similarly, on 27th September 3 republicans and 3 loyalists at the Kesh were transported in the same minibus escorted by warders in riot gear. When a scuffle began, all 3 republicans were severely beaten with batons and thrown head first through the bus



● Loyalist prisoners mount a roof-top protest at Crumlin Road jail in November 1981

windows. None of the loyalists was attacked.

Britain's minister with responsibility for Northern Ireland prisoners Nicholas Scott, negotiated with intermediaries John Carson of the Official Unionist Party and Peter Robinson, deputy leader of the

Democratic Unionist Party. After 30 days with no move from the government, the fast was suspended; the prisoners did not take full meals but agreed to a 'controlled, low intake of food such as will freeze our condition'. On October 3rd the new Northern Ireland Secretary of State, Douglas Hurd, emphasised that the government would make no changes 'under duress' — by implication, of hunger strike or supporting threats from the UDA and UVF. He talked instead of establishing 'a better balance between loyalist and republican prisoners in those wings where, at present, loyalist prisoners are electing to remain in their cells during exercise and association periods'. The fast was finally called off on October 5th, after large transfers of republicans to Long Kesh and loyalists to Magilligan jail, still with no promises of segregation.

Such transfers are in complete contradiction to Scott's claim at the end of September that the government did not recognise political or religious affiliations of prisoners in Northern Ireland. In fact loyalists and republicans are consistently treated differently by the prison authorities (and, of course, prison warders are

almost without exception recruited from the Protestant community). The prisons have also up until recently operated a certain level of 'unofficial segregation' simply for practical purposes. It seems now that the government are trying to reverse this.

POLITICAL PRISONERS

But British stubbornness on segregation is not a gesture of defiance to loyalism; it is because of what segregation would mean to republicans and republican prisoners' demands dating back to 1971. Republicans demand segregation on the basis which existed before 1976, that is, as part of a recognition that they are political prisoners. When the British introduced the 'criminalisation policy' in 1976, prisoners were forced to integrate, as if they had been jailed not for their active opposition to British rule in Ireland but for crimes of violence like any other. This attempt to criminalise the prisoners, to deny the politics behind their actions, was the reason for the prison protests in the H Blocks culminating in the deaths of ten republicans on hunger strike in 1981. That is why loyalists cannot force the British hand on this issue.

IRA Foresees Long Struggle

The IRA communique issued after the Brighton bomb expresses the recognition by the IRA that the struggle will be a long and protracted one, in which there will always be possibilities for attacks against the various aspects of the British state and in which the IRA can afford to wait for their chances.

Sinn Féin also shares this view. In an interview in the magazine *Magill* (September 1984), Danny Morrison, Director of Publicity, explained the strategy:

'The IRA has to fight the Brits, has to wear down the will of the British to remain in Ireland. And I have absolutely no doubt that they'll be successful in inflicting a political defeat — not a military defeat on the British Army but a political defeat on the British Government. The British will have examined everything — internal settlements, assemblies, constitutional conventions, everything, until their last option — and it will be their last option, because the Brits will not examine it until that day. And that option will be British withdrawal and reunification . . .

'The fact is that the Brits aren't going to get out tomorrow or next year. It's going to be a long struggle, and people who join the republican movement obviously are entitled to be acquainted with that belief. It's only fair on them. I would say, yes, still in terms of five to ten years.'

Lack of Evidence in McGlinchey Case

The return for trial of Dominic McGlinchey at Belfast's Crumlin Road courthouse on Wednesday, 26th September, heralded yet another departure from the norm of British justice as administered in the North of Ireland. The brief hearing confirmed that Dublin's hasty decision to extradite McGlinchey into the conveyor belt system of justice in the North, on 17th March this year, was taken not only in defiance of that government's constitution on political refuge, but also in spite of a total lack of evidence against him: a clear indication of a major concession to Britain's political pressure.

The preliminary enquiry heard that McGlinchey was charged with the murder of Mrs McMullan on 28th March 1977. The Crown lawyer then revealed that the five civilian witnesses would not be called as they had failed to turn up the previous day. A move to issue warrants requiring them to appear had been stopped by RUC Chief Constable Hermon. The Crown's whole evidence rested on the claim that McGlinchey's fingerprints were found on a car alleged to be involved in the incident, a point not conceded by the defence.

Marita Ann Seized

In the early hours of Saturday 29th September a trawler named Marita Ann was captured off the coast of Kerry, Ireland. The 75 foot trawler was apprehended after a mile-long chase in which tracer bullets were fired across the bow by the Irish naval vessel MV Emer. Five men were arrested.

The capture was the result of a sophisticated tracking operation using US spy satellites and reconnaissance aircraft equipped with infra-red cameras for night surveillance. It is more than likely a British submarine also took part. This whole episode involved close co-ordination between the governments of Ireland, Britain and America.

The five men arrested were brought to the Central Criminal Court in Dublin where they were charged with possessing firearms and ammunition with intent to endanger life,

The prosecution, no doubt aware of the weakness of their case, then introduced two further points which would be ruled totally inadmissible under any normal legal standards.

Firstly they read a statement by McGlinchey, which he had sworn for the purpose of avoiding extradition from the South, in which he claimed to be a member of an IRA unit operating in South Derry. Secondly, since McGlinchey's fingerprints were found on a getaway car used in an attack on Ahoghill RUC barracks, some months after the offence with which he is charged, the Crown stressed the similarities between the attacks. This was in fact nothing more than the introduction of prejudicial material, because under the terms of the extradition procedure the RUC cannot bring additional charges against him.

The defending solicitor, McCrory, described Magistrate Mills's decision to return McGlinchey for trial as a 'woebegone patchwork quilt of words, hints, nudges, and innuendo dressed up to look like evidence and stitched together to hide the nakedness of the Crown case'. An all too familiar situation under the legal system in the North.

and unlawful possession of explosives in suspicious circumstances. Troops and detectives armed with sub-machine guns stood guard in the streets around the courthouse.

The guns and equipment were shipped from America. Off the coast of Kerry they were transferred from the supply ship to the trawler Marita Ann.

The arsenal of weapons captured included over 100 M16 rifles, at least 100 sub-machine guns of German make, over 200 assorted hand guns, dozens of shotguns and grenades and over 100,000 rounds of ammunition. Rockets and dozens of sealed boxes of ammunition were amongst the cache.

Approximately seven tons of weapons and ammunition were found; this was two tons greater than the five tons found aboard the ship Claudia 11 years ago.

Armagh Prison

As reported in October's *Troops Out*, the regime in Armagh Women's Jail is a daily assault on the prisoners' lives through petty rules and restrictions.

For example, Alice Taylor who is serving a life sentence had a visit from her sister and a friend on 15th September. Afterwards she was ordered to open her mouth for a search by a prison warder. When she refused, she was punished by seven days' loss of privileges. Her two visitors were also ordered to do the same: the sister refused to do so without a doctor being present and when

she persisted she was threatened that she would not be allowed to visit again. She is now pursuing the matter through a solicitor.

Another prisoner, Briege Ann McCaughey, was due to be released on 17th September. A few days before that date she was charged with 'refusing to obey a warder' and was punished with three days' lock-up. This meant that she was unable to speak to any of the other prisoners during her last days in Armagh.

Strip searches have increased again. There were thirteen between 1st and 9th October.



The Stop the Strip Searches Campaign in Belfast is organising a mass picket of Armagh Jail on Saturday 10th November. This is on the anniversary of the strip search policy being introduced, in November 1982.

They welcome individuals and delegations from Britain and other countries. Please contact the campaign at the Women's Centre, 170a Falls Road, Belfast 12 (phone 0232 238 123).

Appeal Verdict Delayed

The appeal against convictions and sentences of 14 men jailed on the sole evidence of self-confessed Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF) informer Joe Bennett was completed on September 27th. Lord Lowry, together with Justices O'Donnell and Hatton, reserved judgement on the accused because of the 'importance and complex nature' of the case. They were also unable to decide whether Bennett should be called out of hiding to give evidence to the court of appeal.

The trial itself heralded the first of the major 'supergrass' trials and gave a firm indication that the judiciary were prepared to accept the flimsiest of evidence from the shadiest of characters. It finished some four months before the much larger 'supergrass' trial involving informer Christopher Black, when thirty-five republicans were convicted on the sole

evidence of Black.

The important nature of this appeal is one which the judiciary in Northern Ireland, mindful that the next to appeal will be those convicted on the word of Black, will not take lightly, for their judgement could undermine the whole 'supergrass' strategy. However, any threat to the 'supergrass' system is unlikely, bearing in mind Lowry's duplicity in a previous 'supergrass' trial, when he accepted part of the uncorroborated and inconsistent testimony of informer McGrady and convicted seven people, while dismissing other parts of his statement as lies and acquitting a further three.

CORRECTION

In last February's issue of *Troops Out*, we described Lord Lowry as 'ex-Unionist MP, ex-Attorney General in Stormont 1944-7'. In fact it was Lowry's father who was MP and Attorney General. We apologise for the mistake.

Anglo-Irish Summit

Dublin up against the British brick wall

The chances of Britain making any positive response to the New Ireland Forum at the next Anglo-Irish summit talks due to be held in Dublin this month seem extremely slim.

Throughout this summer and autumn the Government of the 26 Counties has been trying to start negotiations with Britain about the future of the North. Britain's response has been — nothing. And the Dublin politicians have been getting more frantic as the months drag on.

In May of this year the New Ireland Forum published its report proposing various possible constitutional changes. The British response, inasmuch as there has been any, was dismissive. James Prior said 'One has to recognise that Northern Ireland is going to remain part of the United Kingdom. The vast majority, nearly 70%, wish to remain and nothing is going to shake their determination' (from *The Shadow of the Gun*, LWT). Douglas Hurd, the new Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, reiterated this view at the Conservative Party Conference. He said that the three options proposed in the Forum Report (a unitary state, a federal solution, and joint authority) were not acceptable: 'There could be no change in Northern Ireland's constitutional position within the United Kingdom without the freely given consent of the majority of its people'.

When the Irish premier was questioned about this on the *Irish Today Tonight* TV programme (October 12th), he almost visibly squirmed. Garret FitzGerald maintained that Hurd's speech was 'not totally negative'. It was simply a holding statement before the British Government puts its full position at the November summit; it was not a major speech, the issue was still open, he claimed.

Dublin's response to the British Government's intransigence has been to water down the already diluted Forum Report. FitzGerald has gone so far as to reinterpret the Constitution of the Irish Republic which lays claim to all the

territory of Ireland:

'The Constitution has been interpreted in some way not intended, as a claim by us on the territory of Northern Ireland, a colonial type claim. It is for the people of Ireland to decide the destiny of Ireland but that can only be done with the consent of the people North and South. I would reassure you. The wording of the Constitution is accidental, not intended. The Constitution might be worded differently but that is all something which must be looked at in order that changes can be made to end the alienation of the minority in Northern Ireland and let both sections recognise their equal validity.' (LWT, 16th September)

Talk of constitutional change affecting the division of Ireland has been quietly dropped. In its place Government ministers have become concerned with social and political change internal to Northern Ireland. For example, deputy premier Dick Spring (of the coalition Labour Party) expressed this revised version at the end of September: 'Our duty is to transform the structures of politics, justice and security [in the North] so as to give dignity and a real sense of belonging'.

The bottom line of this revision is joint repression against the 'terrorists'. This seems to be the only thing the British Government is interested in from Dublin, and capitulation by Dublin looks inevitable. For example, the Irish Department of Foreign Affairs had made a complaint to the British Government after Douglas Hurd had praised the RUC and claimed it enjoyed the support of the whole community (an obvious untruth). On October 7th, FitzGerald hastily backed down: Hurd's remark had not 'merited perhaps as sharp a reaction as we gave to it'.

ECONOMIC PLIGHT IN THE SOUTH

The political climate in which the Fine Gael and the Labour Party coalition finds itself is hardly one of strength,

able to put pressure on the British government. A recent opinion poll in the Republic showed that only 19% of the people were satisfied with the administration. There is now one person in five out of work, with no foreseeable improvement. Meanwhile, the economic situation is just as bleak, with massive interest repayments on the foreign debt making restructuring all but impossible, a fact unlikely to be changed by the latest three-year economic plan. The ensuing social demise has resulted in a growing drug problem among the young and unemployed which has reached epidemic proportions. In addition, the whole of the Irish economy is dependent on Britain for capital investment and trade and, in the North, for subventions. Amongst all this, civil unrest grows, and Dublin's leader is keen to get a positive response from Britain on the Forum report to claw back some credibility. In such a situation, it is obvious that the political leadership would not be able to stand up to Britain and assert Ireland's national rights.

So what pressure on Britain to respond positively? Little or none from Dublin. No amount of pushing from Dublin's Foreign Affairs minister, Peter Barry, who said the Republic felt 'a certain amount of impatience' about London's response to the Forum, nor suggestions from Noonan, Minister for Justice, that the Republic will change its constitution, amending its jurisdictional claim to the North, in exchange for other concessions will goad Thatcher into changing her policy on Northern Ireland.

MAINTAINING THE STATUS QUO

Southern Irish politicians have been talking about a 'deepening crisis in the North': in fact the social and military crisis there has remained fairly constant since 1981. The British government's strategy of con-

tainment, embodied in the Ulsterisation policy, is being realised. The RUC and UDR (locally recruited British army regiment) whose numbers have been swelled are now taking a front line position with a similarly reduced army contingent taking an essential but backseat role. British army casualties are now at their lowest since they first went on the streets of Belfast 15 years ago, while the RUC and UDR deaths have escalated. So Thatcher will argue that Northern Ireland is returning to 'normality', with security being handed back to local agencies, little reason for changing the status quo. A fact ignoring Britain's imperialistic occupation of Northern Ireland.

What has changed is a political crisis as the parliamentary parties have been exposed as impotent and passive to the situation while Sinn Féin has won for itself increased legitimacy in developing a political programme and fighting elections in the South and winning them in the North.

The recent major party conferences, apart from passing motions condemning various repressive techniques used to suppress the nationalist community like plastic bullets, Diplock courts and the current use of 'supergrasses' never seriously questioned Britain's role in Ireland. A motion calling for Britain's withdrawal from Northern Ireland at the Labour Party conference was defeated by a massive majority. So there is little pressure home or away for any response.

The recent Tory party conference reaffirmed its commitment to uphold the Unionist veto as Douglas Hurd, the Northern Ireland Secretary, said 'It is a guarantee rooted in law. It is strongly rooted, it will stand'. Until this issue is challenged the British state will always maintain its rule in the North of Ireland. Finally it is doubtful whether Thatcher is ready to make a response, at this time, as one government source announced recently 'She hasn't had time to slot Ireland in', underlying the importance she places on the Forum.

BLINDED BY A PLASTIC

Rubber and plastic bullets have been used to kill and injure people in Northern Ireland for fourteen years. Here we print an interview by Liz Curtis with Mrs Emma Groves from Andersonstown, Belfast, who was blinded on 4th November 1971 by a soldier who shot her from 8 yards away through her living room window. She has been awarded £35,000 compensation — a clear admission of guilt — but the Army has refused to allow the soldier to be brought to court.



Mrs Groves: I was standing in the living room, they fired the bullet through the window. There wasn't any rioting.

It was very distressing, and also for most of my family. My youngest child was only five years old. I also had a grandchild in the room that day, a three-year-old. And I had the rest of the family, this girl (Roisin) sitting beside me, she was thirteen, one at nine, and one very young. I had eleven children.

Quite frankly, they may as well have been left with no mummy for a long time, because I took it so badly that I couldn't get out of bed. I just didn't want to live.

I had to take one of the oldest girls out of work to look after the house because I wasn't capable of doing that, with depression.

Q. How long did you suffer from depression.

Mrs Groves: Two years. It was very bad. One day I was just lying in bed, crying as

usual, I decided, well, I'll just have to try and learn to live with my blindness. And thank God I've learned to live with it right up to now.

But this is why I try to get involved to get these bullets banned. Because they've done so much damage and left so much heartbreak. I was 51 when I was shot, but I was so concerned about those children that didn't get to live, Carol Ann Kelly and Julie Livingstone, and all the others that for no reason at all were shot dead and didn't even get a chance to live. People don't realise . . . Those that are dead and left their mummies and daddies fretting and broken-hearted. And my children had to live with me as a blind woman after knowing me as a very active mummy. Even to this day it's distressing.

And my husband, who I have just buried six weeks ago, just really never could accept it. He never went into hospital for his nerves, but he nearly had a nervous breakdown. He just couldn't accept that I couldn't see any more.

Roisin: I remember it very well. I was thirteen. There was a soldier at the door. We were all under arrest. I was at the fireplace with my younger sister, who was nine. The room was absolutely packed with people, because the whole area was under curfew, there was no-one on the streets. We were all in our school uniforms because we were supposed to go to school that morning, and when we got up we were all under arrest, so we couldn't move. One minute we heard Mummy talking about making the tea and there was no milk, and the milkman came in and put the bottles on the wall. We couldn't reach them, and Mummy went and turned at the window, and then there was a bang, and she fell against the window, and then she put her hands up to her face and turned round to all of us, and her face was just completely blown off . . . there was blood everywhere, blood up the walls, blood up the windows . . . It was absolute bedlam, because nobody knew what to do, we thought she was dead.

Mrs Groves: We were a very happy family. I was a very active woman, and did everything for my children. And that was very heartbreaking for my children, because, as I say, they may as well have had no mummy. I couldn't cook, I couldn't shop for them any more, I couldn't dress them any more . . . As I say, I didn't want to live.

Roisin: It was very strange coming in from school and she was in bed from early morning . . . everybody had to be quiet, everybody knew . . . We just didn't know what was happening any more . . . for two years it was very bad, in the house, it was just . . .

Mrs Groves: I was always a very efficient woman, quite able to look after eleven children and a husband out working, and when I couldn't cope with all this, my husband couldn't accept it. He was a

PLASTIC BULLETS AROUND THE WORLD

In the last two months rubber or plastic bullets have been used in the Basque country and in South Africa (in the black townships and against striking miners).

We do not know if these were British-made weapons, but they are certainly a British invention. The prototype was the wooden 'baton round' developed in Hong Kong for use against anti-colonial protestors in the sixties. And it is also known that Britain does export its repressive arsenal: earlier this year there was some publicity given to a new machine gun for firing plastic bullets (and CS gas canisters, take your pick). SDLP politician John Hume raised the matter in Parliament and was reassured that the machine gun would not be used in Britain and the North of Ireland, that it was solely for export.

EURO VOTE

On October 11th the European Parliament passed a resolution urging the EEC Council of Ministers to try to persuade Britain to stop using plastic bullets in Ireland 'before there are any more unnecessary deaths' — a reference to the killing of Sean Downes in August. The motion pressed Britain 'to respect human life and ban the use of lethal weapons against civilians'.

It was tabled by the Irish Fianna Fail party and supported by Fine Gael (in the governing coalition in the South) 150 Euro MPs voted for it, 13 abstained and the only members to vote against it were Ian Paisley and 28 British Conservatives.

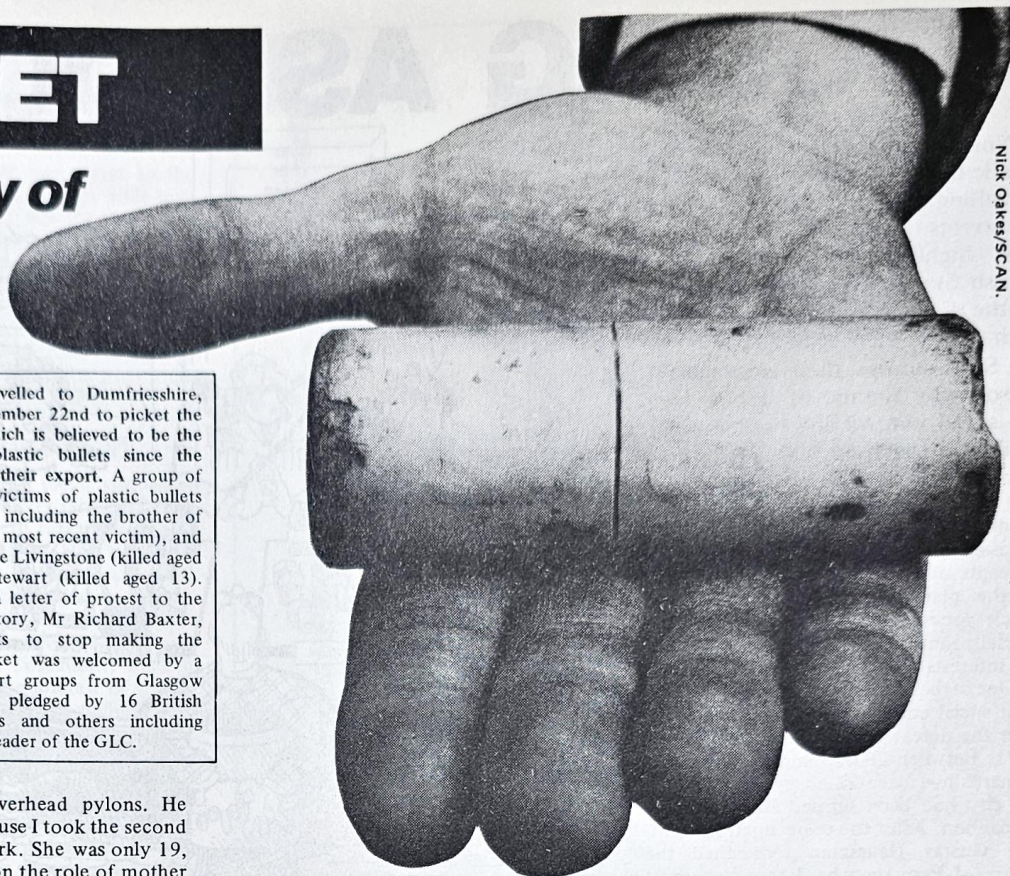
The resolution backs up the Euro Parliament's more general motion passed in May 1982 which also called for a ban on plastic bullets (but was not specifically directed at Britain). Unfortunately, neither of the motions is binding, and since the British Government chose to ignore the first, they will most probably do so with the second. The response of the Northern Ireland Office to the new resolution was 'matters relating to the internal law and order policies of member states are outside the competence of the European Parliament'.

However, the value of such actions in an international body like the EEC is to weaken the legitimacy of the plastic bullet — billed as a 'non-lethal riot control' weapon, despite the fact that it has killed 15 people in Ireland. It is a reminder to the Government that their murders do not pass unnoticed.

BULLET

the story of Emma Groves

Emma Groves travelled to Dumfriesshire, Scotland, on September 22nd to picket the Brocks factory which is believed to be the new source of plastic bullets since the American ban on their export. A group of 14 relatives and victims of plastic bullets travelled together, including the brother of Sean Downes (the most recent victim), and the mothers of Julie Livingstone (killed aged 14) and Brian Stewart (killed aged 13). They handed in a letter of protest to the owner of the factory, Mr Richard Baxter, calling on Brocks to stop making the weapon. The picket was welcomed by a number of support groups from Glasgow and support was pledged by 16 British MPs, three MEPs and others including Ken Livingstone, leader of the GLC.



Plastic bullet actual size. Emma Groves was shot by a rubber bullet, similar to this but pointed. These harder, more accurate bullets were introduced in 1973. Photo: Nick Oakes/SCAN.

linesman, on the overhead pylons. He kept on working because I took the second oldest girl out of work. She was only 19, and she had to take on the role of mother over all those children.

I was only in hospital for two weeks, because there was nothing they could do. Those are only artificial eyes I have in. The eyes were just completely removed. The bullet done that much damage. And that's plastic surgery on my nose, they had to build it up completely. It seems — well, I've never been able to see it — but it seems they did a good job.

Roisin: Mummy has 22 grandchildren now, and she's only saw one. You think, what was it all for? Why did it have to happen? It was just uncalled for.

Mrs Groves: You live with it every day, but it's not easy just to get up and walk and do your own thing. My husband and I were never able to have a holiday together after that because everywhere I go I need someone to take me to the loo, and take me here, which my husband couldn't do. So it kind of a way split us . . . We didn't have the same companionship. Because as I say he couldn't cope with the fact that I couldn't see.

Q. So how do you cope now? Can you do any cooking or things like that?

Mrs Groves: No. I'm always very afraid of the cooker. I have a guide dog now.

Q. It must be very distressing when you always did so much.

Roisin: I think that's the problem. My mother is bursting with energy, but she has to sit most of the time . . .

Mrs Groves: It's so frustrating that I end up crying, even after 13 years. Because I still am a fit woman, and I have to sit on the settee most of the time.

Q. What happened to the soldier who shot you?

Mrs Groves: He never was brought into the court. The whole regiment knew the soldier that did it, because he stepped out and fired into the window at me. So it was no secret, it wasn't as if there was a crowd of soldiers shooting. He was the one soldier that only fired the one shot that day. But there was no way I could get him into the court.

Q. And did you get an apology?

Mrs Groves: I got compensation which I didn't want, quite honestly. I didn't want him shot, I didn't want him to be in the same position as me, because I mean who wants somebody else blind when you're blinded? I just wanted him to be brought in to account, to give the reasons why he shot me. But I couldn't get him into the court.

It's the injustice of it all. The fact that you can be shot and there's nobody has to account for it.

Q. What happened when you tried to bring him to court?

Mrs Groves: When compensation was suggested I said, no, I didn't need money, which I didn't, because I was quite comfortable and had enough money to keep me and my children. So I said, I want this soldier brought into the court to account for shooting me and leaving me the way I am. But it was made quite clear right from the very start that they were not

going to name the soldier and he was not going to have to account for what he did.

I think that all the people who have been hurt, and the parents of the children who have been killed, have found this all very frustrating . . . the injustice of it all.

It's the government and the system that's covering up for these men. I think that if some of them had had to account for it a long time ago, there wouldn't have been as much killing . . . there would have been a limit to just how much they could use plastic bullets . . . They use them far more today. Two weeks ago when Sean Downes was killed, there was hundreds of them fired. It's not a lie to say that they have a licence to kill. That's a fact.

It's terribly frustrating to live in a system where there's no justice.

Q. There were quite big protests at the time?

Mrs Groves: There was a lot of publicity when I was shot, but it didn't stop them from using it . . .

Q. It's very good that you are speaking out.

Mrs Groves: You try every time you're asked to speak at a meeting, to go. I am really and truly concerned, because when you've suffered yourself you understand and you want to help, and you also don't want anybody else hurt. So if by talking you can stop it, and give a few hours of your time . . . I have all the time in the world, because when you're blind there's not much you can do.

So I just like to think that maybe some day, sooner the better, there'll be an end to all this using these plastic bullets . . .

HOUSING AS SOCIAL

In Northern Ireland repression means plastic bullets and armoured vehicles patrolling the streets, but what about the streets themselves? Probably the least highlighted weapon in the British State's arsenal is the design of the places where people live. As with many other techniques used in the Six Counties, there is no special reason why the use of architecture for social control and containment could not be used here. Or is not being used now.

Many factors enter into how where we live is designed: finance, tradition, fashion, concepts of the family and the interests of the planners and speculators. This article focuses on one factor which has special prominence in Northern Ireland — the interests of British military tacticians.

One of the first modern instances of out-right social control architecture appeared after the defeat of the Paris Commune in 1871. Between 20,000 and 40,000 Communards had been killed by State troops; the city had been burned and destroyed by cannon. After the re-occupation architect Gustav Haussman redesigned the centre of Paris on a boulevard system of long roadways and wide open streets. This contrasted sharply with the pre-Commune layout of small narrow streets where the crowd could take cover. The new government preferred Haussman's design because it made people exposed and vulnerable to containment and repression. The Israelis have bulldozed great 'boulevards' into Palestinian camps in Gaza for the same reason, and tried to resettle the occupants into housing estates designed to be indefensible.



The same idea was used in the re-design of the Bogside/Rossville Flats area of Derry, N. Ireland, after the battles of the early seventies. If you go to what used to be known as Free Derry you will discover roadways and pavements the size of a prairie. The ground is covered with a level macadam tough enough to accommodate a tonnage of British saracen or RUC armoured car. There are no paving stones in

the pavement, nothing to use for ammunition or barricades. The wide streets provide no cover for crowds or individuals from security force snipers. It has become an *indefensible space*.

Architects often talk about 'defensible space' meaning a frill of courtyard or garden tacked onto the individual home so that, it is said, people can feel that they have a space where the outside ends and privacy begins. But the idea of defensible space can apply, perhaps more exactly, to a whole design which enables people to defend their area from hostile occupying forces. An example of this was a housing development in pre-World War II Vienna designed by a socialist architect. Though open and pleasant *inside*, it was built like a fortress on the outside.

WHO GOES THERE?

The MORE entrances you have to your housing estate the harder it is for a hostile occupying force to contain you. In 1981 during the summer uprisings in South London the two entrances to Stockwell Park Estate were both cordoned off by the Metropolitan Police preventing access in and out. In Belfast's nationalist Divis Flats there is only *one* way in and out, over a bridge which is easily blocked by an Army saracen. The walkways themselves are wide enough to permit entry by armoured personnel carriers and saracens. Roofs are designed sloping so youths cannot snow armoured vehicles with missiles. Mobile video cameras are fixed to the



This was originally the only entrance to Divis flats, West Belfast. It has since been demolished following a long campaign by local people. (Photo: Nick Oakes/SCAN)

CONTROL

sides of buildings (in one street to the corner of a tobacconist's) for wide-scan surveillance. It is no wonder that when these housing estates for the nationalist community are planned a senior British officer sits with the Department of Environment and the Northern Ireland Housing Executive to determine their design and location. At this moment the manager of the Executive is one Rose Kennedy — an ex-member of the British Army.

NEED AND INTEREST

Another method of social control is the placing of community facilities in discontent-prone spots. In Brixton's Railton Road, scene of some of 1981's fiercest resistance to police occupation, an old people's recreation centre has since been built. While in William St, Derry, — another 'trouble-spot' — the area's only community hall has been sited. Community need is thus used to serve the interest of the security forces — community buildings are sited to discourage expression of popular anger. Children's playgrounds have also been placed on a particular site after consultation with the security forces. British Army forts have been built next to schools. All to make observation easier and shooting at the occupying force harder. Even the humble concrete flyover is a weapon. There is one that sweeps into the Bogside, though car ownership in the nationalist community is low. It does of course provide ready access to the area for British military vehicles. And the flyover in Belfast will, when it is finished, neatly divide the city into nationalist and unionist areas — concrete sectarianism, you might say.

The most recent innovation in housing design can be seen in Derry. Here there are new houses which are small, only two-storeyed and evenly spaced apart. In contrast to clusters of large blocks they are eminently suitable for observation from the British Army posts on the old city wall.

WHAT IS BEING DONE?

How can people control the use of housing rather than housing be used to control them? Resistance takes many forms. Stonebridge tenants in Hackney, London, got themselves onto the design committees for the layout of their estate after three blocks had been demolished. In Sandy Row, Belfast, local residents told the authorities that if they were not consulted about the design of their area, construction machinery would be blown up. And across in Divis Flats and the Moyard estate tenants' associations are demanding total demolition of buildings left over from the cheap and nasty sixties and the rehousing of people on the same spot. The second demand is as important as the first — why should you be rehoused away from your neighbours and your area?



Rossville Flats, Derry City. The local youth can still find vantage points from which to attack the British Army. (Photo: Camerawork Derry).

Even street signs have become the site of struggle in Belfast and Free Derry. To proclaim their Irish identity, local people took the signs down and replaced them with ones in Irish. Because of this, and because of radio messages being intercepted on transistors, the military and security forces had to invent their own code names for the streets.

Who's for Peterloo Avenue?

Thanks to PETER MALONEY without whom this article could not have been written. Peter has slides and more information on this subject and is willing to speak at meetings on it. He can be contacted through Information on Ireland, Box 189, 32 Ivor Place, London NW1 6DA.

ROSSVILLE FLATS

A fire in the Rossville Flats, Derry, made 150 people homeless on October 2nd.

The fire itself, in a rubbish chute, was not a major one; the real problems were caused firstly because the central electricity system ran beside the chutes, a serious design fault. This meant that the whole block was cut off for at least five days. The second design fault was that there was a danger of a gas explosion from the mains supply.

On top of these dangers, heavy steel security gates leading to the main road hindered the fire brigade and the evacuation of families. And finally, the British Army arrived in the morning to raid some flats. They caused a lot of damage to doors, walkways and lifts.

Once again, the Labour Party has failed to tackle seriously the question of Ireland at its 1984 conference at Blackpool.

But quite the most sickening aspect of the press coverage

ARMY

Mirror Comment

A tragic mistake

THE OUTRAGE of the Grand National was too much for one member-failure of almost any other horse race. There can be no doubt about that. It is not that the race was walked into crash, but that it had this week.

And throughout the Tory and Labour campaign the conference of the British Conservative and Labour Journalists, the representative of the Press, Party-men and the public.

And one IRA bomber.

Ministers and others who respected the defence of

were no mortal detectors enough to be able to seize the lead of Brighton could have been in it.

The conference days before terrorism have long gone.

When the Cabinet assembled in the House of Lords in Brighton for protection it was a mortal sin.

Courage

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Courage

The last sentence was printed as a large sub-heading to the headline 'WHAT BOMB OUTRAGE?' Clearly the object of the article's attack is not the IRA but the Labour left and, in particular, the Labour councillors' decision to grasp the nettle of Ireland. The newspaper's purpose, then, is twofold: to turn its readers against the Labour left and to try to deter any British politician from speaking up on Ireland. However, Ken Livingstone's increased popularity in spite of tabloid vilification (with *The Standard* leading the attack) proves that even the worst intentions can backfire.

Delegates rejected overwhelmingly the second motion calling for troop withdrawal from the six counties, by 4½ million votes to 450,000 – a majority of 10 to one. The usual arguments against withdrawal, from the 'democratic rights' of the Protestant majority in the North of Ireland to fears of a post-withdrawal 'bloodbath' and civil war, were put forward by speakers. The proposers of the motion argued for an orderly withdrawal, accompanied by the disarming of the RUC and the disbandment of the UDR as the first steps towards a peaceful settle-

Flannery misjudges the sentiments behind Sinn Fein's argument. When Britain decides to withdraw its troops (implicitly that would be the disbanding of the Ulster Defence Regiment, a locally recruited British army battalion) and disarm the RUC, who are controlled by the British Government, it will be up to the parties in Northern Ireland to decide how best to effect that withdrawal. It is pure hypocrisy for Flannery to blame the obstacles for troop withdrawal on Sinn Fein. Britain is, after all, the occupying force.

ASUI CONFERENCE

Much of the morning session was taken up with arrangements for ASTMS Conference in Blackpool in November. With discussion on Ireland gerrymandered off the agenda, it is hoped that emergency resolutions on Ireland will get through. A fringe meeting will be held on Sunday November

In a general political discussion that followed we decided to prepare a briefing document on the Campaign for Labour Representation in Northern Ireland to counter the widely held, if confused, notion that organising a Labour Party in the Six Counties would be a progressive step towards ending the war.



Leicester Prison picket (Photo: P. Davis, Birmingham TOM)

Picket Remembers Noel Jenkinson and Irish Prisoners

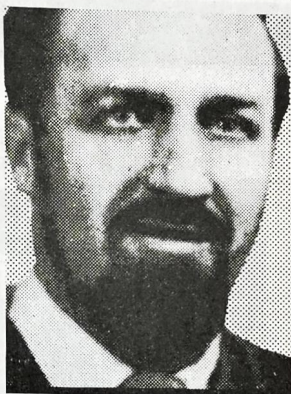
Over 100 people joined a picket of Leicester Prison, which was called by Sinn Fein (Britain) on October 7th.

The picket was in memory of Noel Jenkinson, who died in that prison on October 9th, 1976. At the inquest he was said to have died of a heart attack.

Noel Jenkinson came from a Protestant family in the North of Ireland, but lived most of his adult life in England. His political insights developed from a hatred of fascism in the Second World War, and from there to an understanding of Britain's oppression of his own country and of the class struggle where he lived.

He was a member of the Communist Party of Great Britain for many years, but resigned after being censured by the party for making a speech in support of the Cuban revolution. He acted as TGWU branch secretary and shop steward at the Highgate bus garage in London, where he was greatly respected for his defence of workers' interests, particularly those of black workers and women workers.

In 1972 Noel Jenkinson was arrested and charged with the bombing of Aldershot barracks. This was claimed by the Official IRA in response to the para-troop regiment's murder of 14 people in Derry on Bloody Sunday. At his trial there was



NOEL JENKINSON

no evidence to link him with Aldershot; the prosecution based their entire case on Noel Jenkinson's political views. He was found guilty and sentenced to life imprisonment, with the judge's recommendation that he serve at least thirty years.

The picket on October 7th was also part of Sinn Fein's campaign for Irish republican prisoners in Britain, which has five demands:

- The right to repatriation, on demand, to gaols in Ireland.
- The release of prisoners framed by the British police.
- An end to solitary confinement and Special Control Units.
- The release of Patrick Hackett on medical grounds.
- The abolition of the Prevention of Terrorism Act.

PRISONERS' BIRTHDAYS

Please send letters, cards etc to these prisoners and let them know they are not forgotten.

REPUBLICAN PRISONERS IN ENGLISH JAILS

MARTIN COUGHLIN
507955

H. M. Prison, Hedon Rd, Hull,
North Humberside

November 4

SEAN KINSELLA
758661

H. M. Prison Wormwood Scrubs,
PO Box 757, Du Cane Rd,
London W12 0AE

November 5

PAUL NORNEY
863532

H. M. Prison Gartree, Leicester
Rd, Market Harborough, Leics.

November 11

BRENDAN DOWD
758662

H. M. Prison, Welford Rd,
Leicester

November 17

ANDY MULRYAN
461576

H. M. Prison Long Lartin, South
Littleton, Evesham, Worcs.

November 18

JAMES BENNETT
464987

H. M. Prison Parkhurst, Newport,
Isle of Wight

December 4

ARMAGH PRISONERS

PATRICIA McGARRY
C Wing

November 6

BERNIE O'BOYLE
B Wing

November 11

CATHERINE MOORE (remand)
November 29

JAQUELINE MOORE (remand)
December 2

Address: Armagh Women's Prison,
Armagh, N. Ireland.

Police Warning

In formal terms, in a democracy the police force operate to enforce laws enacted by Parliament, that Parliament being an elected body expressing the wishes and consent of the majority of the state's population.

That is the theory, although many would disagree that it always works like that in practice. A speech on October 4th by the President of the Police Federation announced a weakening of even that theoretical position.

Mr Leslie Curtis was speaking after the Labour Party Conference criticised police activity against striking miners. "We are fearful because we wonder how it will be possible to serve the people of this country in some future crisis of this nature if the party in power adopts a policy of blaming the police and forbidding them to intervene to restore law and order if the lawbreakers happen to be engaged in an industrial dispute . . . The portents are ominous . . . In the end we have got to work with the government but if the Labour Party carry on as they are and become the next government there has got to be a change of views."

Enter a police force with overt party allegiances, or class allegiances, or race allegiances . . .

If anyone does not realise where this road takes us, they should look at the North of Ireland. The Royal Ulster Constabulary quite patently owes its allegiance to the Unionists and is an oppositional force to the nationalists. There has, for example, been a special Orange Order Lodge for the RUC since 1922 which was officially sanctioned by the North's Minister for Home Affairs. It was even clearer with the 'B' Specials, a loyalist paramilitary police auxiliary of the worst sectarian character, which today is re-armed in the uniform of the Ulster Defence Regiment, a wing of the British Army.

PLASTIC BULLET SUPPLIERS IN BIRMINGHAM

The Birmingham firm of Parker-Hale has recently distributed 266,000 Parabellum blank metal case plastic bullets. The consignment was brought into England via Belgium through an American company, Sherwood International, who have offices in London.

Roger Hale, a director of Parker-Hale, justified his 'family business' being involved in such trade on the grounds that the bullets were only used for training purposes.

This 'family business' has been supplying police forces with a highly specialised sniper's rifle for many years.

In more recent years they have also supplied the RUC and Gardai (police forces of North and South Ireland) with handguns and carbines.

Roger Hale refused to confirm or deny that the plastic bullets had been shipped to the North of Ireland on 25th September. If they hadn't been shipped to Ireland, which police force here is now being trained with these weapons? Are we going to see the miners receive the same brutal treatment that we have seen in the North of Ireland since the introduction of plastic bullets in 1976?

(See back page for details of a picket of Parker-Hale on November 5th.)

PRISONERS BOOK RESOURCE



The Prisoners' Book Resource is a group based in London with contacts in Derry. The aim of the group is to provide books/magazines to republican political prisoners in Ireland.

The type of material we are seeking ranges from books/magazines on radical politics, liberation struggles, feminism and economics to ordinary paperback novels, poetry, song-books, languages etc. Basically every type of paperback book which isn't racist or sexist.

We are appealing to all publishers, bookshops, political groups and interested individuals to help us with this worthwhile work.

In the past we have had a very good response from many sources and would like to use this opportunity to say thanks to everyone again.

The group also requires funds to help with postage/delivery of the books. Alternatively if any reader knows of transport travelling to the north of Ireland that could perhaps deliver some books, this would help save on expenses.

The group can be contacted in London at 01-250 1293 (Mon-Fri 1pm-6pm) or c/o Elilis Heaney, 26 Clarendon Street, Derry City, north of Ireland, phone no. (0504) 264527.

INTERNATIONAL NEWS

Basque Extraditions

On the 26th of September French government ended the tradition of political asylum for Basque refugees and extradited three Basque militants to Spain and deported four others to Togo in West Africa.

They had been on hunger strike since August 9th and on thirteenth strike for five weeks. They were demanding the right to political asylum in the northern part of the Basque Country, which lies within the French state.

The Basque people responded to the extraditions and expulsions with strikes and demonstrations, especially in the towns of Bilbao, San Sebastian and Bayonne, the like of which had not been seen for many years. A widely supported General Strike was held in the Basque Country on the day of the extraditions in spite of the opposition of the large Socialist and Communist Unions.

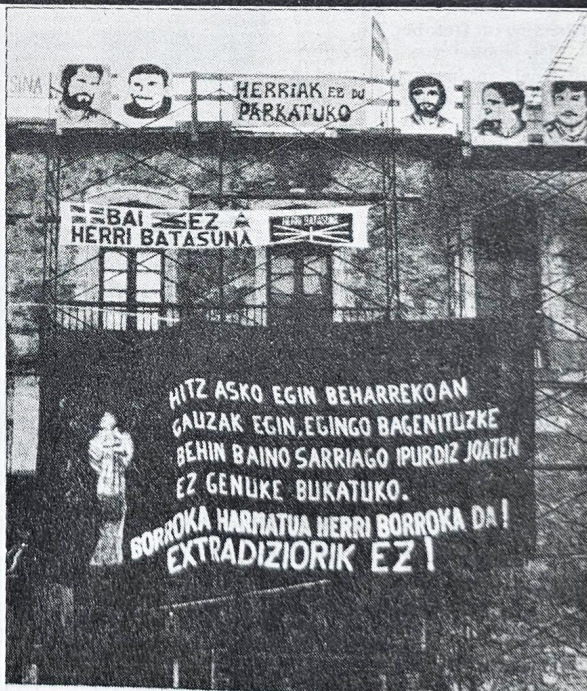
Opposition to the extraditions has come not only from

Popular Unity (H.B.) and the Basque Nationalist Party (P.N.V.) but also from President Mitterrand's own French Socialist Party.

The extraditions have been hailed by the Spanish government as an international declaration that Spain is now a democracy, a necessary requirement for Spanish entry to the E.E.C. But for the Basques 'democratic repression' is little different from 'fascist repression'.

There are 450 Basque political prisoners in Spanish jails — more than in the later Franco years — over 1,000 refugees in the Northern Basque Country and another 400 political exiles in Latin America. The police still use truncheons and plastic bullets against peaceful demonstrators.

The claim of the Spanish government to authority in Euskadi, the Basque Country, is based on the 'democratic' Constitution. But Basques rejected that Constitution in the Referendum in 1978 because it



denied the right to self determination for the Basque people.

The Spanish Socialist Party is a purely electoral machine and had no presence inside Spain during the repression of the Franco era. It has proved itself to be more 'Spanish' than even the right wing

parties and more repressive of the Basque national liberation movement which was in the forefront of the opposition to Franco's dictatorship.

Heartened by its recent success the Spanish government has followed up with a request of another Basque refugee from France.

REPUBLICAN SOCIALIST RECORD APPEAL

A Chara/Chairdhe,

I am writing to you concerning the Republican Socialist Record Fund.

It is the intention of our movement to produce a long-playing record of original material to both promote the aims and policies of our movement and help raise funds for our prisoners. At present there are over 130 prisoners incarcerated in Long Kesh, Crumlin Road, Portlaoise, Magilligan and Armagh including a 19 year old woman, Jacqueline Moore, who recently gave birth to a baby girl called Dominique.

Taking into account that each prisoner has a family we are faced with having to provide welfare for around 800 to 1,000 people closely affected by the prisoner's incarceration and that is not counting relatives and friends.

Also we have 18 prisoners on remand in Crumlin Road Jail with a further 6 in Long Kesh and 9 comrades out on bail awaiting trial. The sole evidence against them is that of paid perjurer Harry Kirkpatrick. Included amongst those charged is Jimmy Brown, former Chairperson of the Belfast Executive and Kevin McQuillan, current Chairperson of the Belfast Executive and Vice-Chairperson of the party nationally.

One of the songs, entitled 'A Bright Star', is written by Tony O'Hara whose brother Patsy died on hunger strike - he himself spent five years in the H Blocks. Sponsors of the record include the families of Patsy O'Hara, Kevin Lynch and Michael Devine, who died on hunger strike, and also James Daly and Maoliossa Costello (both Miriam Daly and Seamus Costello were Chairpersons of the IRSP and both were assassinated).

We estimate that the project will cost in the region of £2,500 and we are in need of funds badly. All donations will be gratefully received and acknowledged.

Cheques, postal orders etc. should be made out to the Republican Socialist Record Fund and sent to Ray Collins, 3 St. Agnes Drive, Belfast BT11 8GZ Ireland.

Is Mise le meas,
Irish Republican Socialist
Party

KNOW YOUR ENEMY

Dear Comrades,

I'm feeling guilty this morning' was how a patient opened the conversation with a friend of mine, a psychotherapist, the morning after the Brighton bomb. 'I wish they'd got the lot of them'!

The most noticeable thing about the media coverage of the bomb attack is the almost total silence on the popular response I've heard from so many English people - 'it's a shame they missed'. And the established parties of the Left failed yet again to catch and articulate the popular feeling from below that 'she bloody well deserved it'. Again the Constitutional Left condemned the violence of the oppressed on the basis that on the one hand the only moral way to political power is through elections and that on the other political violence only weakens democracy by increasing state repression.

This Social Democratic theory had its origins in the West and has been exported to many countries. The Irish however, being a bit 'thick and violent' by nature, never could learn how to conduct 'normal' democratic politics as practiced at Westminster. What happens in Northern Ireland is external or at least marginal to the British body politic. There is no connection between events in, say, West Belfast, and struggles in Britain. They are not just occurring on another island; they are pre-rational, not 'real' politics.

So when the Tory cabinet is attacked by the IRA we get the stock response from the Constitutional Left about 'men of violence', 'attack on democracy', 'mindless violence' etc.

Yes, Kinnock is right that the Brighton bomb was an attack on democracy - capitalist democracy, the democracy of the British ruling class which the oppressed minority in Northern Ireland have rejected since the statelet was established. The two main parties offer different strategies for the same project - managing British capitalism; the Tories by confrontation as against integration and neutralisation by the Labour Party.

So when oppressed people in Britain show at least ambivalence towards, if not support for the attack on the Tories the Labour Party, rather than

articulating that opposition, undermines it.

Because of the circumstances the struggles against the British ruling class, of necessity, take a different form in Ireland and in Britain. They are also out of phase. Had the miners been on strike during the hunger strikes both struggles could have fed off each other and been stronger for it.

And now, I'm sure there was many a smile when the news of the bomb reached the embattled pit villages and shared by many of those who are fighting for a hospital, a home, a job or freedom from racist attacks.

We must not let the integrators, the neutralisers rob us of that. The socialist democracy we are building is a delicate creature. To be sure, if the PM had been assassinated it would have unleashed a wave of repression. It would be, as the Basques say, 'time to put up the umbrellas'. But we could have weathered that. The danger comes from within.

(Name withheld on request)

LETTER FROM AN ANARCHIST

Dear Sisters and Brothers,

I have just returned recently from a visit to Belfast as a member of the Troops Out Movement delegation. I came back visibly shaken from my first experience of brutal oppression and naked colonialism. I have been a class-struggle Anarchist (Anarcho-Syndicalist) now for fifteen years, the same number of years since the recent British occupation of Ulster. During that time the media has constantly played down the full horrors of the British government's occupation. Constantly reiterating that British troops are there purely as a peace-keeping force.

The reality is somewhat different, Belfast at first sight - at least the areas occupied by the British - bears much resemblance to pictures I have seen of Nagasaki and Hiroshima after the bombs of 1945. Ruined buildings, burnt-out cars, and the ever present road-blocks and troops hurtling by, gives the ordinary visitor a brief glimpse of the tragedy that is a daily reality for the Irish population of Belfast.

I was privileged to stay in the homes and visit the clubs of Republican activists during my all too short four day visit. What impressed me as an Anarchist and a revolutionary was the openness, the warm-hearted hospitality, the lack of racism towards me, despite my rather unusual delight in wearing jewellery and displaying innumerable badges, towards one who

after all is a member (however reluctant) of the oppressing culture. I kept repeating to myself after the cold-blooded murder of Sean Downes to which I was a witness - and the incredibly violent behaviour of the British troops and the RUC, 'They will never conquer this people'. If ever I saw a politically conscious, tremendously brave working class population it was there on the streets of Belfast. Despite the desperate poverty, the unemployment, the degrading brutality of the oppression, the Belfast Republican working class is not only ready and willing to listen to alternative political ideas, they do so with an open eagerness and a sense of immediate urgency.

The Republican movement that I spent my time with bore little resemblance to the stories of bigoted Catholic nationalism which I had been led to expect, both from others' accounts, and the media. I found a people intensely alive and open to new ideas, aware of the social problems and intent on solving them as soon as the oppressive British presence is withdrawn. They expressed interestingly diverse opinions to me about racism, gay rights, sexism and socialist alternatives. I met activists who spoke with the Anarchist vision of society as I did. I spoke to Republican organisers who espoused decentralism, federalism and community and workers control (in an Anarchist sense). I remember talking to one rank and file activist who claimed he was neither a Republican nor a Nationalist but a reactionary - amid the laughter of himself and his wife. He went on to explain to my shocked and horrified face that he meant that he was only reacting against British oppression by meeting violence with violence. In this sense he was a reactionary.

The Republican movement is indeed diverse. I will not try to disguise the fact that I had very real differences of opinion with certain members of the 'Sinn Féin' organisation who espoused beliefs, for example, about 'revolutionary' Cuba and who saw socialism in statist and nationalist terms, and I made quite clear that I saw loyalty to class as more important than national differences. The rank and file, however, were much more open and ready to express ideas more in keeping with my own Anarcho-Syndicalism.

Anarchists must become aware of the terrible reality of British oppression and struggle against it wherever and whenever possible by demanding on every possible occasion an end to the British military and political presence in Ulster. They should tell their friends that British troops are in Ireland as a prop to the present sectarian divisions, and left alone the Irish working class could be well on the way to finding their own solutions.

Yours fraternally,
P.R., Newcastle on Tyne

Kevin Barry

Dublin in the year 1920 seemed calm enough but in reality it seethed with tension. Incidents occurred daily. The War of Independence had begun the year before. Searches, arrests, shootings, ambushes had become commonplace. Curfew emptied the streets at night, except for military vehicles prowling for prey. Thousands of troops garrisoned the city; the Black and Tans were six months old; the auxiliaries had just been formed.

On the morning of September 20th, an ambush occurred which later became well known throughout Ireland. At 11.30am a group of Irish Republican gunmen attacked a British military lorry and its occupants outside Monks bakery, Upper Church Street, Dublin. The clash of arms was brief and deadly. When it ended three British soldiers, Ptes Washington, Whitehead and Humphries, were fatally wounded. Bob O'Flanagan, one of several Republican volunteers wounded, remembered later: 'There was one fellow sitting with his back to the cab; he seized his rifle, raised it and fired. The discharge from the rifle set fire to my cap and the bullet took part of my scalp on the right side. Another young volunteer's gun jammed and he was forced to take cover under the lorry. The soldiers later spotted him and took him away to their barracks to be questioned.'

This young man's name was Kevin Barry. He was subjected to harsh interrogation and torture. In an affidavit drawn up in Mountjoy prison some days before his execution, Kevin Barry tells what happened when he was questioned: 'He tried to persuade me to give the names and I persisted in refusing. He then sent the sergeant out of the room for a bayonet. When it was brought in the sergeant was ordered by the same officer to point the bayonet at my stomach. The same questions as to the names and addresses of my companions were repeated with the same result. The sergeant was then ordered to turn my face to the wall and point the bayonet in my back. I was so turned. The sergeant then said that he would run the bayonet into me if I did not tell. The bayonet was then removed and I was

turned round again. The same officer then said to me that if I persisted in my attitude he would turn me out to the men in the barrack square, and he supposed I knew what that meant with the men in their present temper. I said nothing.' Later he had his arm twisted behind his back but refused to confess.

Kevin Barry was born on January 20th 1902, the fourth of a family of two boys and five girls. He attended junior school first in Co. Carlow and later in Dublin Corporation scholarship to the National University. The essays he wrote at school reveal a boy who thought deeply on many matters – politics, people and life itself. An essay called 'Prejudice' considers the subject from three angles – racial, religious and personal. He believed racial prejudice was the worst of all. 'It usually masks a much worse thing – oppression or tyranny. It is also divided into two classes, namely that of the white man against his coloured brother, for brother he is whether black, red or yellow, and that of the white man against his fellow white man of a different nation. The two combined form the origin of very many of the world's greatest wars and slaughter.'

In an essay on industrial unrest, referring to the great 1913 strike in Dublin, he states 'The socialists all over the world backed them and the good ship Hare was dispatched with food for the strikers, also money poured in from everywhere to keep up the strike. The men held out doggedly till they won or virtually won, since the tramway union was recognized. Thus we received a forcible demonstration of the power of labour and also of the power of an agitator in the person of that marvellous leader James Larkin and his able Lieutenant Commandant James Connolly.'

Kevin Barry is best remembered today by a song that was composed shortly after his execution. It has become the most famous of all Irish rebel songs.

In Mountjoy Jail one Monday morning,

High upon the gallows tree,
Kevin Barry gave his young life
For the cause of liberty.

But a lad of eighteen summers,
Yet no one can deny

As he walked to death that morning
He proudly held his head on high.



Why not shoot me like a soldier
Do not hang me like a dog,
For I fought to free old Ireland,
On that bright September morn.
All around that little bakery
Where we fought them hand to hand,
Why not shoot me like a soldier
For I fought to free Ireland.

Just before he faced the hangman
In his dreary prison cell
British soldiers tortured Barry
Just because he would not tell
The names of his brave companions
And other things they wished to know.

'Turn informer or we'll kill you!'
Kevin Barry answered 'No!'

Calmly standing to attention,
While he bade his last farewell
To his broken-hearted mother
Whose sad grief no one can tell;
For the cause he proudly cherished
This sad parting had to be;
Then to death walked softly smiling,
That old Ireland might be free.

Another martyr for old Ireland
Another murder for the crown
Whose brutal laws may kill the Irish
But won't keep their spirit down.
Lads like Barry are no cowards
From the foe they will not fly;
Lads like Barry will free Ireland
For her sake they'll live and die.

1985 CALENDAR

from the Troops Out Movement

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NEW BOOK FROM INFORMATION ON IRELAND

Nothing But The Same Old Story: the Roots of Anti-Irish Racism

by Liz Curtis, foreword by

Ken Livingstone

Price: £1.50; 104pp

ISBN 0 9507381 5 8

Nothing But the Same Old Story traces anti-Irish prejudice to its earliest appearance during the Norman conquest of Ireland in the twelfth century, and shows how it has been kept alive as succeeding waves of English conquerors sought to justify their colonial ambitions.

NOTHING BUT THE SAME OLD STORY THE ROOTS OF ANTI-IRISH RACISM



Information on Ireland,
Box 189, 32 Ivor Place,
London NW1 6DA.

11th
Member of RUC and traffic ward- en injured by IRA
Haughey, Fianna Fail leader, states that confidence in the impartial- ity of courts and institutions in the North of Ireland had "ir- retrievably broken down".
30 hoax bombs planted by UVF in Belfast.

12th
Ireland's Minister for Foreign Affairs, condemns use of plastic bullets and defends Dub- lin's policy on extradition of people to the North in speech to European Parliament.

Inquest into deaths of Eugene Toman, Sean Burns and Gervais McKerr killed by RUC in Nov. 1982 is adjourned.
SDP conference passes motion calling for a ban of plastic bullets.

13th
SDLP leader, Hume, announces that a rapid fire plastic bullet gun has been developed at Royal Ordnance factory, Enfield, London.
Nicholas Scott, Northern Ireland minister, agrees to meet delegation representing UDA and UVF prison- ers on hunger strike in Magilligan prison.
Strike at Dublin port to be extend- ed.

14th
RUC find guns in loyalist drinking club in the Shankhill Rd, Belfast.

15th
9 people injured when loyalists attack a bus near the Crumlin Rd prison.

17th
Fine Gael TDs force Irish govern- ment to reconsider proposed land tax.

18th
Loyalist hunger strikers in Magil- ligan prison come off fast pending negotiations.
British soldiers fire plastic bullets when a patrol is attacked in Gob- noscale area.

19th
Rhodes Boyson, Northern Ireland's new minister in charge of industry, announces 120 new jobs in high technology sector.

20th
A joint British army and RUC post at Kinawley comes under mortar attack from the IRA, a police station is hit.

Packets of poison are found in 5 supermarkets belonging to the Irish firm Quinnsworth. A person represent- ing an unnamed loyalist group claims responsibility.

21st
RUC discover arms and ammuni- tion in the Shantallow area of Derry.

Dublin Gas announces loss of £7.8 million last year and expects even greater losses this year.

32 people returned for trial in Belfast on the evidence of super- grass' Harry Kirkpatrick, all defend- ants refused to answer the charges.

23rd
MPs Mates and Biggs-Davison with- draw from Cambridge Union debate on British withdrawal from Ireland



after learning that Sinn Fein would be opposing them on the platform.

24th
John Cushnahan succeeds Oliver Napier as the new Alliance Party leader.

10 loyalist prisoners in Magilligan prison resume hunger strike.

25th
British soldier shot in Derry.
Loyalists in Magilligan prison sus- pend hunger strike for 2nd time.
British army exercise Lionheart is attended by a representative from the Irish army as part of a Commit- tee on the security of Europe.

26th
McGlinchey returned for trial (see page 3).

27th
Fight breaks out in Longkesh be- tween Republican and Loyalist prisoners.

28th
SDLP members walk out of Associ- ation of Local Authorities meeting after DUP motion is passed not to recognize Derry City's name change.

Sean O'Leary, former deputy leader of Fine Gael in the Senate, is expel- led from the party because he voted against the Criminal Justice Bill.

29th
Marita Anne, containing arms and ammunition, is seized by Irish au- thorities off coast of Ireland (see page 3)

IRA destroy Kilnasaggar bridge on main Dublin/Belfast railway line.

30th
IRA seriously injure a UDR soldier in S Derry.

OCTOBER

1st
RUC narrowly escape injury as IRA explode bomb in Co. Tyrone.

RUC arrest 16 men from Derry, all, except one, are taken to Castle- reagh.

Barry Llewellyn, charged with the murder of 2 RUC reservists, claims in a Belfast court that the RUC had offered him £17,000, a short prison sentence, a new identity and a new home to turn supergrass. He agreed to supply information but later retracted. The case continues.
British prisons' Minister, Lord Elton, announces harsher treatment for disruptive prisoners. The 60 republican prisoners isolated in English jails are likely to feel the full force of the new tougher re- gime.

2nd
Gerry Adams and 7 other Sinn Fein members are arrested by the RUC in connection with the visit of Martin Galvin to Belfast on 12th August. All are released after 5 hours without charges.

British army undercover squad are disturbed while observing a house. Shots are fired by the army and the family in the house are assaulted. Irish Government publishes its plan entitled 'Building on Reality'. The plan continues along the same monetarist policies which have failed to tackle the current levels of poverty and unemployment. Some of the main points include, cuts in public spending, the recruitment embargo in the public services to be extended to local authorities and health boards, a calculated increase in unemployment, wages held down below inflation. The plan fails to tackle the unemployment problem and ensures that the 1/4 million un- employed now will be joined by many more, with harsher times to come.

3rd
Tony Benn at Labour Party confer- ence fringe meeting predicts Ireland will be united within 6 years.
Irish Senate passes Criminal Justice Bill by 35 votes to 7.

2 UVF men jailed for 10 yrs and 6 yrs for taking part in a shooting incident in Belfast in Nov. 1983. Charges of attempted murder were dropped.

4th
John O'Reilly, who has been remanded in custody for 2 yrs, 8 months, is released on bail. He has been charged on the word of informer Harry Kirkpatrick.



Striking workers continue to picket Dunnes Stores, Dublin, over sus- pension of a worker refusing to handle South African produce. The workers staged a sit-in on October 4th to prevent scab deliveries.

5th

A man is shot and wounded near the Belfast home of DUP member George Seawright.

The Liberal Party conference passes resolutions opposing 'Diplock' Courts, the use of 'supergrasses' and calls for a ban on the use of plastic bullets. A motion calling for Troops Out of Ireland is defeated heavily.

7th

Danny Morrison, member of Sinn Fein, is arrested and later released by the RUC in connection with the visit to Belfast in August of Noraid Director Martin Galvin.

Reserve RUC member, Dickson, kills himself after shooting dead one woman and taking two others hostage.

Garret Fitzgerald apologises over remarks made in protest at a speech by Douglas Hurd, N. Ireland Secretary, to RUC recruits. Hurd referred to the high level of support enjoyed by the RUC in the com- munity.

8th

A member of the UDR is shot dead in Co. Tyrone by the IRA.

9th

Members of the Labour Party's Northern Ireland Committee visit the Maze and Armagh prisons on a fact finding tour.

Report in the Irish Times reveals that 9 members of the security forces have committed suicide this year.

The trial involving informer Ray- mond Gilmour, in which 37 people have been charged re-opens at Belfast Crown Court after 3 month delay.

10th

Report in Daily Telegraph reveals figures of security forces killed in Northern Ireland for the first six months of this year - Army - 6, UDR - 11, RUC - 9.

11th

European Parliament passes motion urging Britain to stop using plastic bullets in N. Ireland.

12th

Bomb at Grand Hotel, Brighton, in which Tory cabinet are staying during their conference, explodes and kills 4 people. The IRA claim responsibility.

13th

General Secretary of NUM, Peter Heathfield, visits Dublin and meets members of the Dublin Council of Trade Unions. The Irish Campaign for the miners has raised over £100,000 for the miners' strike fund.

2 fire bombs found in Lough Erne Hotel, Kesh, are defused by the army. In claiming responsibility the IRA state the hotel caters for members of the security forces.

14th

2 UDR battalions in Belfast are amalgamated. The new battalion known as 7-10 UDR will consist of 1,400 men making it the biggest battalion in the British army.

16th

A man is shot in the back by a sold- ier while running away from a car in West Belfast.

COMING EVENTS

BIRMINGHAM

FUNDRAISING SOCIAL
to sponsor a delegate to the show trial
of Raymond Gilmour

LIVE MUSIC OF THE SIXTIES

At Sparkbrook Labour Club,
240 Stratford Rd (opposite Ladypool Rd)

Organised by B'ham Trades Council
£1 waged, 50p unwaged

FRI 2nd NOVEMBER, 8pm

BIRMINGHAM

Women & Ireland PUBLIC MEETING

Video & discussion about plastic
bullets and eye-witness accounts of
August 12th events leading to
Sean Downes' death

The first of a series of women's
educational/discussions

At Central Hall, Corporation St
(opp. Victoria Law Courts)

Creche

Limited access (lift, but no adapted toilet)

All women welcome

NB: Bring books for the Falls Rd Women's
Centre (new or 2nd hand)

SAT 3rd NOVEMBER, 2-4pm

JOIN THE TROOPS OUT MOVEMENT

Below is a list of towns and districts in
England, Scotland and Wales where we
have TOM branches or contacts. If you
want to join through a branch or as an
individual, please fill in the coupon
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To: P.O. Box 353, London NW5 4NH.

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

Name

Address

Membership of a branch costs £6 (£2 un-
employed) payable through the branch.
Individual membership is £7.50 which
includes a subscription to *Troops Out*.

LONDON

COURSE IN IRISH HISTORY — BRITAIN'S ROLE AND RESPONSIBILITY

November 4th:

WOMEN AND IRISH HISTORY

November 18th:

*NEUTRAL IRELAND? History of
the Irish Republic; Ireland & NATO*

December 2nd:

*CONTAINING THE PROBLEM
British State Strategy; Irish Policies
of the British Left*

At House of St. Barnabas, 1 Greek St, W1

Admission 50p (includes tea/coffee)

Hosted by TOM and the Historical
Discussion Group

On Sundays at 7pm

BIRMINGHAM

PICKET OF PARKERHALE (a major distributor of plastic bullets to police and army)

At Parkerhale Ltd, corner of Golden
Hillock Rd and Walford Rd, B'ham

Organised by Birmingham TOM

MON 5th NOVEMBER, 4-6pm

LEEDS

IRELAND ON VIDEO

Part of a season of video films
organised by Leeds TOM

Wed 14th November:

ACCEPTABLE LEVELS

A fictional but realistic film set in the Divis
Flats when a British TV crew turn up. 1984.

Wed 12th December:

THE CAUSE OF IRELAND

The uncensored version of this widely-
acclaimed documentary on nationalism and
socialism in Ireland today. 1983.

Both start at 8pm

Downstairs at Leeds Trades Club,
Savile Mount, Leeds 7

Admission 50p

LONDON

EAST LONDON TOM BENEFIT WITH TERRY & THE VAGABONDS and PETE ZERO

Admission £2 / £1

at Chat's Palace, Brooksby's Walk, E9

FRI 16th NOVEMBER, 8-11pm

MANCHESTER

MARCH and RALLY Manchester Martyrs Commemoration

for Irish Republican Prisoners
and for the 5 Demands of the Irish
Republican Prisoners Campaign Cttee
in Britain

Organised by Sinn Fein

SUN. NOVEMBER 25th

LONDON

CONSULTATIVE CONFERENCE ON ANTI-IRISH RACISM

Speakers include Ken Livingstone
Subjects to be discussed include
Education in British schools; history of
racism; women & anti-Irish racism; PTA
& plastic bullets; elderly Irish in Britain;
Irish women at work in London;
the ethnic minority vote

**DELEGATES ONLY — APPLY BY
5th NOVEMBER**

All groups & individuals welcome

At Brent Irish Cultural Centre,
76-82 Salusbury Road, Kilburn NW6

Creche

Poor access for those with disabilities

Credentials from Irish Interest Group
at BICCA, 76-82 Salusbury Rd
£1 waged, 50p unwaged; includes
refreshments (lunch, tea, coffee, biscuits
—vegetarians catered for)

**SUN 18th NOVEMBER,
10am onwards**

MANCHESTER

STOP THE STRIP SEARCHES IN ARMAGH JAIL A weekend for women in the North West

to co-ordinate a campaign

Speakers; workshops; exhibition
'Bin Lids and Barricades'; videos

At Cheetham Hill Library,
Cheetham Hill Road, Manchester 8

Disabled access but no facilities

Creche

Organised by Manchester Women & Ireland
Group, c/o War on Want, Oxford Rd
Manchester

NOVEMBER 24th/25th

BIRMINGHAM

PUBLIC MEETING

Showing video on informers,
'One Man's Word'

At the Mermaid, Sparkhill, Birmingham

Organised by Birmingham TOM

MON 26th NOVEMBER, 7.30pm

LONDON

ISLINGTON TOM BENEFIT CEILIDH (with a caller), STEPDANCING and IRISH BAND Come and join in!

Cheap food, late bar, late disco
Admission £2 waged, £1 unwaged

at The Wrong Horse,
back of Boston Arms Pub, Junction Rd N19
(Tufnell Park Tube)

**WED 28th NOVEMBER,
8-12.30**