

TROOPS OUT OF IRELAND

TROOPS OUT
NOW

SELF
DETERMINATION
FOR THE
IRISH PEOPLE
AS A WHOLE

Paper of the Troops Out Movement 30p

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Fascists: Paisley's Allies

Photo: David Hoffman



Unionists marching through London on November 17th. They have a veto over any progress in N. Ireland, but their only grassroots support in England are the National Front.

ULSTERISATION: BRITISH STRATEGY REVEALED
TRIALS, PRISONS & STRIP SEARCHES
SUMMIT – NO BRITISH CONCESSIONS
LONDON IRISH STAND AGAINST RACISM

POPULATION CHANGES
UNIONIST PARTIES & POLICIES
PLASTIC BULLET
MANUFACTURERS EMBARRASSED

SUMMIT IS THE PITS

The much publicised Anglo-Irish summit, with its hastily changed venue from Dublin to Chequers and its massive security operation, came and went with nothing new emerging.

As outlined in last month's *Troops Out*, FitzGerald had little bargaining power and his comment that the talks were 'extremely down to earth' indicate that he received from Thatcher a lecture of no compromise on the Northern Ireland issue. Any hopes that there might be a positive response to the New Ireland Forum report were soon dashed. Thatcher, in rejecting the three models outlined for a New Ireland, a Unitary State, Federal/Confederal State and Joint Authority, said 'We want a political framework that will give us stability in Northern Ireland as part of the UK': a re-affirmation of the Unionist veto.

In the weeks leading up to the summit a concerted effort by the establishment press, and one paper in particular, left few in doubt as to what Thatcher wanted from the talks. John Downey, who according to the *Sunday Times* was wanted in England for 'terrorist' offences, was pictured walking free in Ireland and the more recent revelations concerning Evelyn Glenholmes, also allegedly wanted for similar crimes in England, were intended to embarrass the Irish government. The aims were clear. Firstly to create the impression among people in Britain that Ireland had become a haven for 'terrorists' wanted in this country and secondly to remind FitzGerald of Thatcher's eagerness that Dublin should co-operate more on the thorny issue of extradition.

A further reappraisal of Ireland's constitutional ban on political extradition would give Thatcher's 'security and political framework' a boost. The swift extradition of Dominic McGlinchey to Northern Ireland on March 17th indicated that Dublin was happy to reinterpret what was considered a political act. However it may be one thing for Dublin to extradite to the North of Ireland, but quite another to extradite into Britain.

The statement by Thatcher that security 'improvements' and political progress in Northern Ireland will be more closely linked can only mean one thing to the Nationalist population - a continuation of the Ulsterisation strategy which means more repression at the hands of the police and army. Progress indeed!



From a British viewpoint press headlines like *Ulster Summit Sets Agenda for Initiative* and *New Route to Ulster Progress* hide the fact that this summit produced nothing new, while the Irish view was aptly described by the leader of the Fianna Fail party, Haughey, as 'depressing and entirely negative'.

On the Wednesday after the summit, Douglas Hurd reiterated Britain's role in the North. At a press conference at Stormont (home of the old Unionist Parliament of N. Ireland), he said that the Dublin government had absolutely no executive role to play in the North, but expected it to 'cooperate': 'Such cooperation is entirely compatible with the authority of the United Kingdom government and with the constitutional guarantees'. He went on to say 'It is not acceptable to us that the authority, the executive authority, of the Irish Republic should be exercised in the province'. Hurd also explicitly ruled out any new initiative from the British government for the North.

Hurd's and Thatcher's statements after the Summit provoked a storm of protest in Ireland. The deputy prime minister (Tanaiste), Dick Spring of the Labour Party, issued an official statement that 'It is astonishing and unacceptable that Mr Hurd would refer selectively to some of the issues raised by the British government in the course of a confidential meeting... I am obliged to point out that the Irish government made it clear that it could not and would not accept the limited ideas described by Mr Hurd as providing an adequate means of ending the problems of alienation of a large section of the nationalist community of Northern Ireland'.

The Troops Out Movement

The Troops Out Movement is a movement in England, Scotland and Wales made up of people who believe that the cause of the 'troubles' in the north of Ireland is the continuing British presence there, both military and political. We believe that British troops are in Ireland not as a peacekeeping force, but in order to maintain British rule, and that their presence is the most serious obstacle to any progress towards peace. For over 15 years the troops have been occupying a part of Ireland, coercing and oppressing the nationalist people, maintaining the division of Ireland and ensuring that its people cannot unite to determine their own future.



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

TROOPS OUT NOW

SELF-DETERMINATION FOR THE IRISH PEOPLE AS A WHOLE

TROOPS OUT

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

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

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Photo AP/RN

End Strip Searches!

Several hundred people demonstrated outside Armagh Jail on November 10th. They came from North and South of the border to condemn two years of strip searching in that prison, a policy that is still being practised even though it has been conclusively proved that it is not justified on security grounds.

The women prisoners could hear the demonstration (despite the authorities turning up the generator to try to drown out the rally) and hung the Irish tricolour made out of strips of material from a window.

The demonstration was organised by the Stop the Strip Search Campaign in Belfast. Also in November the Belfast Trades Council – not a republican organisation by any stretch of the imagination – condemned strip searching and called for it to be stopped. Only two members voted against the motion.

Labour MP Jo Richardson visited prisoners in Armagh in November. She described the strip searching as a 'kind of torture' and said she would urge the government to end 'this humiliating, ridiculous and quite unnecessary procedure'.

In Britain the London Armagh Group is campaigning to end the strip searches. They urge all interested organisations to affiliate to their campaign and contact them at 52-54 Featherstone St, London EC1.

But Names Will Never Hurt Me?

On October 21st the *Sunday Times* told how it had located the man who 'tops the Yard's most-wanted list'. The front page story named him as John Downey from Ballyshannon, Co. Donegal, and indicated that an extradition order would be sought to bring him to London to face trial for the Hyde Park bombing of July 1982. The story relied heavily on sources in Whitehall and Scotland Yard.

Downey's name was first linked with this incident in May 1983, less than two weeks before the General Election. The police said then that he was a member of an IRA 'hit squad' trying to assassinate a British politician. Their scare story was blown asunder when Downey was found to have been in Ireland while he was being hunted in Britain. He said, 'I have never been in England in my life'.

The *Sunday Times*, at a loss to provide any evidence to

support their allegations, reported that Downey 'uses a shop in Ballyshannon, owned by a woman who is known to be an IRA sympathiser'. In a laughable piece of nonsense it also quoted Irish police as saying that, to ensure he has an alibi, 'he walks slowly and deliberately in front of the Garda station at Cavan whenever the IRA are about to launch an operation'. How he finds time for so much walking is not explained.

Finally, of course, the article had to personalise him as a psychopathic murderer: 'a dual personality, friendly one moment yet able to kill or maim the next'.

The timing of the article is especially significant: it came a week after the bombing of the Grand Hotel in Brighton and a few weeks before the Thatcher-FitzGerald summit. No suspects for Brighton had been identified and no firm lines of enquiry established; here was an at-

tempt to show that the police were winning the 'fight against terrorism'. The fact that the incident occurred more than two years previously did not matter – the implication was that, like the Canadian Mounties, Scotland Yard always get their man.

And their woman. On November 11th the *Sunday Times* came up with the scoop of the week. Having, once again, been fed what Whitehall and Scotland Yard wanted it to know, it named Eibhlin Glenholmes (whose name they insist on Anglicising to 'Evelyn') as 'one of the IRA's top bombers', and accused her of being involved in five bombings in England, dating back to 1981. Eibhlin, who lives in Dundalk, Co. Louth (not in Muirhevlinmore), was interrogated in Castlereagh in late 1983 and was not asked about these bombings. Her physical appearance and build are strikingly different from the police 'artist's impression'

of the 'blonde bomber'. Talking of her extradition, Eibhlin told the *Irish Times*: 'I won't receive any justice there [in England] – I've already been slandered by the media... I'm on my own and I see a whole system geared to convicting me'. She realised that if she was extradited, the British would have to convict her or there would be no further such extraditions from the South of Ireland to Britain.

Both Downey and Glenholmes deny the allegations; indeed they deny ever having been in England. No evidence is offered to link them with any of the bombings of which they have been accused. The main demand and thrust of the articles is that they be extradited to Britain. The reason for the naming of these two Republicans was in order to put pressure on the Southern Irish government, before the summit, to help the British government suppress Republican organisations. The human cost of such repressive manœuvres can never be counted.

Show Trials

1,000 Days on Remand

On November 21st Thomas Power, who has recently become the first prisoner in British legal history to spend over 1,000 days on remand, had his bail application refused by Northern Ireland's Lord Chief Justice, Lowry. This term in custody without trial is equivalent to a prison sentence of 5½ years under Northern Ireland's 50% remission system.

Power is the victim of the 'supergrass' system in Northern Ireland. He is currently being held solely on the word of his fifth informer, Harry Kirkpatrick, who is himself serving a life sentence for five murders. He was originally arrested in February 1982 on the word of two informers who retracted their statements a month later. He was immediately re-arrested on the word of two more informers one of whom retracted while the other one, Jackie Grimley, was so discredited that when the case came to court the trial ended in disarray. As each case against Power collapsed another 'supergrass' was produced and he was re-arrested.

Power has been charged with being a member of the Irish National Liberation Army and for taking part in the planning of the murder of a member of the RUC, both charges based purely on the word of Kirkpatrick. Power argued that since 1982 eleven loyalist prisoners charged with murder had been granted bail including a member of the RUC and the Ulster Defence Regiment. This failed to sway Lowry whose patronising congratulations to Power for his 'excellent presentation' are small comfort for someone who can expect to linger in prison for another year waiting for his trial to come up.

Photo: Joanne O'Brien/Format



On the day that Thomas Power served his 1,000th day remanded in prison in Belfast — 1,000 days without trial — two men protested from the top of a church in the Strand, London. The early morning rush-hour got the message —

The two were finally taken down by the police (one had handcuffed himself to the scaffolding) and were later charged with breach of the peace.

Show Trials

Trial Visited

Two members of Birmingham Trades Council, Dave Brooks (ASTMS) and Allan Thomas (NUM), visited Belfast for a week (3rd-10th November) to observe the cross-examination of informer Raymond Gilmour in the latest show trial currently taking place in Belfast's Crown Court. On trial are 35 men and women from Derry.

They were both shocked at the number of green and blue uniforms in and outside the court. Dave Brooks said '*The place was more like an army or police barracks than a court*'. They were surprised at the cheerfulness of relatives and friends of the accused: Allan Thomas felt '*that the family support was vital to the prisoners just as it is to the striking miners in their struggle*'.

Both delegates agreed on the following:

- That the 'supergrass' evidence is unreliable because it is motivated by greed and fear.
- Such evidence should never be accepted without corroborating evidence that can be evaluated by a jury.
- Gilmour in particular is unreliable because of the psychological pressures that he has been subjected to during two years in police custody.
- The British cannot administer justice in N. Ireland because the nationalist population don't trust them after decades of British misrule.

A report from Allan Thomas, a striking miner from Abergavenny, mid-Glamorgan.

I have recently returned from a visit to Belfast to observe the Raymond Gilmour

supergrass trial and to try to compare police presence in the Six Counties with the way our own industrial action is being policed.

We attended 2½ days of the first week of the cross-examination of Gilmour by defence barrister Desmond Boal QC. We were frisked all over on two occasions before we could get into court and had to give identification twice.

There were, in total, about 50 assorted RUC [police] and prison officers present on each day of the trial. We were completely surrounded and smothered by their presence.

As a witness Gilmour is proving himself totally unreliable. He contradicts himself often and when he is put under extreme pressure by Boal he is 'taken under the wing' of Lord Chief Justice Lowry, the trial judge, to allow him to compose himself and get his act back together.

Whilst staying for a week in West Belfast, we met up with 4- or 8-man patrols roughly three times a day. It is quite unnerving as you near a patrol to have a 'Brit' sight his rifle directly at you and release the safety catch with a 'click' as you pass with your back to him.

It has been said by the

Show Trials Show Trials

by Trades Council Delegates

Government and police in Britain that there has been no eroding of civil liberties here. But miners have been turned back from travelling outside their own counties and had the strictest bail conditions imposed on them. For example, the conditions imposed on three Doncaster miners were: (1) an 8pm to 8am curfew in their own homes; (2) to live only at their home address; (3) report twice daily to their local police station; (4) not to have any contact whatsoever with each other; (5) not to move more than $\frac{1}{4}$ mile from their own homes.

Is this the way it began in the Six Counties? I hope above hope that we will both win our struggles against the repressive, British Government of the day.

The second delegate was Dave Brooks, a member of ASTMS and editor of *Unity*, the bi-monthly journal of Associated Staffs for a United Ireland. He too was horrified by the police saturation of the court, and described the weaknesses of Gilmour's evidence — blatant to any observer and yet, going by the previous 'show trials', possibly sufficient to convict the defendants in this mass trial with no jury:

Our visit was in response to a request from Seamus Friel, one of the accused implicated

on the uncorroborated word of a paid informer, to attend the 'complete farce' posing as justice in N.Ireland. Seamus has been imprisoned without trial for two years — what might be called *internment on remand*.

Once in court, we were shocked by the sheer scale of it all: fifty assorted police and prison officers to guard thirty-five prisoners and twenty bewigged and berobed lawyers to defend or prosecute them on one hundred and eighty charges in a trial that may take months and will certainly cost thousands. Previous 'supergrass' trials have already cost £2.5 million.

Gilmour, the Crown's star turn, was well-groomed, expensively-tailored and took his time answering the questions of Desmond Boal QC, who represented the accused. On day one he admitted changing his written statements to the police. First he claimed he had participated in a robbery with members of a paramilitary organisation, then he wrote another statement denying he was present, and then he reverted to his original statement.

He faced vigorous cross-examination concerning his alleged homosexuality. Boal accused him of associating with 'an outrageous queer'. Gilmour

said he knew no such person but, under cross-examination, admitted he was an old school friend. The gay — to use language I prefer rather than the deliberately provocative words of Boal — had made a statement that he and Gilmour had been lovers. His homosexuality would have been unimportant but, it was alleged, he was ashamed and wanted it kept secret from his family and friends in Derry. This, if true, made Gilmour so vulnerable to police pressure he would have implicated anyone, guilty or innocent.

On the third day, Wednesday, Gilmour alleged he had informed the police about intended IRA assassinations, bombings and robberies. They failed to act on his information, he said, and as a result Private Christopher Shenton was killed in an IRA ambush at Castle Gate on January 20, 1981.

He also tipped-off the police about a proposed bomb attempt on the Army observation post on top of Derry's Rossville Flats. Again they did nothing, but by a fluke the bomb did not explode.

'Police were prepared to let this murderous enterprise take place?' Boal asked him. Gilmour replied: 'Yes'.

Either, on this evidence, the police are playing a deep and devious game or Gilmour is

lying. He said that the police wanted to protect his cover probably: the RUC, it appears, will allow people to be blown up or blown away rather than blow an informer's cover. The mind boggles.

Shortly after this evidence, Lord Justice Lowry decided to adjourn the court from Thursday until the following Tuesday. We wondered if this was to give him more time to rehearse his lines, though after twenty-six months in protective custody he ought to be word perfect. As Gilmour had earlier admitted 'refreshing his memory' by reading a book of his statements provided by the police, our suspicions were not totally unfounded.

The 'supergrass' system is now in such disrepute that even Ian Paisley is complaining, perhaps because Loyalists also suffer from it. The *Belfast Telegraph* reported (8.11.84):

'Mr Paisley said there was evidence that there were people who had been 'so interfered with by the Crown' that, if such interference had been indulged in by the defence side of the case, then the defence would have been charged with 'the serious crime' of seeking to pervert the course of natural justice.'

For further information contact 021 551 5959.

Election Laws to be 'Tightened Up'

The British Government's bold new initiative (!) in Ireland, as revealed in November's Queen's Speech, is a classic example of fiddling while Rome burns.

Whilst the war continues, against a backdrop of poverty and structural mass unemployment, all the Government can think of doing is 'tighten up' the election laws.

The state is to be given more powers against 'personation' in N.Ireland elections. In typical racist fashion these measures will not be taken against voters in Britain. 'Personation' (using other people's votes) is said to have gone on in N.Ireland elections since the state was set

up over 60 years ago. 'Vote early and vote often' is a saying often quoted by commentators.

But it is only since Sinn Fein began (successfully) contesting elections in 1981 that the Government has thought of doing anything about it. They imply, without a shred of evidence, that Sinn Fein are the biggest offenders.

Typical of British cloud-cuckoo-land thinking is the following passage from the influential magazine *The Economist* (10.11.84): 'In recent Ulster elections, Sinn Fein has performed reasonably well — but much worse than party activists had expected — when equipped with up-to-date lists

of absentees and other non-voters, two-way radios for co-ordinating voting raids on polling stations while the police are kept busy elsewhere, and strong-arm people to discourage poll supervisors from complaining. If the new anti-fraud legislation gets through on time, the local elections will provide at least a true test of Sinn Fein's support.'

In fact, the authorities will undoubtedly be hoping that rather than simply end personation, the increased powers and presence of the 'security forces' in polling stations will intimidate and scare off genuine republican voters (whose only crime is to come from a

republican family).

The Government's pose of respecting the 'democratic process' also ignores the fact that Sinn Fein has been particularly hard hit by the law passed after Bobby Sands' 1981 victory, a law which not only prevents prisoners being candidates but also disqualifies ex-prisoners for five years after their release. Many of Sinn Fein's grassroots activists come into the latter category.

But no amount of fiddling or wishful thinking by the British government will lose the republican movement any of the mass support it undoubtedly enjoys in N.Ireland.

POPULATION CHANGES IN N. IRELAND

During the past fifteen years of war in Northern Ireland one important area has tended to be overlooked by outside observers. This concerns the distribution of the population in the region, and in particular its changing structure.

Almost without exception, British media commentators trot out the same old population statistics of one million pro-British Protestants, and half a million Catholics.

In the outcome of any conflict, numbers are an important component. The balance of power tends to shift in favour of any group that increases. Such population increases greatly assisted the people of Algeria and Zimbabwe during their fight for liberation; and evidence suggests a similar trend is now taking place in Northern Ireland.

CATHOLIC INCREASE

When the Six-County statelet was created in 1921 Catholics comprised 33.5% of the population. Catholics have had a higher birth rate (and a lower death rate), but on the other hand have always been more likely to emigrate, because of discrimination in housing and jobs. The result was that by 1971, Catholics had only increased to 36.8% of the population. However this only left Protestant majorities in Antrim and Down, out of the thirty-two counties in Ireland.

The greatest demographic changes were to arise after the start of the 'Troubles' in 1969. The largest single movement occurred in the six weeks following the introduction of internment on the 9th August 1971. 8,000 people fled their homes in Belfast as communities divided into segregated zones often separated by motorways, waste ground, and 'Frank Kitson-inspired' peace lines.

Such was the shift in population that no mixed working class areas now exist in Belfast. This can be seen from the results of the 1981 Census in that only

one Catholic was enumerated among the 5,811 residents of the Loyalist Shankill ward. By comparison only one non-Catholic was recorded among the 2,645 persons in the Republican Falls ward. Indeed the only mixed areas to be found, are in middle class parts of North Belfast and the Malone Road.

The 1981 Census was expected to provide an accurate measurement of any changes in the population structure. But the census was conducted during the H-Block hunger strikes, and thousands of census forms were publicly burnt in Republican areas. Any attempt to ascertain the true size of the Catholic or Protestant population was made even harder by the fact that 274,584 people, or 18.5% of the enumerated population, refused to answer the voluntary question on religion. Despite this most estimates now put the Catholic percentage in the region of 39 to 40%. This shows the often quoted two to one ratio in favour of Protestants to be a thing of the past.

EMIGRATION PATTERNS

Recently Catholic emigration seems to have been reduced, partly as a result of fairer housing policies, and also due to the scarcity of unskilled work outside Northern Ireland. Also, due to the policies of the Thatcher government, many skilled Protestant workers have lost their jobs in places like the Belfast shipyards and Courtaulds of Carrickfergus. They, and young professional Protestants, have sometimes been forced to emigrate; some have left for South Africa, where skilled jobs are still available for whites.

Belfast has experienced sharp population declines during the past decade,

particularly in Loyalist areas, and mainly as a result of housing redevelopment. The three wards that make up the Shankill area showed a fall of 51.5%, and another Loyalist district, Sandy Row, lost 60.9% of its people. Other Loyalist areas to suffer badly have been Springmartin, Highfield, Lower Oldpark and Ballymacarrett. In all, Belfast may have lost up to one third of its Protestant population between 1971 and 1981.

Catholic areas in the city have tended to show lower rates of decrease. Population loss has been high in the Falls and Grosvenor wards, but as low as 5.9% and 6.6% in the St. James and Suffolk wards respectively.

SENSE OF CONFIDENCE

The consequences of all these changes have been significant. Among Catholics it has helped to create a greater sense of security and confidence. The fact that the balance is even more favourable to the Catholics among the younger age groups, has helped to deter attacks from Loyalists. Also the combined effect of demographic change and increased Sinn Fein involvement in elections has led to the highest-ever Nationalist share of the vote (36.7%) in the 1984 EEC elections.

The British started the 'numbers game' in 1921 when they forcibly partitioned Ireland; a border was drawn which delineated nothing more than the largest area within which the British believed the Unionists, a minority in Ireland as a whole, could be sure of a permanent majority. As a divide and rule tactic, partition has worked a treat for the British state, ensuring that Unionists have continued to live in fear of being 'out-numbered'.

Seán Hone, Coventry



Unemployment has always been a major factor causing emigration from the Six Counties.

Looking Backwards

A LOOK AT CURRENT UNIONIST POLICIES

The Unionist Party which ruled Northern Ireland continuously from 1921 fragmented in the early 70s under the pressure of internal reform and constitutional challenge to the division of Ireland.

Today there are still many local, paramilitary—or church-based splinters, but the Unionist scene is dominated by three major parties: the Official Unionist Party, derived from the old Unionist Party; Paisley's Democratic Unionist Party; and so-called moderate Alliance Party. They are united in their insistence that the North shall be separate from the South of Ireland, but disagree on the issues of political structures within the North and the relationship between the North and Britain.

Here we look at two papers published in recent months which reveal these differences.

THE FUTURE LIES IN THE PAST

The Official Unionist Party (OUP) produced their document *The Way Forward* in response to the New Ireland Forum Report back in May. They point out that direct rule from Westminster is profoundly undemocratic: *'the most basic services such as health, education, housing and the environment . . . are administered by the civil servants of the relevant departments of the Northern Ireland Office who are answerable only to the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland and his team of junior ministers.'*

So their main proposal is that such powers should be restored to a locally elected body, an administrative body along the lines of our local authorities.

The historical background to the situation is that from 1921 there were local authorities, but in 1970 most of their powers were mainly transferred to the central government (Stormont). When Stormont was abolished in 1973 the powers were transferred again to the Northern Ireland Office. The OUP document omits to give the reason for the transfer in 1970, which was that Unionist-controlled coun-



Photo: David Hoffman

The Reverend Ian Paisley considers the future of Unionism

cils flagrantly abused their powers in long-term and systematic discrimination against Catholics. This had led in turn to the revolt of the Civil Rights Movement.

So why would it be different this time around? The OUP doesn't say. Their proposal amounts to a return to a system that failed in the past.

FORGET THE NATIONAL QUESTION

The 'problem' as they see it is that the Unionist side is committed to the North remaining in the United Kingdom, and the nationalist side is committed to a united Ireland. Britain, acting as honest broker, has laid down that power will not be devolved to the politicians of the North until there is agreement between both sides. An impasse.

The OUP way out of the impasse is that nationalists should give up their aspirations! Britain — no longer the honest broker but now the deciding power — will not accept any constitutional changes proposed by Dublin. Therefore, the OUP argue, *'It will then be necessary for minority representatives to consider participation in the democratic institutions in Northern Ireland on the basis that any realization of their unity aspirations would be so long term that they should be prepared, for the foreseeable future, to serve their electorate within Northern Ireland and to combat Provisional Sinn Fein on the ground.'*

The sugar coating on this bitter pill is that the proposed

local Assembly would not be a legislative body but merely something like a local council (*'There is some real hope that, with the constitutional issue not permanently in the forefront of the Assembly's deliberations, there would be no constant minority'*); and that there should be a Bill of Rights, adapted from the European Convention on Human Rights.

BACK TO STORMONT

The Democratic Unionist Party (DUP — the party of Paisley) also propose a Bill of Rights. But the only other thing their paper, *Ulster, A Future Assured*, shares with *The Way Forward* is the harking back to the past.

The DUP propose a more or less undisguised return to the old Unionist-run Stormont, a parliament with full legislative powers run by a government formed by the majority party. The 'problem', as they see it, is IRA 'terrorism', and the solution is the military defeat of the IRA. They want security powers to be handed back to the Unionists and although they recognise this won't happen at once, they do demand immediate transfer of partial responsibility for 'the criminal law and the police and prison services'.

The DUP vehemently oppose the notion of power-sharing or cross-community agreement as to the basis for devolved government. They muster all the arguments of democracy to their side: the electorate votes for policies

they support and it is undemocratic to over-ride their wishes; power-sharing leads to weak government; a vigorous opposition is a healthy part of democracy and has a positive scrutinising role in democracy.

The fact that the North was separated from the rest of Ireland in such a way as to ensure a permanent minority and a permanent majority; the fact that the division of Ireland was supremely undemocratic, the fact that Unionist rule from 1921 to 1973 caused misery and suffering — these facts are not considered. The DUP dress up the resurrection of Stormont with various committees and the outlawing of discrimination. It is not clear who they are trying to fool: the 1920 Government of Ireland Act outlawed discrimination, but that never stopped anyone.

PART OF THE UNITED KINGDOM?

'Nationalist aspirations' get short shrift from the DUP. The South of Ireland is a foreign country with whom one might want to build good relations (when the South gives up its claim to the Six Counties and stops offering an 'open house' for the IRA) but that is as far as it goes. *'The Ulster Democratic Unionist Party is adamant that the Northern Ireland Assembly and government must be responsible for dealing with the Government of the Republic of Ireland on all transferred matters and would not agree to Dublin/London negotiations to the exclusion of Belfast on such issues. We therefore feel it is imperative for the Northern Ireland Assembly to have legislative powers to deal directly and effectively with the Dublin Government on such matters.'*

They even propose that Northern Ireland has its own representation at the EEC and United Nations (at present they are part of the UK contingent). The difference between the DUP and the OUP here is that the Official Unionist proposals aim towards equalising the situation of Northern Ireland within the United Kingdom — hence they propose a local authority. The Democratic Unionists tend to the view of Northern Ireland being a semi-independent state, free to run its own affairs. Both proposals are rooted in the past, a past that has failed.

Ulsterisation ~ A War of

For a decade now the dominant British thinking in the North of Ireland has been centred around 'Ulsterisation'. Here, we examine what this means in political, legal, policing and economic terms, look at the ideological framework behind Ulsterisation, and conclude by pointing to campaigning areas for those building a withdrawal movement in Britain.

Britain's last serious political initiative in Ireland was in 1973 – an attempted compromise solution whereby Northern Ireland was to remain within the UK, but was to have a government composed of both Unionists and nationalists (power sharing) liaising with a Council of Ireland comprising representatives from north and south of the border. This attempt at internal political reform was wrecked not by republicans but by the Unionist side. The Westminster General Election of February 1974 decimated those Unionists who were party to the scheme, and was followed by a Loyalist General Strike in May 1974. The Army allowed loyalists to put up barricades and control traffic and Britain conceded defeat without taking on the Unionists.

Since 1974 there has been a 'temporary arrangement' for a decade, and successive British governments have been unwilling to take any serious political action. A constitutional convention, Atkins' 1980 conference, summit meetings and the present powerless Assembly – all actions to seem to be doing something while in fact doing nothing, except contain the situation. Apart from continuing Unionist entrenchment, the only serious political movement in the North has been from republicans with the prisoners' campaigns and the hunger-strike and Sinn Fein elections. Ireland remains way down the British political agenda – time and energy is given only to furthering containment of the situation or reacting when containment is cracked (for example, by British bombings or republican electoral success).

Politically, Ulsterisation means no political initiative, containment of the situation, and continuing acceptance of the Loyalist veto on any denial of Ulster

as British.

THE LAW

Ulsterisation means accepting Loyalism and Unionism as legitimate political forces, while outlawing Republicanism as subversive. Political conflict in Northern Ireland then becomes defined as a problem of law and order. With a succession of laws – Payment of Debt Act (1971), Emergency Provisions Act (1973), Prevention of Terrorism Act (1974 & 1984) – a judicial gloss has been put on the imprisonment of opposition to the Union. The result has been criminalisation, which is the shift from policing offences to policing people, from policing crime to policing politics. The recent exclusion of Noraid spokesperson Martin Galvin led to the arrest of Sinn Fein leaders, but Galvin was never wanted for any crime; he was merely politically not welcome for the British.

Legally, Ulsterisation means Republicans become criminals, with the war in Ireland being dealt with by the 'necessary evil' of 'temporary' and 'emergency' legislation to counter 'terrorism'.

'POLICING'

Presenting subversive politics as criminal is made easier if policing is carried out by home-grown forces rather than a foreign army. Thus the switch from predominantly British to predominantly Loyalist in the Crown policing forces (see graph) allows the war to be presented as a matter of internal strife, avoiding the image of colonial occupier, with coffins coming back home. The picture is created of the IRA/INLA waging a sectarian war of genocide against 'Protestants', of part-time or reserve RUC or UDR as 'milkman' or 'school caretaker', while the RUC tries to police the mad criminals. The need is to obscure any military policing and to



The RUC with army back-up policing

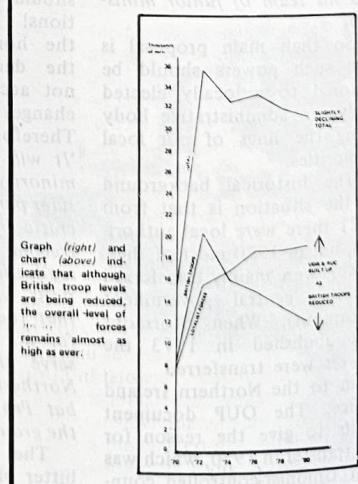
paint as far as possible a 'normal' policing picture.

In fact, the heavily armed RUC is a military force which cannot operate except in squads and with Army back-up, and goes into nationalist areas as an occupying force – not a police force in the sense most British people would understand. The glaring facts of RUC and UDR practice of shoot-to-kill underline the nature of these forces as sectarian loyalist militias.

In policing terms, Ulsterisation means attempting to present a picture of strong and impartial action against 'terrorism' by a normal police force drawn from the local community and acting as agents of that community.

	UDR	RUC (& RUCR)	LOYALIST FORCES	BRITISH TROOPS	TOTAL
Aug. 1970	3,600	3,700	7,300	8,100	15,400
1972	9,000	6,500	15,500	20,300	35,800
1974	7,900	8,900	16,800	16,000	32,800
1976	7,000	10,000	18,600	14,900	33,500
1978	8,100	10,500	18,600	13,300	32,000
1980	7,500	11,500	19,000	12,100	31,100

Note:
(i) these are official figures from the 'Belfast Telegraph', August 30th, 1980.
(ii) each year's figures are for the August manpower.
(iii) loyalist forces are the sum of the UDR and RUC (including RUCR);
(iv) total forces are the sum of British troops and loyalist forces.



ULSTER DEFENCE REGIMENT

The Ulster Defence Regiment (UDR) is part of the British Army. But it is the only regiment which does not serve outside its own area. That is, it operates only in N. Ireland and does not take part in 'normal' army duties in W. Germany, NATO exercises etc.

It is also exceptional in that the majority of its members are part-time (4,219 part-time against 2,669 full-time in Dec. 1983, Irish partnership figures). This creates an ambiguity and justifiable suspicion about their operations: is the local delivery van driver just doing his job, or is he intelligence-gathering for the UDR? Belfast is now the home of the biggest battalion (1,400 men) of the British army, following the recent amalgamation of two UDR battalions.

It is entirely loyalist, and extremely tarnished. Between 1970 and 1980 over 250 UDR soldiers were convicted of serious crimes. Joint membership of the UDR and one of the legal or illegal loyalist paramilitary organisations (UDA and UVF) has been proven in many individual cases.

In September 1972 a battalion of the UDR was formed in Craigavon. In October of that year all its weapons were stolen by the UVF – without any opposition by the UDR. And in 1975, 200 weapons were stolen from Magherafelt UDR camp; three years later four men were convicted for this robbery, two of whom were UDR soldiers.

Containment



Anti-Internment Anniversary rally in Belfast (Photo: Birmingham TOM)

DEATHS BY ULSTERISED FORCES, 1981-1984

In addition to the toll listed below, 6,699 RUC personnel have been reported for assault, and 673 for firearm offences between 1973 and 1984.

PATRICK McNALLY, shot by UDR while joyriding 1981.

JULIE LIVINGSTONE, shot by RUC plastic bullet, 1981

JOSEPH LYNCH, killed by RUC landrover, 1981

NORAH McCABE, shot by RUC plastic bullet, 1981

PETER McGUINNESS, shot by RUC plastic bullet, 1981

RON BRENNAN, shot by RUC in course of a robbery, 1982

MICHAEL TIGHE, shot by RUC stake-out, 1982

JERVAIS McKERR, EUGENE TOMAN, SEAN BURNS, IRA men, unarmed at the time, shot by RUC in shoot-to-kill operation, 1982

SEAMUS GREW, RODDY CARROLL, INLA men, unarmed at the time, shot by RUC in shoot-to-kill operation, 1982

PETER CORRIGAN, shot dead by off-duty

UDR, 1982

FRANCIS McCOLGAN, shot by RUC during car chase following a robbery, 1983

MARTIN MALONE, shot by UDR, 1983

WILLIAM MILLAR (UVF connections), shot by RUC in stolen car, 1983

ANTONY O'HARE, shot by RUC after alleged robbery, 1983

BRENDAN CONVERY and JAMES MALLEEN, INLA men shot by RUC, 1983

TONY DAWSON, shot by off-duty RUC, 1983

JOHN McCONVILLE, shot by off-duty UDR, 1983

ADRIAN CARROLL, shot by off-duty UDR, 1983

TERENCE FITZSIMONS, shot by RUC during robbery, 1984

PAUL McCANN, INLA man shot by RUC in shoot-to-kill operation, 1984

JOHN DOWNES, shot by RUC plastic bullet during peaceful demonstration, 1984.

THE ECONOMY

A look at Northern Ireland's finances reveals a far from normal picture. Per capita government expenditure is 35% higher in Northern Ireland than in Britain, with the police, prisons and army costing £450 million in 1981/2 (figures from Irish Information Partnership). With the British war effort taking such a large slice of Britain's subvention to Northern Ireland (estimated at over £1,300 million for 1982/3 - IIP), social security costs of £600 million a year, and Britain having paid out over a £1 billion in compensation since 1969, it's small wonder that no money is left over for housing, jobs and the other items on the civil rights demonstrators lists 15 years ago. Northern Ireland's housing and unemployment remains among the worst in Europe, with only a few large publicly funded industrial concerns surviving on government defence contracts, and those employing hardly any Catholics (Harland & Wolff, Short Brothers).

Economically, Ulsterisation means passing off the phenomenal cost of Northern Ireland to Britain as a particularly chronic example of the recession while presenting Northern Ireland as a good prospect for industrial investment (recent radio advertisements).

EFFECTS IN BRITAIN

Ulsterisation, then, is about denying publicly that there is a war going on in Ireland and the effects of that war, while in fact fighting the war on the political, legal, military and economic fronts. In other words, dodging responsibility but maintaining control, the hallmark of imperialism.

Why keep the war from public eye, or rather why present it as a political crime or 'terrorism'? Because anything that brings responsibility back to Britain, brings also the picture of Britain as a colonial power, a picture that cannot be accommodated within the larger view British society requires of itself, that of a

THE LOYALIST VETO

What has now come to be called the loyalist veto was first enshrined in legislative form by the Labour Government in 1949. The Ireland Act of that year, section 1(2), stated: 'Northern Ireland or any part thereof shall not cease to be part of the United Kingdom without the consent of the Parliament of Northern Ireland'. The Parliament of Northern Ireland at that time - and throughout its history - was 100% Unionist, with no or minimal opposition.

In March 1972 that Parliament was prorogued (suspended). This necessitated the Northern Ireland Constitution Act 1973 which stated that Northern Ireland is a part of the UK and shall not cease to be such without the consent of the majority of the people of N. Ireland voting in a border poll.

Since N. Ireland was separated from the rest of Ireland specifically to be of a size to ensure a 'loyal' majority, this law means that the loyalist, or Unionist, population has an effective veto over any change or progress.

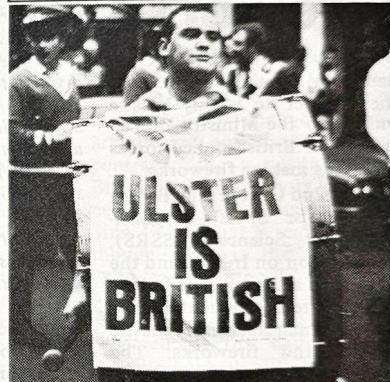
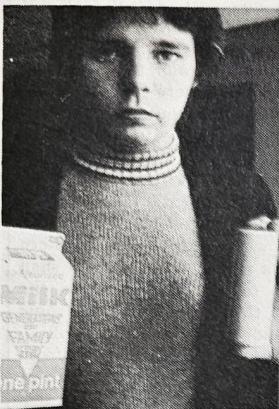


Photo: David Hoffman

caring, tolerant, pluralist, humanitarian society. That ideological contradiction cannot be easily dealt with - it is a factor in the disintegration of the Labour Party and in the new harder entrenchment of the Tories. From the government's point of view, this cause of the contradiction - Ireland - cannot be removed, as the last 15 years have shown. The only course (apart from British withdrawal) remains to avoid it - by containment. This is the ideological framework behind Ulsterisation.

For those campaigning for British withdrawal from Ireland it is necessary to expose all attempts at containment - the poverty of British politics towards Ireland, the political use of the law, the nature of the sectarian RUC and UDR, the lack of any attempt at economic improvement - in order to illustrate the unviable nature of Northern Ireland. For those campaigning in Britain for withdrawal, it is necessary additionally to confront the fact of our responsibility for the British side of the war. The Loyalist veto was created and is upheld by Britain. What happens in Ireland fundamentally affects the British body politic; it is not a local sideshow across the water.

Action against Plastic Bullets



Brocks Fireworks

Brocks Fireworks Ltd, Sanquhar, Dumfriesshire hold the contact to supply plastic bullets to the Ministry of Defence and British police forces as well as making fireworks.

On 22nd October the British Society for Social Responsibility in Science (BSSRS), Information on Ireland and the Campaign against Plastic Bullets issued a press statement dealing with the manufacture of plastic bullets and fireworks. The statement said that although fireworks give immense pleasure to children and parents, plastic bullets have brought misery to the families of the 15 people killed, seven of them children aged 15 or under in

the North of Ireland, and to the countless people who have suffered grievous injuries, including blindness and brain damage. As a result of this press release Brocks obtained an injunction from the High Court preventing the three organisations from further publishing their statement.

The following statement was then circulated by BSSRS:

'Brocks concede that they do assemble plastic bullets for the Ministry of Defence, but allege that the press release was defamatory. Brocks told the court that it sold annually more than £2 million worth of fireworks, and made plastic bullets for the government, but had no control over the bullets' design or use.'

BSSRS will argue in court that the facts in the three organisations' statement are correct; that there was no defamation; and that it is against the public interest for discussion of an issue of grave social concern to be prevented through legal action, by an organisation with large resources and a commercial interest to protect.'

Police Forces holding stocks of plastic bullets are as follows: Avon and Somerset, Essex, Humber, Lancashire, Leicestershire, Lincolnshire, Merseyside, Metropolitan, Norfolk, N. Wales, N. Yorkshire, Sussex, Warwickshire, Dorset and Wiltshire.

Birmingham Picket

On 5th November about 40 people picketed Parker-Hale, a small arms company in Birmingham who distribute plastic bullet components to the police and army.

The picket was organised by the Birmingham branch of the Troops Out Movement to highlight the campaign to ban plastic bullets, and oppose one company's trade in these lethal weapons.

Parker-Hale have quite clearly been disturbed by the attention they have been given. On the day of the picket, the factory signs had been removed from the main entrance to the plant, although they had been there two weeks before. Also, since the picket the factory has been constantly guarded by a security firm.

The Troops Out Movement is continuing its campaign in Birmingham. Hopefully pressure on Parker-Hale to stop trading in plastic bullet weaponry will come from local MPs, MEPs and councillors after the recent decisions to ban plastic bullets in the European Parliament and Labour Party Conferences.

Below: Ken Livingstone on colonialism's need to create racist thinking and the bad effects of this on the British working class. The banner translates as 'Am I Irish...?' (Photos: Gary Saunders)



London Irish Stand Against Racism

Sunday 18th November saw a very successful conference to discuss and oppose anti-Irish racism. It was organised by the Irish Interest Group in their new centre in Brent, West London.

The Conference passed three motions: one condemning the strip searches in Armagh Jail and calling for affiliations to the London Armagh Group's campaign; one condemning the Government for granting Ian Paisley permission to hold a loyalist rally in Trafalgar Square; and one criticising the media for anti-Irish sentiments. In particular the Conference condemned a recent editorial in the *Daily Express* to the effect that 'I would rather be a pig than be Irish!'. It supported a picket of the *Express* called for November 28th. It also condemned the 'trial by media' of Evelyn Glenholmes.

There were many exhibitions and bookstalls, with an emphasis on the Irish language. Session topics included the Prevention of Terrorism Act, the use of informers in trials in the North, the importance of a flourishing Irish culture, and the need for anti-racist — as opposed to 'multiracial' — education.

There was much dissatisfaction expressed about the Inner London Education Authority which neither educates *all* children about Irish history in a way that makes sense, nor

provides for the language and cultural needs of Irish children; it also has no positive programme against the awful stereotyping of Irish people which is so widespread in this country. A lecturer in Hammersmith pointed out that a huge proportion of people enrolling in adult education courses on Ireland are young second-generation Irish.

A workshop for the Irish elderly explored the inadequacies of the welfare state, the terrible conditions they are forced to live in and the neglect of their cultural needs. Another workshop on travellers described how Irish travellers have been among the strongest in fighting for proper sites, and yet when they win sites the Irish are often driven off them by Romany travellers. They now want sites for Irish travellers.

There was agreement by all the organisations present that the Irish in Britain have a fight on their hands on the political, cultural and social fronts. One older woman expressed the view that 'It's about time Irish people stood up for themselves like black people have done'. This Conference was part of a process of grappling with the obstacles against doing just this, not least of which are the Prevention of Terrorism Act and the fact that the Irish are not even generally recognised as an ethnic grouping.

Who Gets Trafalgar Square?



On Saturday November 17th, Ian Paisley MP, MEP and leader of the Democratic Unionist Party, led a rally in London's Trafalgar Square.

Our readers might remember that last August a demonstration calling for withdrawal from Ireland was refused permission to use Trafalgar Square. This was despite appeals by Joan Maynard and other MPs. The Department of the Environment wrote to the 18th August Committee saying that such rally would be 'offensive'. All withdrawal rallies have been banned from Trafalgar Square for the last ten years.

After Paisley's rally, the 18th August Committee (a broad grouping which includes the Troops Out Movement) issued a statement condemning the bias of the government's decision: who decides that withdrawal from Ireland is an offensive sentiment while Ian Paisley's bigotry and defence of privilege is not offensive? The statement also pointed out that Paisley's rally was not unconnected with the FitzGerald-Thatcher summit which took place the same weekend, and in this light was calculated to offend.

Photo: David Hoffman

TOM at the Oxford Union

On 24 October 250 members of the Oxford Union gathered to hear speakers from four of Northern Ireland's political parties and one speaker from TOM.

Democratic Unionist councillor Samuel Wilson told the audience to have no doubts about their resoluteness to remain British.

The TOM speaker, Mike Belbin, pointed out that Unionism and Britain's sponsorship of it had nothing to do with democracy or democratic rights. Mike quoted Vice Admiral Sir Richard McGough, former Royal Navy Commander for NATO's North Atlantic area: 'Indeed the strategic importance of Ireland [the island] in any scheme of protecting shipping in the approaches to the British Isles can hardly be exaggerated. The current unrest in Northern Ireland . . . therefore has serious implications for allied strength and unity.'

Assemblyman Will Glendenning of the Alliance Party spoke of getting the two 'traditions' in N.Ireland to work together on the basis of accepting the Border (which by definition is acceptable only to one of the 'traditions'!).

SDLP councillor Sean Farren said it was time to 'put the past behind us' and 'move on to peace and unity'. (Wonderful — please send us your recipe.)

Ken Maginnis, Official Unionist MP, reassured the Oxford audience that both Catholics and Protestants

had voted him into his Fermanagh seat. However, some might also remember that it was Mr Maginnis who lost to Republican prisoners' candidate Owen Carron in the election held after Bobby Sands' death in 1981.

After the speeches students asked questions from the floor. Replying to a question about TOM's attitude to the IRA, Mike quoted 19th century radical Charles Bradlaugh: 'It is you, the governing classes, who have set the Irish race the bad example of the appeal to force. You have ruled them by force.' Mike added 'It's time we ended it', and sat down to some of the best applause of the night. But there was no motion and no vote, so the sentiments of the audience could not be tested.

TOM had been invited because Unionist speakers had threatened not to appear with a Sinn Fein speaker. After the debate someone from the Oxford Union tried to excuse their accommodation to Unionist blackmail by saying that at least a 'certain range' of views from the Six Counties had been heard! 'It's the same old story', commented Mike Belbin, 'Edward Carson must be beaming in his grave. . . [But] TOM is not a substitute for Sinn Fein and I confess to some awkwardness on this platform. My argument was not with the Irish speakers but with the British audience.'

Ken Maginnis, Official Unionist MP, reassured the Oxford audience that both Catholics and Protestants

WHAT THE PAPERS SAID

THE GUARDIAN

Those who had given up hope of finding objective reporting about Ireland in the popular press recently had reason to feel more optimistic. For on 15th August, three days before the demonstration marking 15 years of British troops in Ireland, the *Daily Mirror* produced a special edition on the war in the Six Counties.

With headlines such as 'Belfast Is Two Cities But There Is Only One War' and 'The Bloody Road From Derry' the stark history of the last 15 years was spread over seven pages of the paper. The editorial was clear and unequivocal. Referring to Britain's original partition of Ireland in 1920, it said, 'It is time now to show the courage we did not have then. It is time to right the wrong and to re-unite Ireland'.

Admittedly seven pages is hardly enough to do justice to the situation in the North and there was evidence of some all too familiar anti-Irish prejudice. One article referred to 'the unendingly sad spirit of self-destruction that hovers over Belfast' and 'the mindless political and religious yobbism' of the city. However the overall theme was that Britain had no business there and should with-

draw.

On the other hand, when the same reporters covered the Sinn Fein Ard Fheis a few weeks ago (5th November), a photograph of Gerry Adams giving a clenched fist salute was headed 'Messiah Of Hate'. The accompanying report gave the impression that Adams' speech concentrated solely on the Brighton bombing and other IRA activity. There was no report or analysis of the bulk of his hour-long speech which dealt mainly with social and economic issues. Instead Sinn Fein activists at the conference were described as 'ranting followers of Adams who roared with frenzy as this tall young man unleashed the symbolic power of revolution'.

The tones of these different articles are not in themselves contradictory: a position for British withdrawal by no means necessarily means support for Sinn Fein. What is regrettable, though, is that the *Mirror's* 'withdrawal editorials' seem to be pulled off the shelf only once a year or so, and are not reflected in the daily news reporting, which either ignores Ireland altogether or fails to live up to the expectations set by those editorials.

TYNESIDE TRADES COUNCIL

On November 3rd Newcastle Trades Council held a dayschool entitled 'The Economy and Labour Movement in Northern Ireland'. Though it suffered from the absence of one of the speakers, Inez McCormack of NUPE N.I., the two others, Robin Perceval and Dave Byrne, stimulated one of the best debates on the North of Ireland for some time.

Robin, on behalf of Derry Trades Council, gave useful insights into the official trade union set-up in Northern Ireland and its near total identification with the Unionist/British-run 'direct rule' regime; while Dave Byrne, an economics lecturer, explained something of the economic foundations of the six North-East counties of Ireland that became 'Northern Ireland' from 1922.

Many issues were raised that deserved a dayschool in themselves, such as the new virulent working-class loyalism exemplified by George Seawright (who has received much

coverage recently in *Troops Out*), and the effects of the current economic crisis on the Unionist population; also, the position of the South of Ireland's establishment on reunification and all its implicit political/economic consequences.

Though everyone at the dayschool got a lot out of it, sadly it also showed the problems we still have to overcome in raising Ireland as an issue, because the total numbers present were never more than 17 or 18, in spite of a great deal of publicity. The same can be said of the TOM public meeting the night before which had guest speakers from Derry Trades Council and the NUM.

One vital thing that has come out of the dayschool is that Newcastle Trades Council will be inviting people from Derry Trades Council to visit Newcastle next year and, if successful, will make a reciprocal visit to Derry.

Prison Life in England and Ireland

"Irish prisoners are regarded by the Home Office, the screws and governors as troublemakers. Anyone who can organise and fight the system from the inside is regarded as a troublemaker" (J. McCloskey)

"Strip searching is designed to degrade and humiliate. My mind has been scarred by the strip searching in Armagh jail" (Linda Quigley)

On October 24th a packed audience at London's Conway Hall heard 2 former prisoners, John McCloskey and Linda Quigley, give a chilling account of conditions inside an English and an Irish jail respectively. The meeting, organised by Sinn Fein, included speakers from the Labour Committee on Ireland, Troops Out Movement, Irish in Britain Representative Group, London Armagh Group, Irish Solidarity Movement, Irish Freedom Movement and the Irish War Support Group.

John McCloskey had recently been released from Parkhurst prison after serving a full 10 year sentence. All his remission had been forfeited because he protested against the brutality of the prison system. He described the break-up of a peaceful sit-down protest at Albany prison. The prisoners were demanding the release of a fellow prisoner who had been moved to solitary confinement: 'The governor refused to have any dealings with us. He ordered us to lead off to the segregation unit - "the block". Our protest as far as he was concerned was illegal. A very short while afterwards he led the riot squad in on top of us, about 20 or 30 riot squad came in, with helmets, visors and sticks. The consequence was he almost killed one of our comrades and left the rest of us unconscious, or with broken arms, legs and ribs. That's the consequences of peaceful protest. There is absolutely no other way for prisoners to register their protest. We spent 5 months in solitary and 2 years' loss of remission for a peaceful protest. All through the prison system we have met similar conditions'.

'Prison conditions are more important in any working class struggle than most people realise. We would like to see more support, and support means first of all making yourselves aware of what is happening in prisons. It's not

only the Irish political prisoners, there are many other prisoners taking stands with us who are suffering'.

Linda Quigley's speech left no-one in doubt that the degrading strip searches in Armagh jail are an attempt to break the spirit and morale of the women. Strip searching was introduced at Armagh in 1982. During 1983 women were strip searched on 1,216 occasions - in a prison which only holds between 30 and 40 prisoners.

'Strip searching mainly affects those women on remand, because they have to make a weekly court appearance. Some women are on remand for 8 months, and they can expect two strip searches every time they go to court. There are supposed to be 2 females in the reception to carry out the strip search, but you will find there will be 5, 6, 7 or 8. The reason you have so many is that you have 2 female warders for each prisoner going to court.'

'The search consists of every item of clothing being removed in front of all these people. This also includes sanitary protection being removed. So that means in some cases prisoners have to stand and bleed. We had a case of a young woman, Jacqueline Moore, who was taken down and strip searched 4 weeks after the birth of her girl. She was actually bleeding; her sanitary protection and breast pads were removed.'

'It's a very traumatic experience for any woman to have to undergo but it doesn't happen once, it happens to her twice in 20 minutes. Each woman is locked into a special compartment in the prison van. You have an armed RUC escort who travel with you. You go into the courthouse long enough to be remanded for another week. You're back in Armagh jail after 20 minutes for another strip search. Our bodies are being violated week in week out, day in day out'.

PRISONERS' BIRTHDAYS

Please send cards, letters, magazines etc to these prisoners, who often endure severe conditions including long periods of solitary confinement. Let them know they are not forgotten. Don't forget to use the number.

REPUBLICANS IN ENGLISH JAILS

JAMES BENNETT

464989

H.M. Prison Parkhurst, Newport, Isle of Wight 4 December

LIAM BAKER

464984

H.M. Prison, Hedon Rd, Hull, North Humberside 6 December

HUGH DOHERTY

338636

H.M. Prison Parkhurst, as above

7 December

NOEL GIBSON

879295

H.M. Prison Albany, Newport, Isle of Wight 11 December

WILLIAM ARMSTRONG

119085

H.M. Prison, Hedon Road, Hull, North Humberside 26 December

EDDIE O'NEILL

135722

H.M. Prison, Old Elvet, Durham, Yorkshire 15 January

SHANE O'DOHERTY

336143

H.M. Prison Wormwood Scrubs, PO Box 757, Du Cane Rd, London W12 0AE 25 January

ARMAGH PRISONERS

JACQUELINE MOORE

(remand) 2 December

EILEEN McILKERNEY

24 December

CHRISTINE BEATTIE

A Wing

25 December

PAULINE DEERY

C Wing

6 February

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

TRADE UNION NEWS

ASTMS Conference

At the ASTMS annual conference, held in Blackpool on November 17th-20th, the issue of Ireland was deliberately excluded from the agenda.

A motion had been put (after overcoming considerable obstacles put in its way by the national executive) by five ASTMS branches. But when it came to the debate it was argued that the motion would prove divisive in ASTMS No.10 Division, Ireland. This denial of open, honest debate is being challenged by Associated Staffs for a United Ireland (ASUI), a pressure group of ASTMS members campaigning for the introduction of a troops out policy within the union.

ASUI FRINGE MEETING

However, the issue of Ireland was discussed at a very successful fringe meeting organised by ASUI.

Dave Brooks, editor of *Unity*, said:

'The ASUI fringe meeting was a resounding success this year. The speakers had different perspectives on Ireland. Desmond Greaves, Connolly Association, emphasised the

need for Ireland to retain its neutrality and not barter it for a British withdrawal commitment.

'Denis O'Donnell, a Sinn Fein trade union activist, was adamant that we needed "to make Ireland the cause of labour and labour the cause of Ireland".

'While Sean Redmond, General Secretary of I.M.E.U. (Irish Municipal Employees Unions) insisted on the need for a closer alliance between the Irish and British working class and the need to recognise that the Labour Party's "unity with consent" is a cop-out.'

'What united the speakers was an unwavering certainty that Britain must withdraw from Ireland politically, militarily and economically.'

'A large audience, at probably the best attended fringe meeting of this year's Conference, went away well satisfied after an invigorating meeting. The striking Notts miners who came along were particularly impressed and said they had learnt more about Ireland during one meeting than in a lifetime of reading the "popular" press.'

No More Racism

Dear TOM,

In reply to K.Sharpe (*Troops Out*, October '84): to say that 'the Irish have always fought tribal wars among themselves' is an appallingly racist statement and reveals a total lack of understanding of Irish history which K.Sharpe claims to have read (written by some imperialist historian, no doubt!) Does s/he not realise that Britain has been interfering in Ireland for around 700 years, stealing land from the people and 'planning' colonists [sic] long before the era of capitalist development?

What evidence does K.Sharpe have to support her/his claim that 'tribal' wars have been fought? As for the suggestion that Irish people 'go around throwing bombs at people from other parties', that is an outright lie and a total misrepresentation of the obviously highly selective violence used by the armed wings of the Republican Movement. Again, the suggestion that the Irish people 'want to be violent' is blatantly racist, implying that violent tendencies are inherent in the make up of the Irish people.

K.Sharpe claims that 'Catholics and Protestant used to live in peace side by side in Northern Ireland' - well, maybe in some well-to-do suburb they did! I grew up in a working class Protestant ghetto in Derry and lived there for 18 years and every 12th July and 12th August, as well as election times, was a reminder of the anti-Catholic bigotry which was rife. I was a teenager in 1969 when a mob of Loyalists attempted to attack the adjacent Bogside and marched up the street, armed with iron bars and other weapons.

A few years later we had masked paramilitaries parading the streets, armed with clubs! If K.Sharpe were to read Eamonn McCann's *War and an Irish Town* - which covers the early history of the present conflict in Derry, he would know that the Civil Rights Movement attempted unsuccessfully to get Protestants to join them. History has proved that as long as Ireland is divided, Protestant bigotry and Protestant adherence to the Loyalist cause will continue to exist.

Finally, K.Sharpe mentions nothing of British violence towards the Irish. After the murder of Sean Downes, how could anyone be so blind? Alexis Scott.

Nicky Kelly

A Chara,

We are writing to thank all those who have assisted in the campaign for the release of Nicky Kelly over the past four years. Without the persistent efforts of the many organisations and individuals involved, his release would not have come about. The Government was forced to release Nicky Kelly from Portlaoise Prison, on the pretext of humanitarian grounds, as a result of these efforts, which continued unabated despite numerous obstacles and continued Government misinformation and intransigence.

While we are naturally delighted with Nicky's release, we fully recognise that his name has yet to be cleared, and we are presently examining the best means by which this can be achieved. Already since his release several organisations and individuals have called for an inquiry into his case and we would urge you to add your voice to these calls.

Nicky Kelly, himself, on release, called for an independent public inquiry into the Sallins Mail Train case. He rejected as hypocritical the humanitarian reasons given by the Minister for Justice for his release, he attributed it instead to the enormous political pressure exerted on the Government by people both at home and abroad. He is continuing with his civil action against the State, seeking damages for assault and battery, false imprisonment and failure to vindicate his constitutional rights.

Above all else, the release of Nicky Kelly is a victory and shows what can be achieved by unity of conviction and purpose. Once again, we thank you for your work and commitment, and hope that you will continue to support Nicky Kelly in his efforts to clear his name.

Is mise,
Siobhan Troddyn
Release Nicky Kelly Committee,
Dublin.



£1.50
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(or £1.00 + 60p post for 10)
in black & white, by Birmingham TOM
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HAVE YOU EVER BEEN DETAILED UNDER THE PREVENTION OF TERRORISM ACT?

IF SO,
THE NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR CIVIL LIBERTIES
WOULD LIKE TO HEAR FROM YOU.

NCCL have monitored the use of the Act, and advised
those affected by it for 10 years.

Now, GLC funding is enabling us to study its effects on Londoners
and their families more systematically.

If you have ever been detained or excluded please write to NCCL for
further details. All information will be treated in strictest confidence.

NCCL
21 TABARD ST., LONDON SE1 4LA
Tel. 01-403 3888

REVIEWS



THIS BABY IS BEING BODY-SEARCHED IN ARMAGH . . . her mother and other POWs are being strip-searched

by Sinn Fein POW Department, 28pp

This is an excellent pamphlet, which really is essential and urgent reading for people concerned about Irish political prisoners. It is written as a tool for the campaign to stop the strip searches in Armagh Jail.

Early sections explain briefly the history of republican women's struggle in the jails since 1971, including their participation in the hunger strikes of 1980 and the 'no wash' protest. They show how the policy of strip searching was imposed by the new governor, Thomas Murtagh, in the year following the H Block hunger strikes as part of a harsher regime, in order to break the morale of the women prisoners. It debunks any doubts that strip searching might be necessary for security reasons and exposes it as deliberately and viciously humiliating.

A section called 'Will It Be Me?' was written by the women prisoners on remand as a 'personal account' of their combined feelings. Here is an excerpt:

"But I have my period," I tell her, what does she expect me to do? "The MO [Medical Officer] is here, hand it out to her. She'll inspect it and give you a clean one."

This must be a dream, I'll wake up in a minute . . . Inside, I'm panicking. I know I have to give her the sanitary towel but what'll I do if I bleed and have no protection. I've pleaded with this Screw before and she and others forcibly removed my pants and sanitary towel.'

Women on remand who have resisted strip searching have not only been forcibly stripped; they have been punished with solitary confinement and even with loss of remission (even though they have not been convicted in court!).

There is an interview with a Dublin psychiatrist who explains in professional language what many ex-prisoners have said: that strip searching is comparable to rape:

'Most people think of rape as a sexual act; in fact the more you go into studying rape the more clearly it is revealed as an act of hatred and violence and strip-searching has all the connotations of this . . . I think this could only happen in a state like the North of Ireland or some other fascist-style state, like some of the states of South America . . . to intrude and violate the very private part of a person is, I think, one of the most damaging and violating things that you can do and is therefore a very powerful way of breaking down a personality.'

The way the strip search policy is being applied at present, that is, mainly on journeys to the courthouse, means that prisoners on remand awaiting trial are the worst affected. A section of the pamphlet focusses on Jacqueline Moore, who has been singled out for an appalling level of harassment, apparently in order to force her to give up custody of her baby daughter. The baby, Dominique, who was born in prison in June this year, is being systematically body-searched an average of 26 times a week and her mother has been forced to remove both sanitary protection and breast pads while being strip searched.

The pamphlet goes on to describe the growing national and international support for the campaign to stop the strip searches. It also gives detailed and precise statistics on the frequency of strip searching since 1982. Government figures for certain months this year have not been released, so the prisoners keep their own diary.

This pamphlet is well produced, contains lots of photographs and is well written. It should appeal to a wide audience on a humanitarian basis; it deserves the best possible distribution in order to stop this barbaric practice now.

Available from TOM, PO Box 353, London NW5 4NH. Or from: Marie Moore, POW Department, 51/53 Falls Road, Belfast 13.

Price: £1.00 plus postage.

THE CHRISTY MOORE SONGBOOK

Frank Connolly (ed.)
Brandon Books £3.95 p/b.

Christy Moore has grown vastly popular over the last few years, and can pack concert halls in Britain as well as Ireland. This excellent songbook illustrates his different styles, a fact that perhaps accounts for the breadth of his popularity.

Donal Lunny, an accompanist in many projects, writes an entertaining introduction, a potted history of Christy's career. After a job as a bank clerk, Christy went to England in 1966 where he stayed for five years, playing the folk circuit and adding to his already extensive collection of songs.

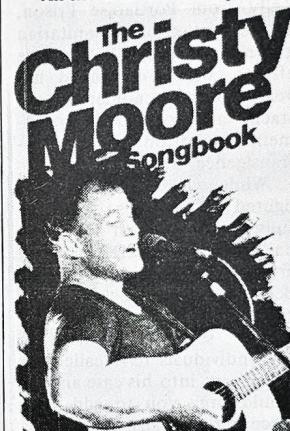
On his return to Ireland he recorded the album *Prosperous*, which won him instant acclaim. From that time on, Christy was in

the forefront of the move to bring traditional Irish folk music to a wider audience, which he did partly by merging it with newer musical styles. Planxty and Moving Hearts were two such bands. This songbook includes many of their finest songs.

Christy Moore's music has always reflected his political awareness, and indeed most of his original songwriting concerns the current situation in Ireland. 'The Wicklow Boy' helped to publicise the recent plight of Nicky Kelly, while the *Spirit of Freedom* album was released in memory of the hunger strikers. It is featured in its entirety in this book.

The songs, totalling over 100, are in chronological order, and each has a short introductory note penned by the man himself. With a repertoire as vast as Christy's, one of your favourites will probably be missing, but the rest will certainly be there.

An excellent Christmas present.



FILM REVIEW: CAL

Directed by Pat O'Connor,
produced by Stuart Craig
From book by Bernard MacLaverty

There is a long-standing British illusion that it is meaningful to talk about conflict – and particularly conflict in Northern Ireland – without talking politics. This film tries to do just that by attempting a purely humanitarian message showing violence, which in the absence of analysis can only appear mindless, and creating an 'ironic tragedy' in the tradition of Romeo and Juliet. But the politics of the film-makers do of course affect the film, and all the more insidiously for being denied and therefore unexamined.

Structurally, the plot is carefully balanced with violence by and loss to loyalists and nationalists alike. However, although loyalist acts are also shown as despicable and thuggish, only the nationalists are seen to be organised, even revelling in their violence. Since no explanations are attempted for their need to organise and since their acts are presented as those of a small and self-motivated group,

they appear to be merely criminal.

This hidden message is underlined by the two leader figures of the two groups. Loyalists are represented as liberal, hardworking, peace-loving in the form of the Protestant farmer who believes that if there were more like Cal's old dad 'there'd be less trouble around here' and gives Cal a job. Nationalists are represented as vengeful and threatening, in the form of the secretive, driven, menacingly well-spoken mastermind of operations – the word 'psychopath' creeps insistently into the mind. Such a hostile, stereotyped characterisation can only be described as racist, and because the film is pretending to be not political there is no glimpse of their motives or any hint that their behaviour – 'good' and 'bad' – may be prompted by history. Just the simple-minded idea that there is good and bad on both sides, always was, always will be.

Women appear in the film as incidental to the activities of the men. This has a kind of consistency to it, since the struggle is described as merely criminal acts of violence by thugs or bigots and therefore, it is assumed, lies outside the realm of women's activities. All the women appear as caring, disinterested, slightly sentimental people who have no statements of their own to make beyond deplored violence in a generalised way. The choice of Helen Mirren, who is not Irish, who made her name in Shakespearian theatre and therefore is thought to bring weight as well as romance to the role of leading lady, seems to epitomise the intention of the film to be 'serious' but 'neutral'.

A number of incidents betray, I suspect unintentionally, insight into the role of the forces of law and order and how they protect and avenge the loyalist population at the expense of the nationalist. No police appear to track down the people who burnt out Cal's home, whereas Cal himself is finally tracked down by local forces – thanks to an informer – with a degree of violence we are expected to excuse since 'He was our mate, you bastard'. And the British Army? It too appears only when called out by the loyalist widow, otherwise it is seen quietly patrolling road blocks and car parks, only shooting when the 'terrorists' provoke an incident, and generally carrying out a peacekeeping and crime prevention role.

The omission of the role of the Army, and by extension of the British State, is the most significant sacrifice to so-called objectivity which the film makes. In fact the best thing the film does is to give anyone working around Ireland the chance to leaflet audiences, and to suggest to cinema managements that they show *Acceptable Levels* instead. This recent film at least places the responsibility for the war in Northern Ireland where it belongs, with the British State and people.

OCTOBER

17th

Douglas Hurd, NI Secretary of State, opens a new bridge across the Foyle at Derry. DUP councillors protest as they see the bridge leading to greater cross-border trade with Southern Ireland.

The NI Assembly votes against the idea of piping gas from the south of Ireland to Belfast. This follows a similar British government decision earlier this year.

18th

Suspended DUP Assemblyman, George Seawright, along with three UDA men, snatches a tricolour from the roof of a leisure centre in West Belfast. Pictures of the incident, which took place in early morning, show Seawright brandishing a revolver. He is later charged with possession of a gun in unusual circumstances. At a press conference at Stormont afterwards, Seawright displays the flag. This is believed to be the first time the tricolour has been displayed at Stormont. By midday, three new tricolours have appeared on the leisure centre roof.

19th

A British soldier is killed and another seriously injured by an IRA ambush in West Belfast.

An Armagh businessman is killed in the crossfire between a British Army undercover unit and an IRA Active Service Unit in Co. Tyrone.

21st

The IRA bomb two car showrooms and a furniture store in Newry, Co. Down.

22nd

The European Commission for Human Rights say that the use of plastic bullets in NI is 'less dangerous than alleged'. The Commission was answering a case brought by a Belfast woman, Kathleen Stewart, whose 13 year old son was killed by a plastic bullet in 1976.

The Irish Anti Apartheid Movement refuses to ban Sinn Fein from affiliation despite the fact that several leading sponsors of the



movement, including the Irish Premier, Garret Fitzgerald, have expressed disquiet with the connection.

23rd

5 DUP councillors disrupt a council meeting in Derry in protest at the recent change of name for the council from Londonderry to Derry. The RUC are called in to remove them.

24th

An official report on NI prison administration denies that the strip searches of women in Armagh jail are different from those used in women's jails in Britain.

Brock's Fireworks are granted a court injunction banning a leaflet that draws attention to the fact that they also manufacture plastic bullets.

Athlone Council in Co. Westmeath, Ireland, seek to evict a 19 year old mother from her council house because she is unmarried.

25th

Douglas Hurd comes to Dublin for talks with Irish Foreign Minister Peter Barry.

26th

Molins Tobacco Machinery, Derry's second biggest employer, close their factory with the loss of 437 jobs. The company plans to expand its operations in England.

29th

The NI Office confirms that Sinn Fein elected representatives are not to be allowed to visit prisoners in Northern Ireland jails.

The OUP (Official Unionist Party) say that they would withdraw from the NI Assembly if any attempt was made to incorporate them into an Anglo-Irish Council.

30th

Harry Muldoon, a nationalist taxi-driver from Ardoyne, North Belfast, is shot dead in his own home by loyalist gunmen.

NOVEMBER

3rd

The Sinn Fein Ard Fheis (Annual Conference) is held in Dublin over the weekend. Among other issues, it is decided to continue the policy of abstentionism in elections. In his presidential address, Gerry Adams describes the Brighton bomb as a 'blow for democracy'.

Two British soldiers are injured by an explosion in the Rossville Flats, Derry.

5th

A Dublin judge, sitting in private session, grants an injunction freezing NUM funds that have been transferred to Ireland to avoid sequestration. The amount involved is said to be £8 million.

Rhodes-Boyson, NI Industry Minister, refuses to meet a Belfast City Council delegation because of the presence of two Sinn Fein councillors. Two SDLP members and one PD councillor walk out in sympathy.

6th

The British government announces plans to introduce new laws to counter personation at elections in the 6 Counties (see article).

8th

Barry Desmond, Southern Ireland Minister for Health, presents plans to introduce a bill legalising the sale of 'non-medical' contraceptives to anyone over 18.

9th

Patrick Cotter, held since March 6th last year on a charge of murdering the Assistant Governor of Long Kesh Prison, is released as there is no evidence against him.

Accountants have so far managed to trace only £8,174 of the NUM's £8 million, a Dublin court is told.

10th

Over 200 people attend a picket at Armagh Jail, in protest at the continuing policy of strip searches (see article).

11th

A report in the *Sunday Times* alleging deliberate obstruction by Dublin to extradition proceedings causes a major diplomatic uproar.

14th

John Gibson, a UVF informer, is sentenced to life imprisonment for four sectarian murders. He has implicated more than 50 people in terrorist offences and is expected to give evidence in court against them at a later date.

The Irish Criminal Justice Bill gets its final reading in the Dail (the Dublin Parliament). The new law bears great similarities to the Police Bill presently passing through the British Parliament.

16th

Paddy Brady, a milkman and a Sinn Fein member, is shot dead outside his workplace by loyalist gunmen.



Photo: Camerawork Derry (see November 3rd)

COMING EVENTS

LONDON

The British Question – A Course in Irish History: Britain's Role and Responsibility

December 2nd:

CONTAINING THE PROBLEM:
British State Strategy;
Irish policies of the British Left

December 16th:

WHAT CAN YOU DO?

The withdrawal movement in Britain

House of St. Barnabas, 1 Greek Street, W1
Admission 50p (includes coffee/tea)

Hosted by the Troops Out Movement
& the Historical Discussion Group

Sundays at 7pm

SHEFFIELD

CEILI

in aid of Miners' Hardship Funds

LIVE IRISH MUSIC & DANCING
with Cassidy School of Irish Dancing

at Sheffield Trades & Labour Club,
Duke St, Sheffield

Admission £1.50 (waged), 50p (unwaged)
Striking miners & their families: free

Organised by Sheffield TOM

FRIDAY DEC. 7th, 8.30pm

JOIN THE TROOPS OUT MOVEMENT

Below is a list of towns and districts in England, Scotland and Wales where we have TOM branches or contacts. If you want to join through a branch or as an individual, please fill in the coupon provided.

ENGLAND

Birmingham

Brighton

Bristol

Cambridge

Colchester

Coventry

Harlow

Hemel Hempstead

Hull

Leeds

Leicester

Manchester

Merseyside

Northampton

Norwich

Nottingham

Oxford

St. Albans

Sheffield

Tyneside

York

LONDON AREA

Camden

East London

Haringey

Islington

Lambeth

West London

Tower Hamlets

SCOTLAND

Aberdeen

Edinburgh

Glasgow

WALES

Cardiff

Swansea

To: P.O. Box 353, London NW5 4NH.

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

Name

Address

Membership of a branch costs £6 (£2 un-

employed) payable through the branch.

Individual membership is £7.50 which
includes a subscription to *Troops Out*.

LONDON

CONFERENCE on Women and Policing

Speakers include:

Doreen Humber (WAPC), Pragna Patel
(Southall Black Sisters), Baldev Gill,
Veronica Dignam (Alconbury Def. Cttee),
Anne Neale (English Coll. of Prostitutes),
Kris Black (Lespop), Barbara Cohen (NCCL),
CAMUR & Chilean Women in Exile,
Sinn Fein, Greenham Women

WOMEN ONLY

Creche, Wheelchair accessible
at Conway Hall, Red Lion Square
(nearest tube Holborn)
Organised by National Campaign Against
the Police Bill

8th DECEMBER, 10am-6pm

LONDON

Half-Day School

to discuss the implications of the new

Labour Defence document

STOP THE EUROPEAN BOMB!

Organised by Labour CND

Speakers include Jo Richardson,

Troops Out Movement

at County Hall, SE1

Adm £1/50p

SUN. DECEMBER 9th,
2.30-5.30pm

LEEDS

Ireland on Video:

'THE CAUSE OF IRELAND'

A showing of the uncensored version
of this widely-acclaimed documentary
on nationalism and socialism
in Ireland today

at Leeds Trades Club, Savile Mount, Leeds 7

Admission 50p

Organised by Leeds TOM

WED. 12th DECEMBER, 8pm

LONDON

East London TOM invites you to a CHRISTMAS & NEW YEAR BENEFIT

with an international flavour

Music, food and bar, fun and games
£2/£1

at Hackney Trades & Labour Club,
96 Dalston Lane, E8

SAT. 22nd DECEMBER, 8pm

LONDON

Labour Women for Ireland BENEFIT

LIVE MUSIC, FOOD, RAFFLE,
STALLS & POSTERS

Children welcome. Wheelchair access.

£1.50 (50p concessions) including food
Bring a bottle

Small Hall, Conway Hall, Red Lion Square,
London WC1 (nearest tube Holborn)

WOMEN ONLY

SAT. 19th JANUARY, 7.30pm



REMEMBER BLOODY SUNDAY, January 1972

when the British Army shot into a peaceful demonstration in Derry, killing 14 people

MARCH in LEICESTER

For details contact TOM, PO Box 353, London NW5 4NH
Tel. 01-250 1293