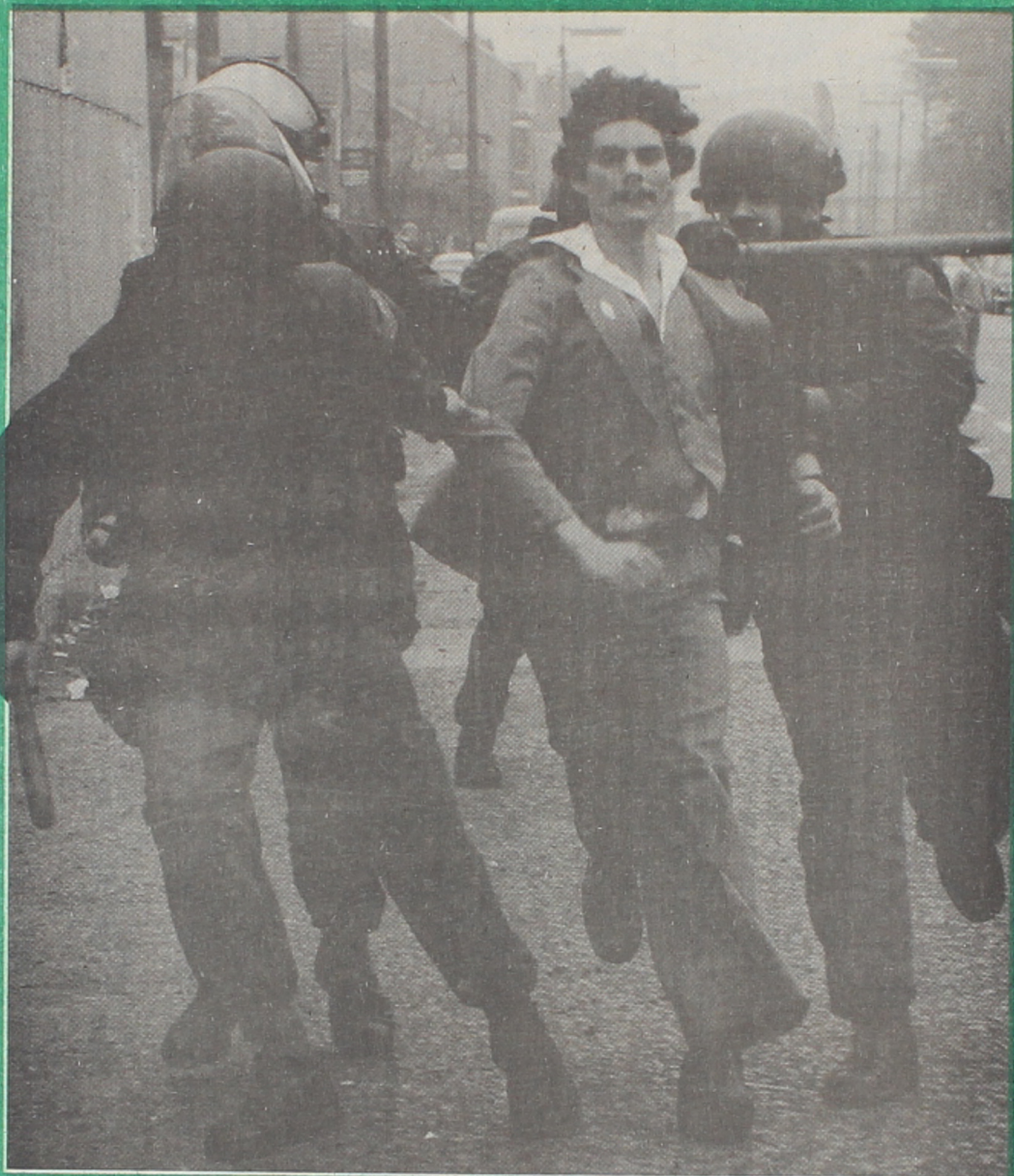


# No.2 TROOPS OUT 10p

JOURNAL OF THE TROOPS OUT MOVEMENT

WINTER 1976



CONTENTS: LABOUR MOVEMENT DELEGATION TO IRELAND... *'I knew then I was in an occupied country'* – delegates talk about what they saw... *'What we were told'* – by Seamus Mallon, Matt Merrigan, Michael Farrell, Sean O'Brady, Seamus Costello, Bernadette McAliskey, Father Des Wilson, Phil Flynn, Joan Carmichael and others... PLUS ANDREW BOYD on Irish Trade Unions, KENNETH GRIFFITH on Ireland and Britain, Torture British-style... AND News, reviews, articles on peace, the Police Terror Act and more.

# IRELAND... are YOU part of the solution?

**THE WAR CONTINUES.** As the seventh year of the current war in Ireland draws to an end, the British army of occupation continues its attempts to crush the resistance. In the light of this, British democrats and socialists must reexamine their attitudes to the situation in Ireland.

## OPPRESSION & RESISTANCE

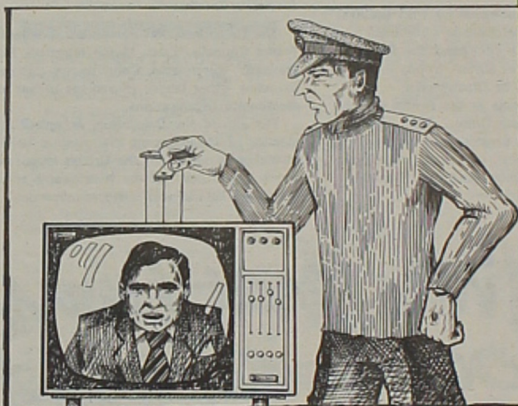
The British Labour Government has been trying to implement its latest 'solution' to the crisis with a minimum of casualties - by leaning on the collaborationist government in the south to do the job of stamping out the resistance.

But in the south, the Coalition Government (Fine Gael and Labour) appears close to breaking point. The revolt among the Labour Party rank and file - who voted by over 200 to 5 against the new repressive laws - shows on what shaky ground British policy is based.

In the north, a cease-fire had been arranged on the basis of a pull-out pledge made to the Provisionals on behalf of the Labour Government by the Permanent Secretary to the Ministry of Defence.

When it became clear that the Callaghan government had no intention of honouring that pledge, the ceasefire effectively ended: a situation which has seen the British Army take as many as 14 casualties in one week in October alone.

So once again a new British 'solution' is close to foundering on the rocks of Irish resistance. In Britain, the signs of the collapse of this latest policy can best be seen when a senior commentator like John Whale of the 'Sunday Times', who has defended the British presence for the past 7 years, now demands withdrawal of British troops.



orders from all over Ireland, met a hostile reception on the Falls Road - where they had just been preceded by a march of at least equal numbers, but this time based on 'peace with justice' and drawing its support solely from the working class areas of West Belfast.

Just weeks later West Belfast again turned out in a massive display of grief and solidarity, when over 30,000 people attended the funeral of Mrs. Maire Drumm, the brave republican militant who was cruelly murdered in a hospital ward by loyalist assassins. She had been singled out as a legitimate target for assassination by Merlyn Rees and the British press, who had conducted an almost unparalleled campaign of vilification against her. The British press lost no time in congratulating the killers.

## STAND UP & BE COUNTED

In Britain the successes of T.O.M. activities like the Labour Movement Delegation to Ireland and the packed fringe meeting at the Labour Party Conference in Blackpool have shown what can be done by those who support the right of the Irish people to self-determination.

With the war about to enter its eighth year, surely enough time has passed for those people in Britain who claim to be democrats or socialists to have made up their minds on which side they stand. Do you support the Government and the army generals continuing the war, or will you stand against it?

For too long British socialists have been willing to stand aside and monitor events as observers, but if by now you are not part of the solution then in fact you are part of the problem. JOIN THE CAMPAIGN FOR A BRITISH WITHDRAWAL NOW.

HER MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT REGRETS TO INFORM YOU, THAT YOUR PARENTS WERE INJURED WHEN POLICE BATON CHARGED THE NOTTING HILL CARNIVAL!



## 'TROOPS OUT' No.2

Winter 1976

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Cover photo: A lift - British troops arrest a young man in a nationalist area.

THIS ISSUE WAS PRODUCED BY THE T.O.M. LITERATURE COMMITTEE, ASSISTED BY OTHER T.O.M. MEMBERS & SUPPORTERS. Membership, actual or potential of the T.O.M. does not necessarily mean agreement with all the views expressed in this journal.

## APPEAL... APPEAL... APPEAL...

We have had requests for copies of 'Troops Out No.1' and other literature from all over the world. Wherever 'Troops Out' reaches the public its message has been well-received. Our problem is how to reach an increasingly wide section of the population. This is where you come in. HELP US by buying several copies of this journal and sell them in your area. We will send you 6 copies for 50p or 14 for £1. DONATIONS would also be very welcome, as we would like to keep the price at 10p.

Printed by SW (Litho) Printers (TU all depts) Corbridge Works, Corbridge Crescent, London E2 9DS from artwork supplied.



## H.M.'S ASSASSINS

The seventh year of the war has also seen the rise of sectarian murders to their 1972 level. The background to these so-called 'motiveless killings' as the RUC likes to describe them, comes across in the current issue of the loyalist paramilitary UDA's magazine 'Ulster', where the spokesman for the UDA prisoners in Long Kesh points out that over 55 of the imprisoned UDA men were members of the British security forces. And this number does not include the members of the Ulster Defence Regiment - an integral part of the British Army - who were convicted of murder for the Miami showband massacre, nor the 20 more on trial in Belfast as we go to press.

The Government and the army generals hoped that the campaign of sectarian murders would so demoralise the nationalist population - already suffering extreme direct harassment from British troops - that they would fall into the arms of the newly formed 'peace' movement.

These hopes were rudely shattered on the weekend of October 23rd when two peace marches occurred on the same day. The 'peace at any price' march, drawing its middle-class supp-

# IRELAND: WE WENT TO SEE IT

On Saturday 18th September, the 60 strong NATIONAL LABOUR MOVEMENT DELEGATION TO IRELAND assembled at the Mansion House in Dublin at the start of an historic three day visit to Ireland.

The delegates were addressed by Irish political and trade union representatives in both Dublin and Belfast. They saw at first hand the direct effects of the presence of British troops in Belfast and in the border town of Crossmaglen.

They mixed with people in the streets and in social clubs of Belfast and Dublin. They spoke to members of life-support organisations in the Catholic ghettos of Belfast, including Green Cross which aids political prisoners and their families, and the Falls Taxi Association.

They met Irish women's groups, historians, authors, religious leaders who are in the political limelight, representatives of the Irish press. Some of the delegates also met high-ranking officials of the Irish Government's Department of Foreign Affairs in Dublin.

The Delegation was composed of delegates from Trades Councils, Trade Union branches, Shop Stewards' committees, Constituency Labour Party Branches, other labour movement bodies and community organisations.

The aim of the Delegation, as agreed at a meeting of Delegates on 21st August 1976, was to formulate a policy for the British labour movement which would best aid the Irish people to achieve their right to national self-determination.



Everyday Belfast street scene

"I knew then that I was in an occupied country"

The sixty members of the Labour Movement Delegation to Ireland came back to England numbed by what they had seen. It is very hard to get any idea from the British media of what is going on just a few miles across the Irish Sea. Here, some of the delegates describe their impressions of the British Army.

I can remember feeling really numbed as we drove through the streets of Belfast, watching troops in armoured cars, their guns pointing at people walking by, writes *Chris Mullins*, a telephone engineer and delegate from POEU Horsham Branch.

The enormous concrete blocks which lined and blocked the roads, the iron barricades through which people had to pass and be searched on their way to the shops.

The heavily fortified army barracks and interrogation centres so significant of the military presence in Belfast. The defiant look on the face of a young lad as he was bundled into the back of an army landrover by four soldiers.

There were young children whose faces appeared to be aged by the situation in which they were forced to live. Their obvious hate of British troops came across from every child with whom we spoke.

Rows of destroyed houses which seemed to haunt

the streets. Republican slogans painted everywhere and the striking picture of James Connolly painted on the side of a house.

## CROSSMAGLEN

I feel that I must mention Crossmaglen, as it was there that I got my first real impression of the north of Ireland, where I saw British troops caged in behind barricades of wire mesh and corrugated iron. Opposite the barracks, on top of a derelict building, flew the defiant tricolour of the republic.

As I stood by a wall, peppered with bullet holes, my normal feelings of freedom left me. I knew then that I was in an occupied country.

## CHILDREN

Many delegates commented on the way the army uses children as cover. One of these was *Barbara Yates*, a parent and office worker, delegated by



Soldiers load their guns - to keep

## Hammersmith Women's Aid:

We saw a spot check at a crossroads where children were crossing after school. There was the usual scene of an old man in a white coat with a 'Children Crossing' sign and a peaked cap - but just behind him was a Saracen armoured car with several soldiers lolling around with their guns in prominent evidence.

They could have been at another crossroads, but they chose the spot where the children have to cross the road every day - and these children come from a school with a barracks immediately next door to it.

I have a kid myself, and I was horrified to see how the army puts forts next door to schools, and hospitals too - to see how they use children and the sick as hostages.

## FACES WENT WHITE

*Eddie Fennell*, a railwayman from the North London District Council of the NUR, got mistaken for a soldier:

As I went into this pub in Crossmaglen, I stumbled, and when I pulled myself up the people in the bar turned round and - because I'd just had my hair cut - they thought I was a soldier. The faces on those people turned white.

Then I said, "I'm from London, from the labour movement," and one bloke shook me by the hand and said, "You're the first British chap I've ever shook by the hand - because you've not come in here in violence."

Then he told me about how three years ago his son had been involved in a road accident, and the British Army whipped the lad into hospital and saved his life. And he went to the commanding officer and thanked him very much for all he'd done.

The lad was in hospital for a hell of a long time. At last he comes out and goes back to Crossmaglen and what happens? The soldiers come out and they beat up everyone in the area. They gave the lad a bit of the old rifle butt, and then they beat him up as well - I've got a photograph of him after the beating. He was very very ill for a long time after it.

As soon as you hear things like this, it makes your hair stand on end. It's unimaginable. We all know from reading our Marx and reading stories from abroad that the bourgeoisie in this country will never give up without a fight. And when you see the fight they're going to make - it makes you think.

## CRAWLING TOWARDS US

*Pat Beech*, a housewife from Tower Hill Women's Group in Kirkby, had a frightening experience: When we were walking home late at night from

# OURSELVES

# what we were told

the social in Andersonstown, we suddenly saw an army patrol. They were crawling towards us on their bellies with their faces blackened. They just appeared out of nowhere.

I was amazed by the size of their guns, pointing at us. I was terrified.

They stopped us and asked what was in the plastic bag we were carrying. They were hostile until they heard our accents - then they were all right. The woman we were with said that if we'd been Irish, they would probably have ripped up the bag.

John O'Brien, of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers, Ealing No. 1 Branch, was also frightened by an incident which is 'routine' to many thousands of people in the nationalist ghettos.

During breakfast in Andersonstown, the wife of the house called me to the window to see an army patrol in the narrow street outside their home.

I moved to the window and looked out. The last soldier facing rearwards in the patrol (when a patrol moves down a street the last man usually walks backwards) spotted the movement at the window - and up came his gun.

All I could do was stand still. I dared not move.



Nationalist Belfast - five forts in well under a square mile, next door to schools, hospitals and churches

## OCCUPYING ARMY

The final word comes from Bert Ellicott, a Hospital Nursing Officer from Tameside Trades Union Council:

I was shocked to watch British troops in an open jeep 'lifting' (this is the word used by the northern Irish) a youth off the street in Belfast and taking him off for interrogation.

He could only have been some fifteen years of age, and this incident, more than anything else, convinced me that the British troops in Belfast and the rest of the north of Ireland are an occupying army and are deeply resented by the native population.

The delegates will be meeting in the near future to discuss their findings, and a comprehensive report will be produced. If you would like a member of the Delegation to address your branch or organisation, please write to:-

LMD1, c/o 1 North End Road, London W.14.

## organisations which sent delegates

Barnet Trades Council  
Battersea and Wandsworth Trades Council  
Coventry Trades Council  
Crawley Trades Council  
Doncaster Trades Council  
Hackney Trades Council  
St Albans Trades Council  
Stepney and Bethnal Green Trades Council  
Tameside Trades Council  
AUEW Junior Workers' Committee  
AUEW Ealing 15EE  
AUEW/TASS No. 16 Divisional Council  
AUEW/TASS London City Branch  
ASTMS London West End  
COHSE Charing Cross  
EPTU/SSC GEC Wolverhampton  
NATFHE City and East London College  
NATFHE Garnett College (Students)  
NATFHE North East London Polytechnic  
NUJ Book Branch  
NUJ Magazine Branch  
NUR North London District Council

NUR Rayburs Lane  
NUT - East London Teachers Association  
NUT - Westminster Teachers Association  
NUEU Hoxham  
TAGWU 1/281  
UCATT Nottingham  
UCATT Stoke Newington  
Brent East CLP  
Chelsea CLP  
Hackney & Shoreditch CLP  
Norwood CLP  
Kent University SU  
Middlesex Poly SU  
North London Poly SU  
Trade Union Society Enfield College  
U.L.I.E.S.A.  
Cambridge Womens Action Group  
Hammersmith Womens Aid  
London Claimants Union  
Right to Work Campaign  
Tower Hill Womens Action Group  
Chapelton APG

Phil Flynn, deputy General Secretary of the Local Government and Public Service Union, made the opening speech of the Delegation's visit to Ireland in the Mansion House, Dublin.

We meet at what I feel is a natural breaking point in the affairs of British imperialism in Ireland.

Power-sharing is dead and buried.

The British Government is faced with a limited range of options: first, to hand over power to the fascist UUCU, second, to continue direct rule with its inevitable military repression, or third - to withdraw.

To deal with the first two options first: either simply continues the agony and the bloodshed and neither holds out any hope of a lasting settlement.

If the past seven years has taught the world anything about Ireland, it is that legislative and/or military repression will not work.

One hopes that the next few days will satisfy you that the way forward is through the third option, withdrawal.

That is, by the British Government publicly recognising and acknowledging that the people of Ireland as a whole, and they alone, must decide their own future; that there are no British solutions to the Irish question; that the logic of recognising Ireland's right to self-determination is an end to the military occupation of a part of our country.

## WAY TO UNITY

We are all familiar with the origins of the imperialistically imposed border which divides this country. We understand the origins of the two states in Ireland.

You will appreciate that the maintenance of the artificially created six-county Orange state necessitates and necessitates the repression of the nationalist minority.

The way forward clearly lies in united working class struggle. But that kind of unity of action cannot be built on a situation where a whole layer of the working class is given certain privileges - the best jobs, education and homes - and where that privilege is backed up by the forces of the sectarian statelet.

A united struggle of the working class can only develop when that situation is no longer possible. When the Orange state is dismantled, then and only then can a realistic dialogue leading to united class action develop.

The propping up of this artificial state by the troops serves to reinforce the idea that loyalist workers can best resolve their problems at the expense of the catholic workers.

In a sentence, the presence of the troops perpetuates the divisions of the Irish working class.

## FALSE BELIEF

One is conscious that there exists in the British labour movement a considerable element of genuine and humane reservation brought about by a belief that to withdraw the troops would be to leave the nationalists to the mercy of the loyalists.

This of course is to ascribe to the troops an impartiality which the nationalist people do not concede. With the exception of a brief honeymoon period, they have never accepted the 'peace-keeping', 'keep the Irish from each other' role of

the army.

From South Armagh to North Antrim the nationalist people know better. Unpalatable though it may be, the evidence exists of Army involvement in murder, torture and the fomenting of sectarian strife.

The loyalists of course fanatically support the imperialist presence. Their privileges, small though they may be, depend on the imperialist link, and the psychology of supremacy is deeply ingrained.

But the problem of a loyalist backlash is something which is always in the background. The vicious circle must be broken out of.

## OUR STRUGGLE

What we expect from our comrades in the British labour movement is an understanding of the nature and dynamics of the anti-imperialist struggle.

It was James Connolly who said: "Understanding is better than sympathy. Sympathy without understanding is false and insubstantial and often misleading."

You must seek out the truth.

The capitalist pro-imperialist wall must be penetrated. The truth must be exposed to the British working class.

Remember -

A victory for fascism in the six counties would considerably strengthen the forces of the Right in Britain. It would give a great boost to the fascist organisations and to the reactionary sections of the British Army.

On the other hand, a victory over imperialism is a weakening of British capitalism and therefore a victory for the British working class.

## OUR STRUGGLE - IS YOUR STRUGGLE!

Paddy McParland, Chairman of Belfast Provisional Sinn Fein, spoke to the Delegation in the Andersonstown Social Club.

Sinn Fein is the political party of the Republican Movement. It was founded in 1905 by Arthur Griffith. The words *Sinn Fein* mean 'ourselves alone'.

In 1905, Sinn Fein proposed two basic lines for Ireland: one was the political independence of the country, and the other was the prosperity of the people of the country.

In 1918 there was a general election. Sinn Fein won 73 out of 102 seats. That was the last time the Irish people as a whole were asked to determine their own future.

Today our fundamental policy remains the same: that is, the independence and freedom of this country - and that means British withdrawal. That is our basic political demand.

We believe that as long as the British presence remains in Ireland there will never be peace. We feel that the history of this country over the past 800 years bears this out.

We firmly believe that the only way that peace will come to this land is when the British occupation forces, the British political administration are removed. They must be removed. Peace otherwise is impossible here.

## PLACE FOR PROTESTANTS

However, in saying that, we

recognise that there is a secondary problem in this country, and that is that there exists a substantial minority of Irish people, people that don't agree with this view, I am referring to the northern Protestants.

They will need to be accommodated in the new Ireland, the free Ireland. They fear that they will be dominated by the rest of Ireland, that political and social decisions will be taken for them and about them without consultation with them or participation by them.

We say that our proposals for the political structures of government in Ireland go a long way towards accommodating the Protestants. Our proposal is that Ireland should be governed as a federal state: this would give the

Protestants of Ulster a large degree of autonomy in running their own affairs.

It would not give them exclusive power, as they've had to date, or at least since the partition of this country - and which is the reason we have got this trouble today.

But nonetheless it would give them a degree of power, a degree of say in the administration and the decision-making processes that should lead to a democratic state of affairs in this country.

Now this will not be an easy thing to bring about. In fact it may be even more difficult than getting rid of the British. But in our view it is the way towards peace.

Seamus Mallon, a leading member of the SDLP, spoke to the Delegation on the last day of their visit to Belfast.

It seems to be overlooked that the British came uninvited to this country, and that the subsequent disaster of Partition was motivated by British party political interests rather than concern for the long-term stability of this island. This cynical manipulation has not ceased.

British responsibilities have been consistently shirked. One has only to look at the present political impasse to realise that Loyalist attitudes are based on the knowledge that their intransigence is underwritten by the lack of will of the British Government.

Twice in the recent past - during the Ulster Workers' Council strike, and in defying the stated wish of the British Government and Parliament in the Northern Ireland Convention - extreme Unionism has seen the British Government capitulate to its demands.

If there is an exercise of sovereignty, the Secretary of State should implement the policy already democratically approved by virtually the entire British Parliament - to establish a broadly-based administration.

If, however, the reply is in the negative, or indeed the request is ignored, then we can only assume that the British Government is neither willing nor able to govern, and that in fact a permanent veto has been given to Unionism.

In that type of situation, the SDLP would view the British dimension as a permanent bar to the peace and political stability of Ireland, North and South, and would have no alternative but to explore those other avenues which are open to us, and which are an inherent part of our British problem.

# PARTITION:

## BARRIER TO PROGRESS

### andrew boyd on irish trade unions

ANDREW BOYD, who addressed the Delegation on Monday 20th September, was Irish Organiser for the National Council of Labour Colleges from 1954 until 1964. He is the author of *The Rise of the Irish Trade Unions, Holy War in Belfast* and other books and pamphlets. He wrote this article solely for the information of the National Labour Movement Delegation to Ireland. It is not to be taken as implying that he supports the Troops Out Movement.



Carson mobilized Protestant workers to prolong British rule

The trade unions in Ireland have a long and interesting history, going back to the earliest years of the 18th century, yet they have little political influence today, either in Northern Ireland or in the Republic of Ireland.

Indeed, officials of the Irish Congress of Trade Unions, in Dublin and Belfast see their role as non-political. They prefer the benefits that accrue from good relations with governments to the challenging risks of Socialist politics, and consider that to be on speaking terms with executive civil servants is a satisfactory substitute for politics.

The Irish Congress of Trade Unions, in its present form, is the result of a merger that was arranged between the Irish TUC and the Congress of Irish Unions in 1959. It is an all-Ireland organisation, held together, across a border that has otherwise seriously weakened the Irish labour movement, by a number of compromises.

One of these compromises gives the Northern Committee of the ICTU autonomy in Northern Ireland. This autonomy is an effort to prove to Ulster Loyalists that trade unions in Northern Ireland are not controlled or even influenced by the Executive Council of the ICTU in Dublin.

Autonomy for the Northern Committee was one of the conditions that Stormont insisted on before agreeing to recognise the ICTU in 1964. Before that Stormont ignored the ICTU, devising all sorts of ludicrous stratagems to maintain relations with the unions apart from ICTU.

But after recognition relations between the Government and the ICTU changed so radically that the Northern Committee became almost a branch of Stormont's civil service and has been appropriately compensated in the form of an annual subsidy of at least £10,000 from state funds. A somewhat larger subsidy is paid every year by the Government of the Irish Republic to the ICTU headquarters in Dublin.

#### BRITISH OR IRISH

Unions in Ireland are either "British-based and controlled" or "Irish-based and controlled". These classifications are both historical and political. They have legal status in the Republic of Ireland in that the 1944 Trade Union Act of Dail Eireann distinguishes between British unions and Irish unions.

The difference between British unions and Irish unions was also one of the reasons for the unions that formed the Congress of Irish Unions breaking away from the Irish TUC in 1944.

During the 18th and 19th centuries trade unions in Ireland, like trade unions in Britain, were mainly local craft unions. One or two of these older-type unions, the Dublin Typographical and Provident Society, for instance, remain to the present day.

Union amalgamations in the 19th century brought about the merger of many early Irish unions with similar British unions. These mergers occurred in engineering, shipbuilding, construction, printing, transport and in many other industries and trades.

By the 1890s the membership of many British unions had spread throughout Ireland, yet relations between trade unionists in Ireland and their brothers in Britain were not always as fraternal as might have been expected. The Irish TUC was founded in 1894 by the Irish mem-



James Connolly - he warned that partition would divide the workers

bers of British unions who saw that the TUC in London had little time for the problems of Irish workers.

A few years later, in 1909, the establishment of the Irish Transport and General Workers Union became an important event in Irish history since the early ITGWU, under the leadership of Jim Larkin, was avowedly syndicalist and socialist.

In Belfast in 1907, Larkin smashed through the barriers of sectarianism to unite Catholic and Protestant workers. In Dublin 1913 he led one of the most famous struggles in the history of world labour.

#### CONNOLLY

Despite Larkin's success the shadow of even worse sectarianism loomed ahead for the workers of the North.

Six years before the Government of Ireland Act was passed, James Connolly, who was then an organiser with the ITGWU, warned that partition would undermine labour in Ireland and obstruct all political progress while it lasted.



The Irish Citizen Army, led by Connolly, was the first workers' militia in Europe

This prediction coincided almost to the day with a statement in which Winston Churchill warned that if the Orangemen were given control of the Northern counties they would have scant regard for the rights of the Catholic minority left to their mercy.

Partition in 1920 caused several groups of trade unionists in Southern Ireland to break away from the British unions of which they had been members and to form separate Irish unions.

Other Irish-based and controlled unions were formed during the period from 1920 until fairly recently, but apart from the ITGWU, which, with more than 150,000 members, is far and away the biggest union in Ireland, most of the Irish unions formed since partition have remained comparatively small.

One exception is the Workers' Union of Ireland, which was a Larkinite break-away from the ITGWU in 1923, but even it has no more than about 25,000 members.

Economics and politics have decreed that the majority of trade unionists in Northern Ireland are members of familiar British unions such as the AUEW, TGWU, GMWU, APEX and so on. In Northern Ireland the Irish unions are a small minority.

On the other hand, the overwhelming majority of union members in the South are in Irish unions, though there is also an overlap with the British unions, which have members in the South. Recently, some British unions, ASTMS is an example, have been gaining members quite substantially in the Republic.

#### PARTITION

What strikes most British socialists as strange is that, while a high proportion of Northern Ireland workers (more than 47%) are in Trade Unions, there is almost no socialist political thinking in the working class. But that, as Connolly predicted, is one of the consequences of Partition.

Partition has enabled what Connolly called "the Home Rule and Orange politicians" to keep their sectarian rallying cries to the forefront of politics - and it is these rallying cries which divide the workers one from another.

That is why the political influence of the Orange Order is immeasurably greater than the influence of either the ICTU or the Labour Party in Northern Ireland.

It is why the Ulster Workers Council so easily overthrew the Northern Ireland Power-sharing Executive and terrified Merlyn Rees and Harold Wilson in May 1974. It is why not even the intervention of the General Secretary of the TUC could stop the UWC.

And it is why the Irish Congress of Trade Unions cannot unite the workers of Northern Ireland and show them that there could be a socialist solution to the present chaos.

Andrew Boyd 2.8.76.

# IRISH NEWSHEET



We describe below some of the atrocities that the Irish people have had to suffer over the last few months at the hands of the British Army. We detail only the incidents which have reached the establishment newspapers - these are the tip of the iceberg, and do not fully reflect the harsh reality of daily life under an army of occupation.

Roy Mason claimed recently that the Army has been making 'a few mistakes'. But mistakes of this order are hardly what you would expect of a highly-trained 'peace-keeping' force. Further, it has been widely observed that there has been a marked rise in Irish violence since Mason arrived at the Northern Ireland Office.

And as Paddy Devlin of the SDLP wrote in October, referring to shooting incidents in West Belfast, 'shooting incidents against innocent civilians ... are being strung together in a way that would suggest they are both preplanned and deliberately conceived ... in every one of these incidents the soldiers fired to create the maximum of injury to the victims ...'

He concluded on a sinister note: 'The remarkable thing about this escalation of military violence in West Belfast is that it coincides with the multiple murder of Catholic families in North Belfast ... But not one soldier is to be seen in the vastness of this area of North Belfast where hundreds of Catholics wait to be picked off.'

**MAJELLA O'HARE**, 12 years old, was walking with a group of friends to her local chapel near Whitecross in South Armagh on 14 August when, a few minutes before noon, a British paratrooper fired. Two bullets penetrated Majella's back and ripped through her stomach. By the time she reached hospital, after being roughly thrown into an army helicopter, she was dead.

Father Denis Faul and Raymond Murray have written a booklet about her death, compiling the accounts of all the witnesses, including her father who was abused by paratroopers as he comforted his dying daughter.

They also list the series of lying statements put out by the army - and repeated word for word by the radio - which started with a statement that she had been shot by a gunman.

A soldier has now been charged with her death.

**BRIAN STEWART**, 13 years old, was standing with a group of friends on a street in Norglen Crescent, West Belfast on Monday 4 October, when the army opened up with plastic bullets. One of these smashed Brian's skull. A few days later, on 11 October, he died.

Every witness agreed that there was no rioting prior to the shooting. Furthermore there was no debris in the street to support the army's claim that 400 people pelted two army patrols with stones and bricks.

A **TAXI DRIVER** from the cooperative Falls Taximen's Association was loading passengers on the Catholic Lenadoon estate when he was fired on by a soldier and hit in the leg on Saturday 21 August at 11 pm. The soldiers ran away and two women on their way home from bingo went to the assistance of the driver. The army put out a statement that the soldiers had been firing at a 'fleeing gunman'. Witnesses said there had been no fleeing gunman and no shots fired at the soldiers.

**FIVE YOUNG MEN WERE HOSPITALISED AFTER** troops ran amok through Crossmaglen in the first week of September. Both Pat Toner, and SDLP councillor, and the Crossmaglen Civil Rights Association, lodged official complaints.

This incident took place after the Crossmaglen fort had been mortar-bombed. However such orgies of terror are nothing new, witness Fr. Faul and Fr. Murray's dossier on the 'Behaviour of the 3rd Regiment in South Armagh - June/August 1976' in their booklet on the shooting of Majella O'Hare.

**SANDY LYNCH** 17 years old, received bullet wounds in the chest, stomach, shoulder and back when the car in which he was travelling was fired on in Turf Lodge, West Belfast, on Wednesday 22 September. The Andersonstown Advice Centre, run by the Association of Legal Justice, said that Sandy and his friends had stopped when signalled by a patrol. They had been allowed to continue, and then the soldiers opened fire indiscriminately. The army claimed the car had tried to run down one of the soldiers.

The shooting took place in the context of a 'perceptible increase in Army activity, particularly in the predominantly Catholic Andersonstown/Falls area of the city ... accompanied by a rise in the numbers of people being 'lifted' and held for questioning.' (Irish Times, 24 September 76) The numbers of people being lifted and detained has also increased in the predominantly Catholic enclave of Short Strand.

A **LORRY DRIVER** approaching an army patrol on guard duty at the border post at Aghnacloy, Co. Tyrone, on Monday 27 September, was injured when a burst of machine-gun fire struck the cab of his vehicle. Army investigations indicated that a sentry had accidentally discharged his weapon.

'**MAN DESCRIBES "TEN MINUTES OF TERROR"**' ran the Irish press headline after the British army had fired on two duck-shooters near Silverbridge in S. Armagh, on the night of Monday 27 September. Jim Campbell had an emergency operation and was

critically ill in hospital as a result.

The two men had notified the RUC three hours before leaving, specifying the area they were going to and the time they would take. Just as the men were starting to shoot, a shot was fired and Jim Campbell fell with a bullet wound in his stomach. Next 12 shots were fired in the direction of his companion Tommy Niblock.

'I tried to remove my vest so that I could wave it as a white flag, but the firing was too intense,' said Mr. Niblock. 'Finally, when it stopped, we were surrounded by soldiers and one of them put a rifle to my head and threatened to shoot me'. (Irish Press 29.9.76) The Army said that the incident resulted from a 'failure of internal communication'.

**TWO PEOPLE WERE KILLED BY MILITARY VEHICLES** at the weekend of 2/3 October. They were both electricians, one 45 years old, the other 27.

On average, military vehicles have killed more than 40 persons annually and injured up to 400. These killings are not taken in the casualty figures. Military vehicles are frequently unlighted and travel at very high speed (Letter to Irish Press 6.10.76)

**THREE MORE PEOPLE** were killed by a Saracen armoured car on Sunday 24 October. Mr. and Mrs. Campbell and Mr. Henry McGrann were killed on 24 October when a British Army Saracen crashed into their car. Mrs. McGrann is seriously ill in hospital.

**SOLDIERS HAVE BURNED DOWN FOUR SOCIAL CLUBS** in Belfast recently. One of these was the Michael Sloan working men's club in Ballymurphy, which was burnt on 2 October, two weeks after soldiers had fired live and plastic bullets in there on 19 September, during the Delegation's visit to Belfast.

Eight soldiers have been charged with burning down the Gaelic Athletic Association O'Donnell Club off the Whitecross Road on Tuesday 12 October. The army press desk initially denied that patrols were in the area of the club, and complained that there was 'a deliberate propaganda campaign against the army'.

The other two clubs which were burned were the Catholic Ex-Servicemen's Club in the St. James' area and the St. Lazarus Ambulance Service in South Link.

**8 MONTHS PREGNANT** woman was injured by a plastic bullet in West Belfast on Sunday 10 October.

**5 BLACK WATCH SOLDIERS** were charged on 18 October with planting ammunition on Catholic civilians.

**AN OFFICER HAD ORDERED A PATROL TO OPEN FIRE** on seven unarmed men, paratrooper Chris Hendley told a Belfast appeal court; the officer then ordered paratroopers to say the men had been armed. As a result of Hendley's evidence, Edward McClafferty was freed on 23 October after serving 2 years of an eight year sentence for possessing arms.

One of his companions was shot and another is now a virtual 'cabbage' after being shot in the head by the paratroopers.

The captain in question - whom Hendley described as a 'maniac', has now been promoted to Major in the 3rd Parachute Regiment (Sun 22.10; Irish Press 22.6)

## Where were 'the protectors' when...?

**MRS PATRICIA MULLEN**, a 21-year old Catholic 9 months pregnant with her first baby when she was shot in the back by sectarian assassins as she and her husband were leaving a Gaelic social club at Greencastle on the outskirts of Belfast on Sunday 17 October.

The baby was stillborn two days later, and the heartbroken mother was in a serious condition.

Describing the incident, Mr. Mullen, a 23-year old unemployed labourer, said, 'A car just came flying along, just as we were leaving the Gaelic Club. Someone shouted 'You Fenian Bastards.' The car pulled up. Then I heard shots. I grabbed my wife and threw her to the ground and flung myself on top of her.'

**MR AND MRS DEMPSEY AND THEIR 10 MONTH OLD BABY** were burned to death when their home in the Catholic New Lodge area of Belfast was petrol-bombed on 27th August. 500 angry residents of the area blocked roads for several hours, protesting that the 'security forces' had failed to protect their homes.

**17 YEAR OLD CATHOLIC** PAULINE DOHERTY of Oldpark Avenue, North Belfast, was mind-

**KATHLEEN DOHERTY**, a 23-year old Catholic from Horn Drive in Belfast sustained severe face and head injuries and almost lost her sight after a British soldier fired at her, hitting the windscreen of her car at 1.45am on 29 September.

A number of soldiers had gone round knocking at the doors of houses on the estate and one of them had 'inquired about residents' opinions of the security forces.' All residents voiced the opinion that he was drunk.

When they knocked at the Doherty's house, Kathleen pushed past him and went to her car, probably intending to go to the police station and file a complaint. The soldier followed her and stood some distance in front of it as she started it and turned on the lights. He then fired.

**A 17-YEAR OLD BOY WAS BEATEN** unconscious by an Army patrol in the New Lodge district of Belfast on 24 October.

## 'Protectors of the people'

**A SERVING BRITISH SOLDIER** was charged with possessing explosives including three 5 lb. bags of commercial gelignite, and other bomb-making material, in Upper Townsend Street, Belfast on 4th September. He is Private David Thomas Cinnamon of the Royal Irish Rangers.

**2 FORMER BRITISH SOLDIERS** were among those found guilty in October of bombing Biddy Muligan's Bar in Kilburn High Road, London, on December 20th last year. The bomb, planted in the doorway, had the force of 16 hand grenades, said an explosives expert. The two were Noel Boyd and Samuel Carson, previously in the UDR.

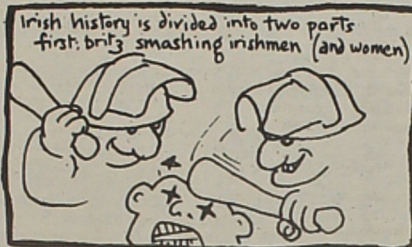
**TWO BRITISH SOLDIERS** were among those who massacred the Miami showband, on July 31st 1975, a Belfast court concluded on 16 October.

James Roderick McDowell, then a staff sergeant, and Thomas Crozier, then lance corporal, were wearing their UDR uniforms when they stopped the van and riddled the members of the showband with bullets.

ing her neighbour's baby when she went to answer the door and was shot in the arm and neck by two youths. She died later in hospital, on 25 September.

**MRS KATHERINE O'CONNOR** a 68-year old Catholic, was stabbed 14 times as she lay in her bed in Victoria Gardens, North Belfast, and her son-in-law FRANK NOLAN (34) was shot dead at point blank range in the bedroom next door. Mr Nolan's wife Kathleen escaped by diving under the bed as the gunmen, who are believed to have broken in through a window at about 1.45 am, fired at her (1 October).

**NOTE:** The security forces recently announced they would no longer give details of a person's religion when they were murdered. Since people in the Six Counties can invariably deduce this from the person's name or address, this move can only be to delude the British public about the true pattern of so-called sectarian killings: the random assassinations, often very brutal, of innocent people are almost invariably perpetrated by loyalist organisations who see ALL Catholics as the 'enemy'. Republican organisations aim their attacks at the state in the form of the British Army and the police. Their stated policy is not to indulge in sectarian killings - only those who are responsible for assassinating Catholics may be legitimate targets.



Readers of the press and watchers of t.v. will recognise the first as keeping the peace, the second as terrorism...

The IRISH NEWSHEET covers just a fraction of the news that has failed to breach the wall of silence erected by the British media.

We recommend readers wherever possible to buy Irish newspapers - both establishment papers such as the Irish Times and the Irish Press and also anti-imperialist papers.

Contributions and suggestions for future issues of the Newsheet are very welcome.

## NEWS IN BRIEF \* NEWS IN BRIEF \* NEWS IN BRIEF \* NEWS IN BRIEF \* NEWS IN BRIEF \* N

WHEN BUILDING WORKERS on the site of a brand-new hospital in Newry discovered that British troops had occupied the ninth floor of the hospital, they downed tools in protest and the troops were forced to withdraw.

The paras established themselves there, in early August, equipped with sleeping-bags, provisions and high-powered binoculars, in order to keep surveillance over local Catholic housing estates.

JIMMY CARTER wore a 'Britain get out of Ireland' badge and called for a united Ireland just prior to his election to President of the USA. Throughout his career he has made pledges of support for a free Ireland.

A BUGGING DEVICE was found in the home of Maureen Cokhoun, a Labour MP who has spoken out on the question of Ireland. The device was found by police investigating a minor break-in. The thieves had removed a bank statement and personal notes on debates, but left almost £1,000 in cash.

THE WINSON GREEN warders were acquitted of beating up Irish prisoners. So who did beat them up? The six men, who were alleged to have committed the Birmingham bombings and are now in various prisons, intend to bring private prosecutions against the police alleging torture to extract 'confessions.' No-one has yet explained what Littlejohn, confessed British agent, was doing in Birmingham that night.

IT'S NOT OVER YET vowed the mother of Leo Norney when an open verdict was reached in September on the killing of her son. Leo Norney was 17 when he was shot by British troops in Belfast last year.



Opposition to the death sentence imposed, after torture and a no-jury trial, on Noel and Marie Murray, is growing all over the world. Leading European intellectuals such as Jean-Paul Sartre and Ernst Bloch have voiced their support for a reprieve, and 15,000 German citizens have signed a petition. Our picture shows the Comité Irlande demonstrating in Paris.

MEMBERS OF THE NATIONAL Council of Irish Americans are becoming stockholders in certain US firms to prevent them from helping to 'perpetuate Britain's apartheid policies in Northern Ireland'. Some US firms have been giving aid to companies like Short Bros & Harland, which employs only 1% Catholics on its staff.

THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE of the Labour Party has set up a group to investigate the situation in the north of Ireland. One of the five members is Joan Maynard MP, who has campaigned for troops withdrawal for several years.

100 ACRES OF COUNTRY in South Armagh were defoliated by bracken this summer by a defoliant which resembles Agent Blue, used by the Americans in Vietnam. 'Army officers privately admitted', reported the Guardian, 'that removal of the thick, shoulder-high bracken could be of enormous advantage to border surveillance.'

REMEMBER THIS, FOLKS... IF YOU BELIEVED ALL YOU READ IN THE PAPERS YOU WOULD EAT ARMY PRESS STATEMENTS FOR DINNER!



## DAY \* THE SOUTH TODAY \*

### SOUTH'S REPRESSION

In September, the Irish Government declared a State of Emergency, in order to bring in the Emergency Powers Bill.

This Bill extends the period of detention without charge to seven days (it was previously two days). Ireland has followed the example of the British Prevention of Terrorism Act.

Also passed was the Criminal Law Bill, which gives the Army the power to search, arrest and detain for six hours.

Penalties for many offences have been vastly increased. The new laws put through by the government of the 26 counties are an attempt to help Britain stifle opposition to the continuing occupation of the 6 counties. The erosion of civil liberties in both Britain and Ireland will not stop until the British occupation ceases.

## PRISONERS \* POLITICAL PRISONERS \* POLITICAL PRISON

### POLITICAL STATUS

Kieran Nugent is still lying naked save for a blanket in the new concrete compound at Long Kesh. He is the first republican to be sentenced since the British Government ended political prisoner status for anyone charged after March 1st.

Kieran, like many Irishmen before him, is refusing to comply with the British Government's attempt to label him a "common criminal". He is prepared to stay naked in solitary confinement, foregoing letters from outside, rather than wear prison clothes or do prison work.

### NOEL JENKINSON

Noel Jenkinson was found dead in his cell in the security unit of Leicester Prison on 9th October. Officially he died of a heart attack, but the Prisoners Aid Committee has stated that it is totally unsatisfied with this verdict. Permission for a second autopsy was refused.

At the time of his death Noel was in the process of taking his case before the European Court. He refused to be broken by beatings and solitary confinement, and over the last months he had begun to publish his ideas on the Irish struggle. In August he declared his support for the Provisionals.

### PRISONERS' FINGERS BROKEN

On 29th September Frank Maguire, Independent MP for Fermanagh-South Tyrone, gave an eye-witness account on radio of the state in which he found a number of Irish prisoners in Albany jail.

They had protested at a fellow prisoner, Brendan Dowd, being kept in solitary, whereupon they were beaten senseless, and had legs, arms, noses and fingers broken.

Amnesty International is to take up the case of one of the victims, Sean Campbell.

### CONTROL UNIT

Another victim of the increasing brutality towards Irish political prisoners in England is Stephen Nordone, who is being held in one of the Special Control Units (which are supposed to have been closed down by the Home Office) in Wakefield jail. He is spending 24 hours a day naked in a silent cell.

## T WHAT COST \* AT WHAT COST \* AT WHAT COST \* AT WH

### 35% IN POVERTY

200,000 children under the age of 16 are being brought up in poverty in 'Northern Ireland', stated a shock report released in August by the Economic Research Unit of the N.I. Housing Executive.

35% of families have weekly incomes of £25 or less.

### UNEMPLOYMENT

Nearly 61,000 people were unemployed in the 6 Counties in September, with the figure rising at the rate of 1,000 a month.

Worst hit are the Catholic ghetto areas, such as Ballymurphy and Andersonstown in Belfast,

and the town of Strabane, where up to 40% of householders are unemployed (official figure).

### THE WAR IN CASH

Between April and October this year the Government has paid out £3 million in compensation for personal injury (including nearly £100,000 to victims of Bloody Sunday, when troops shot dead 14 innocent people) and £30m in compensation for property.

Last year the cost of 'maintaining law and order' in the occupied 6 counties came to more than £193m, not including the cost of pay and food for the army.

## DIARY OF EVENTS

### JUNE

- 9 Noel and Marie Murray sentenced to death in Dublin
- 22 33 people including Dr. David Thornton T.D. fined for attending Provisional Sinn Féin 1916 Commemoration

### JULY

- 3 Four UVF bombs explode in hotels in South of Ireland.
- 4 P.M. Callaghan visits North - reiterates that 'Northern Ireland' will remain part of the U.K.
- 21 British ambassador, C. Ewart-Biggs, killed in landmine explosion in Dublin

### AUGUST

- 8 18,000 protest at ending of political status in Dunville Park, Belfast
- 9 Maire Drumm arrested, later charged with attending "illegal demo" and held for 18 days until released for "lack of evidence"
- 10 Three Maguire children killed by runaway car after British Army shoots driver
- 12 British Army protects Loyalist Apprentice Boys' parade, then beats up Catholic boys in front of TV cameras
- 14 12 year old Majella O'Hare shot dead by British Army in S. Armagh
- 26 Another two British soldiers arrested south of the border

### SEPTEMBER

- 1 Irish Parliament passes resolution declaring State of Emergency
- 2 Strasbourg report published - Britain found guilty
- 10 Ex-Defence Minister, Roy Mason, replaces Merlyn Rees as Minister of State for 'Northern Ireland', Rees goes to Home Office
- 11 Irish Parliament passes Emergency Powers Bill, later referred amid controversy to Supreme Court by President O'Donnell
- 17 60 strong British Labour Movement Delegation arrives in Ireland

### OCTOBER

- 7 British soldier charged with "manslaughter" of Majella O'Hare
- 9 Noel Jenkinson dies in Leicester Jail in disputed circumstances
- 15 8 British soldiers charged with burning social club in Belfast
- 16 Irish Emergency Powers Bill becomes law
- 19 Trial opens of 3 British soldiers charged with planting evidence on Catholic civilians
- 22 Eddie McCafferty found innocent of possessing arms after re-trial called when British soldier admitted he was ordered to lie
- 23 Irish President resigns
- 28 Mr. Maire Drumm murdered by loyalist assassins in her bed at the Mater Hospital, Belfast

For a few hours on the August Bank Holiday the streets of London looked like the streets of Belfast and Derry. The similarity will not have escaped Kenneth Newman, English chief of police in the North. When he took the job, he saw the North as a laboratory situation, he told the Irish Times. He continued, "I did have it very much in mind that British police forces would be faced with similar problems in the years ahead... from certain obvious developments in the demographic areas."

## LONDON SW1 \* LONDON SW1 \* LONDON SW1 \* LONDON SW1

### MARTIAL MASON

Conservative Shadow Ministers privately lobbied for Roy Mason to get the job of Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, according to the Irish Times.

They thought he would defer more to British Army thinking and "adopt a tougher security policy" than Merlyn Rees.

Mason frequently visited the Army in the North when he was Defence Minister, and is reported to have backed their refusal to break the UWC strike in 1974.

The Rev. Ian Paisley welcomed the appointment, as did Airey Neave, Conservative 'Ulster' spokesman.

### SAS FIREMEN

Meanwhile, back at Heathrow, 'Firemen' (NO) to SAS riding shotgun ran a headline on 13th September, after Rees' first attempt to put his Irish war experience to use in his new Home Office job, by dressing SAS men up as firemen, to the protests of the genuine firemen.



## WE MET THE PEACE PEOPLE

Put Arrowsmith, pacifist and sponsor of the Delegation, went with Harry Courcha, another sponsor, to visit the 'peace people' in their Belfast office. She reports:

The Delegation's first contact with the peace people (they emphasise that they are not 'peace women') was not very promising. Delegates phoned them after the army shooting in the Sloan Club and they just slammed the phone down.

Next day Harry Courcha and I spoke to Mairead Corrigan in their office. She gave very wordy answers and did not always answer directly.

However a main point that did eventually emerge was that they think Northern Ireland should remain separate from the south, that the people there should 'solve their own problems' and that it would be 'premature' to withdraw the troops.

She said they condemn all violence, but 'do not have time to go round condemning everything'. She said they had to some extent breached the barriers between the two communities. But the conflicts inherent in

their position came out soon after we left, when the army shot dead little Brian Stewart in Turf Lodge. When the peace people tried to condemn this shooting, the Loyalists immediately said, 'How dare you condemn our army?' Whereupon the peace people declared their support for the army, and made themselves unacceptable to the Catholics.

Although Mairead Corrigan claimed that only individuals (like Lord Longford) and not organisations support them, it is clear from many statements in the press that they are supported by the British Government (which has now lifted the ban on Trafalgar Square for them), the hierarchy of the Catholic Church (Mairead Corrigan was for years a social worker for the Legion of Mary), the Better Life for All Campaign, NICRA, etc.

Altogether she was a bit wishy-washy. Their lack of a positive policy was reflected in the demonstration they held in Liverpool. A comrade who attended it was disenchanted to find it consisted largely of hymns and prayers.

SEAMUS COSTELLO  
Chairman of the Irish  
Republican Socialist Party

The presence of British troops in Ireland is but one manifestation of the imperialist presence and must be seen in the context of the overall relationship between Ireland and Britain.

Some people say that Britain would really like to withdraw from Ireland and that she is only waiting for a suitable opportunity to do so without losing face.

The principal advocates of this particular argument are of course the native capitalist class, whose position of power and influence is guaranteed through the maintenance of the status quo. They promote this idea mostly to confuse and de-escalate the struggle, and thereby secure a return to a position of 'peace with exploitation'.

The fact is that British economic interests in Ireland can only be guaranteed through her continued military and political presence here, and through the maintenance of partition, which has been the instrument through which the working

class in both parts of Ireland has been divided for almost 60 years.

### SOCIALISM

An independent socialist state based on the history, traditions and cultural identity of our own working class would be an inspiration not only to the British and European working classes but to oppressed people everywhere.

Our enemies are of course also conscious of the possible effects of a successful anti-imperialist struggle here, and can be expected to give moral and material support to Britain as an insurance against an upsurge of support for socialism in their own countries.

The existence of support groups abroad, particularly in Britain, are of paramount importance to the success of our struggle. The anti-Vietnam War movement in America succeeded in making the Vietnam War a live issue in domestic American politics, and eventually played a major role in compelling an American withdrawal from Vietnam.

We believe that the Troops Out Movement and the British trade union movement can play a similar role so far as Ireland is concerned. You have the potential to make the Irish struggle a live issue in domestic British politics, and this will ultimately be the key to success or failure in our struggle.



MICHAEL FARRELL

Historian and member of central committee of People's Democracy

I think it's important at this moment in time, when you have a large peace movement claiming a lot of attention in the press, to say a little about the actual causes and origins of the violence.

Let us look first of all at the establishment of the state. The central thing to get clear about the state of Northern Ireland is that it is a counter-revolutionary state; that Northern Ireland arose out of a deliberate attempt to frustrate the Irish National Revolution at the beginning of this century.

All socialists worthy of the term support a concept of national liberation for people suffering from colonial oppression. In this country the majority of the people expressed their support for the concept of an independent republic in 1918, and an armed struggle was launched as a result of it.

Northern Ireland remains as part of the UK because British troops and their local allies fought to keep it that way. Partition is a product of an attempt to frustrate a democratic, national revolution. It is a counter-revolutionary creation.

### WORKERS NOT EQUAL

What sort of state is Northern Ireland? It is and always has been a viciously sectarian state.

There are all sorts of solutions canvassed for the situation in Northern Ireland and the one most appealing to socialists is the one of uniting the working class.

Well that ignores a very simple thing: which is that the position of the Protestant and Catholic sections of the working class of Northern Ireland is not equal because the Protestant section of the working class has, on the whole, a privileged position over the Catholic section.

You can see this time and time again in figures. In the last census here in 1971, the figures were: in ship-building and marine engineering 4.8% of those employed were Catholics, in aerospace manufacturing 9.8%, in electrical engineering 12%. In construction and clothing and footwear the figures were 37% and 40.6%. Catholics are one-third of the population.

As you will know, as anyone involved in the working class movement will know, construction, clothing and footwear are low paid, low status occupations, and heavy engineering is well paid.

Now that situation cannot be shirked or evaded.

We believe that the struggle against imperialism cannot wait on a postulated united working class. In fact we believe that the working class is unlikely to be united until the Northern Ireland state is destroyed.

You cannot hold back those who wish to fight imperialism until the more reactionary and backward sections of the working class latch onto political consciousness, it is as simple as that.

I never realised quite how ludicrous and absurd the position on Ireland of 'troops back to barracks' and a Bill of Rights was until I actually went to Ireland.

Because nothing had quite prepared me for those ghastly constructions, the barracks. Whenever I thought of barracks, I thought of something like the Knightsbridge barracks in London. And in fact in Crossmaglen the troops did go back to barracks - they kept a very low profile while we were there. But there was still this awful feeling of oppression which affected all our conversations with everybody in Crossmaglen.

And the Bill of Rights, it's ludicrous. Who is going to enforce it? Roy Mason? The British Army? The Royal Ulster Constabulary? I don't believe it.

Jonathan Hammond, NUJ Book Branch

MATT MERRIGAN  
District Secretary AT&GWU

Inevitably it will have to be accepted that the stalemated political situations in the North can only be broken by the main participant - Britain.

The state of Northern Ireland, historically and politically, is the responsibility of Britain. To the extent that a local Loyalist majority batters on to the continued sovereignty of the Westminster Parliament to seek to restore Protestant Loyalist ascendancy, and so long as Britain offers such a prospect, Protestant Loyalist intransigence will frustrate a settlement that does not cater for their ascendancy yearnings.

What should British strategy be to secure peace and order in Northern Ireland leading to reconciliation, economic and social progress, and a relationship with the people of the Republic and their government?

Britain, in the wake of the Convention debacle, should now in view of Loyalist

There were two ladies with whom I stopped for the night in Belfast. Both of them were middle-aged, and one of them had lost two sons. Obviously she didn't see her sons as terrorists, she sees them as freedom fighters, as patriots, as damn good republicans. And I agree with her.

Sinn Féin did say that in the event of a Protestant backlash, they can now defend the Catholic areas if the British Army gets out. And I think they are right for a very obvious reason - they've been fighting the British Army now for six years. It's a very efficient well-equipped army they've been fighting, probably the best in the world, and they haven't been losing, and, as the Observer said recently, they have more support in the ghetto areas than they ever have had.

Dave Brooks, Middlesex Poly SU

intransigence, declare her intention to work for an orderly thought-out policy of disengagement from Ireland.

This does not mean the immediate withdrawal of troops from Northern Ireland, but could mean that after agreement has been found with all sections of the Irish people - not least the Loyalists in Northern Ireland - steps could be taken to devolve sovereignty. The ultimate step may be the handing over of security to the new political state or entity and the withdrawal of the British Army.

The British TUC and Labour Party, jointly with the Irish TUC and Labour Party, should convene a massive assembly of the people of both islands to prepare for peace, reconciliation and reconstruction and submit a report to both the British and Irish Governments as a first step on the road to formal political discussion between the British Government and all parties, trade unions and community associations in Northern Ireland and then the Republic.

# GET THEM OUT!

# LABOUR MOVEMENT D



DUBLIN – Delegates assemble on the steps of the Mansion House



DUBLIN – The platform of speakers

## THE DELEGATION MET...

PHIL FLYNN, Deputy General Secretary Local Government & Public Service Union, DR. DAVID THORNLEY, Labour Party T.D., JOAN CARMICHAEL, Secretary No. 15 Branch, Workers' Union of Ireland, MATT MERRIGAN, District Secretary, Amalgamated Transport & General Workers Union, SEAMUS COSTELLO, Chairman, Irish Republican Socialist Party, SEAN O'BRAIDAIGH, Public Relations Officer, Sinn Féin - Provisional, KEN QUINN, Workers Union of Ireland, JOHN FINLEY, AT&GWU Senior Shop Steward, Rowntree Mackintosh, ANDY CONNOLLY, Irish Transport & General Workers' Union Shop Steward, Tara Mines, DERMOT WHELAN, Secretary, Dublin Corporation Branch, ICGSU, OLIVER O'SNODAGAIGH, Irish Labour History Group, PAUL GILLESPIE, NUJ, Irish Times, MIRIAM DALY, Murray Defence Committee, JOHN MULCAHY, Editor of 'Hibernia', ANNE SPEED, ITGWU No.2 branch, high-ranking Irish Government CIVIL SERVANTS, including JOHN SWIFT, head of section dealing with Anglo-Irish affairs, and DONAL HAMMILL, PADDY SHORT, Chairman of the Civil Rights Association in Crossmaglen. The meeting in Andersonstown was chaired by an Amalgamated Transport & General Workers' Union Shop Steward, and delegates met representatives of the FALLS TAXI ASSOCIATION, GREEN CROSS, PROVISIONAL ASSOCIATION, WHITE ROCK COMMUNITY ASSOCIATION, COLIN ACTION COMMITTEE, PRISONERS' WELFARE, NEW LODGE HOUSING COMMITTEE, NEW LODGE REDEVELOPMENT ASSOCIATION, BEECHMOUNT RELIEF COMMITTEE, and RELATIVES ACTION COMMITTEE. The following day they met ANDREW BOYD, author & former trade union organiser, SEAMUS MALLON, former SDLP Convention member for South Armagh, FR. BRIAN BRADY, Association for Legal Justice, BILL WEBSTER, Labour & Trade Union Co-ordinating Group, BERNADETTE MCALISKEY, former MP for Down South, FR. DES WILSON, MICHAEL FARRELL, author of 'Northern Ireland - the Orange State', and representatives of: IRISH COMMITTEE FOR A SOCIALIST PROGRAMME, IRISH REPUBLICAN SOCIALIST PARTY, SINN FÉIN - PROVISIONAL, PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY, MOVEMENT FOR A SOCIALIST REPUBLIC, SOCIALIST WORKERS' MOVEMENT, BELFAST SOCIALIST WOMEN'S GROUP, ANDERSONSTOWN PEOPLE'S COOPERATIVE, DERRY WOMEN'S ACTION GROUP, ASSOCIATION FOR LEGAL JUSTICE, LABOUR & TRADE UNION COORDINATING GROUP.

If they can do this to places like Belfast, God knows what they could do to Dagenham or somewhere like that. I would agree to troops staying there if someone could prove one thing to me: that they're keeping the two sides apart, that they've stopped sectarian killings. But I don't believe it. They've never done any good since they were over there. They're keeping up a counter-revolutionary state, and as socialists and trade unionists the only thing you can do is help give them the boot out of it.

EDDIE FENNELL, NORTH LONDON DISTRICT COUNCIL, NUR

*I only hope that within the few short days they were here the Delegation got some impression of what the nationalist people have had to suffer for seven years.*

GREEN CROSS



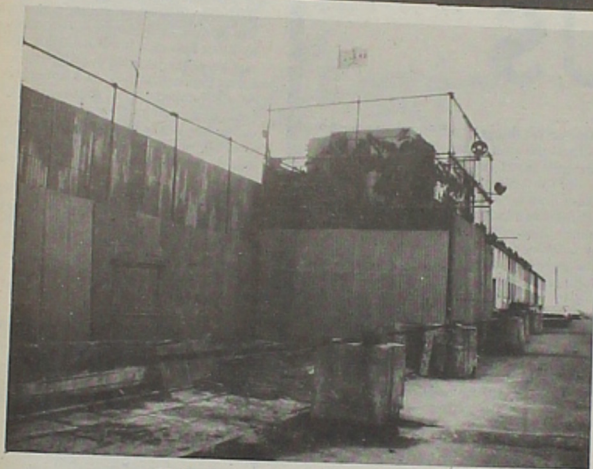
BELFAST – De

It is time we all started looking without prejudice into the whole situation in Ireland. I feel that we do not get the truth from either the newspapers or the T.V. I only wish more people had had the privilege of going on the four day fact-finding tour.

## BELFAST – STREET SCENES.....



# DELEGATION TO IRELAND



CROSSMAGLEN — An Army fort



CROSSMAGLEN — Marie Purser, Crawley Trades Council, meets Paddy Short, Chairman of Irish Civil Rights Association



Delegates arrive

We have a job to do now. We must change the attitude of the official Labour and Trade Union movement so that they can see the need for the removal of British troops from the north of Ireland at the earliest opportunity.

Ordinary working people in Britain agree that the troops should be withdrawn — for the wrong reason, namely, so that the Irish can be left to get on with killing each other. We must build on that and convince the working people of Britain that there are much better reasons why the troops should be withdrawn: for the real problems of Ireland will never be solved whilst British troops continue to occupy that country.

It is going to be an uphill struggle to convince the movement of this. For it is not just right-wing Labourites who see that their capitalist friends will be the losers by a British withdrawal. There are also many trade unionists and others who believe that socialist principles should be inculcated prior to withdrawal of troops.

We must point out to them that nowhere has socialism been achieved WITHOUT the complete withdrawal of occupying forces. So why should we expect Ireland to be different?

BERT ELLICOTT  
TAMESIDE TRADES COUNCIL

*If Callaghan says, 'Sort it out for yourselves', fair enough. But we can not sort it out while there is a British standing army in this country. They say we should take the gun out of Irish politics. I agree. But if Britain wants the gun out of Irish politics, let them start with themselves, with their standing army of 15,000 guns.*

*There are those who say that troops out now would pose problems. The only problem is one of mathematics - how to get 15,000 British soldiers on one ferry.*

BERNADETTE MCALISKEY

*It was an experience to hear an English voice which didn't carry the message of repression.*

BALLYMURPHY RELIEF COMMITTEE

Since going to Ireland with the Delegation, I NOW SAY, Negotiate to get the troops out of Ireland, and give the Irish people their right to self-determination and a united Ireland.

MARIE PURSER  
CRAWLEY TRADES COUNCIL



# THEY WON'T MOVE US

I was deeply impressed by the resilience of the population in Andersonstown in Belfast. Their cheerfulness in the presence of so much provocation, poverty and unemployment was exemplified by their hospitality to us, the English delegates.

You have to recall that we were representatives of the 'Brits' who are unjustly occupying their country. But they did not let this influence their sense of hospitality, not only wining and dining us in the social club, but also making us welcome in their homes.

**Bert Ellicott, Tameside Trades Council**

In Andersonstown I was impressed by the closeness and unity of the people, and by their operation of the Falls Road Taxi Service, the people's co-op and the Green Cross welfare system. I feel that this spirit can never be defeated.

**Chris Mullins, POEU Horsham**

The speakers in Dublin impressed me. I am not really conversant with Irish politics, but Sean O'Brady from the Sinn Féin (Provisional) seemed to have a really good concrete plan for the future of all the people of Ireland, not just one section. His attitude to all sides was very fair.

**Marie Purser, Crawley Trades Council**

I was astonished by the level of control people had over the areas in which they live.

I spoke to a representative of the New Lodge Road Housing Committee, which was set up to combat discrimination in the allocation of houses, and to ensure that empty houses go to the people in most need (not to the strongest).

When a house falls vacant, the committee - 7 people, including 5 women, chosen from 50 street delegates - takes over the house. They prevent vandalism, and decorate the house and allocate to the family in most need.

I was also impressed to hear that people in the Broadway area had started their own nursery.

**Kate Truscott, COHSE Charing Cross**

In the Ardoyne area there was a beautiful large (twice life size) portrait of James Connolly painted in pastel shades on a gable wall. The lowest part of the portrait was six feet above pavement level.

Details of cooperative house rebuilding schemes were explained to me, and I saw blocks of houses that were rebuilt under these schemes. They far outshone surrounding houses both in looks and in the fact that they were fitted with bathrooms.

**John O'Brien, Ealing AUEW**

One of the things which struck me most of all was the grassroots resistance of people in those situations.

In the Ardoyne there are houses that have been burnt down once, they have been burnt down twice. These people are constantly being raided by British troops. Yet you look at their houses - their houses have been painted over and over again to cover up the bullet holes, the burn marks and so on.

And the thing we sensed both in the north and in the south was the determination to look for ways to build a new community - like the workers' cooperatives and the Busy Bee complex which was a community-run shopping centre.

The more delegations of this kind the better. And I would really like to see a return delegation so that Irish people can come over and talk to workers in England.

**Ken Montague, Barnet Trades Council**

The spirit of the Belfast people was incredible. In spite of humiliation, harassment, internment, torture, the smashing up of their houses, the destruction of their everyday lives, the words on almost all lips were 'we will never give up'. These people will not be beaten by repression.

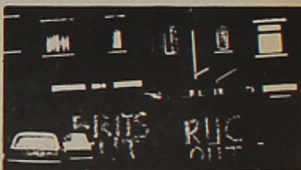
**Dave Ward, Crawley Trades Council**

## FALLS TAXI ASSOCIATION

We started in 1971. At that period there was absolutely no transport at all in this area, and about 40 of us, ordinary taximen some of whom had been forced from Loyalist areas at gunpoint - started working the Falls Road.

We were approached by several tenants associations and eventually arranged a system of rides for 1/- and 2/-. Our ranks rose to about 200 cars, but it was a bit of a rat-race so all the taximen got together and formed an association. And from there we have developed into an organisation of 350 taxis giving employment to 500 drivers. According to the press we read from all over the world, we have developed into one of the best transport systems in the world.

The authorities are very much against the FTA. The Belfast Corporation have stated that last year they lost £1 million and they blame this on the FTA. The British Army keep arresting our drivers, harassing them and setting up road blocks - but they won't move us.



Belfast graffiti

Colin Action Committee Representative

I was pleased to get the opportunity to put across the realities of our situation. I was also glad to explain the role of women as I see it within the context of the struggle.

## GREEN CROSS

The Green Cross is an organisation which looks after the families of political prisoners from Belfast.

There used to be different organisations doing this, but in 1973 they all got together, discussed the problems and decided to form one organisation which became a registered charity.

The legal brains drew up a constitution which allowed us to cater for all the Irish political prisoners. Local committees and the central committee are voted in each year.

From November 1973 to the present day the Green Cross has paid out to the prisoners and their dependants about £1.5 million, which has been collected by door to door collections and various fund-raising events all in our local areas.

**JOAN CARMICHAEL**  
Secretary of No.15 Branch  
Workers Union of Ireland

The question for trade unionists is this - and to my mind it's a very simple question - whether or not the six county state is uniting or dividing the working class.

Now I've never heard anyone make any claim that the existence of the six county state helps in any way towards workers' unity.

Everybody acknowledges that this set-up is in fact the cause of the divisions that exist among the working people.

The problem is that some people try to ignore this fact and put forward solutions, or supposed solutions, inside the framework of the six county state as if partition did not exist or as if it was irrelevant.

Now I firmly believe, and I feel it should be the way that trade unionists should work, that if something is clearly wrong then that's what goes first. It has to go before anything else.

It is absolutely pointless to say now, after 50 years of partition and 7 years of bloody war - which it is in the six counties - that the people should now get together, unite with each other, on the existing basis, before we attempt to unite the country.



Small children spot an approaching patrol

**SEAN O'BRADY**  
Provisional Sinn Féin

Because the Provisional Republican Movement is the only real threat to the status quo in Ireland today, those with a vested interest in the status quo go out of their way to deprive us of access to the media, and to misconstrue what we stand for.

We regard the conflict in Ireland today as something that didn't originate yesterday or the day before. The conflict must be put in its historical perspective: it has its roots in the colonial relationship between these two islands.

The Republican point of view has been down through the years essentially separatist and socialist - the beliefs of Pearse and Connolly that the Irish people must control their own affairs and must institute in their country a system which will guarantee the rights, liberties and welfare of all the people.

## TWO COLONIES

The British answer to the Irish independence struggle in 1921 was to impose the Government

of Ireland Act, dividing the country into two states, drawing an arbitrary border which had no basis in history, geography or otherwise, and creating in Ireland a Protestant state in the north and a Catholic state in the south.

The republican point of view since 1921 has been that we should not accept the jurisdiction of either of the two states of Ireland. We regard them as an old-style colony in the north and a new-style neo-colony in the south.

We do not accept either of these two states, which divide the working people and exploit them. We seek to replace them both with a new system of government in which Church and State will be separated, in which each of the four provinces would have a parliament of its own, a democratic assembly which would have much more power than the old Stormont ever had, and through which the people will be able to identify with their own provinces, unlike the over-bureaucratic type of administration which we have from Westminster, Dublin and Belfast.

We believe that our proposals for a completely new system of government would guarantee the rights of all, that it would ensure for the people of Ulster that their interests and their rights would be looked after.

We also have our social and economic programme for the type of society that we would like to see organised in the new Ireland, in which we feel the banking system should be nationalised, in which the mineral resources, and all the major industries would be nationalised, in which worker-cooperatives would be encouraged on a wide scale in agriculture, industry, fishing, distribution and so on.

## NOT NEGOTIABLE

I would like to add that we believe that as the struggle for a free Ireland goes on it is necessary to have a political movement among the people, particularly in the north, but also in the south - to develop the various street committees, local committees, local cooperatives and so on.

This work we believe must go on complementary to the struggle for a new Ireland, it's an essential part of it.

The fundamental basis from which we will not move is the right of all the Irish people to self-determination. We want from the British Government a phased and orderly withdrawal over a period of time. As far as we are concerned there is one thing which is not negotiable, and that one thing is the recognition of the right to sovereignty of all the Irish people.

# Army's gun law in Belfast

What is life like for the people of nationalist Belfast? We describe one incident that is part of their 'normal life' - and which was only unusual because the aftermath was witnessed by members of the British labour movement.

The Michael Sloan working men's club is a modest concrete building on an area of wasteland on the Ballymurphy housing estate. The people of the area built it themselves because there was nowhere else for people to go in the evening.

Ballymurphy is a slum estate, a depressing place despite the green hills stretching behind it. Miles from the industrial heartland of Belfast, it has over 50% unemployment. The grey jerry-built houses are badly overcrowded, many children have no toys, and there are virtually no social amenities.

The Michael Sloan club is a place where everyone goes, irrespective of the political group they belong to, and a place where 'old aged pensioners can get their cheap drink every night of the week', as one man put it.

## SHOT THE DOG

The people of Ballymurphy are used to being harassed by the Army. Raids, the wrecking of houses and intimidation of children are familiar features of life to them.

So it was no surprise to them when on Sunday 19th September 10.45 p.m. a twelve-man British Army patrol entered their social club in full combat gear - complete with rifles - and shouldered their way around asking people their names and addresses.

As Mr. Murphy, a man of about 60, put it: "A twelve-man patrol come in here with this sergeant - he's come in here on two occasions with a twelve-man patrol, with the intentions of causing trouble - and tonight they come in here and done the usual thing."

Having paraded around for half-an-hour, and succeeded in building up the tension by telling people to 'F... off' and so on, the soldiers started firing plastic bullets inside the confined and crowded club.

Plastic bullets are a lethal weapon, six inches by one of white plastic cylinder. Three weeks later little Brian Stewart of Turf Lodge had his skull smashed by a plastic bullet, and died.

When the soldiers had fired about five rounds of plastic bullets, they started firing live rounds. They deliberately shot dead an Alsatian dog, which was sleeping by the piano.

## BLOOD

When news of what had happened came through to the club in Andersonstown where members of the Labour Movement Delegation were enjoying a similar social evening, a party of delegates immediately went up to Ballymurphy. One of them wrote later:

"As we entered the club, there was a dog dead with a bullet in its head. In the doorway, sandbags were covered in blood, and inside the club's main room tables were broken and overturned. Spent bullet cases, both plastic and live, were scattered on the floor.

"Looking around the club I saw bullet holes in the walls. If people had been standing up they would have been hit in the head or shoulders.

"Two men had been badly injured, one whose head was gashed by the skull, the other with face and head injuries. One woman who was pregnant was being given medical attention, other younger women were distressed.



plastic bullets and live bullet cases

The delegates immediately went to Fort Taggart to see the officer in charge and find out what the Army's version was.

"The troops on the gate were very hostile when they knew who we were, and forced us to stand over the other side of the road and wait there till called.

"When the officer came out, we asked why lived rounds had been fired. He replied that it was an illegal drinking club - which it was not - and that they went in to see if there was any wanted man or woman in the place.

"We asked him what started the fight. He refused to say any more, and told us to go and get the official press statement."

The radio and press stated next morning that soldiers had faced a hostile crowd when 'investigating' the Michael Sloan Club, and had to use batons (rubber bullets) and killed a dog. One soldier was in hospital with face injuries. 'There were no live rounds fired.' The papers also dutifully repeated this lie.

## EVIDENCE

By the Tuesday morning, and no doubt influenced by the fact that delegates had produced live bullet cases at a press conference the day before, the Army was quietly admitting to having fired live rounds - although trying to justify this by inventing ever more hysterical accounts of what had taken place prior to the shooting.

None of the injured civilians ever reached the columns of the press, because the Army issued a statement that anyone who went to hospital with injuries received in the Sloan Club would be charged.

And the Army went on to wreak revenge for the incident that backfired on them. Not only were there large-scale raids on Ballymurphy estate the morning after the shooting, but two weeks later the club was burned to the ground.

This was just one of four social clubs that have been burned down recently. And in spite of the Army's protestations of innocence, eight soldiers have now been charged with arson in relation to one of them, the Gaelic Athletic Association Club, off the Whitecroft Road, not far from Ballymurphy.

## BLACK AND TANS

The shooting-up and burning of the Michael Sloan Club was just a minor and typical incident in the life of the nationalist population of Belfast - the type of incident which almost never reaches the British newspapers.

When you take into account the murders of Majella O'Hare and Brian Stewart, and the many other atrocities we describe in this paper, it is scarcely surprising that many people like the British Army to the Black and Tans, that infamous British force which rampaged through Ireland during an earlier and as yet unfinished war of independence.

Father Des Wilson is a priest in the same great tradition as those priests in Latin America who have stood on the side of the poor against their oppressors. He spoke to the Delegation the morning after the British Army had fired both plastic and live bullets in the confined space of the Michael Sloan working men's club in Ballymurphy.

I started out a number of years ago with the idea basically that those who looked after our affairs were trustworthy or at least to be negotiated with. But over the years my opinion has changed.

I came to understand that such negotiation was practically impossible, and that what was happening was that police, and later troops, were being used to prevent any negotiation between the people at large and those who control their resources.

And so I came to the complete certainty of the need for the removal of the troops from the area altogether.

The things that I have seen that have been committed by the troops have been quite appalling. Last night's example was only one among many - and I was interested to find that the media had taken completely on trust the statement made by the army as to what happened. That statement is false.

I am being very simple when I say that the poor in the north of Ireland need help and they need protection. They are not getting that protection from the troops and in my opinion they never will.

## NO CIVIL WAR

One of the big questions you will have to face when you go back to Britain is, "Would it not be likely that a civil war would erupt if the troops were withdrawn?"

I would like you to analyse just where exactly that idea comes from. It seems to me that as we try to trace it back, we come again and again to a government source.

In other words there are many people who are saying this today because they've been told this is the way it will be, and this notion does not necessarily rest upon a strict analysis of the situation.

I do not believe that we can afford to keep a military movement here on the grounds that if they are taken away worse things will happen.

I always remember the words of Hilaire Belloc: "Always keep a hold of your fear for catching something worse." We just cannot allow the lives of people to be fooled with in that way.

So please examine that, and please examine also the concept that we cannot live together.

We know perfectly well how to live together, but we have always been prevented by various institutions from so doing.

## IT DOES HAPPEN

What we are fighting also is that people in Britain and the rest of Ireland

are saying, "But the things you say that the troops or the police are doing could not happen - our people are too decent."

We found that looking back the same thing exactly was said by the French people with regard to Algeria.

I want you to go back to Britain and to show people that it has happened, and therefore it can happen again and again.

There is suffering which must be relieved. It cannot be relieved by troops.

It can only be relieved on the basis of an analysis of the situation which is ruthless and which is repeated over and over again to the people, who at first will refuse to listen to you.

But I have enough confidence in the British people to believe that if they are presented with the facts they will make the right decision.

## HORRIFIED BY TROOPS

Last night an incident occurred which I am sure will be indelibly printed on the minds of those of you who saw the aftermath. I would like to see you analysing that incident and making an issue of it when you go back home.

It is not true that only plastic bullets were fired last night. This is what remains of one of the live bullets which was fired in an enclosed space last night, into the walls of the community centre.

All I can say is that I have been horrified by the excesses of those who are supposed to keep the peace.

And I have come to the conclusion that one of their functions is not only to impose a political solution which will be decided in some high place in Westminster, but also to prevent the organisation of poor people so that they themselves can negotiate with those who hold their resources, to prevent them even negotiating with each other.

So not only will the terrible destruction of their organisations and associations prevent the Catholics negotiating with the Protestants, but will prevent Catholics and Protestants negotiating among themselves.

And at the end of the day, the people who are living within a quarter of a mile of where I live are going to have no more say in their affairs than ever they had.

I cannot find that situation tolerable. What I can find is that every day that a military solution is imposed upon people, it becomes more and more difficult for people who have adopted a pacifist policy and philosophy to hold their position.

Don't, for God's sake, allow these poor people to be driven too far.



Father Des Wilson discusses the Sloan Club incident with Marie Purser, Crawley Trades Council



My conditioning as a child in South West Wales was Protestant. Not the sort of Protestantism mind you that was mixed up with ritual marches, drums beating and military aggression in the spirit. Our Welsh Nonconformity was gentle, social and fairly firm in its rules.

We had a small Roman Catholic Church in the town and a convent containing a few nuns. These religious institutions, to us, were places of dark mystery. I think it is true to write that I personally accelerated my pace as I walked past the high wall. Indeed it was only last year (and I am now fifty four) that I quietly stole myself and with humility walked into the mysterious church.

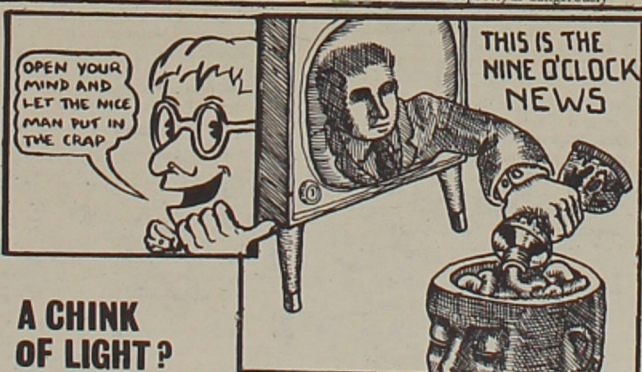
Of course that ancient instinctive and tragic division between Catholic and Protestant has been heightened for me by the conflict in the north-eastern part of Ireland. Today I am remarkably knowledgeable about the hideous misuse of poor old Christianity. And also, in the meantime, I have learnt to easily enjoy the kindness, warmth and generosity of my Roman Catholic friends - particularly on the island of Ireland. And I have learnt to appreciate much of the philosophy: particularly the peace-of-mind benefits of

confession leading to absolution.

### Highly unorthodox

As a British subject, in my attitude towards Ireland, I have become a highly unorthodox person. And yet all I have ever pursued is the historical truth of my country's (Britain's) behaviour towards the Irish people - and the dire result. And as I have learnt in my personal life that confession of my transgressions leads to an improvement in my behaviour, so I believe that *nationally* it is imperative for any hope of peace in north-eastern Ireland, that we must consider the awful truth of our record, apologise for the wrongs that we have perpetrated in the name of Commerce and Imperialism and then do all that we can to right those wrongs.

If by this time readers are feeling that I am writing like a head-master of a junior school addressing a very young pupil, I must remind them that this concept of political confession leading to national absolution and a vow to humbly undo the dreadful wrongs which have been inflicted on the whole of Ireland, is considered by the Establishment in Britain (and in Dublin I sometimes suspect!) as dangerously



### A CHINK OF LIGHT?

Startled viewers of the Frost show on the last Sunday in August found themselves witnessing a fiery discussion between a number of prominent journalists and broadcasters in which the quality of media coverage of Ireland was repeatedly questioned.

The programme was about the use of television, and the issue of censorship was raised by an American producer who had been responsible for screening a controversial film on the Vietnam war while he worked for CBS. When he enquired whether censorship at a high level was responsible for the abysmal British media treatment of Ireland, the placid studio audience sprang to life.

Anna Raeburn said that present coverage is "boring, repetitive and non-informational". She suggested that it was a deliberate "cop-out" because "we are too scared to consider what we are doing there". Joan Bakewell said there should be more programmes giving the historical context of the present situation. Jonathan Dimbleby gave the screw a final turn by revealing to the world that the BBC and the IBA have made a pact "that we shall not hear from what we call the enemy", which ensured that coverage would be one-sided.

Following the programme letters poured into the producer's office massively supporting the journalists' demands. Dimbleby himself received fifty letters.

Let us hope that this programme will prove to be the beginning of a forceful campaign by both people in the media and the general public to pressurise the TV companies and the press into honest and informative reporting of the situation in Ireland.

**BANNED** — Marcel Ophüls' film "A Sense of Loss", perhaps the most sensitive exploration of the situation in the Six Counties yet made, commissioned by the BBC in 1972 and banned by them.

**BANNED** — Kenneth Griffith's film "Hang Out Your Brightest Colours: the Life and Death of Michael Collins", commissioned by ATV three years ago and banned by them.

**BANNED** — Brian Phelan's play "Article 5", based on the relevant section of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights: 'No-one shall be subject to torture or cruel, inhuman treatment or punishment'. Written for the BBC and banned by them.

Kenneth Griffith is one of several TV directors who have felt the full weight of establishment disapproval as a result of making honest films about Britain's role in Ireland.

In 1972 Griffith was commissioned by Sir Lew Grade, head of ATV, to make a historical documentary on whatever subject he wished. Since he was alarmed about what 'his' government and army were doing in Ireland, Griffith chose to make a film about Michael Collins, guerrilla leader against Britain after the 1916 Rising, and through this to communicate the reasons for the present turmoil.

His basic premise was that the British were not the 'peace-keeping force between two Irish factions' as presented in the media - an uncomfortable home truth which led to Sir Lew Grade and then the IBA banning the documentary outright. It still has not been seen on TV, and the overseas rights are the subject of a High Court case this December.

Kenneth Griffith has written this article specially for 'Troops Out'. Although we do not necessarily agree with all his ideas, we are in full agreement on his basic point: that British people should face up to, and act upon, the fact that Britain's ugly record in Ireland is the root cause of Ireland's problems today.

heretical - if not treasonable.

I want not only peace of mind in my personal life but I also want peace of mind as a British citizen. In terms of Ireland every British person is dark with guilt. Ignorance of what we have done - not only to the Irish (generally Catholics) but also how we have used the Scottish Irish (generally Protestants) is no way out. We have, for our own material gain in the past, created a murdering Frankenstein and we cannot wash our hands of the Thing that we have made.

### Callaghan

Monumental ignorance of our British guilt is simply to multiply the bullets that fly. A few months ago I watched on television our new Prime Minister, James Callaghan, walk urbanely through the streets of Belfast, bumbling like some kind uncle that: "Only you Catholics and you Protestants can solve the conflict" - or words to that effect.

My arms went instinctively around my head for protection from the new blows that must be created by such an insensitive ignorant statement. How dare the leader of the country that has caused all of Ireland's Troubles, inform representatives of both groups of victims (Catholics and Protestants) that only they can solve the awful conflict? Is Mr. Callaghan aware that he, in being Prime Minister of Britain, is the personification of the evil that visited Ireland a very long time ago and regrettably in this shambling pathetic ignorance still walks the streets?

I have had the opportunity to meet Mr. Callaghan. He is clearly a nice man, but about Ireland he is an ignorant man - and being Prime Minister of Britain in 1976, that is dangerous.

I have also been privileged to meet Mr. Merlyn Rees when he was "Ulster" Cabinet Secretary. I came away from a talk with him convinced he was a good man, caring deeply about the salvation of all the people of Ireland. And he convinced me that he understood the historical roots of the cruelly ironical conflict. It struck me that Merlyn Rees was aware of and regretted the historical perfidy of Britain. And he has sweated over how he could right that wrong.

But even he, when it comes to the crunch, flinches at our ugly record, and publicly wishes that it should not be uttered. I mean his objection to the European Commission of Human Rights announcement that Britain was guilty of torture in a Belfast detention centre.

Mr. Rees stated: "We regret the Irish Government's persistence in thus raking over the events of five years ago." Please Mr. Rees, understand with me that the cause of the conflict in north-eastern Ireland goes far further back than five years ago, and is even more beastly than the cruelty of a few British servants and that

there will be no hope of a just solution in that tragic corner of Ireland until we British have examined carefully what we deliberately did there to coldly engineer the conflict.

### Cruel act

The only hope of blessed peace on that beautiful island is for the villain (Britain) to confess and confess, loud and clear, and remind the Irish Irish how we have brutalised them for Imperial gain, and no less should we remind the Scottish Irish how we have misused them for the same purpose. Yes! We cannot avoid the fact of the "Plantations". The cruel British act of removing the Catholic Irish from what was Ulster and the cold shipping of hard-pressed Scots people into that territory.

Mr. Rees, not only must we remember and speak out loud about the European Commission's proper judgement, but it will be fatal for hopes of peace if we fail to remember our despicable policy of 300 odd years ago of injecting an alien spirit into Ireland in the hope of destroying the indigenous spirit: or at least of dividing to rule.

But even when we consider the above monstrous historical fact - there is shining hope, indeed the only hope for peace. Both the Bishop of Limerick, Jeremiah Newman, and an anonymous Dublin taxi-driver have said to me how desperately the Irish Irish, dreamers and talkers, drinkers and poets, need those hard-working, practical Scottish Irish of the northeast.

### Michael Collins

I once helped make a film about the life of probably the greatest Irish patriot of them all: Michael Collins. After he, more than anyone else, had compelled the British Army of Occupation to remove the Union Jack from above Dublin Castle, Collins hastened to the northeast to speak to his Protestant brothers and sisters and the man said: "Come and join us in your country!" Please that one day it may come. And the island of Ireland can thrive and prosper.

Britain has long wronged both Irish and Scottish Irish. How ironical that these victims of British greed should be left at each other's throats while Callaghan walks patronisingly among them mumbling "It's up to you - but we remain as referee" or some such sentiment.

And finally I beg my country to avoid censorship or suppression of the established historical facts. True they are hard for us to bear in front of the world because we will be seen to be ugly. But which nation is not ugly? We will not be alone! Where we will be movingly different to the rest will be in our confession and in our inevitable state of absolution.

And I declare that we will thereby have placed our first footstep on the road to proper peace and justice for All of Ireland.

# TORTURE BRITISH STYLE

The European Commission of Human Rights has found that the British Government is guilty of the use of torture and of the administrative practice of ill-treating prisoners arrested under the Special Powers legislation without charge or trial.

This verdict was widely expected, not least by the British Government which has tried every trick in the book to suppress the whole issue.

Television, radio and press have needlessly to say played their part in deliberately trying to play down the verdict. The *Guardian* for instance managed to carry a 1,500 word article without mentioning once what the torture techniques actually were.

The Commission's report revealed some of the excuses put forward by the British Government for the Army's actions, including the absurd "that the Commission should not ignore the frustration felt by the security forces at their inability to adequately protect the citizens" - hardly a reason for the systematic use of torture, brutality and harassment used against thousands of civilians.

However another reason put forward to justify torture deserves a more serious scrutiny:

"that techniques used had important results against terrorists in many parts of the world, including Palestine, Malaya, Kenya, Cyprus, the British Cameroons, British Guyana, Brunei, Aden, Borneo and the Persian Gulf."

## COLONIAL LEGACY

Not long ago the only serious figure in the western world who would stand up publicly to defend the use of torture was Jacques Massu, the French general in Algeria.

Now we have the legal representatives of a British Labour Government standing up to defend torture simply because they think it can achieve certain objectives. The legacy of the continued but covert use of torture techniques by the British Army in the many colonial wars it has fought since 1945 has now come home to roost with a vengeance.

Those many 'little wars' - called 'counter-insurgency campaigns' by the Army, saw the soldiers used with increasing sophistication in attempts to suppress the struggles of the peoples of the British colonies towards independence and self-determination.

In 1957 Britain stood accused before the Council of Europe of 49 specified cases of torture by British troops in Cyprus.

In 1964 the International Red Cross was refused permission to visit Aden to investigate torture allegations against British troops. The Red Cross were grudgingly allowed into Aden the next year but were refused permission to see any political prisoners. In 1966 Amnesty International sent Dr. Salahaddin Rastgeldi, a Swede, to Aden but he was not allowed near the concentration camps nor was he allowed any contact with political prisoners.



British soldier in Malaya holds up head of freedom fighter

But perhaps the most barbaric of Britain's atrocities occurred in Kenya, where at one time over 80,000 black Africans were imprisoned in concentration camps. Duncan McPherson, Assistant Commissioner of the Kenya Police, described them thus:

"I would say that the conditions I found existing in some camps in Kenya were worse, far worse, than anything I experienced in my four and a half years as a prisoner of the Japanese." (Hansard Vol. 607, Col. 310)

Events in Kenya came to a head in early 1959 when a number of political detainees in the Hola Concentration camp were beaten so badly that eleven of them subsequently died from their injuries.

The eyes of the world then turned on Kenya as Britain desperately tried to cover up a colonial war in which 15,000 African "terrorists" were killed as opposed to 68 whites.

In essence the overall strategy is to utilise every aspect of the state structure against the 'enemy', such as the use of the law in a directly political manner - always a feature of the northern state, this tradition has been carried on in the Emergency Provisions Act, which replaced the infamous Special Powers Act.

Other aspects include the use of the media to slavishly copy army press releases and manufacture anti-'enemy' news, and the use of undercover units like the MRF (Military Reaction Force), the SAS (Special Air Service) and even criminal agents like the Littlejohns to achieve military objectives that could not be won openly.

Also, science and technology are utilised to drastically increase the armoury of repressive control techniques from rubber (now plastic) bullets to CS (now CR) gas, from a water cannon which sprays coloured dye to a central computer index system containing information on every house and every person in the 'enemy' area.

## TORTURE IN THE NORTH

It is in the overall context of the operations of the British Army in Ireland and its record from other colonial wars that the 'guilty of torture' verdict should be viewed.

Since 1971, the British Government has cleverly avoided naming the people responsible for carrying out the tortures. It has done this by settling 978 civil actions out of court, to the tune of £450,000. The Irish fortnightly 'Hibernia' was recently prevented on legal advice from naming those responsible. Hibernia did, however, reveal that a number of them have in fact been promoted since 1971.

Why have none of the interrogators, or their masters, either been named or brought to justice?

Why are torture techniques, including sensory deprivation, still taught inside the British armed forces?

Why is torture still continuing in the interrogation centres of the British Army and the RUC in the north of Ireland?

All of the 14 men subjected to the sensory deprivation torture were, when released, studied in depth by a professor of psychiatry at Cork University College. He found in all but one case clear evidence of long-lasting psychological disabilities and suffering, in most cases severe. One victim died (aged 42) of a heart attack, one (aged 29) developed Hodgkin's disease and one needed surgery - one for carcinoma of the skin, and one for suspected Crohn's disease.

## BRITAIN'S IRISH WAR

To the modern 'professional' British Army of today, the campaign it has waged in the north of Ireland for the past seven years has caused fundamental changes of technique, because for the first time a technology was needed for limited war in an advanced industrialised country, coupled with a strategy for applying it.

The British Army in Ireland, which is just as much ideologically motivated as the republican IRA or the loyalist UDA, is operating in accordance with certain theories developed by 'experts' like Kitson and others. Once these theories are understood the confusing situation in Ireland becomes much clearer.

Like the question of political prisoners, it should be seen as yet another application of repressive techniques. Even in their own terms, the Army never saw internment as a method of directly 'defeating terrorism' but rather as part of a policy, along with continual military harassment, aimed at blackmailing the Catholic community into ending their resistance to the Northern Ireland state.

The British Government did not challenge the evidence that the techniques of sensory deprivation were used to torture fourteen men, none of whom were remotely connected with the IRA.

In Malaya, the British Army used to parade the severed heads of its rebellious victims as an example to others. The 14 men subjected to the sensory deprivation torture method - which leaves no physically observable after effects, but invariably produces long-lasting psychological disabilities - were meant to be examples of wrecked human beings to spread fear throughout the Catholic population, but without provoking among the British working class and liberal opinion a corresponding revulsion against the British occupation of Ireland.

## STILL IN USE

The Irish Times (4.9.76) carried a report on how the sensory deprivation torture technique is still taught by the Army at the Brecon Beacon training ground in Wales.



British concentration camp in Cyprus

An Army form was reproduced which asked for serving soldiers to volunteer to undergo interrogation involving hooding, wall standing, the use of noise-making equipment and restricted diet and sleep.

The Army claimed that this is done to make their soldiers immune to this type of treatment - but if they were serious about doing this they would not ask for volunteers, but would order selected units to undergo this treatment. Thus it is obvious that this training in fact takes place to train interrogators to carry out these complex techniques.

So the sensory deprivation torture technique is still standard training in the British armed forces.

Another aspect of the report which seems to have escaped the public eye in Britain is that besides the 14 men subjected to sensory deprivation torture, the Dublin Government presented evidence of 228 incidents of ill-treatment, including both pre- and post-detracture occurrences.

These mainly occurred during interrogations and included instances of electric shocks and drugging, but were mainly instances of straightforward brutality which produced for the victims broken bones, injuries to the genital area and severe bruising and psychological damage.

This type of torture still continues in the north of Ireland today. It continues day in day out in the interrogation centres in the British Army and RUC barracks, which are built like fortresses in the nationalist areas.

The continuation of this type of torture is more than amply documented in the booklets of Fathers Denis Faul and Raymond Murray.

## END THE WAR

The history of colonial-style wars proves over and over again that the colonising power can only remain through out and over repression by the imperial army, and that torture and brutality fit hand in glove into this situation.

The Northern Ireland state has been maintained for fifty years through British force of arms. It is clear that to support the maintenance of this state is therefore to accept the army violence required to ensure its existence.

Torture and other army 'excesses' are only the logical extension of the policy of maintaining the army presence. The war cannot be humanised. Torture can only be ended by withdrawing the troops and ending the war.

## SELECTED READING

- Internment by John McGuffin, Anvil Books 1973
- The Guineapigs by John McGuffin, Penguin 1974
- New Scientist 5th August 1976 - article by Dr. Tim Shallice
- The Question by Henri Alleg, preface by Sartre, John Calder 1958. Describes French use of torture in Algeria.
- Gangrene introduced by Peter Benenson, Calder 1959. French torture in Algeria and British in Kenya.
- The Hooded Men: British Torture in Ireland 1971 by Fr. Denis Faul & Fr. Raymond Murray.

# POLICE TERROR ACT

Over the summer the numbers arrested and detained under the Prevention of Terrorism Act have crept up, reports the *Trade Union Committee Against the Prevention of Terrorism Act*. Since 1974 when the Act came in, 2220 people have been held, of whom only 46 have been charged.

1000 of these people were arrested at home or at work, in the Irish communities of Britain. 1200 were detained at ports and airports, and it is these people that we usually know nothing about till their release: so it is impossible to challenge deportation orders issued to them, and they are simply returned to Ireland without anyone knowing.

Overall, 80 people have been deported under the Act. Police stations are particularly unwilling to give information about these cases, and particularly unwilling to allow these people their rights.

A person served with an exclusion order has a right of appeal within three days, but in most cases no solicitor is allowed to see the person to help them decide what to do. So usually the person is sent to Ireland without anyone, even relatives, having had a visit.

A recent case was **Larry Sillery**, who was sent back despite repeated attempts by the Committee to see him over a period of twelve days.

We have been more successful in organising pickets and solicitors for Irish people held for questioning under the Act. The Committee now has active branches in Manchester and Birmingham, and we have a growing list of affiliations and supporters in London.

We hope to consolidate this support and extend it further into the Irish community through a series of public meetings this winter.

The Act is clearly intended to silence Irish protest in Britain, both by terrorising the Irish community in general and by



being used directly against political activists.

In September, six people were picked up in London under the Act, and one of them was a member of the Trade Union Committee, **Susan O'Halloran**.

Her home was raided by nine policemen and a dog at 6.40 a.m. on September 28th. The police removed files and correspondence relating to the Committee, and took Susan and her husband **Kevin Colfer** to Paddington Green Police Station.

The Committee discovered what had happened the following day, and immediately organised a massive picket of 100 people. Susan was actually released within an hour of the picket beginning, and Kevin was released two days later.

Ena Cunningham, a southern Irish woman working for Brent Council, was also arrested on 28th September. Though a chronic asthmatic, she was detained for five days in a cell with no mattress or blanket, and with a visit from a doctor only after a dangerous delay.

Her twelve-year-old daughter was taken from school by Special Branch detectives and interrogated without her mother's permission. On top of all this, Ena has now lost her job.

## INTERMENT

The main feature of the Act has always been the way it is used to detain large numbers of people who are then released with no charges.

But recent cases have seen the Act also being used to bring charges against people against whom the police have no definite evidence. **Sean Canavan** and **Anthony Cunningham** are both at present on remand charged with 'conspiracy' to cause explosions.

The seven day detention period enables the police to question and disorientate a person and weave a web of connections and insinuations sufficient to create a reason for a broad holding charge, as the play by **CAST** so excellently portrays.

The denial of a solicitor enables the police to extract statements under the threat of more serious charges if they refuse. And the subsequent remand period gives the police time - up to a year - to build up a case through further arrests and charges of other people.

In the end they hope that someone at least of all these people will be found guilty of something.

The 7 day detention coupled with the long remand is a form of internment of Irish people in Britain, based on the same notion of guilty until proved innocent, that has been used in the north of Ireland. The Prevention of Terrorism Act is an essential element in the operation of this internment.

The Trade Union Committee continues to call for all socialists and trade unionists to oppose this repressive law, to oppose the harassment of Irish people, and to oppose police frame-ups and unofficial internment of Irish political activists.

## WS-reviews-revi

### BRINGING IT ALL BACK HOME

The lights go down in a Harlesden Church Hall and bombs explode on the screen at the back of the stage. In chilling tones a woman civil servant enunciates the familiar government position about "protecting the community from terrorism".

A young man is dragged into centre stage and the interrogation begins, alternately hard and soft. One interrogator is a tough graduate of Aden, Cyprus, etc. and the other a more 'honourable' chap just 'doing his duty'.

Their victim is an Irish building worker, a shop steward, who has been politically active on the Irish question and, like 99% of the victims of the Prevention of Terrorism Act, has no connection with bombings. But from the point of view of the hardened interrogator, 'Even if you didn't do it, you would have done it if you could!' From the point of view of the Special Branch, he can provide valuable 'low-level' information about his family and his network of connections in the Irish community.

And from the point of view of the government, his arrest will serve as a general warning to the Irish community not to raise their voices on the question of British involvement in Irish affairs.

**CAST**, the theatre group which produces this play, titled it *The Other Way Round* to describe the way the PTA has brought the Irish war home to Britain with a vengeance.

The play, which lasts 25 minutes, can be highly recommended for showing at meetings both for the way it illustrates the vicious workings of the Act and the way it shows the connection between the British occupation of Ireland and the PTA.

To book the play, contact **CAST** at 11c Cabell St., London NW1, Tel 01-402-6087 between 4.30 and 6.30. You need to book well ahead, have a room which can be at least partially blacked out, and follow the play with a good speaker.

## Books

### SAS TERRORISM

In addition to their best-selling pamphlet on the death of **Maajella O'Hare** at the hands of the British Army in August, **Father Denis Faul** and **Father Raymond Murray** have also recently produced a booklet, 'SAS Terrorism - the Assassin's Glove' and a leaflet, 'Repression of the Catholic Minority in Northern Ireland'.

The 'assassin's glove' refers to the steel-lined gauntlets worn by the SAS. Fathers Faul and Murray show that some of the activities of the SAS are contrary to the Hague Regulations and the Geneva Convention.

"These facts," they write, "remove them from the group classified as soldiers, and into the group classified as terrorists, or as Mr. Rees would call them criminal gangsters."

Their leaflet gives particulars of nine cases of army brutality, mostly against innocent young people, and the other case cited - "harassment of priests by long hold-ups at road blocks and illegal questioning" - may surprise many.

The carefully documented evidence of these two priests shows that the minority in the Six Counties is suffering repression today that is as if anything more severe than that suffered by the entire Irish people at the hands of the Black and Tans between 1919 - 1921. And not one soldier or policeman has been jailed for his criminal actions.

### BEST-SELLER

"The British Press coverage of Northern Ireland is so goddam' one-sided the British public can't get the picture of both sides," **Leon O'Leary**, author of the new best-seller 'Trinity', told a Daily Express journalist (8th October).

"The coverage just doesn't compare with the objective reporting in America of the Vietnam war, which in the end forced us to get out of that war."

"The British troops in Ulster have sided totally with the Protestants and left the Catholics defenceless. Can you wonder that the IRA which in 1968 was totally dormant, is now organised in every ghetto?"

We haven't read the book yet, but the Daily Express man gives it a good plug when he writes: "Indeed, the innocent reader must conclude we are the source of all Ireland's troubles - past and present."

If you or anyone you know are picked up under the Prevention of Terrorism Act, phone **RELEASE** on 01-603-8654 for immediate legal advice and support from the Trade Union Committee Against the PTA.



# The Troops Out Movement at the Labour Party Conference

**"British people should look at Ireland in the same way as at Kenya. Only then can there be the beginnings of a solution."**

Tom Litterick was leading off the very successful T.O.M. fringe meeting at the Labour Party Conference at Blackpool in September. He went on to describe north-eastern Ireland as the "flag-end of Empire", and denounced the effect of British imperialism on the British working class, citing the racism in his own constituency.

## PEACE MOVEMENT

Joan Maynard told the meeting that the British ruling class was using the army to underpin the Northern Ireland state.

She said she felt that the aims of the peace movement and the 'Better Life for All' campaign could not be realized because of their lack of a political policy.

She also revealed that she had evidence that torture still persists, and promised to raise this in Parliament.

She concluded, "I do believe we ought to set a date for British withdrawal and call a conference of labour and trade union movements in Britain and Ireland."

## BERNADETTE

Bernadette McAliskey received cheers and enthusiastic applause as she confidently dispelled the propaganda myth that the British army keeps the peace.

"If Britain seriously wants the gun out of Irish politics, they should start with the removal of 15,000 British soldiers."

When asked if she condemned IRA violence, Bernadette replied that she was not going to apologise for Irish violence.

"Britain has taught even the 10-year-old on the Falls that the only sound she is not deaf to is the sound of the gun."

She demanded 'Troops Out Now' as did Mike Davies, whose C.L.P. resolution to the Conference had made the same demand in support of self-determination for the Irish people.

## BULLETS

Mike Knowles, secretary of Hackney Trades Council, gave an account of the Labour Movement Delegation's visit to Ireland.

Paddy Prendiville, in the chair, supplemented this, producing live bullet cases to show how the media had completely distorted an incident during the delegation's visit.

The army had fired live rounds in the confined space of a Ballymurphy working men's club, but the press and radio had said no live rounds had been fired.

Another speaker, and ex-soldier who had been in Derry during the UWC strike, criticized the way the press covers up the connection between the loyalist paramilitary UVF and the National Front.

All in all this meeting, attended by over 200 people despite an almighty thunderstorm, was a resounding success. We hope that all those who attended will take back the demand that Britain get out of Ireland to their delegating bodies.

## ... AND AT CONFERENCE...

"It was upsetting to listen to the debates at the Labour Conference. Not all of them were as obscenely ignorant as that about Irish affairs but the standard was at best mediocre."

"It is right to record that the Labour Conference voted against the proposition that Ireland should be independent and socialist."

"Had the talk been about some far-off Asian land, doubtless the calls for independence and socialism would raise the roof."

Priontas MacAonghusa  
Sunday Press 10.10.76

## THE LABOUR PARTY in 1920

Delegates at this year's Labour Party Conference, who horrified Irish journalists by their ignorance of Irish affairs, would have done well to ponder a report submitted by seven of its prominent members back in 1920.

This report, available to all Labour Party members today at their Transport House library, was entitled the 'Parliamentary Labour Party Commission of Inquiry into the present conditions in Ireland'.

The inquiry was headed by the Right Hon. William Adamson MP, assisted by the Rt. Hon. J.R. Clynes MP and five others, and this group visited Dublin, Thurles, Tipperary, Cork, Limerick and Belfast.

Their brief was 'to obtain the fullest information regarding the present methods of the British Government in Ireland, and to ascertain the opinions of representative Irishmen and representative organisations, as influenced by events since the usurpation of the Home Rule Act 1914, on the question of the Government of Ireland'.

Quite a mouthful, but some of the inquiry's findings are interesting. For one thing, they put forward the 'definite conclusion' that 'Partition is no remedy, if only for the reason that Ireland is an economic entity'.

The report continues: 'The Labour Party is committed to the principle of self-determination. The acceptance of this principle implies the right of the Irish people to determine their own future, and this principle should be acknowledged by the British Government in the case of Ireland.'

Perhaps some faithful aide in the Northern Ireland Office could bring this to the attention of their new (Labour Party) boss, Mr. Roy Mason.

# THE NEEDS OF THE TROOPS OUT MOVEMENT - YOU

To get across to British people the true facts about what is happening in Ireland, the TROOPS OUT MOVEMENT needs every available person to help. These are some of the things that T.O.M. branches are organising at present:

- \* Report-back meetings for members of the Labour Movement Delegation to Ireland
- \* Sending speakers to labour movement and community organisations
- \* Film-shows of, for example, Marcel Ophuls' 'A Sense of Loss', and activities against media censorship of the Irish question
- \* Public meetings on the role of the army in Ireland, etc.
- \* Educational meetings, sales of 'Troops Out' and leaflets of public places
- \* Activities against army recruitment, especially in areas of particularly high unemployment
- \* Fund-raising activities - PLEASE SEND A DONATION IF YOU CAN
- \* Assisting local branches of the Trade Union Committee Against the Prevention of Terrorism Act, and the Murray Defence Committee

For further information about the TROOPS OUT MOVEMENT and what you can do to help, please write in to T.O.M., 1 North End Road, London W.14.

T.O.M. PUBLICATIONS, POSTERS & BADGES are available from T.O.M., 1 North End Road, London, W.14.

'Troops Out', journal of the T.O.M. - 14 for £1 plus 40p postage

Copies of 'Troops Out No. 1' are still available

## ALTERNATIVE WHITE PAPER ON IRELAND

Troops Out Movement 15p



'The Alternative White Paper on Ireland', straightforward outline of the present situation - 15p each or 10 for £1

'Build the Troops Out Movement', basic questions about Ireland & the answers, plus outline of TOM - 5p each or 30 for £1

Irish Citizen Army commemorative poster for 60th anniversary of the Easter Rising. Giant green, white & orange silkscreen - £1 plus 10p postage, proceeds to Labour Movement Delegation to Ireland

All publications must be paid for in advance and prices do not include postage.

A new SLIDE-SHOW is now available which explains the 'Irish question' in a vivid and interesting way. You can buy a set of 80 numbered slides for £12 plus postage, together with the script which is designed to be adaptable to suit your requirements. You can also hire the slide-show and script for £1.50. We will supply a speaker if required.

## Troops Out Now!



Also highly recommended:

'Irish Prisoner' available from the Prisoners Aid Committee, c/o 142 Drummond Street, London NW1. 'Irish Prisoner No. 2' will be available from PAC shortly, cost 30p plus 12p postage.

'The New Technology of Repression', available from BSSRS, 9 Portland St., London W1.

# Which way to peace?



The new peace movement is seen by many as the most hopeful sign in the north of Ireland for eight years. After all the sufferings of war, the idea of Protestant and Catholic people joining hands in peace seems to make so much sense.

That is why so many British people will support the peace rallies in this country, believing that they will contribute to a better future for the people of Ireland.

But wanting peace and achieving it are two different things. The question that has to be asked is, *By what practical means can Ireland find peace?*

The peace movement has a simple answer: if enough people hope and pray for peace, it will come. They believe the violence is caused by 'extremists' who can be isolated and rooted out of the community.

We in the Troops Out Movement do not share these views. We have been campaigning for three years now for a solution that will realistically set Ireland on the road to peace.

## ROOTS OF WAR

To achieve the peace, you have first to understand the war. And the recent trouble cannot be naively put down to a few 'extremists'.

Has there ever been real peace in the north of Ireland? Why for instance did the police always carry arms? Why has there always been internment without trial? Why were the electoral boundaries rigged?

Why? Because the state of Northern Ireland has always been in a condition of conflict.

It can never be at permanent peace because it is a state set up artificially and solely along the lines of repression and discrimination.

It was set up along these lines in 1921 because this was the only way the British rulers could keep a foothold in Ireland.

It is a state founded on the principle of making Catholic people second class in jobs, housing, political freedoms, everything.

The effect was to turn Protestant workers against Catholic workers, in return for a few crumbs from the master's table. It's called divide and rule.

Every attempt to reform this state was met with vicious repression. The civil rights movement in the late sixties was met by a baton-wielding police force, bans on the right to march, and violent attacks and house-burnings by Loyalist mobs.

The Sunday Times journalists concluded in their book, 'Ulster', that 'dismantle the apparatus of protestant ascendancy, and you have destroyed Northern Ireland's only justification for being a state on its own.'

As has been repeatedly shown, the artificial Protestant 'majority' will never agree to this.

## COLONY

'Northern Ireland' is still a British colony. There have always been British troops there - in the background. As everyone knows, massive reinforcements were sent in 1969. Why?

James Callaghan tells us in his book that they went in because the RUC - the local police force which is almost entirely composed of Protestants - informed him that they could no longer keep the Catholics under control, and 'law and order' was threatened.

## TORTURE

If the troops had not intervened in 1969, the Northern Ireland state would have tumbled like a house of cards, and all its repressive and undemocratic structures with it.

Instead the troops came in and did the job the Loyalists have done for so long - 'keeping the croppies down'.

Is it any wonder there is no peace? If you were denied second class citizen, if you were denied decent houses and jobs and political freedoms, if on top of that troops came in to intern you, harass you, shoot your children, torture you, wouldn't you struggle, violently if need be?

Is it any wonder the violence has escalated since the troops went in in 1969?

## TOWARDS A LASTING PEACE?

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

Edited text of leaflet distributed by Merseyside T.O.M. at Liverpool peace rally.

### CYPRIOI QUESTION

*In February 1956, in Famagusta, British troops opened fire on a demonstration of school children. A shot from a Sten gun killed Petrakis Yiallouris.*

In Famagusta, one February morning  
The market place and the streets were full  
When crowds of children marched protesting  
That General Harding had closed their school:  
Then the British Army went into action  
With baton charges and tear gas drill  
And the children's stones were met with bullets  
For the troops had orders to 'shoot to kill'.

Ah, British mother, had you a boy there?  
No blame to him for the evil done  
Or that a sorrowing Cypriot couple  
Lost that day a beloved son  
When at eighteen years, in the cause of freedom  
Petrakis Yiallouris met his eclipse  
Shot through the heart by a conscript soldier,  
'Cyprus, Cyprus!' upon his lips.

When the dockers heard it, they struck in anger  
And our shops were closed and our streets were still  
And we drew around us our little children  
Your troops had orders to 'shoot to kill';  
But they feared Petrakis more dead than living  
And made us bury him out of sight  
Fifty miles from the scene of the murder  
In lashing rain and by lantern light.

Scotland's hero, brave William Wallace  
They slew for the love he bore his land  
And they shot James Connolly as he was dying  
And made a mighty crown of the felon's brand;  
They make the widow, they make the orphan,  
They shoot the children - it's come to this:  
But ah, British mother, had they a quarrel  
Your conscript laddie and our Petrakis?

Helen Fullerton - 1956



Students demonstrating with the Greek flag at their head

### MAJELLA O'HARE

*On an August morn of '76  
The sun shone bright and gay,  
We planned how best to spend the days  
On the beach at Gyles Quay.*

*As we skipped along towards the Church  
Our little sins to tell,  
A shot rang out from a British gun,  
To the ground Majella fell.*

*The little children screamed in fright,  
Her father ran in haste,  
But the colour faded from her cheeks  
And the blood poured from her waist.*

*The 'heli' came and carried her  
High into the sky,  
All I could do was watch and cry:  
'Why, dear God, why?'*

*A flower-decked altar marks the spot  
Along the road today  
Where her broken-hearted parents  
Brothers and sisters kneel to pray.*

*They pray to God to give them strength  
To bear their heavy cross  
And keep alive within their hearts  
The loving girl they lost.*

Caroline Murphy (14 years)



*On the 14th August 1976, in County Armagh, a British soldier opened fire on a group of schoolchildren going to Confession. 12 year old Majella O'Hare was killed.*