

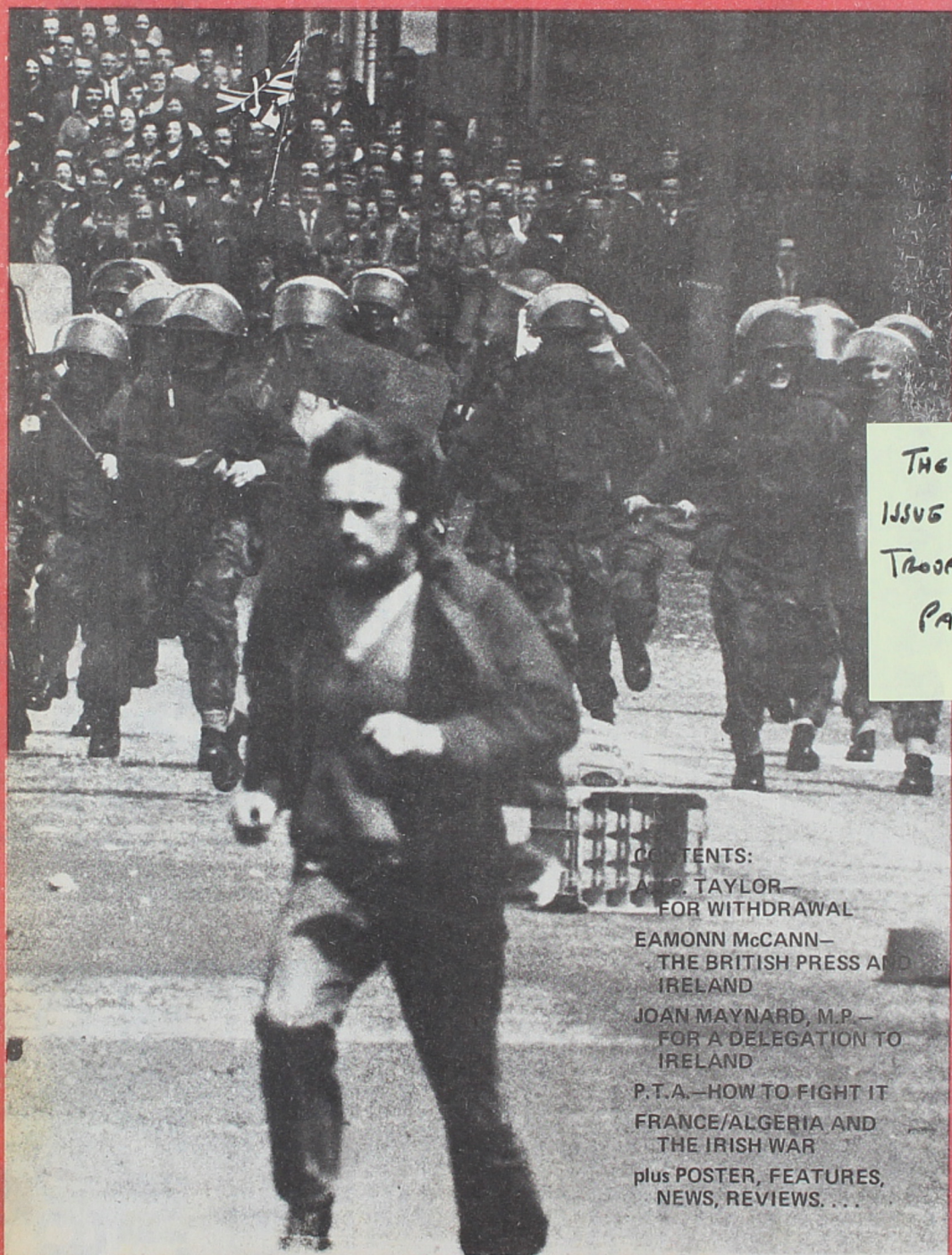
No.1

TROOPS OUT

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JOURNAL OF THE TROOPS OUT MOVEMENT

SUMMER 1976



THE FIRST
ISSUE OF THE
TROOPS OUT
PAPER

CONTENTS:

AND TAYLOR—
FOR WITHDRAWAL

EAMONN McCANN—
THE BRITISH PRESS AND
IRELAND

JOAN MAYNARD, M.P.—
FOR A DELEGATION TO
IRELAND

P.T.A.—HOW TO FIGHT IT
FRANCE/ALGERIA AND
THE IRISH WAR

plus POSTER, FEATURES,
NEWS, REVIEWS. . . .

IRELAND: *break the wall of silence*

Ireland was divided by Britain in 1921 to ensure a continuation of British rule. Since then, British people have been taught to regard Northern Ireland as a part of Britain.

In the past Britain had claimed that other colonies were integral to the empire, commonwealth, or 'sphere of influence', but never before was it claimed that a colony was an integral part of metropolitan Britain itself. Conditioned by this myth for over 50 years, the British Labour Movement, at a time when the majority of the population wants withdrawal, finds itself the prisoner of a conquest centuries old, incapable of detaching itself from it, or organising the feeling for withdrawal into a mass campaign.

It is the duty of socialists and other progressive forces in any country to support the right of peoples to self-determination. The British Labour Movement has supported this right of peoples in many distant lands. Now for over seven years a war has continued in what was retained of Britain's oldest colony, Ireland. It is surely time the voice of the Labour Movement is heard on this question, not least because it is a Labour Government which is presently maintaining the war — even admitting to having 'no solutions' to offer, while at the same time stating openly that British troops will stay to prop up the Loyalists and maintain British rule in Ireland.

The Labour Government, fearing that the feeling for withdrawal might be channelled into a mass campaign, has taken steps to counteract the growth of this mood. It has successfully leaned on the mass media to suppress news of the war, hoping that if it goes unreported people will think it has ceased. This deception enables the Army to appear to keep a 'low profile', while at the same time the Government reconstructs the RUC and the former 'B' Specials, the UDR, for a greater role in an attempt to govern the north of Ireland in the way all Ireland was controlled from 1801 to 1921.

STATE ATTACKS T.O.M.

Over the past year, the Troops Out Movement has experienced a campaign of state and semi-state harassment. Halls and meeting-rooms have been denied to us and the Bloody Sunday demonstration was attacked by thugs of the National Front while the police looked on.

This well-documented campaign of harassment was, we believe, co-ordinated from inside 10 Downing Street as part of a policy decision made by the Government.

But this will not deter us from our campaign or from building our next major venture, a mass Labour Movement Delegation to Ireland, on the weekend of September 18 for 3 days.

GOVERNMENT PROPAGANDA

Meanwhile the Labour Government is propagating the 'bloodbath' theory in Britain, in a campaign reminiscent of that waged by the Tories when Labour proposed the withdrawal from India.

This campaign ignores the fact that it is the British Government's continuing attempts to prop up the Loyalist statelet with the presence of large numbers of British troops which creates the climate for ongoing violence (over 1500 killed in 7 years).

The role of the Army too is mystified. We are given the impression that a British soldier in Ireland is like a friendly 'bobby' who just happens to carry automatic weapons and ride around in an armoured car.

But British troops did not go to India, Kenya, Aden, Cyprus or Malaya to help the people there — they went to maintain British rule and attempted to do so with those traditional British methods, the bomb and the bullet.

Their role today in Ireland is no different.

NO BRITISH SOLUTION

The lesson of the war must surely be that there can be no 'British solution' in Ireland. The Irish people have a 'British problem' which can only be solved on the basis of an end to British interference in Irish affairs. A British withdrawal will not ensure an immediate end to violence, but it is the only course which can create the basis for an Irish solution and the ending of hostilities and long-term peace.

Many sincere democrats in Britain, who recognise that British colonialism is the root cause of the problem, have hesitated to demand 'Troops Out Now'. Victims of the web of propaganda that has been woven around the situation in Ireland, they call upon the Government to tone down the actions of the Army, to be kinder to the Nationalists.

BUILD THE CAMPAIGN

It must be pointed out that the solution to the 'Irish problem' is not a more liberal, more democratic face of British rule (which has proved impossible to implement anyway) but the recognition of the right of the Irish people to self-determination.

The time has never been more ripe for creating a mass movement for withdrawal that can bring this about. Increasingly, large sections of the Labour Movement are taking up these demands in an organised way.

Now is the time to help build the mass united campaign necessary to break through the wall of silence which holds back the Labour Movement from taking positive action on the question of Ireland.



'TROOPS OUT'

no.1

Summer 1976

CONTENTS

	Page
A.J.P. Taylor: interview with 'Troops Out'	2
Police gag the Irish Community	4
Irish Newsheet	5
The Army in the North	7
T.O.M. Poster	8,9
France/Algeria: the lessons for Ireland	10
Frantz Fanon on Algeria	11
The Easter Rising Reviews: films and books	12
Eamonn McCann on the press and Ireland	13
Joan Maynard M.P. — Why I support the Delegation	14
The State and the T.O.M. T.O.M. report	15

Cover photo: British troops attack a Nationalist area and Loyalists cheer them on.

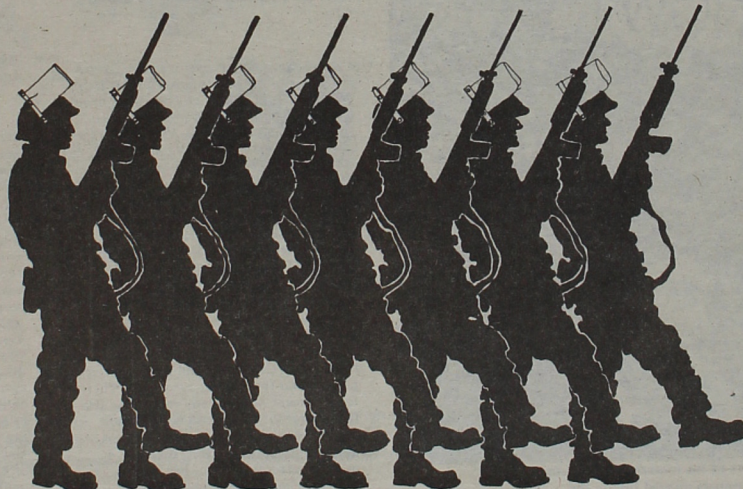
THIS ISSUE WAS PRODUCED BY:
Alastair Renwick, Liz Curtis, Jackie O'Malley, John Bailey, Dave Martin,

WITH HELP FROM:
John, Ann, Sean, Robert, June, Dave, John, Gil

LAYOUT:
Mike, Pat, Anne, Jack,

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A.J.P. TAYLOR: for a British

When Mr. A.J.P. Taylor, the eminent British historian familiar to many from his T.V. programmes, spoke out on Irish radio in favour of British withdrawal from Ireland, the British press was unable to ignore him. So they gave him the treatment so common in their coverage of Ireland, a combination of distortion and biased criticism — so that it was difficult to tell what Mr. Taylor's views really are.

'Troops Out' considers that Mr Taylor's call for withdrawal merits a wide hearing (although we might not agree with every detail of his ideas). So we went along to interview him.

Q. In your opinion what is the root cause of the troubles in Ireland?

A. The British have always been the root cause of the trouble in Ireland for the past 400 years.

Q. And what do you think of partition? Do you think Ireland should have been partitioned 50 years ago?

A. It's not a question of should, it's a question of what was possible and with Lloyd George dependent on a Conservative majority in England in the British Parliament the twenty-six counties was the most that he could get. This in its turn has a long background. If before the war the Home Rule Bill had been carried in my opinion the unity of Ireland would have continued. After all Ireland has always been a united country. People sometimes go on as if Northern Ireland — or even Ulster — has always been a separate province from the rest of Ireland. This is totally untrue. Until 1922 Ulster was an integral part of Ireland and it was deliberately partitioned because of the Unionist insistence in this country.

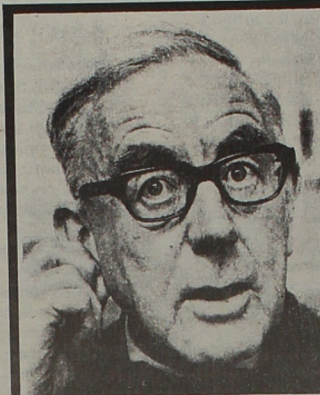
Q. Vietnam is just about to be reunited. With a British withdrawal from Ireland do you think Ireland will become one country again?

A. This is a matter of relative strengths. Owing to the history of the last thirty years or perhaps longer, owing to history since 1885, when Randolph Churchill—Winston's father—first raised the cry of 'Ulster will fight and Ulster will be right'—in the past therefore ninety years the

Protestants of Northern Ireland have been taught to think of themselves as a separate body, almost a separate nationality within Ireland, and have established now a long-term domination of Northern Ireland, partly because of their superior economic strength, partly because of the backing which they have received from the British Government, and partly because they are, or up to now have been, the more determined. For them, Protestant domination is the answer to the situation in Northern Ireland.

Q. The Loyalists in the North claim that they're British and base their fight for a continued British presence on this. What do you think of that claim?

A. I think that this is historically nonsense. They are, like many people in Northern Ireland, in the whole of Ireland, they are colonists. Most of them, at any rate the Loyalists, most of the Loyalists were brought in 350 years ago and established separate communities. Protestant communities, which were on the whole more prosperous than those of the Roman Catholics both in the province and elsewhere. On the other hand they've been in Ireland for 350 years. Until the partition they thought of themselves as Irish, though they thought of themselves as British as well. None of them contemplated, until the last moment, partition. When Carson raised the cry against Home Rule—'Home Rule is Rome Rule'—he hoped by this, by the resistance of Ulster, to prevent any Home Rule for any part of Ireland, and he was as disappointed—heartbroken—by



'THE BRITISH HAVE ALWAYS BEEN THE ROOT CAUSE OF THE TROUBLES IN IRELAND'

'I THINK THE PRESENCE OF THE BRITISH ARMY IN IRELAND PROLONGS THE PERIOD OF CONFLICT AND UNCERTAINTY'

'I THINK THE POLICY OF ANY BRITISH GOVERNMENT SHOULD BE WITHDRAWAL'

the partition as anyone in the south was, because he wanted to maintain the existing position of Protestants everywhere.

Q. You mentioned some historical precedents in the interview you did for Irish radio. Do you think there is any precedent, for instance, in the France/Algeria situation?

A. There is some, certainly. In a way there was a similarity. That the white Algerians were certainly colonists who'd come in over the last hundred years or so. They certainly enjoyed a privileged position and were clearly divided from the majority of the population, they were a different people. Now I do not accept the view that the Protestants in Northern Ireland are a different people from the rest of the community. They are different in certain ways, in their traditions, in their religion and, because of the events of the last fifty years, in their political outlook. But whatever they may say, you've only got to talk to a Protestant in Northern Ireland to appreciate that he is Irish. And after all it was the north which produced the first champions of Irish freedom. The Republic was born not in Dublin in 1922 but in Belfast in 1798. And there is a whole series of very honourable Protestant nationalists from Belfast, who were if anything more extreme than the people in Dublin. In fact the hardest freedom fighters in the nineteenth century came from Belfast. There is no doubt that there were a lot of Irish people there then and I suspect that there are a lot of Irish people in Belfast now.

Q. What do you think of current Labour Government policy towards Ireland?

A. It has no policy. It's policy is simply to keep the situation as it is and hope that some solution will arise. But it seems to have run out of solutions.

Q. What do you think the Labour Government's policy should be?

A. I think the policy of any British government should be withdrawal. Not necessarily at a moment's notice, but over a period of time. The British governments have successively failed to solve the problem of Northern Ireland. They should therefore hand it over to the people to solve.

Q. Many people in Britain say there'd be a bloodbath if the British troops were withdrawn. What's your answer to that?

A. I don't know what the term bloodbath means. If it means people will be killed, they are being killed all the time. The alternative is not between an entirely peaceful Northern Ireland in which nobody's being killed and a Northern Ireland in which a lot of people will be killed. If the British withdraw some sort of settlement would be arrived at. You can't tell what it is because the forces in play can't be judged until they can operate. I have very grave doubts whether, faced with the responsibilities of a position after the British withdrawal, the Protestants would, in fact, resort to an all-out civil war. And if they were to seek for a more peaceful solution, then, so it seems, the Roman Catholics in Northern Ireland would cooperate with them.

Q. We were interested in what you said about India—I think you said that if Britain had withdrawn from India in the twenties, you thought there would not have been the same amount of violence.

A. It's very foolish really to make ifs of this kind, but certainly in the early nineteen twenties when Gandhi first began to lead the movement of Congress, nobody envisaged partition. That there should be securities for all the communities, that was accepted, but it was assumed that it would be within a united India. And it was the twenty years thereafter that produced the increasing division between the two main communities and led to the establishment of what in a sense you could call non-historical states, Pakistan and India. Fair to say of course that India had never been basically united until the time of British rule. Ireland has always been united, until it was artificially divided in 1922.



30th January 1972: a part of the mass demonstration just before British paratroopers opened fire on the crowd.

withdrawal

Q. In the early seventies Harold Wilson talked about the reunification of Ireland over a fifteen year period. Do you think the Labour Government still favours that course?

A. I haven't the slightest idea. Any of us would, anybody would like a peaceful unification, reunification of Ireland if they could get it. The problem is how you get it. And I think that the presence of the British Army in Ireland prolongs the period of conflict and uncertainty.

Q. What do you think the role of the British Army is in the north of Ireland?

A. I think that the role of the Army inevitably is — it encourages the growth of extremism on both sides. Because if you fight extremists you produce more extremists. And the general lesson of national struggles in Europe in the 19th century, in Africa and Asia in the 20th century, is that the more you resist by force the demands of those who want liberation, the more you strengthen them.

Q. Since you did your interview on Irish radio, what do you feel about the British press coverage of your interview?

A. I can't say anything about that.

Q. The Guardian in its editorial more or less rejected your call for withdrawal and they seemed to be recommending that Britain go for increased repression. What do you think of that?

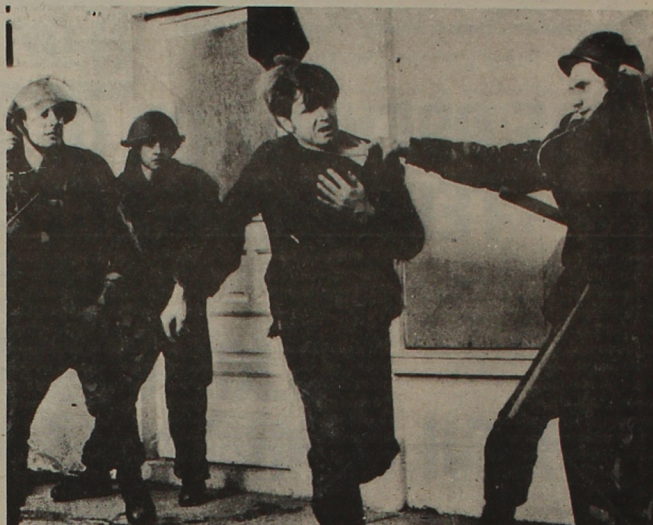
A. Well the Guardian I'm sorry to say, contrary to its attitude of fifty years ago when it was the champion of Irish freedom,

seems now to have become the advocate of partition and of the Protestant hegemony. The great weakness of this last leader I thought was the implication that the only cause of conflict in Northern Ireland was the IRA, that if the IRA would simply stop their campaign, there would be peace in Northern Ireland. But this isn't true.

The immediate cause of the troubles in Northern Ireland was not nationalist agitation in the south, but Protestant extremism in the north, and it has to some extent therefore provoked a nationalist response in return. This I think is less true than the practical resentment of Roman Catholics against the way in which they are treated in Northern Ireland as an inferior part of the community. The practical cause therefore is simply this continuance of Protestant domination which is after all still being maintained under direct rule.

Q. James Callaghan was involved in sending British troops into the situation in 1969. Do you think his leadership of the Labour Party will bring a change in policy?

A. It didn't occur to me that Callaghan becoming Prime Minister would lead to a change in anything. He's not a man much given to change. Except in face of difficult situations. After all when he was Chancellor of the Exchequer he was determined to maintain the existing parity, but when it became too difficult he just collapsed and there was devaluation. I think he will only surrender to a situation, he won't go ahead of it. But you know people grow up — sometimes. Increase in political stature, when they have the responsibility.



The British Army in action in Ireland.

Q. A few months ago the Daily Telegraph conducted a poll in which it was found that a majority of British people favoured a British withdrawal from Ireland. Do you think that feeling will increase?

A. Yes, when they think about it at all. The real difficulty is that if you've been in occupation of a place for a long time — it just goes on and on — it becomes a habit. People are no longer shocked that British soldiers, Irish people, are being killed every day. They may be troubled in Belfast, but they're not very troubled in this country. It has become one of the facts of life. Unless there is some strong new impulse, I think the British people will — you can't even say acquiesce they don't think about them. Except when there are actually bomb incidents in their own country.

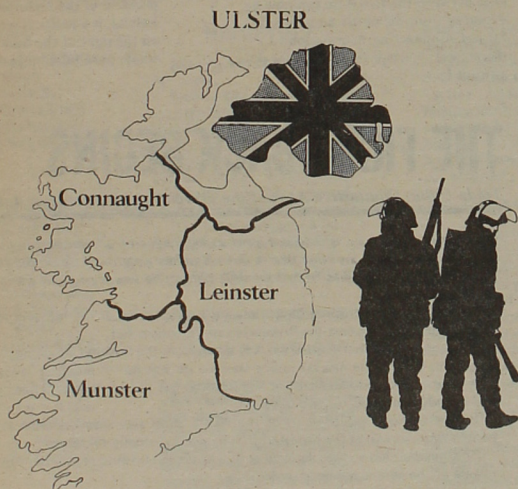
Q. You've mentioned the bombings. Many people in British cities are worried about the bombings. What do you think will bring an end to them?

A. In my opinion the only thing that will bring an end to them is a successful policy of conciliation in Northern Ireland.

The interview ended with Mr. A.J.P. Taylor saying:

The Irish problem is undoubtedly difficult because British people have been interfering there for four hundred years and I suspect that many of them can't get it out of their heads that the British know much better how to rule Ireland — how to run Ireland, than the Irish know themselves. It is a view which has made them tolerate the troubles for quite a long time.

The division of Ireland into two separate states was imposed by England under the Government of Ireland Act of 1920. No Irish person from any part of Ireland voted for this Statute. Northern Ireland had never existed before as an entity in history or politics or economics; containing six of the nine counties of Ulster, it was a completely artificial state. The idea was to keep as large an area as possible, but with a safe Unionist majority.



In four and a half counties, taken as a block (Derry, Tyrone, Fermanagh, Armagh and South Down), out of the six counties there was, and still is, a Nationalist majority, which is only out-voted by the numerical strength of the Unionists concentrated in Belfast, Antrim and North Down.

After the Anglo-Irish War 1920-21, control of 26 counties was reluctantly ceded to the IRISH GOVERNMENT, but in deference to a MINORITY UNIONIST group round Belfast, a separate Administration was set up for SIX of the NINE counties of ULSTER, but supreme overall authority was retained by the then BRITISH IMPERIAL GOVERNMENT. The myth of geographic and ethnic unity with Britain was fostered only to deceive the uninformed. It is revealing to hear the refutation of this absurdity from the lips of no fewer than three contemporary British Prime Ministers

Asquith — Hansard vol. xxxix col. 787

"You can no more split Ireland into two parts than you can split England or Scotland into parts. Ireland is a nation; not two nations, but one nation. There are few cases in history, and, as a student of history in a humble way, I myself know none, of a nationality at once so distinct, so persistent, and so assimilative as the Irish."

Ramsay MacDonald — Hansard vol. xlix col. 938

"The first question is: Is Ulster to deny the rights of the rest of Ireland to self-Government? We say, 'No, emphatically not.' Arising out of that, and a somewhat narrower question, is this: Is Ulster going to deny the right of Ireland ever to speak and act and govern itself as a UNITED NATIONALITY? We say, 'No, emphatically not.'"

Lloyd George — Hansard vol. cxxvii col. 1322

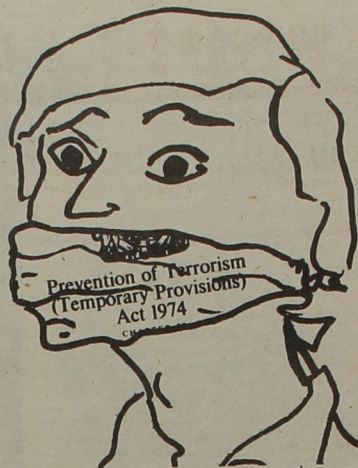
"If you asked the people of Ireland what plan they would accept, by an emphatic majority they would say — 'We want independence and an Irish Republic.' There is absolutely no doubt about that. THE ELECTED REPRESENTATIVES OF IRELAND, NOW BY A CLEAR MAJORITY, HAVE DECLARED IN FAVOUR OF INDEPENDENCE."

".... So far as Ireland itself and Irish affairs are concerned, the Labour Party is unequivocally prepared to allow Ireland to assume whatever form of self-determination the great mass of the Irish people desire, with whatever constitution, under whatever designation and with whatever arrangements for local autonomy, and thereby allow Ireland to face its own difficulties in its own way."

— Passage from Labour Commission report on Ireland presented at the Labour Party Special Conference on December 29th, 1921, at Central Hall, Westminster.

THE PREVENTION OF TERRORISM ACT

POLICE GAG IRISH COMMUNITY



To enforce this argument, one need only look at the figures. Of the 65 men and women unceremoniously kicked out of Britain under the Act since 1974, none of them at all have faced charges concerned with terrorism in either the Republic of Ireland or Northern Ireland. And these are people who according to the Home Secretary are supposed to be too dangerous to be allowed to stay in at large in Britain!

Even within its own terms of reference the Act has failed – it gnaws at the symptoms and not the cause of 'terrorism'. For it does not confront the real reason why Irish people are driven to such extreme actions – the brutal role of the British Government and its troops in the north of Ireland.

And all the while, the several-million-strong Irish community in Britain feels the full frontal effect of the widespread intimidation practised by the police, who are licensed with their powers by Mr. Roy Jenkins who declared himself to have the 'deepest reluctance' about his contribution to the legal system of the country still held around the world to be the fairest that exists.

ALARMING

Another alarming aspect of the Act that has gone virtually unnoticed is that the 1974 Act no longer exists – it was replaced on 25 March by the 1976 version. Not that there is much difference between the two (you can now be deported from the north, and charged for not volunteering information to the police) – except for one vitally significant fact.

Mr Jenkins once declared publicly that the Act was essentially temporary and would not be maintained for a moment longer than necessary.

But while the 1974 Act had to be renewed every six months, the new Act only has to be renewed every twelve months, and once again, it seems that emergency legislation is well on the way to becoming permanent.

GROWING OPPOSITION

Concerned organisations and individuals are not lying down however and accepting it. Organized opposition is growing. Not only did 14 Labour MPs vote against its renewal in November, but the National Executive of the railwaymen's union ASLEF, together with the Scottish Council of the National Union of Mineworkers have promised support for a campaign against the Act.

And now there exists the Trade Union Committee against the Prevention of Terrorism Act which has launched an initially protective campaign in the north-west and west areas of London, a campaign that will, with the support it deserves, branch out into an aggressive and organised attempt to get the notorious Act removed forever from the British statute book.

The campaign is based largely on a twenty four hour a day London telephone number, organised by Release, which can be used by anyone affected by the Act to obtain instant legal advice and local movement labour movement support.

This phone number which figures prominently on the 5000 leaflets produced by the Committee and which should become etched on everyone's mind, is 01-603-8654.

The Prevention of Terrorism Act in short is being used as sheer repression, a further indication of the bankrupt policy of successive British governments in resorting to force to solve the Irish problem they caused with equal gusto over a period of eight hundred years. Repression is still the instrument used, as Northern Irish corrupt standards of justice find themselves enshrined on the British mainland, and yet again it becomes clear that the only answer, the only way to resolve the problem of the tortured North-East of Ireland, is a political settlement based on the right of the Irish people as a whole to self-determination.

David Martin

- FACT ONE:** More than 1400 Irish men and women have been picked up under the Act.
- FACT TWO:** Of the 1415 people held under the Act, only 26 people have been charged with any serious offence. In addition, four people have been charged with wasting police time!
- FACT THREE:** 126 people have been held without charge for seven days. Usually they have not been allowed to see anyone during this time.
- FACT FOUR:** 350 people have been held by the police for 48 hours or more.
- FACT FIVE:** 53 people have been deported to Ireland – the majority to the North. None of these has subsequently been charged with any offence.

The bald statistics alone tell the alarming story about the most widely used section of the notorious Prevention of Terrorism Act – that provision that enables police to arrest and detain totally incommunicado anyone they wish for up to seven days without having to arrest or charge that person.

In the House of Commons on 2nd April, the British Home Secretary, Mr. Roy Jenkins, the avowed 'liberal' who was the architect of this legislative offspring of the Northern Ireland Special Powers Act so envied by the white supremacist rulers of South Africa, obligingly provided the figures for those who still care about the laws enforced in their name.

Since the Act was hastily introduced in November 1974 in the immediate wake of the fatal Birmingham pub bombings, and up to 25 March this year, 1415 (repeat 1415) people have been detained under the massive powers which the Special Branch has been granted.

Of this staggering figure only 77 detentions have resulted in charges, or in other words police have only been able to pin charges against about 5% of those roped in under the Act, or again in other words, 1338 totally innocent people have had to face the terrifying spectacle of intimidating police interrogations and searches, with fingerprinting and photographing in most cases, before they could see the daylight again.

INTIMIDATION

These figures confirm that the Act is being used to intimidate and deter people from daring to hold political opinions about Ireland contrary to the policies dictated by the British Government, and to build up a massive intelligence operation.

For the Government knows full well how potent the voice of the Irish community could be – witness the tines of thousands who came out onto the streets of London in 1972 to protest about Bloody Sunday.

ANOTHER WEAPON

The Act has indeed become, in Brigadier Frank Kitson's words, 'another weapon in the State's armoury'. In the guise of protecting the British people from 'the terrorists in their midst', the police are in effect doing their level best to instil sheer fear into the hearts of Irish people and deter them from speaking out against the rotten system the British Government upholds in the last part of its collapsed empire – the six northeastern counties of Ireland.

More invidiously, the police are able to build up a thoroughly detailed inform-

ation and intelligence system with fingerprints and all to match, and then release their innocent victims back into the world branded as 'terrorists' or 'bombers' which can, as in the recent case of Margaret O'Brien's husband Frank, have the worst possible consequences among one's naturally disturbed friends and workmates.



LEARNT IN THE NORTH

Like the Act itself, the police methods were learnt in the north of Ireland. In the early seventies the British Home Secretary put into operation a plan that ensured that every police officer ranked superintendent or above would, by 1976, have spent two months in the north. The extensive use of the police 'raid' for search or arrest, the interrogation methods now in use and the attempt to silence people by intimidation are examples of what they have learnt.

Lurking viciously behind the PTA is the very real threat of the expulsion from Britain orders. It cannot be stressed too often that these exclusion orders, according to the Act, apply to those concerned with the 'preparation, instigation, or commission of acts of terrorism'. In practice however, those excluded have merely been those deemed too awkward or inconvenient to be allowed to stay in Britain, people who are scarcely 'terrorists'.

THE FIGHT BACK BEGINS

Trade Union Committee Against the Prevention of Terrorism Act formed

'Every day, every hour is crucial. I went to see the man from our hospital who was picked up and I've never seen anything like it. All his plates were piled up on the floor, he was still in his dirty working clothes from four days before, he was crying and worrying about his wife and kids.'

A West London hospital Shop Steward was speaking at the meeting to launch the Trade Union Committee against the Prevention of Terrorism Act.

The hospital worker in question was taken from the hospital where he works by the police who took him to the nearest police station. He was not in any way involved in politics. By luck, one of the shop stewards at the hospital got to hear that he'd been picked up after he had already been held for two days.

It was through the concern of the NUPE shop stewards' committee (and many other people who worked at the hospital) that he was eventually released.

This incident led to the launching of a campaign both to repeal the Act and to secure the release of the people detained under it.

A telephone call to Release – 01-603-8654 – sets the ball rolling. Release gets in touch with the legal advisers, and at the same time sets a Telephone Pyramid in motion, so that mass pickets can be put on the police station where a person is held to publicize their situation.

Release has a list of people who are telephoned immediately. Each of these people telephones a further list of people . . . and so on.

If your branch/organisation would like to take up this fight, or wants further information, you should contact 46 Prince George Road, London N16 8BY.

*BBC News Defence Correspondent, Christopher Wain, also serves as an intelligence officer in the Territorial Army, Westminster Correspondent Peter Hill is an officer in the Territorial Naval Intelligence.... And News Editor Derek Amore served a three year commission in the SAS, reports the *Starry Plough*.*

PRISONERS OF WAR * PRISONERS OF WAR * PRISONERS OF WAR * PRISONERS OF

Anyone sent to prison in the North after March 1st for a politically motivated action will be denied Prisoner of War ('Special Category') status. The tactic is a familiar one - Britain has always referred to her adversaries in national liberation wars as 'criminals', 'gangsters', 'terrorists' and the like.

But the wind always changes in the end. Gandhi, de Valera, Makarios and Kenyatta were some of the 'arch-criminals' who were transformed into 'great statesmen' overnight.

agency Provisions) Act. 'Confessions' obtained under duress are now allowed as evidence, and these 'confessions' are the main means of getting convictions in the Diplock Courts.

BIAS

Sentences show a very noticeable bias against Republicans - which is not surprising since nearly all the judges are 'Orange'.

For example, out of 247 people convicted of membership of 'illegal organisations' in the North over the past two years all except one have been Republicans. Since the UVF was banned in October, not one of its members

has appeared in court.

14 of the 17 judges in the North are Protestants and all have strong ties to the Unionist establishment. For a start, 6 have been Unionist MPs, and 9 (including one Catholic) have been officers in the British Army.

DETENTION DISGUISED

A Belfast solicitor, Jonathan Taylor, has alleged that the authorities are deceiving the public by charging people with murder, but dropping the charge at a later stage, thus giving the impression of solving more murders than they actually are.

More sinister is the fact that a murder charge makes bail impossible and provides an ideal 'detention period' for the army and RUC.

ORANGE COURTS

Rees is having no problem getting people into jail, even with the ending of internment (detention without trial).

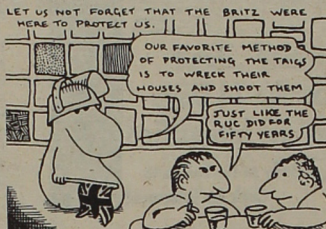
Everyone charged with a 'terrorist' offence appears before a no-jury court, where one judge sits alone. These 'Diplock Courts' came in in 1973 with the passing of the Northern Ireland (Emer-

FASCISTS & IRELAND

Members of an extreme right-wing Flemish group are on a 'working holiday' in Ireland where they have been guaranteed a 'kill', according to evidence being studied by the Home Office.

A letter from a Nazi (National Socialist) to a member of the National Front was among material handed over by a socialist who infiltrated extreme right-wing groups on behalf of the anti-fascist magazine 'Searchlight'.

In the letter, the Nazi said a friend had told him that "VMO (an extreme right-wing group, Flemish New Order) troopers are in action with the UDA (a Protestant paramilitary organisation) in Belfast, having a working holiday over there and being guaranteed a 'kill' while they are there."



LOYALISTS * LOYALISTS *

'MODERATE' BILL

'We must build up a dossier of the men and women who are a menace to this country, because if the politicians fail us, it may be our job to liquidate the enemy.'

—Moderate Bill Craig at a Vanguard Rally in 1972

LOYALISTS ATTACK

There has been a spate of 'no-warning' bomb attacks on Catholic premises in recent weeks. A number of people have died and many have been injured.

There have also been several assassinations. In one incident a young Belfast mother was stabbed to death. In another a Catholic store-owner was shot in front of his 8-year-old daughter.

Two Catholic children were set upon as they walked through playing-fields. They had petrol poured over them and were set alight. One boy, 8 years old, is still in hospital with severe burns.

PAISLEY'S KNOCK

An unscheduled visit by a deputisation led by the Rev. Ian Paisley to Stormont Castle resulted in an RUC sergeant on security duty sustaining a broken arm.

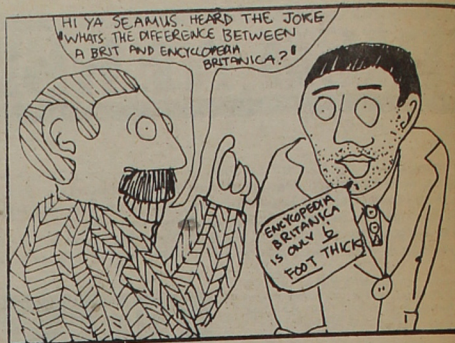
The deputisation was protesting about inadequate security in the wake of violence after Frank Stagg's death.

They forced their way through a security gate.

GLASGOW UDA

Glasgow UDA commander John Kerr was jailed in January for 10 years by Glasgow High Court after he was found guilty of explosive offences.

Another man was jailed at the same time for possessing a sawn-off shotgun and five electric detonators.



DIARY OF EVENTS

JANUARY

- 7 150 SAS troops sent into South Armagh
- 12 British Government rejects Convention's report
- 29 Prevention of Terrorism Act renewed for 1 year

FEBRUARY

- 1 Bloody Sunday demo in London attacked by National Front
- 10 Anniversary of Provisionals' truce
- 12 Frank Stagg dies in Wakefield prison after 60 days' hunger strike
- 21 Frank Stagg is buried in the night by the Irish Special Branch

MARCH

- 1 Ending of political status for prisoners in Northern Ireland
- 3 Northern Ireland Convention formally wound up
- 5 Direct rule reimposed
- 6 Belfast Airport mortar bombed - 'ingenious' says British Army
- 11 Former UDA leader Sammy Smyth shot dead by fellow Loyalists
- 16 Harold Wilson resigns
- 18 Piggery Ridge British Army barracks, overlooking the Creggan in Derry, is mortar bombed
- 29 Margaret O'Brien (ICRA) detained under the PTA for 4½ days
- 31 Dublin/Cork mail train is relieved of £209,000

APRIL

- 5 James Callaghan elected as Leader of the Labour Party
- 9 David O'Connell released from prison after 9 months
- 10 Launching of Trade Union Committee against the PTA in west London
- 12 British historian A.J.P. Taylor calls for withdrawal from Ireland
- 15 The Lords debates Lord Bradwell's motion calling for withdrawal
- 18 Sixtieth anniversary of the Easter Rising
- 22 Joe Clarke, 1916 veteran, dies aged 94
- 25 Provisionals go ahead with 1916 Commemoration - 29,000 march
- 26 Commons passes additional order on PTA for detailed checks on travellers between Britain and the north and south of Ireland

NEWS FROM THE SOUTH *

CRIMINAL LAW BILL

On 4 April this year the Irish Parliament passed the Criminal Law Jurisdiction Bill. This bill allows people accused of listed 'terrorist' offences committed in the North of Ireland to be tried in the South.

LIMITS ON LAWYERS

Prisoners in Southern Ireland can no longer choose their legal representatives. This is the effect of a change in the Prison Rules made by Minister for Justice Mr. Cooney - he has given himself the power to prohibit solicitors he considers security risks from visiting prisoners they are defending.

IN ENGLISH JAILS * IN ENGLISH JAILS * IN ENGLISH J

IF IT RAINS & THEY DO NOT COME FOR YOU

'We are kept in solitary confinement for 23 hours a day. If it rains or if they do not come for you, you spend 24 hours in a cell with no heating, totally alone. In my case I happen to be in a prison where there are no Irish prisoners, and for the past 12 weeks I have spoken only 5 words a week: 'Can I have a letter?'

— letter from an Irish political prisoner in Bristol jail

LYNCH PLOT

The 'Sun' revealed on March 29 that headline criminals in British jails have been plotting to lynch Irish prisoners. Hugh Feeney narrowly escaped death at Gartree Prison, Leicestershire, by being moved to Ireland. Prisoners at Gartree had 'made noises out of wire running through welded bulldog clips'. Also two Irish prisoners had been beaten up on a landing.

NEVER DID I FORGET

'Never did I forget that I was an Irish political prisoner and I took great satisfaction in the thought that with all her laws and powers, she (England) could never force me to regard myself as one of the criminal class.'

— Thomas Clarke 1892

Thomas Clarke spent more than 15 years in solitary confinement for his Fenian activities. He was executed by the British for his part in the 1916 Easter Rising.



IF THEY HOLD US IN SLAVERY

'If the British intend to hold us in slavery, they should remember the words of Booker Washington: "If you are going to keep a man down in a ditch you have to stay there with him."'

— An Irishman

AROUND THE WORLD * ARO

USA

U.N. DEMO Many thousands of people joined a funeral procession for Frank Stagg in New York on 29 Feb. The demonstration which followed was the biggest ever held outside the U.N. building, said city officials.

PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE

US presidential candidate Henry Jackson wrote to the Irish National Caucus: 'I support a declaration of intent from the British Government regarding their withdrawal from Ireland and I believe that will be a concrete step towards peace with justice in Ireland, a cause for which an Irishman, Frank Stagg, died recently in a non-violent, peaceful protest in an English prison.'

COSGRAVE

When Liam Cosgrave, leader of the Dublin government, finally dared to appear in public on his recent visit to the States, he was greeted by placards which read 'Body Snatchers' and by much shouting of 'Quislings and hirelings of England.'

'END ARMS AID'

President Ford should end US support of the British Army in Northern Ireland, says the National Council of Irish Americans in an appeal to the President. The Army is partly equipped by US tax dollars. The subsidy is made under the terms of the NATO agreement.

OMAN

'TRAFFIC ACCIDENTS' Not surprisingly the British army carries on in much the same way in Oman as in Ireland. A film-technician who recently returned from Oman writes in the March issue of the ACTT journal: 'The information that if a British soldier is killed out there his relatives are informed he died in a car crash in Cyprus was quite well-known. There was, apparently, considerable trouble when parents of one soldier unexpectedly opened their son's coffin and were surprised to find bullet wounds.'

MUSEUM

The RAF, he writes, 'did not seem to mind that when they asked the film crew to film them "discovering" a cache of Russian arms, they knew the crew had seen them removing the arms from an RAF museum a short while earlier.'

PORTUGAL

RIOT EQUIPMENT Over the past year Portugal is reported to have bought over £1,250,000 worth of British anti-riot equipment and trained security experts in Britain.

BELGIUM

FESTIVAL Over 5,000 people attended the 'Euramie' Festival in Gent on Feb. 29. Political exhibition stands depicting the minority struggles in Europe included a very informative Irish stand. A section of it was devoted to the hunger-strike deaths of Michael Gaughan and Frank Stagg and attracted considerable interest.

Getting away with murder

The British Army has learnt to hide its dead. It has also learnt to hide its own brutalities. The army has learnt the lessons of Bloody Sunday and the American war in Vietnam. It also knows British public opinion on the Irish war is too fragile to take any more of the hard stuff.

The army has taken up the pen alongside the gun. It has learnt how to tell lies and plant evidence. Most important of all, it has learnt how to manipulate the mass media. The army's information service feeds propaganda to journalists in Belfast's Europa Hotel and the army has its own men on the staff of many of the top British newspapers.

Here are some of the army's recent activities that you are unlikely to have heard about:

PETER CLEARY

Peter Cleary was murdered by the 3rd Bn. of the Parachute Regiment on April 15 in Forkhill, South Armagh.

That night he called to visit his girlfriend Shirley Hume, when minutes later the house was surrounded and three soldiers with blackened faces burst in. They took him away to a neighbouring house, turning out the occupants and making them lie face down in the yard.

Then they beat him up so badly that the top of his head was pushed in and his mouth and eyes badly cut.

They dragged him across the yard apparently unconscious. He may have been dead already. Then they took him to a large country estate where they shot him. A helicopter landed and took him away.

A few days later 5,000 people followed his funeral procession as it wound its way through the valleys of South Armagh.

YELLOW CARD

The army claimed that Cleary, who made no secret of the fact that he was a Republican, was shot "while attempting to escape".

This is highly unlikely: first, he had been unconscious shortly before, and second, the estate he was taken to gave little hope of escaping. In any event, according to the 'rules' they should not have shot an unarmed man. All soldiers are issued with a 'Yellow Card' giving guidance on opening fire:

'This laid down in effect that they might fire without warning only at a person using a firearm, or who they thought was using a firearm, against them, their comrades, or those whom it was their duty to protect — and then only the minimum number of aimed shots.' (Richard Clutterbuck, 'Protest and the Urban Guerrilla', p.118)

But then the army is not noted for paying much attention to the yellow card.

ROBERT HAWKINS

Robert Hawkins, 28 years old, was shot by an army patrol in the Catholic Short Strand area of Belfast on April 11. He died a fortnight later on April 26.

Hawkins was trying to extricate his brother from a row with a soldier when he was shot straight through the hip at 15 yards range.

The army claimed that a crowd of people was trying to take a soldier's rifle, and the shot was fired after they refused to desist.

But the owner of the club outside which the incident happened — by all accounts a reliable witness — says this is nonsense.

PATRICK McELHONE

Patrick McElhone was shot in a field adjoining his farm in County Tyrone in August 1974 by a Lance Corporal from the Royal Regiment of Wales.

McElhone had no connection with "terrorist" activities but panicked and ran away when the corporal shouted "Halt".

The corporal was tried for his murder and found 'not guilty'.

This ruling was upheld in the appeal court, but now the House of Lords is considering two questions of law which arise from the case. First, does a soldier commit a crime when he fires to kill or seriously wound an unarmed person, because he believes the person to be a member of a proscribed organisation who is trying to escape, and the person is killed. Second, if it is a crime, is he guilty of murder or manslaughter?

If the answer to the first point turns out to be "no", the imaginative soldier will be able to get away with anything.

'I FRAMED IN 'OCENT MAN'

You may have read the story in the Daily Mirror about the paratrooper who phoned them up and said he had framed Edward McClafferty, who as a result got sent down for eight years on an arms charge.

But the chances are you don't know the rest of the story — that in April 1973 four soldiers of the 3rd Parachute Regiment fired on a group of men in the Catholic Ardoyne area of Belfast, killing one and wounding two. All four paras testified falsely in court that McClafferty and another man had weapons in their hands.

By framing McClafferty, apparently on orders from above, the paras literally got away with murder.

LEO NORREY

A similar case is that of Leo Norrey, who was shot by soldiers of the Black Watch on 13 September, 1975.

Norrey, a 17-year-old messenger boy for the GPO, was on his way to see his 16-year-old girlfriend when he was shot.

The army claimed he was carrying arms, but the Black Watch soldiers are believed to have planted evidence during the ten hours that they held the body, and are now under investigation for this and other similar crimes.

Norrey, like all the other victims we describe, was of course a Catholic.

The British Army is still in Northern Ireland — all 15,000 of them. This rather obvious assertion may not be as obvious as it sounds.

The British Government, admitting it has 'no policy' to offer, is playing for time. This entails keeping the Irish war 'out of sight, out of mind' by ensuring that the British press, radio and TV drastically cut down their coverage of events in the North, so that the Army and its casualty rate (among other things) are not making the main headlines any more.

The temptation exists as a result to pay little attention to the Army's continued and crucial presence, and to overlook the frequent assurances by Merlyn Rees and his ilk that British soldiers stay in Ireland "until terrorism is defeated".

ECONOMIC CONSCRIPTION

The Army mandarins are certainly seizing their chance to counteract the loss of personnel through the effects of the war in Ireland.

A massive recruiting campaign has been launched concentrating mainly on areas of high unemployment where they hope potential recruits will be forced to join simply because they can find no other way to earn a living.

The Army's recruitment figures are picking up again as the immediate dangers in Ireland appear to subside and as the unemployment figures remain over the one million mark.

It becomes at this time all the more important to keep the anti-recruitment drives up and never to forget that even if the papers are not reporting the incidents, the Army is still there in Ireland and still adhering to its purpose of keeping down the insurgent population.

SUBTLE ADS

Look for instance at recent subtle British Army recruitment ads in papers like the Daily Mirror. Because of the apparent easing up, the Army's advertising agency no longer needs to disguise the fact that army life is not all skiing in Norway and sunbathing in Cyprus.

The ad can ask straight off "What's it like in Northern Ireland?" and providing, naturally, its own answer, admit it is 'tough, tiring and often dangerous' but make this virtually a test of manhood, God love us.

The Army Officers ads in such like the Sunday Times are even more subtle. These tell volunteers that they may have to 'face angry crowds in Northern Ireland', but that's just 'part of a professional gentleman's role in 'defending democracy'. The ad even states that today's army officers help defend 'a man's right to be a communist'!

These recruiting adverts are dead clever — and at the opposite pole of the definition of the job of soldiers being to kill people.



THE SAS

The army is quite competent at killing, as we can see. But there is also plenty of work for the SAS with their own specialities — assassination, sabotage and espionage.

A recent job that was widely 'credited' to the SAS was the kidnapping of Sean McKenna. He was staying with his widowed mother in County Louth when armed, masked men burst in and put a pistol to his head.

They then took him across the border and handed him over to the RUC, who put him in Crumlin Road prison, Belfast.

The SAS is also reported to have planted a landmine on the road from Crossmaglen to Camlough. Their aim is that innocent people will get blown up, and then the IRA will get the blame.

INTENT TO KILL

And did you know that on their much publicized cross-border trip of 5/6 May, the eight SAS men had between them 10 Stirling sub-machine guns, 10 Browning automatic pistols and 2-Browning pump-action shot-guns, as well as God knows how many rounds of ammunition.

No wonder they were charged with "possessing weapons and ammunition with intent to endanger life" (Along with having no firearms certificates).

By the by, their heavily guarded convoy left Dundalk police station to shouts of "killers!" from the 200 strong crowd. And they were finally released on bail totalling £40,000 — which had to be lodged in cash.

And the Irish papers weren't having any of the "inefficient map-reading exercise" so beloved of the Times.

INFAMOUS TRADITION

All this is fully in line with their infamous tradition. When Kitson was in Kenya he led 'counter-gangs' to kill villagers, whose deaths were then blamed on the liberation fighters. In Aden the SAS specialized in killing members of the two liberation groups, FLN and FLOSY, in such a way as to make each think the other was responsible. And in Cyprus 'Q' gangs were used to exacerbate the already high level of tension between Greeks and Turks.

In Ireland, the SAS are almost universally believed to be responsible for the 1972 Dublin Bombings, which speeded up the passing of the Offences against the State (Amendment) Act.

They are also thought to have committed a number of unsolved murders, in which people were shot from passing cars.

The present outbreak of throat-cutting of Catholics would be right up their street.

GET THEM OUT

The army claims the SAS killed Peter Cleary. This is unlikely. SAS assassinations are of a more sinister variety.

The army is trying to have its cake and eat it — when they reckon they've scored a 'hit' they say it's the SAS to build up their fearsome reputation.

And when an SAS man gets killed they claim he was an 'ordinary' soldier.

'Ordinary' soldiers and the SAS are two sides of the same coin. Let's get them all out of Ireland as quickly as possible.

Sources: Irish Press 16/17.4.76, Irish Times 24.3.76, 24.4.76, 4.5.76, Daily Mirror 11.3.76, Fr. Faul (ALJ)



Algeria's war of independence

France invaded Algeria in 1830 but the French occupation was not completed until 1857 and even then resistance continued, especially in the interior. Throughout their period of control of Algeria large garrisons of French troops were needed to ensure French rule was obeyed.

To help pacify Algeria, poor French people were offered good conditions for settling in parts of Algeria. The French Government hoped this would create a section of people in Algeria who would identify with France, paving the way for a continuation of French rule.

Process of Colonisation

Date	No. of settlers
1840	25,000
1880	230,000
1900	600,000
1925	800,000
1950	1,000,000

Approximately two-thirds of these white settlers were French. The rest came from Spain, Italy, Malta, and Corsica. They came to be known as the poor whites, or 'colons', as most came from deprived areas and poor backgrounds and they saw Algeria as a place where they could 'make good'. By 1950 the colons owned or controlled 90% of Algerian industry and held 40% of the best farming land.

Although resistance to French rule was ever-present, Arab nationalism had made little headway before the end of the second world war — unrest among the 9,000,000 Arabs had mainly manifested itself in limited demands for equal rights under French rule with the 1,000,000 white settlers.

In May 1945 a demonstration of Arab ex-servicemen in Setif celebrating the allied victory in Europe was broken up and fired on by police. The result was an emotional anti-European riot in which 29 colons were killed. The reaction of the French Government (which included socialists and communists) was extremely savage: the French navy shelled Arab coastal villages, the air force bombed and strafed. In the end 30,000 Arabs had died while the European deaths barely numbered 100.

This massacre set the lines for future conflict and soon after saw the emergence of the 'Front de Liberation National' (FLN), an openly nationalist organisation with the simple aim of securing Algerian liberation from French rule. In 1954 the FLN launched a series of attacks on French government and military installations: the war had started.

Egged on by the colons, the response of the French Government was instant repression as Algeria was saturated by French troops.

Very quickly a relationship was established between the French Army, which had just been decisively defeated in Indo-China (Vietnam) and was determined not to suffer a similar fate in Algeria, and the colons who were equally determined to ensure a continuation of French rule to protect their own interests and their privileged position.



As the war dragged on the relationship between the French Army and the colons strengthened as reaction in both camps intensified. The frustration of a seemingly never-ending war, the rightward drift and the blaming of the French Government for this situation led the generals, the colons and their supporters in France in 1958, to the verge of a coup d'état to overthrow the French Government. This move towards 'strong government' was challenged by a half-million strong de-



ABOVE: In December 1960, this unprecedented Arab demonstration which followed European-triggered riots shattered once and for all the illusion that Algeria's nine million Moslems would accept prolonged French rule.

LEFT: Two Arabs shot by OAS gunmen, who attempted to justify indiscriminate murders by claiming that it was locked in a life-and-death struggle with the FLN.

monstration of concerned workers in Paris, but despite this de Gaulle came forward at the 'call of the nation' to take over.

At first the army and the colons were happy as de Gaulle continued with the all-out suppression of the Arab population, but after a year or so the intractability of the war became apparent and it was realised that other solutions might have to be found.

In early 1961 secret talks were held with the FLN and a ceasefire was called in May, 6,000 political prisoners were released and formal negotiations began soon after.

The colons felt betrayed, the army generals were horrified, de Gaulle was now the 'villain of the piece' and the army in a coordinated operation with colon paramilitaries took effective control of Algiers and other Algerian cities from the French administration. Expected similar moves in Paris by army units there failed to materialise, and the plot failed. Even in Algeria units of the French army with many conscript soldiers had shown little appetite for the adventure and it was mainly the 'crack' units who had taken part.

De Gaulle swiftly regained control in a series of skilful manoeuvres. The aftermath of the over-

throw of the revolt saw a complete 'sort out' of the French Army: over 1,000 officers were subsequently court-martialled and dealt with, 6 top army units — paras, commandos and foreign legion units — were disbanded.

The last year of the war heralded the last desperate attempts of the colons to ensure the continuance of French rule in Algeria. The many reactionary paramilitary bodies came together to form the OAS (Organisation Armée Secrète) and carried out a wave of indiscriminate bombings, shootings and mortar attacks on the Arab areas.

But the tide towards a French withdrawal could not be stemmed. In France itself in February 1961 police attacked an anti-OAS demonstration killing 8 demonstrators, and the resulting funeral procession was attended by 500,000 people giving an accurate pointer to French public opinion, which now wanted rid of the war.

Despite the OAS campaign formal negotiations ensued between the French government and the FLN and a ceasefire was proclaimed. The French Army, now loyal to de Gaulle, crushed another colon take-over attempt and three months later Algerian independence was proclaimed on July 3rd, 1962.

and the lessons for Ireland

The first and most important lesson of Algeria is that the liberation struggle was successful. The war was fought on a massive scale with almost 500,000 French troops in use at its height. The FLN, although hard-pressed at times, always retained its ability to carry out military actions against the French. Often criticized by the European left for its 'lack of politics', the FLN, which was a straightforward nationalist movement, never left anyone in any doubt about who was actually fighting French imperialism. The war was won because the FLN had the support of the Arab population and because they were able and willing to press forward the military struggle on all fronts against French imperialism.

THE COLONS

The difference between the Catholics and Protestants in Northern Ireland is not entirely the same as that between

the Arabs and colons in Algeria. The colons had only been in Algeria for 100 years, and there were class as well as great cultural divisions between them and the Arabs which are not applicable to the communities in the North. Protestants would have little difficulty assimilating themselves into a united Ireland, if the will to do so was there: they are regarded as Irish people, whereas the white colons were always regarded as French people who just happened to live in Algeria.

But there are also similarities. The colons were on many occasions quite radical, taking up economic struggles to better their wages and conditions. Indeed before the war of liberation started they were regarded as one of the most militant sectors of the French working class.

But knowing that self-determination for Algeria would mean an end to colon privilege, the war of liberation saw the white settlers move rapidly to the right. Soon every liberal voice within their community was stifled as the paramilitaries took control and launched their bombings,

assassinations and other outrages against the Arab population. But although well-armed only once did they fight openly against the FLN.

It was the declaration of independence for Algeria which curbed the slide towards reaction among the colons, but by then, unfortunately, it was too late. Most white settlers did not want to live in Algeria under majority Arab rule, so they started to leave in large numbers.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY IN ALGERIA

The PAC (Parti Communiste Algérien) was formed in Algeria as an adjunct to the French Communist Party and was mainly based in the colon sector of the population.

The liberation struggle caught the PAC on the hop, sympathising with the struggle on the one hand but making accommodations to the colons on the other. In the end the PAC disintegrated under pressure of its contradictory positions — some of its members joined the FLN while others

joined the colon paramilitaries, finding their way eventually into the OAS.

IN FRANCE

In 1945 there was a coalition government in France and when the Setif massacre occurred the socialist and communist deputies voted for the repressive measures employed against the Arab population.

This 'example' was to set the tone for the attitude of almost the entire French left towards the struggle in Algeria. When world public opinion began to turn against the French because of atrocities committed, the Socialist Party agreed to provide the next Algerian Governor to give a left cover for continued repression. The rest of the left found many excuses why they could not support the FLN or campaign for a French withdrawal.

Despite this attitude of the left,

anti-war sentiment intensified in France, conscript soldiers refused to serve in Algeria, individuals like Jean-Paul Sartre took up an anti-war stand, and by the time de Gaulle came to power French public opinion was swinging towards withdrawal.

The working class movement in France paid dearly for not taking up this demand in a structured way, because ironically although France suffered a great defeat in Algeria, internally in France the status quo was actually strengthened. The return of de Gaulle to power brought with it all the trappings of the strong state, which were to last up to ten years after the war ended.

The parallels between France/Algeria and Britain/Ireland are many and obvious. Let us hope British workers will recognise them and take up the campaign for the withdrawal of British troops based on majority democratic rule in Ireland.

FRENCH INTELLECTUALS & DEMOCRATS & THE ALGERIAN REVOLUTION

by Frantz Fanon

Born in 1925 in Martinique, Frantz Fanon studied medicine in France and later specialised in psychiatry. At the start of the War of Independence against the French he was assigned to a hospital in Algeria. His experiences and observations there led him to throw in his lot with the movement for national liberation and he became one of their most articulate spokesmen.

We reprint extracts from a series of three articles Frantz Fanon wrote for the FLN paper EL MOUDJAHID. British socialists and democrats should study these articles and ask themselves if they hold any lessons for them and their attitude towards Britain's brutal war in Ireland.

1

One of the first duties of intellectuals and democratic elements in colonialist countries is unreservedly to support the national aspirations of colonised peoples. This attitude is based on very important theoretical considerations: the defense of an idea of man challenged in the Western countries, the refusal to participate institutionally in the degradation and the negation of certain values, the community of interests between the working classes of the conquering country and the combined population of the conquered and dominated country, and finally the feeling that the government must be made to respect the right of peoples to self-determination.

This support and this solidarity find their expression, before the picture of armed struggle in the holding of a few meetings and in the adoption of motions.

A PAINFUL INEFFECTIVENESS

... In the special case of Algeria, after the acute pre-insurrectional phase (1952-1953), when the period of the armed phase began (sabotaging, raids), the Left was paradoxically caught off its guard and proved helpless.

The French democratic elements and intellectuals are familiar with the problem [of Algeria], having seen it at close range and having studied it for a long time, they know its complexity, its depth, and its tension. But all this knowledge proves futile because it is utterly disproportionate to the simple ideas current among the people.

Encumbered by this unusable knowledge, the Left enjoys the status of a prophet. For a long time it has repeated to those who govern: "You were forewarned; all this is happening through no fault but your own."

In this effervescent phase of alignment of forces and of organisation of the armed struggle of the colonised people, we witness a partial communication between the people in revolt and the democratic elements. ... But this active pseudo-solidarity is very quickly swept away by events. In the course of the second period, characterised by engagements, ambushes, and assaults, the guilt so generously projected onto the official heads tends in fact to be displaced. The repression goes deeper, becomes organised, diversified. Torture chambers appear. Over the whole Algerian national territory tens and hundreds of patriots are murdered.

The real people, the men and the women, the children and the old people in the colonised country, take it for granted that existing, in the biological sense of the word, and existing as a sovereign people are synonymous. The only possible issue, the sole way of salvation for this people is to reach as energetically as it can to the genocide campaign being conducted against it.

NATIONALISM AND 'BARBARISM'

Here we encounter a double phenomenon. First of all an ultra-chauvinistic, nationalistic, patriotic propaganda, mobilising the implicit racist elements of the collective consciousness of the colonialist people, introduces a new element. It immediately becomes obvious that it is no longer possible to back the colonised without at the same time opposing the national solution. The fight against the nation. The war of reconquest is assumed by the colonialist country as a whole, and anti-colonialist arguments lose their efficacy, become abstract theories and finally disappear from the democratic literature.

... The accusation of treason to which the advocates of the Algerian war exposed themselves became a formidable weapon in the hands of the French government. Thus in early 1957 many democrats ceased their protests or were overwhelmed by the clamor for vengeance, and a clumsily structured elementary patriotism manifested itself.

The French government was to find its second argument in what is called terrorism. Bombs in Algeria have been exploited by the propaganda service. ... The Left was staggered. French civilians, in this case, were killed in an ambush and the entire French Left, in a unanimous outburst, cried out: we can no longer follow you! The propaganda became orchestrated, wormed its way into people's minds and dismantled convictions that were already crumbling. The concept of barbarism appeared and it was decided that France in Algeria was fighting barbarism.

A large proportion of the intellectuals, almost the entire democratic Left, collapsed and laid down its conditions before the Algerian people: condemn Sakamody and the bombs and we shall continue to give you our friendly support.

On the dawn of the fourth year of the war of national liberation, in the face of the French nation and in the face of the bombs that had been exploded on the rue Michelet, the French Left was more and more conspicuous by its absence.

... In France, among the Left, the Algerian war is tending to become a disease of the French system, like ministerial instability, and colonial wars a nervous tic with which France is affected, a part of the national panorama, a familiar detail.

II

Since 1956, French intellectuals and democrats have periodically addressed themselves to the FLN. Most of the time they have proffered either political advice or criticisms concerning this or that aspect of the war of liberation. This attitude of the French intelligentsia must not be interpreted as the consequence of an inner solidarity with the Algerian people. This advice and these criticisms are to be explained by the ill-repressed desire to guide, to direct the very liberation movement of the oppressed.

... Along this oscillating line the French democrats—outside the struggle or intent upon observing it from within, and even participating in it in the capacity of censors, of advisers, unable or refusing to choose a precise ground on which to fight within the French system—issue threats and practice blackmail.

The pseudo-justification for this attitude is that in order to have an influence on French public opinion, certain facts must be condemned, the unexpected excesses must be rejected, the "excesses" must be disavowed. In these moments of crisis, of face-to-face opposition, the FLN is being asked to direct its violence, and to make it selective.

WHAT IS COLONIALISM?

At this level, reflection enables us to discover an important peculiarity of colonial reality in Algeria. Within a nation it is usual and common-place to identify two antagonistic forces: the working class and bourgeois capitalism. In a working class country this distinction proves totally inadequate. What defines the colonial situation is rather the undifferentiated character that foreign domination presents. The colonial situation is first of all a military conquest continued and reinforced by a civil and police administration.

... The contrary to colonialism is not, Fanon says, the necessity, on an individual level, for less racist, more open, more liberal types of behaviour, but the recognition of the right of peoples to self-determination.

Colonialism is not a type of individual relation but the conquest of a national territory and the oppression of a people: that is all. It is not a certain type of human behaviour or a pattern of relations between individuals.

... Victims of the myth of French Algeria, the parties of the Left create Algerian sections of the French political parties, the methods of struggle are identical to those of the "metropolis". A doctrinal position, unchallenged until just recently, has justified this attitude. In a colonial country, it used to be said, there is a community of interests between the colonized people and the working class of the colonialist country. The history of the wars of liberation waged by the colonized peoples is the history of the non-verification of this thesis.

... The French democrat must judge and condemn colonialization as a whole in its category of military and police oppression.

... Unable to adopt this attitude, through lack of courage or failure of analysis, the French demo-

crat is constantly resorting to abstractions as points of reference: colonialism in general is dying, colonialism in inhuman, France must remain faithful to its history, thus pointedly forgetting the colonialism constitutes an important part of French history.

Colonialism is the organization of the domination of a nation after military conquest. The war of liberation is not a seeking for reforms but the grandiose effort of a people, which had been mummified, to rediscover its own genius, to re-assume its history and assert its sovereignty.

III

The men who govern France are obviously right when they claim that the Algerian problem is shaking the very foundations of the Republic. For some years the myth of French Algeria has been put to severe tests, and a dose of uncertainty has crept into the French consciousness as to the truth of this thesis.

THE PRICE OF MYSTIFICATION

When one closely examines the colonial relations that have existed between Algeria and France one notes that the Algerian territory, by the very characteristics of the conditions of its conquest, has always represented for France a more or less real prolongation.

... France's right in Africa was based on a right of property, whereas in Algeria, from the beginning relations of identity were affirmed. We have seen that French democrats, with rare exceptions, have adapted their attitude to this view. French political parties have not concealed the necessity they felt to mark obedience to this mystification. Mr. Laurent Casanova, in a speech to the Communist students delivered on March 17, 1957 in Paris, in response to criticisms leveled at him by the Communist youth on the attitude of the French Communist Party in respect to the Algerian problem, justified himself by asking them to take into account "the spontaneous attitude of the French popular masses on the question."

Because for 130 years the French national consciousness has been conditioned by one simple basic principle—Algeria is France—we today find ourselves up against instinctive, passionate, anti-historic reactions, at a moment when a large proportion of the French people rationally realizes that its interest can best be served by putting an end to the war and recognizing an independent Algerian State.

Never was the principle according to which no one can enslave another so wholly true. After having domesticated the Algerian people for more than a century, France finds herself a prisoner of her conquest and incapable of detaching herself from it, of defining new relations, of making a fresh start.

A FUNDAMENTAL DISAGREEMENT

... If we examine the attitude of the French Left with respect to the objectives of our struggle, we perceive that no faction admits the possibility of a real national liberation.

The non-Communist Left concedes that the colonial status must disappear. But, between the liquidation of the colonial system—reduced under the circumstances to a preferential system, with a struggle of castes within a whole—and the recognition of an Algerian nation, independent of France, this Left has interposed a multitude of stages, of sub-stages, of original solutions, or compromises.

It is clear that for this part of the Left the end of the Algerian war must bring about a kind of

international federalism and of renovated French Union.

... The Communist Left, for its part, while proclaiming the necessity for colonial countries to evolve toward independence, requires the maintenance of special links with France. Such positions clearly manifest that even the so-called extremist parties consider that France has rights in Algeria and that the lighting of domination does not necessarily imply the disappearance of every link. This mental attitude assumes the guise of a technocratic paternalism, of a disingenuous warning against the danger of regression.

After breaking all links with France, it is argued, what will you do?

You need technicians, currency, machines. ... Not even the catastrophic prospect of an Algeria consumed by the desert, infested by marshes, and ravaged by disease, is spared in the campaign to give us pause.

The colonialists tell the French people in their propaganda: France cannot live without Algeria.

The French anti-colonialists say to the Algerians: Algeria cannot live without France.

The French democrats do not always perceive the colonialist, or—to use a new concept—the neo-colonialist character of their attitude.

IS IT TOO LATE?

... The French democrats must rise above the contradictions that sterilize their positions if they wish to achieve an authentic democratization with the colonialists. It is to the extent to which French democratic opinion is without reticences that its action can be effective and decisive.

Because the Left unconsciously obeys the myth of French Algeria, its action does not go beyond aspiring to an Algeria in which more justice and freedom would prevail or, at most, an Algeria less directly governed by France. The passion-charged chauvinism of French public opinion on the Algerian question exerts pressure on this Left, inclines it to excessive caution, shakes its principles, and places it in a paradoxical and increasingly sterile situation.

The Algerian people considers that the French Left has not done everything it should within the framework of the Algerian war. It is not up to us to accuse the French democrats, but we feel duty-bound to draw their attention to certain attitudes that appear to us to be contrary to the principles of anti-colonialism.

Since 1954 the Algerian people has been fighting for national independence. What is involved is a territory conquered more than a century ago which expresses its will to set itself up as a sovereign nation. The French Left should unreservedly support this effort. Neither the presence of a European minority, nor Sakamody, can or should affect the determination of an authentic Left. We have seen that Mr. Lacoste's propaganda keeps affirming that France, in Algeria, is fighting barbarism. The Left must prove itself immune to this campaign and demand the end of the war and the recognition of Algeria's independence.

THE TASKS OF THE FRENCH LEFT

The FLN addresses itself to the entire French Left and asks of it, in this fourth year, to become concretely involved in the fight for peace in Algeria.

There can be no question, at any moment, of French democrats joining our ranks or betraying their country. Without renouncing their nation, the French Left must fight to make the government of their country respect the values which we call the right of peoples to self-determination, recognition of the national will, liquidation of colonialism, mutual and enriching relations among free peoples.

The FLN addresses itself to the French Left, to French democrats, and asks them to encourage every strike undertaken by the French people against the rise in the cost of living, new taxes, the restriction of democratic freedoms in France, all of which are direct consequences of the Algerian war.

The FLN asks the French Left to strengthen its action in spreading information and to continue to explain to the French masses the characteristics of the struggle of the Algerian people, the principles that animate it, the objectives of the Revolution.

The FLN salutes the French who have had the courage to refuse to take up arms against the Algerian people and who are now in prison.

These examples must be multiplied in order that it may become clear to everyone and first of all to the French government that the French people refuses this war which is being waged in its name against the right of peoples, for the maintenance of oppression, against the reign of freedom.

EASTER RISING 1916



Liberty Hall, headquarters of the Transport Workers' Union and the Irish Citizen Army. Because of the symbolic and strategic importance of Liberty Hall, the British specially brought up a gunboat, the 'Helga', to shell it. Fortunately the building was empty at the time.

At noon on Easter Monday, 24 April 1916, the Proclamation of the Irish Republic was read to the citizens of Dublin, and a day later a rebel radio transmitter broadcast the fact to the world.

One thousand members of the Irish Volunteers and Irish Citizen Army had seized the General Post Office and other buildings. In some country areas too British garrisons were attacked. Their Proclamation declared Ireland to be a sovereign independent state and guaranteed religious and civil liberty, equal rights and equal opportunities to all citizens of Ireland, and set up a Provisional Government.

Standing in front of the GPO, with James Connolly at his side, Padraig Pearse read out the stirring words:

"We declare the right of the people of Ireland to the ownership of Ireland, and to the unfettered control of Irish destinies, to be sovereign and indefeasible. The long usurpation of that right by a foreign people has not extinguished that right, nor can it ever be extinguished except by the destruction of the Irish people.

"In every generation the Irish people have asserted their right to national freedom and sovereignty: six times during the past three hundred years they have asserted it in arms. Standing on that fundamental right and again asserting it in arms in the face of the world, we hereby proclaim the Irish Republic as a Sovereign Independent State, and we pledge

our lives and the lives of our comrades-in-arms to the cause of its freedom, of its welfare and of its exaltation among the nations.

After six days of severe fighting in which the English suffered heavy casualties, the insurgents were hopelessly outnumbered and forced to surrender unconditionally. Sixteen of the leaders, including Pearse and Connolly, were tried by courtmartial and executed. Hundreds were jailed while thousands were deported to camps in Britain. The executions caused a wave of indignation throughout Ireland and abroad.

The Rising was defeated but, as one of its leaders said, 'We have lost this battle but we have saved the nation's soul.' The Easter Rising increased the Irish people's determination to win independence from Britain, and inspired an upsurge of nationalist feeling which led to the results of the 1918 General Election, when the overwhelming majority of the Irish people declared their allegiance to an independent Irish Republic.

To this day the Easter Rising is celebrated throughout Ireland with parades and the wearing of Easter lilies. This year, which marks the 60th anniversary, is a particularly special occasion.

When they celebrate the Rising, Irish people look forward to the day when the Republic that Pearse and Connolly dreamed of – and died for – will be achieved. That day will come when British forces no longer occupy any part of Ireland.

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Films

There are a number of films which can help understanding of the situation in Ireland. The films reviewed here include not only films about Ireland itself, but also films about the role of the British and other imperial armies in the liberation wars of the Kenyan, Omani, Algerian and Vietnamese peoples.

BEHIND THE WIRE Best known of the films on Ireland, made 4 years ago, and showing what it's like to have your area occupied by the British army. Internment, sensory deprivation torture, Bloody Sunday, the army ever present in Catholic areas with its riot shields, CS gas, Saracens and rubber bullets – none remains unmoved by this film.

Available from the Other Cinema, 12/13 Little Newport St., London WC1H 7JJ, Tel. 01-734 8508/9. 2nd reel only £8, 16mm.

A SENSE OF LOSS French film director Max Ophüls went to Ireland to make this film for the BBC – but they refused to show it. Perhaps the most comprehensive film on the Irish situation yet, Ophüls shows us Paisley ranting in a pulpit, interviews Gen. Sir Harry Tuzo and Maudling, chats to Gerry and Rita O'Hare, Michael Farrell, Bernadette and many others, including people who are not well known. A sensitive film, whose underlying theme connects the British presence in Ireland with the oppression of the Catholic people. Contemporary Films, 55 Greek Street, London W.1. Tel 01-734 4901.

BATTLE OF ALGIERS Three women walk down the long steps from the Casbah, awkward in their European-style clothes and newly-cropped hair. Each passes through

the checkpoint and goes to her appointed destination. Each carries a handgun which contains a bomb. Pontecorvo's famous film depicts one stage in the Algerian people's fight for freedom – a fight which has many similarities to the Irish struggle today. The battle of Algiers was lost – but it led to a tremendous upsurge in the nationalist movement. Cinema International Corporation, 162-170 Wardour St, London W.1 Tel 01-437 7700 35mm. For queries about distributors, phone the British Film Institute, 01-437 4355.

MAU MAU The British invented the name 'Mau Mau' to make their opponents in the Kenya War – the Land and Freedom Army – look like savages. In fact, while 34 Europeans died in 4 years of fighting, more than 15,000 African 'terrorists' were killed. The Army's use of black propaganda is only one of many parallels with the present situation in Ireland. The denial of peaceful demands for majority rule, psychological warfare, physical brutality, mass round-ups of ordinary people are shown through newsreels of the period and contemporary interviews. Kitson was in Kenya too. Knight Film Distribution Ltd., 56, Brewer Street, London W.1. Tel. 01-437 6487 1 reel only £8.50, 16 mm.

FUCK THE ARMY Jane Fonda, Donald Sutherland and other American entertainers tour the US bases on the Pacific rim during the Vietnam war. It could be a money-spinner, but EMI say this film is for private screening only – and you can see why. The show with its anti-war songs and sketches draws thousands of soldiers from the bases. Chatting to the cast after the show the soldiers reveal their dawning awareness that they are not fighting in a good cause, whatever the folks back home may think. The Americans were

less subtle in their conduct of this war, not least in having a conscript army, than the British are in Ireland. But the principle's the same. EMI Distributors, 142, Wardour Street, London W.1. Tel. 01-437 0444, £40, 35mm. For private screening only.

THE HOUR OF LIBERATION Children going to school, young people learning to plant vegetables, women talking about their liberation – these are some scenes from Lebanese film maker Heiny Srour's 'The Hour of Liberation'. To the people of Oman, such simple scenes mean a great deal. Under 40 years of British rule not a well was dug nor a road built, save a restricted one for military use. In 1972 in the liberated areas self-determination was becoming a reality. But the British Army is helping the reactionary Sultan Qabus to crush the people's movement. The Other Cinema – see above, £15, 16mm.



Books

Two important books that should form part of the socialist's reading matter on Northern Ireland have just been published by Pluto Press – Michael Farrell's 'Northern Ireland: the Orange State' and Geoffrey Bell's 'The Protestants of Ulster'.

ORANGE STATE

'The Orange State' is the long awaited contribution from Michael Farrell, himself a central figure in the struggle from its 1969 outset as a founder-member of the People's Democracy in Belfast, a man who has been interned and who went through an extended

hunger-strike in protest at a prison sentence and the refusal to treat him as a political prisoner.

Farrell's book contains a detailed political history of the Six Counties from the statelet's institution by the British Government in 1921 to the present day.

Its basic concept is Farrell's insistence that the precise nature of the militant loyalist working-class be clearly understood by the British left. Despite possible interpretations of the May 1974 Ulster Workers Council strike that crippled the Six Counties, Farrell asserts firmly that the nature of the pro-unionist paramilitary groups is 'in tacit co-operation with the state forces to crush any threat to the regime.'

He warns grimly that 'a Loyalist regime in the North seems more and more likely' and that such a regime would be 'violent, brutal and semi-fascist in nature.'

The book includes a detailed reading list, fine maps and a brief but useful guide to the individuals involved in the fifty-odd years of Northern Ireland. This book should become, together with Eamonn McCann's 'War and an Irish Town', required reading for the British Left, whom Farrell fervently hopes will be stirred to action by his analyses and warnings. D.M.

CARSON & THE QUEEN

Geoff Bell shows 'The Protestants of Ulster' to be a community tragically marooned in a historical backwater, fighting to retain their supremacy over the Catholics.

Any hope of appealing to their reason to get them to accommodate their Catholic neighbours is bound to fail – for they are immersed in an Orange world view whose logic takes no account of reality (shades of the Rhodesian whites).

They will not change, Bell implies, until the roots of this world view – the Protestant supremacy in the North, based on the British link – are destroyed. James Connolly said that in a United Ireland the Protestants would be a tremendous force for progress: the

tenor of Bell's book is that persuasion will not be sufficient to achieve this change of direction.

The book is highly readable. It costs £2.

ORIGINS OF UNIONISM

Peter Gibbon is a lecturer at Sheffield Polytechnic and has in the past written for New Left Review on the Irish question. His new book, 'The Origins of Unionism', (Manchester University Press £4.95), would be essential reading for anyone doing an in-depth investigation of this topic. L.C.

POLITICAL POLICE

To fill a previously uncharted area and to get clearly into focus the class nature of the British police force and indeed the British system of law, Tony Bunyan's excellent book 'The Political Police in Britain' (Julian Friedmann £4.95) despite its high price is essential reading.

Mr. Bunyan has strung together a detailed analysis of 'the political uses of the Law', and every branch of the police force, uniformed and plain-clothed.

He also casts a cold eye at the techniques of surveillance used by the British state including the Special Branch's use of informers and agent provocateurs, the most notable case of which was of course the mysteriously murdered Irishman Kenneth Lennon.

Bunyan also examines a particularly alarming area – the mushrooming private security industry, and all its implications as a potential third state security army, much along the lines of the notorious now-disbanded 'B' Special police force in Northern Ireland.

This book should be widely read and discussed by all democratically-minded people in Britain. D.M.



THE DEATH OF BRITISH LIBERALISM

Eamonn McCann on Press Reaction to Ireland....

"If the British Government can afford £40,000 bail for the miscreants perhaps they will be in Oman when the time comes for the trial. They will then pass into legend as dastardly fugitives from Irish justice."

Thus the *Guardian* of Saturday May 8th on the subject of the eight SAS men arrested two days earlier on the wrong side of the border. It was a comment which spoke volumes about the attitude of the British media towards the Irish troubles.

The corruption and death of British liberalism, particularly as expressed in the media, follows directly from the acceptance of Britain's 'right' to be in Ireland.

Press lies about and misrepresentation of the Irish situation have been exposed over and over again by socialists and republicans—to the extent that many might think it redundant to repeat the exercise. We—that is those who have followed closely the pattern of reportage over the last seven years—know that the media have been active participants in the war, not disinterested observers of it. And that they have managed so to distort the reality that the overwhelming majority of British people are in the end unable to examine the issues objectively. Still, the *Guardian* editorial was something else again.

The SAS men were arrested on the very day that the Cosgrave government in Dublin convinced the Supreme Court that the Criminal Jurisdiction Act is constitutional. From that day onwards persons wanted for political crime in the North—those who cannot be extradited from the South under existing legislation—will be tried in the South and, when found guilty, serve their sentences in Southern prisons. The *Guardian* has been an enthusiastic supporter of this measure.

Not that it regards it as ideal. The *Guardian*, echoing the Westminster parliamentary consensus, has repeatedly begged Dublin governments to enact extradition laws permitting the handing over of 'wanted' men and women to the tender and merciful RUC. It was only when that proved too tricky a manoeuvre for Irish politicians Jack Lynch and Liam Cosgrave to execute, that the voice of liberal Brits everywhere settled for the current 'extra-territorial' Act.

The artificial state of Northern Ireland cannot be maintained except by force of arms. To accept the maintenance of the state is to accept the necessity for violence.

But the first time members of their army—and a pretty unsavoury unit at that—is discovered rambling around armed to the teeth, outside their 'own' jurisdiction and clearly in breach of the law, the *Guardian's* advice is to cut and run: pay no attention to the law, get the lads out and send the bill to the taxpayer....



Eamonn McCann on the platform of the first T.O.M. public meeting at Fulham Town Hall on November 2nd, 1973.

The *Guardian*, like the rest of the establishment, has contempt for Cosgrave's courts, or anyone else's courts. Laws are seen merely as a means to an end. If it suits the establishment to demand rigid adherence to the law, they do so. If it suits them to suggest that the law be flouted, then so be it.

The message is clear. Laws exist for the lower orders—in this case the Irish lower orders. They are not intended to apply to the elite... especially not the military elite.

And that is not all. The editorial suggests that the SAS men involved should be posted forthwith to Oman! Now Britain is not at war with anyone in Oman, and officially has no forces there. So what on earth could the *Guardian* leader writer possibly have meant?

Well, there *is* a struggle in Oman. It is between the mass of the peasants and the forces of Sultan Qabus, the Feudal Dictator. The only British journalist to have visited the area of fighting, Fred Halliday, has re-

ported that napalm is being used to drench villages and unspeakable tortures used to extract information from local people.

Allegations that British forces are responsible for this bestial activity have repeatedly been denied by Government spokesmen for

No newspaper which supports the British troops in Northern Ireland can afford to tell the truth.

both Labour and Tories. They have insisted that the only Brits stationed in Oman are involved training the Sheik's troops—who then do the torturing and napalming themselves. Hardly the most honorable business in the world but maybe one step short of *actual* involvement.

Specifically, government spokesmen have been at pains to deny that any of the SAS,

the most likely people to be up to such savagery, were in Oman. And British Liberals including such eminently non-revolutionary elements as the New Statesman have protested against even the possibility that the SAS might be actively involved in Oman.

Now the *Guardian* is, in so many words, urging the British government to dispatch a unit of the SAS to that place. Could there be any clearer demonstration of the extent to which British liberalism, particularly as expressed in the media, has been destroyed by the Irish experience?

The media have managed so to distort the reality of the war that the overwhelming majority of British people are in the end unable to examine the issues objectively.

This is not just a question of a few venal men on the *Guardian* newspaper selling out (although of course that is true as well). The corruption and death of liberalism follows directly from acceptance of Britain's 'right' to be in Ireland at all. History has proved not once but over and over again—that the artificial state of Northern Ireland cannot be maintained except by force of arms. To support the maintenance of the State it is therefore to accept the necessity for violence—whether this is acknowledged or not. Thereafter it is all a matter of degree. No newspaper which supports the British troops in Ireland can afford to tell the truth. Dishonesty is built-in.

Ironically the *Guardian* itself put its finger on the central point in the same editorial "While Britain remains in Ireland it must expect what comes and Thursday's episode is quite in character with everything that has gone before."

And so, of course, was the *Guardian's* reaction....

T.O.M. PICKETS MASS MEDIA



ON FRIDAY 19th March, the West London Troops Out Movement held a picket on the BBC centre in Wood Lane. They were protesting against the 'Friday Night Spectacular' on Ireland that was to be screened that evening. The show asked 'Is there a political solution in N. Ireland?' but all the speakers were confined to such well-known loyalist right-wingers as Paisley, West, Craig and the like. The only representative of the catholic population was one member of the SDLP, who according to the BBC must represent the catholics because they got their vote at the election. The fact that the elections were deliberately boycotted

by over half of the catholic people, didn't seem to enter their heads!

Not surprisingly the answers we were given on the programme were the same ones we have been hearing for years. No mention of getting the troops out of Ireland now, or letting the Irish people sort out their problems free of the dominating and continual interference of the British government and their army. But that is the way, the only way, that lasting peace can ever come to Ireland.

LABOUR MOVEMENT DE

The success of the two conferences organised by TOM for the Labour Movement in May '74 and May '75 and the 'fringe' meeting at last year's Labour Party Conference revealed a growing interest and awareness by the Labour Movement in this country about Ireland, an awareness which the mass media is attempting to stifle and mislead.

To help further this awareness, TOM is organising a mass-fact-finding LABOUR MOVEMENT DELEGATION TO IRELAND, on the weekend 18th September for three days. The delegation will visit Dublin and Belfast and its purpose will be to allow representatives from the British Labour Movement the opportunity to acquire first-hand information and experience of the situation in Ireland. It is hoped that delegates returning with this direct experience will be in a position to make an important and positive contribution towards the formulation of a progressive policy for the British Labour Movement which will assist the Irish people as a whole to achieve self-determination.

The Delegation will meet representatives from Trades Councils, Trade Unions and Shop Stewards' Committees, sections of main political parties, civil rights organisations, radical lawyers' groups and tenants and community organisations. It will be open to all Labour Movement bodies (Trades Councils, Trade Union bodies, Shop Stewards Committees, Constituency Labour Parties etc.) which support the right of the Irish people to Self-determination.

Support for this delegation continues to grow daily with thirteen Labour MPs, eight Trades Councils and numerous trade union, CLP branches and Labour Movement figures sponsoring it, while support and interest in Ireland (even at this stage) has outgrown all expectations and continues to expand. Commitment to send delegates has, already, come from a number of Trades Councils and from NUR, NUJ, USDAW, ASTMS, AUEW/TASS, T & GWU and NUT branches in Scotland, the Midlands and the South East.

There are no historical precedents for a delegation of this nature and the impact which it will have both in the south and the north of Ireland cannot be overstressed, while a successful delegation returning to Britain at a time of political vacuum when the government has already admitted to having no real solution to the problem, can only aid the building of a mass movement in this country to ensure that the people of Ireland will be allowed to determine their own future free from external interference.

The delegation itself will not be an isolated event and on its return, a number of local and area report-back conferences will be arranged in order that the Labour Movement throughout Britain will have the opportunity to hear the delegation's report and discuss its findings. To broaden out and stimulate the widest possible debate within the Labour Movement on a real and lasting solution to the 'Irish Problem', the Troops Out Movement believes that as many delegates from as many Trade Unions as possible should participate on this delegation.

WHY WE SUPPORT THIS DELEGATION

JOAN MAYNARD

is Labour MP for Sheffield Brightside and is one of the few Labour MPs courageous enough to take up the question of Ireland.



It is vital that British people should see for themselves what is being done in their name. When I first went to Northern Ireland

and arrived at Belfast Airport I was horrified to see British Troops everywhere with guns at the ready. Like wise in Belfast itself. I thought this sort of thing only happened in Fascist countries but these were British Troops Travelling on a bus in Belfast. I saw troops dodging from doorway to doorway with guns at the ready. Tanks going up and down the streets and into Catholic areas, this latter brought immediate retaliation; children appeared to throw stones. If Irish tanks were going up and down our streets, wouldn't our children be throwing stones?

I learnt that under the Special Provisions Legislation, operated in our name, people were dragged out of their beds, called foul names, put up against the wall with arms and legs spreadeagled. There is no redress against this treatment, you cannot in Northern Ireland appeal to your M.P. against this treatment, because it is legal under the Special Powers Act. There has always been this kind of legislation in N. Ireland since the State was first formed by the British in 1921. The more British people who go to Northern Ireland and see what it is really like and what is being done in our name the more they will demand a progressive policy in relation to Ireland.

PAT ARROWSMITH

is a member of TGWU (ACTSS) Branch No. 01/0524 and a long-standing peace campaigner.

People's general ignorance about conditions in Ireland and the reasons for these conditions (i.e. British policy towards Ireland for centuries) is appalling. It therefore seems extremely important for people to go over to Ireland and see (and FEEL) for themselves what it is like to live in a police state; to realise and FEEL that the Brit squaddies are in fact a hateful foreign army of occupation.

I myself have been over several times now to take part in various Irish demonstrations. I have had these experiences - both meeting ordinary Belfast and Derry citizens and learn-

ing about the shocking treatment they have received at the hands of British occupying forces, and even myself experiencing some of these things in a small way myself: getting searched by the RUC and British soldiers, getting a whiff of CS gas, seeing the countless army posts and army patrols and general havoc caused by the situation, getting lifted myself and briefly held under the then Special Powers Act.

It is vital that members of the British Labour Movement go over and learn directly about what is going on. The other day I myself, as a member of the N. London TOM Branch, approached a local TU Branch Secretary about getting a TOM speaker to address the Branch. The answer was No - not after what happened on the tube yesterday. So it is vitally important for Trade Unionists, at grass roots as well as top level, to come to grips with what is really going on and acquire a first-hand understanding of the situation and its implications and background.

For TOM to follow up last year's successful Labour Movement Conference with a mass delegation of British Trade Unionists to Ireland seems at this stage an excellent plan - especially as it is so welcome to so many leading Irish Trade Unionists.

TOM SCANLON

is Chairman of Finchley 1/281 TGWU Branch and an EC member of Barnet Trades Council.

I am sponsoring the National Labour Movement Delegation to Ireland in September organised by T.O.M. because it offers the Trade Union and Labour Movement an opportunity to see the situation in Ireland first hand.

Since the predictable end of the latest of a long line of British made solutions, and also because of the ongoing debate within the Trade Union Movement, there is a growing realisation that the problems in Ireland can only be solved by the Irish people as a whole without interference from Britain. I believe every trade unionist has a duty to look be-

yond the propaganda of the Tory Press and find out exactly what is happening in Ireland in his name, and having done so to impress upon the Labour Government the necessity to break from its bi-partisan role on Ireland with the Tories, and adopt Labour policies as outlined in the report from the Labour Commission on December 29th 1921.

'So far as Ireland itself and Irish affairs are concerned the Labour Party is unequivocally prepared to allow Ireland to assume whatever form of self-determination the great mass of the Irish people desire with whatever arrangements for local autonomy, and thereby allow Ireland to face its own difficulties in its own way.'

I am confident the Delegates who will go to Ireland will find that those policies are as relevant today as they were then, and that together we can create a situation which will end centuries of bloodshed and repression of the Irish and allow them to have unimpeded democratic majority rule in their own country.

MICHAEL WALSH

is an APEX member and is active in the Birmingham Labour Movement.

It was a day of doubtful weather prospects in the otherwise brilliant summer of '75 when we drove north over the border. Having received most of our information on South Armagh from the 'Bandit Country' reports pumped out by the Tory press, we were to say the least a little apprehensive.

Our first major surprise was to find that the term, crossing the border, was purely a theoretical one, in fact there was no border, no barriers, no manned posts, no army or police patrols. Conscious of the fact that we were travelling in a car with an English registration plate and were all strangers in the area, we sought out the landlord of the 'local' in Crossmaglen. I explained that my companions and I were trade unionists and active Labour Party members from England who had come over to see for ourselves.

After a short discussion to verify the facts, we were made heartily welcome, supplied with drinks and given the freedom of the town. It was a curious sensation to walk about unaccompanied, freely and without fear, when according to the Tory press the total absence of the discredited police and the army in no way gave rise to a sense of lawlessness and perfect order reigned. It was also startling and thought provoking to see the republican flag, the green white and gold tricolour flying quite openly on one of the town's public buildings: one had to

force oneself to remember that this town lay within the confines of a constituency of the Westminster Parliament.

Later we drove to Cullyhanny, a small village some 5 miles to the north, and here we came upon 'the Monument'. It was in the form of a section cut out of the hillside, and faced with natural stone, almost white in colour. Set into the stone were four plaques, carrying the emblems of the four provinces of Ireland, that is the whole of the island, with no distinction between the 6 Co. statelet and the rest.

At the bottom of the Monument came a fifth and much larger plaque, on which was recorded the name of the man in whose memory it had been erected. We were astounded to see that this structure, which must have cost many thousands of pounds, which was raised by voluntary subscription in a poor and thinly populated part of the country, was a memorial to Michael McVerry the man described in the Tory press as an arch terrorist.

The inscription on the plaque went on to state quite clearly that he had been officer Commanding 1st Battalion, South Armagh Brigade, Irish Republican Army (I.R.A.) and that he had been killed in action against British Occupation Forces on 15th November 1973.

To see such a memorial to this 'Arch Terrorist', to see the mound of flowers at its base, to note that no part of the monument had been vandalised, or interfered with in any way, compelled a sobering re-appraisal of the truths of events in Northern Ireland as put over by the Press. Afterwards as we drove away towards Newry, we could not help thinking what a pity it was that large numbers of active members of the Labour Movement, did not penetrate the press 'barrier' and 'come and see for themselves'.

The National Labour Movement Delegation to Ireland organised by the Troops Out Movement, is one such golden opportunity, and as such I am happy to sponsor it, and urge everyone who values the establishment of truth to support it.

LEGATION TO IRELAND

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IRELAND

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The organising of such a mass venture entails solving a considerable number of problems, not least, the problem of finances. While TOM has taken the attitude that no prospective delegate should be deterred from participation for financial reasons and has already begun to organise fund-raising events to help subsidise delegates travelling expenses, donations, whether from individuals or organisations, would be warmly appreciated and should be sent to LMDD c/o TOM, 1 NORTH END ROAD, LONDON W.14.

Please send more information about the LABOUR MOVEMENT DELEGATION TO IRELAND to the secretary of my branch/organisation as soon as possible.

Branch/Organisation

Secretary

Address

BUILD T.O.M.!

The local branches of the Troops Out Movement are its life-blood. The branches hold educational and social public meetings and pickets to win support for the T.O.M. in the Labour Movement and the local communities. The branches translate the national campaigns into action.

Since the big demonstration and rally on the anniversary of Bloody Sunday, branches are directing their energies towards the LABOUR MOVEMENT DELEGATION TO IRELAND. They are sending speakers to Labour Movement branches, contacting community organisations and student unions, and holding public meetings — in some areas as many as nine organisations have said they will send delegates.

Fund-raising is also crucial for the delegation — there is plenty of activity on this front, with jumble-sales, socials and raffles being held. More ideas are welcome!

Several branches are doing a lot of work to oppose the Army's recruitment campaigns. They are raising the question of what the Army is doing in Ireland by picketing Army tattoos and Recruitment Offices, and leafleting labour exchanges and Job Centres — the Army fled one Job Centre as a result of determined heckling by T.O.M. supporters. Some branches are very concerned to combat Army influence in schools, and T.O.M. members have now got a national anti-recruiting campaign under way.

The Prevention of Terrorism Act not only causes untold misery to people detained under it, but is a major obstacle in getting Irish people in Britain to say openly that they want British troops out of Ireland. T.O.M. members have helped to get the Trade Union Committee against the PTA off the ground and a number of branches are actively campaigning against the Act.

To back up all this activity, branches are selling T.O.M. literature, organising regular educational and producing local bulletins — and two branches have recently had speakers on local radio.

And branches are campaigning vigorously against all attempts to limit freedom of speech and action on the Irish question: so that the British people will come out front and SAY what they already THINK — that British troops should pull out of Ireland now, and let the Irish people determine their own future!

There are now T.O.M. branches in:

England — Birmingham, Brighton, Bristol, Cambridge, Colchester, Coventry, Doncaster, Hemel Hempstead, Kirby, Liverpool, London (9 branches), Manchester (2 branches), Nottingham, Oxford, Preston, Reading, Sheffield, Teeside, Warwick, York.

Scotland — Edinburgh, Glasgow, Hamilton, Paisley, Stirling.

If you would like more information about the T.O.M., and/or would like to join the T.O.M., or start a T.O.M. branch, please write to: The Troops Out Movement, 1 North End Road, London W.14.



While the call to get British troops out of Ireland grows in strength, the attempt is being mounted to stifle such opinions. And the form this takes can only be seen as systematic repression.

The offensive is led by the State through legislation and the police, although other branches of the establishment are there to lend a willing hand. The main target is clearly the Irish community, harassed and intimidated by the Prevention of Terrorism Act with its threats of arbitrary arrest and detention without trial or access to legal advice, to be followed by deportation if no criminal charges can be brought. On the other hand, British activists have also suffered. The Troops Out Movement has met with a series of direct and indirect attacks. The use of Trafalgar Square, for example, is forbidden for Irish demonstrations under a Home Office directive. Even the use of Hyde Park can be a problem — despite the status of Speaker's Corner as a symbol of British liberalism to the world.

After applying to hold an open-air rally there recently, the TOM was told that the Department of the Environment, the police and the Home Office would all have to be agreeable! More direct confrontations have involved individual TOM members. In a typical case, two TOM speakers were arrested on arriving at Sheffield to address a public meeting. Searches, physical threats and repeated interrogations failed to produce any evidence at all that could lead to a charge and the two were released. Pat Arrowsmith, one of the two, is suing the police for wrongful arrest.

Overall, the activity against the TOM is characterized by obstruction. The police recommend the bodies that control public meeting rooms such as councils and breweries not to allow meetings on the Irish question because of the security risks involved. The breweries, for example, then put pressure on their managers. The result has been a gradual reduction of the halls available for TOM meetings. The most destructive instance of this passive resistance came this year when the TOM organized a mass rally on February 1st to commemorate Bloody Sunday. Months of effort failed to turn up a suitable hall until early December when an afternoon booking was made with Hammersmith Palais, owned by Mecca Ltd. A deposit was paid and a contract provided. Speakers invited included Paul O'Dwyer, President of New York City Council, Bern-

State Tries to Gag T.O.M.

adette McAliskey (Devlin) and Eamonn McCann, the Irish writer. A month later, when there was no serious possibility of obtaining another booking and a great deal of time and money had been invested in publicity for the event, the manager of the Palais called to cancel the booking. The reason given by Mecca was that a long-term booking had been overlooked. It now appears that this booking was in the name of a Mecca-connected club. The result was that the TOM rally had to take place in the open air on Portobello Green, after Hammersmith Borough Council had refused the use of Shepherd's Bush Green.

Even while struggling to break free from this bureaucratic straight-jacket, the TOM has to face violent attacks of the far right. A meeting organized by East London TOM was attacked by National Front thugs armed with hammers and ammonia sprays. Two TOM members were treated for burns to the eyes and only efficient stewarding prevented more serious injuries. The demonstration on Bloody Sunday was also attacked by supporters of Martin Webster's National Party, four of whom were arrested after belated police intervention. The screaming mob of Union Jack-waving heavies had charged several hundred yards across Shepherd's Bush Green while dozens of policemen stood their ground on the orders of a senior officer. Again, only efficient TOM stewarding prevented a serious riot.

Despite such harassment, however, the TOM refuses to be distracted from the struggle to help the Irish people win the right to self-determination. Our work to build the biggest labour movement delegation to Ireland ever goes on.

OPEN FORUM ON IRELAND

Saturday 26th June, Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London WC1, starting 10 am.

Session 1: Ireland — Lessons from other Colonial Wars

Session 2: No British Solutions

Session 3: The Labour Movement Delegation to Ireland

Speakers invited include: Alain Krivine, Tony Cliff, David Thornley T.D., Joan Maynard M.P., Peter Hain, Tom Litterick, M.P., Eamonn McCann, Mervin Metcalfe. Entrance 60p.

THE LUCK OF THE IRISH

If you had the luck of the Irish,
You'd be sorry and wish you were dead.
You should have the luck of the Irish
And you'd wish you was English instead!

A thousand years of torture and hunger
Drove the people away from their land,
A land full of beauty and wonder
Was raped by the British brigands!
Goddamn! Goddamn!

In the 'Pool they told us the story
How the English divided the land,
Of the pain, the death and the glory
And the poets of auld Eireland.

Why the hell are the English there anyway?
As they kill with God on their side!
Blame it all on the kids and the IRA!
As the bastards commit genocide
Ay! Aye! Genocide!

If you had the luck of the Irish,
You'd be sorry and wish you were dead,
You should have the luck of the Irish
And you'd wish you was English instead!
Yes you'd wish you was English instead!

John Lennon/Yoko Ono - Nov. '71



T.O.M. PUBLICATIONS, POSTERS & BADGES

are available from T.O.M.,

1 North End Rd., London, W.14

Irish Citizen Army commemorative
poster for 60th anniversary of the
Easter Rising. Giant 3 colour silk-
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Limited edition - all proceeds to
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ALTERNATIVE WHITE PAPER ON IRELAND

Troops Out Movement 15p



*The Alternative White Paper on
Ireland - 15p or 5 for £1*

*Build the Troops Out Movement
5p or 30 for £1*

Also highly recommended are:

*The State, the Law and Ireland -
by NCCL (Manchester branch).
Available from 6, Braemar Road,
Withington, Manchester.*

*The New Technology of Repression
by the British Society for Social
Responsibility in Science. Avail-
able from BSSRS, 9 Portland St.,
London, W.1.*

*The Irish Prisoner - by the Prison-
ers Aid Committee.*

*Publications should be paid for in
advance & prices do not include
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