

TROOPS OUT

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Paper of the Troops Out Movement 20p

BLOODY SUNDAY 1972



SUMMARY EXECUTIONS TODAY



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



END THE TERROR

The Prevention of Terrorism (Temporary Provisions) Act of 1974 (PTA) comes up for annual renewal by parliament this February. It gives the police (usually armed, plain-clothes Special Branch) the power to arrest and detain Irish people for up to seven days, without charging them with any offence.

- It deprives these unfortunate individuals of access to a solicitor, friends, community representatives, or a doctor during this time.
- Technically it deprives them of the right to remain silent, as they can be prosecuted under the Act with withholding evidence or information.
- The police are trained in interrogation techniques to produce 'results', by making people confused and disorientated. These include leaving lights on 24 hours a day, covering clocks and watches, waking people up when they drop off to sleep; and often threats of violence, even death, to further distress and terrify.
- After 3-7 days most detainees are released without any charges, free but frightened individuals. But s/he can also be charged with an offence, and/or be "excluded" by the Home Secretary. This means deportation from Britain to the 26 Counties ie. the South of Ireland or being deported from one part of the UK to another, ie. to the 6 Counties of the North.
- The Home Secretary does not have to produce any evidence to support an exclusion order. The individual can appeal, again to the Home Secretary only, without knowing the basis of the charges against her/him, and without being released on bail.

Probably many people here didn't know of this 'terror act' before it was used against Sinn Fein Assembly elected representatives Gerry Adams, Danny Morrison and Martin McGuinness in December last year. 26 Labour GLC councillors had invited them to London to put forward their views on Britain's war in Ireland and how it could be ended. After some MPs and the media had orchestrated a frenzied, racist and hysterical attack on the visit (see p8), they were excluded, banned from England, Scotland and Wales under Part 2 Section 4 of the PTA. The 'evidence' against them was provided by former N. Ireland police chief, now London Police Commissioner Kenneth Newman (Sir). It was unpublished and wasn't enough to charge them for any 'terrorist' offences back home, which is saying quite something! It wasn't hard to see that the British State was running scared of their ideas.

"If violence in Ireland is to be stopped, if the killings are to be ended, then the whole question of the British presence in Ireland and of the partition of our country must be clearly understood and properly tackled . . . Excluding us from London will not make the problems go away . . ." (Danny Morrison)

However, the PTA is a dreaded and familiar fear for many Irish people living in this country at ports and airports used for a visit home, and in their own homes, for the act was designed to be used against them. Not to prevent 'terrorist' actions or help for such actions, as the chart figures show. This is merely the justification for the Act's terror powers. The PTA is used to silence legitimate support for Irish freedom, to suppress political activity, to stop Irish people speaking out against British injustice in their country. It has also been used against their British supporters. It works to the extent that many of the 5510 persons detained, interrogated, fingerprinted and photographed by the British security forces don't talk of their experiences, the subsequent loss of a job, loss of health, fears of deportation, even though they are innocent of any offence.

A week before the exclusion of the Sinn Fein representatives, a little publicised inquest was held on Eugene Smith, a 38 year old Irishman living in Nottingham. He had been interviewed by the Special Branch after the Hyde Park bombing July '82 and as a result of that experience, hanged himself in his bedroom. He had scrawled on the walls *"I am not a bomber, never have been, never could be"*. His neighbours described him as a quiet considerate man. The police informed the coroner that he had been eliminated from their inquiries.

Many MPs do not even bother to attend the PTA renewal debate. Although Labour party conference policy is against renewal, in practice not even one third of Labour MPs have voted against the Act in previous years. Yet the PTA is racist in its operation, being specifically directed at Irish people living here. It denies fundamental rights. It gives hefty powers to the police, a power readily abused. Its continued operation opens the way for other fiercely undemocratic and repressive laws, such as the Police Bill going through parliament now.

The Connolly Association is holding a lobby of parliament on February 16th. Please support it, or contact your MP to tell her/him why they should go and vote against it.

END THE TERROR

P.T.A. FACTS AND FIGURES 1974-82

Total DETAINED	5510
Released without charge	5139
Charged, but <i>not</i> under the PTA (NB Police try to justify arrests; this partly explains the high numbers.)	275
Charged under the PTA	96
Of these the results were:	
Charges dropped	
Acquitted	3
Absolute/conditional discharge	12
Suspended sentence	2
More than 5 years' sentence (all could have been sentenced under existing legislation)	8
Their charges were:	20
Receiving money for acts connected with 'terrorism'	26
Withholding information	14
Refusal to produce documents	22
Total EXCLUDED from Britain	257
To North of Ireland	227
To 26 Counties	37
Detained at air/sea ports	3918
(This figure represents 2/3 of detentions. All information is computerised. If the person is from the 6 Cos., information goes to the Army computer there. Home Office refuses to delete 'records' of innocent people detained.)	

TROOPS out is produced by an editorial collective drawn from TOM branches in London. Contributions are welcome (although we can't guarantee to publish everything that comes in).

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

British Policy: Shoot to Kill

On Friday 14th of January, the British public was shocked to hear of a shoot-to-kill operation by armed members of the Metropolitan Police in London, which left a young man on a life-support machine, fighting for his life. What most people failed to see, however, was that whether the victim was or was not the man the Police were after – the mistaken identity was almost certainly a genuine mistake on the part of the Police – the officers engaged in the operation went out on duty with the definite intention

to kill the wanted man – David Martin.

In the North of Ireland however, the reality of shoot-to-kill operations carried out by members of the security forces is something which the Nationalist minority have come to know all too well. Over the last three months, though, there has been a dramatic upturn in both the frequency of these summary executions, and the apparent bravado of the Royal Ulster Constabulary in carrying out these murders (with the aid of the British Army), which includes making death

threats to the families of and to the victims themselves.

To date, 6 people have been murdered in this latest phase, the first being three unarmed IRA volunteers, who were shot dead in Armagh by a joint RUC/British Army squad, at a supposed road-block (a week after three RUC men were blown up by the IRA in Armagh). Two INLA volunteers were shot dead under similar suspicious circumstances, a week after the Ballykelly bombing by the INLA. They were also unarmed. In fact the only one of these killings where arms were actually produced by the Police was after a youth of 17 was shot dead and a companion seriously wounded, by the RUC, near Lurgan. The arms, in fact, were 60 years old, didn't work and didn't have any ammunition anyway.

The above incidents can be put down to coincidence, but coincidence can only be stretched so far. Suggestions made by various church leaders, politicians and Republicans that 'a section of the RUC have now been authorised to shoot-to-kill anyone about whom they are suspicious', were met by reactions such as 'Rubbish' by Margaret Thatcher, and a promise of resignation by Lord Gowrie, if such a shoot-to-kill policy existed.

Could it be that after the support shown for the Republican Movement in the recent Assembly elections, the British Government has realised that its 'these criminals have no support/we're beating them' line on the armed resistance no longer holds water, and has declared 'open season' on Republicans?

After all, the recent upsurge in these pre-meditated murders did start not very long after the Assembly elections themselves.



FRAME-UP VICTIM DEMANDS FREEDOM

"You all know Nicky Kelly is innocent!" shouted a spectator at Dublin's Supreme Court at the end of October, "This is a cover-up. You should be ashamed of yourselves."

The case that aroused such anger and outrage is that of Nicky Kelly from County Wicklow, a member of the Irish Republican Socialist Party. On October 29th, the Supreme Court dismissed his appeal against a twelve year prison sentence. All legal channels have now been exhausted and only a direct intervention by the Irish Minister of Justice can free him.

The story begins in the 26 Counties (of Southern Ireland) in March 1976 when a mail train was robbed of £250,000 at Sallins, County Kildare. The State chose to blame the IRSP for the robbery and a series of raids resulted in the arrest of many IRSP members and supporters, who were badly beaten up in custody.

Nicky Kelly was one of those arrested, and denied access to a solicitor. He was pushed, slapped, had his ears banged, was hit with a chair; had his head forced down a toilet bowl; and was forced to lie

on his back while a detective sat on a chair with its legs resting on Kelly's palms. After several days of this Nicky Kelly signed what amounted to a 'confession'. He told the court that the signed simply to stop the beatings.

Two others were forced to make similar 'confessions' or 'admissions' and the three were put on trial in a no-jury court. At the end of two very long trials they were found guilty and sentenced, after the court rejected defence submissions that the statements had been obtained improperly. But Kelly jumped bail before the verdict and fled to the United States.

In May 1980 the other two were released when the Appeal Court accepted that their statements had been made after brutality and deprivation of sleep. (The IRA claimed responsibility for the robbery just before the hearing – thus, it had nothing to do with anyone in the IRSP.) Shortly afterwards Nicky Kelly returned to Ireland to clear his name. US doctors had diagnosed him as suffering from anxiety neurosis.

He was immediately arrested and has

been held in Portlaoise Prison ever since. His case in the Appeal Court was turned down in April this year, and then in October the Supreme Court ruled against him. The Release Nicky Kelly Committee in Dublin describes him as "the victim of a judicial system which deals with technicalities while ignoring the reality obvious to us all". His state of health is still very bad: he possibly suffered brain damage which affects his visual memory and co-ordination; he also suffers depression, insomnia, headaches and gastric troubles. Yet he feels that the verdict of the Appeal Court has left him no alternative but to go on hunger strike if he is not released.

People in England, Scotland and Wales can write to the Irish Embassy in London, or to the Justice Minister in Dublin (Dept. of Justice, Upper Leeson St, Dublin 2), demanding the immediate release of Nicky Kelly.

You can also write to Nicky Kelly at Portlaoise Prison, Laois, Ireland. Letters and cards expressing support will do a lot to help keep his spirits alive and hopeful.

For more details, contact the Release Nicky Kelly Committee, 11 Grange Terrace, Blackrock, Co. Dublin, Ireland.

Armagh Women: **BRUTAL TREATMENT**

Following the appointment in mid-1982 of a new governor to Armagh Jail — Governor Thomas Murtagh — harassment and punishment of the women republican prisoners has been on the increase and in recent weeks the situation in the jail has reached near breaking point.

Since he has been there, Murtagh seems to have had it in for both republican prisoners and their relatives, imposing a draconian rule with restrictions and punishments for the most trivial of "offences". These have included spending "too long" in the toilet or switching TV channels without permission.

Certain women have had letters, parcels and visits stopped (including in the week prior to Christmas) for periods from between one week and *two months*; loss of remission has become commonplace and women have been placed in solitary for long periods of time. A matter of more concern, perhaps, is the fact that several republican women were isolated in different parts of the jail amongst loyalist prisoners.

However, the most disturbing element of Murtagh's regime was his introduction, on November 9, 1982, of strip searches. The women naturally refused to co-operate in this degrading process (which was often watched over by male screws) but, following an undertaking given by Murtagh that if they complied for a short while he would review the whole question of conditions in the jail, they went along with the searches under protest.

He has reneged on this agreement, yet



International Women's Day Picket 1980 of Armagh Jail. (Photo: Derek Spiers/Report)

the strip searches have continued with alarming regularity and have become more and more humiliating and violent. On January 4 this year, on their return from an appearance in court (460 yards from the jail), and having been strip-searched on the way *there*, three remand prisoners were forcibly strip-searched, by being thrown to the ground and having screws sit on them whilst being searched. One woman had her sanitary towel ripped off her. One woman was blindfolded throughout. All received severe bruising and other injuries. All have since been charged with "disobeying an order to strip" and two have each lost seven days remission.

Owen Carron has demanded an

immediate end to these searches, saying in a statement that they are a "scandal... there is no justification for these searches". On January 18 Jim McAlister, Sinn Féin elected representative for Armagh, went to the jail and requested a meeting with the governor. His request was turned down, and it was suggested to him that he put any complaints in writing to the governor or the Northern Ireland Office.

Governor Murtagh would appear to be of the misguided opinion that in the face of degrading and inhuman treatment these women will be broken. He obviously still has much to learn.

For details of International Women's Day delegation to Armagh see box on back cover.

JOB REFORM FAILS

The emergence of the Civil Rights Movement as a force for reform in the late 1960s was a direct result of the repression and discrimination suffered by the catholic/nationalist population of the six counties for over forty years. It was a movement that grew rapidly, and enjoyed considerable support. Over a decade later, the growth of support for the Republican Movement reflects the realisation among that same community of the irrelevance of reforms within the existing state of affairs. It is not difficult to understand why this change in outlook has occurred.

One of the main demands of the Civil Rights Movement was an end to the preferential treatment of Loyalists in the allocation of jobs. It is a demand that has got nowhere. Even the latest official unemployment figures (which are an understatement of the true situation) clearly show continuing discrimination: while for the six counties as a whole, male unemployment averages 26%, in nationalist areas the figure is usually



nearer 50%. This is not to say, though, that there haven't been cosmetic attempts to reform.

The Fair Employment Agency, set up under a Labour Government in 1976, has as its role: 'the examination of discrimination and inequality on religious and political grounds in the field of employment.' Six years later, a recent report of the FEA on the Northern Ireland Electricity Service has found that catholics account for less than 10% of N.I.E.S. engineers, and fewer than 12% of its administrators. Other studies of Civil Service and local authority employment have produced similar results. In Armagh, where 45% of the population is catholic, 80% of Council employees are protestant (not surprisingly, Armagh Council have refused to sign the FEA's code of fair employment!) In Cookstown, where 47% of the population is catholic, 73% of Council jobs are held by protestants. This pattern is repeated in most other local councils.

Similarly, in the industrial sector, even a member of the FEA itself has

admitted that 'fair employment is a disaster.' Engineering, for example, remains an almost exclusively protestant preserve. Two of the big employers of engineers in Belfast, Harland and Wolff shipbuilders and Shorts aircraft manufacturers employ almost totally protestant workforces. Harland and Wolff have no known catholics among their several hundred skilled fitters, and Shorts (a state owned company) estimate that about 6% of their skilled employees are catholics.

This situation has come about because of over 60 years of systematic discrimination, aimed at ensuring that the six counties remain what former P.M. James Craig called 'a protestant state'. Against this background, bodies like the Fair Employment Agency have no chance. As long as this 'protestant state' remains in existence, then there will be little change from the days when Basil Brooke (Craig's successor) was able to say openly: "If we in Ulster allow Roman Catholics to work on our farms, we are traitors to Ulster."

'SUPERGRASS' TACTICS: THE NEW INTERNMENT

Cartoon amended from 'Belfast Bulletin'.



The start of a trial at Belfast Crown Court, on Thursday January 13th, marked the first real test for Britain's latest attempt to normalise the abnormal situation which has existed in the North of Ireland for the past 62 years. Phase one – Internment – failed due to internal outcry. Phase two – Castlereagh Interrogation Centre – failed due to internal and international condemnation. Phase three is the Royal Ulster Constabulary's systematic use of informers. In an interview for *Troops Out*, Gerry O'Brien, from Relatives for Justice explains how it is used and why it must be exposed.

T.O.M. What is Relatives for Justice?

G. O'Brien. The Relatives for Justice group (R.F.J.) grew up in reaction to the systematic and widespread use of informers, by the RUC. The RUC and British Army have been using informers since the start of the present phase of what is called the troubles, from about 1971. But prior to, say, November or December 1981, they've primarily been used in a small specialised scale to gather information. It was from November 1981 that they began using them in a widespread manner in order to put people behind bars.

What exactly is the process, when an informer is recruited?

What actually happens is that the RUC choose fairly carefully – very carefully in fact, the person they want to recruit as an informer and build up a detailed psychological profile on the person; then pick him up, hold him for seven days in one of the holding centres, and by means of bribery, blackmail and psychological pressure – the pressure is on him to become an informer. The bribery may vary from £30,000 to £100,000. There's promises of a new life, usually in South Africa, and immunity from prosecution. They may for example, withhold a charge if a person will co-operate with them, or threaten to charge the husband or wife or relative. There is also the psychological

pressure which is used intensely over a seven-day period.

There is a large number of people that this has been attempted with and have resisted it, so that's how we're able to build up a complex picture of what is going on in a systematic way. But if a person is forced to co-operate, the procedure is that they're taken away to a secret location in England. There are armed guards brought over from the North – members of the RUC's Special Patrol Group. The person is held, usually in an Army or Police barracks. They're kept isolated from their friends and relatives in Ireland, and any news of what is going on. At the time that the person is forced to fall in with the RUC's wishes, his wife and family are taken in the early hours of the morning from their home, by the RUC against their wishes, and are taken into police or Army barracks.

In an effort to break down this isolation of the person the RUC are using as an informer, the RFJ group organised for relatives to attend the court cases and so forth. The exact procedure now by which people are processed, is that after a person is forced to become an informer by the RUC there are large-scale arrests and in Nationalist areas this can range from 20 to maybe 40 people. They are then brought into the holding centre and individually into interrogation rooms and the informer and Special Branch men come into the room. The Special Branch men will say something like "Is it true that between a certain date and another date, you caused or conspired with this other person to cause explosions?", or something like that, and the informer merely answers "Yes", and is taken out of the room again. The person who has been lifted is then brought to Crumlin Road Court, charged and can be remanded for anything up to two years.

Why was the Bill of Indictment used for the latest of these committals?

The Bill of Indictment was used after the

retractions of people the RUC were using as informers. Once these people were able to realise what was going on and get information, they would understand that it was a widespread and systematic thing. They were able to contact their relatives and so forth. Several of them refused to go ahead with the way the RUC was using them, and retracted their evidence in court. They were then let out and of course those who were held under their evidence were also let out – well in most cases, unless the RUC rearrested them again.

It was after this, when the relatives were successfully able to approach them, to convince the people that the RUC were using as informer in court to retract their evidence, and due to the way the whole system was breaking down, that the RUC pressurised the Director of Public Prosecutions to bring in a legal relic, which is called the Bill of Indictment, which enabled the RUC not to produce the informer at the preliminary enquiry stage, and to keep him in isolation, wherever he was, and not be produced until the actual trial date.

What is the significance of the series of trials, which will be starting this year?

The significance of them is this, that the way in which the RUC have been able to use this – the large amounts of people who are up under this system, amounts really to a series of show-trials. If the RUC are allowed to get away with this and the RUC are allowed to process people for 15-20 years in jail on the sole word of an informer they have been able to recruit and use; well, that opens up terrifying possibilities for any political activist in the North. It means that you can be lifted and an informer can be wheeled out and you can be processed through the non-jury Diplock Courts and put away. It's a very, very dangerous precedent to be established, and that's one reason why it has to be exposed, and why it can't be allowed to succeed. For example, an indication of the farcical nature of it is that at present, in the case of the informer Grimley, the prisoners made a protest in court, and the RUC removed them. They also removed the relatives from the court, who weren't making any protest, and so when the court was resumed, the prisoners weren't allowed into the court; the relatives weren't allowed into the court and there was no jury anyway. So all you had in fact was the judge, the informer, and the RUC – what it did was that it indicated that really they were using the whole court system – what passes for a legal system here – merely to process people into jail. It more or less is a form of internment by remand and a form of internment using the legal niceties – that's more or less what it amounts to.

The Derry writer, Fionnbarra O'Dochartaigh, author of 'Sunday, Bloody Sunday', Starry Plough Publications (1977), and a founder-member of the six-county Civil Rights Association (1967), remembers an event on the streets of his native Bogside, eleven years ago this January known as 'BLOODY SUNDAY'. This is reprinted from *Troops Out*, February 1978.

The political events leading up to Bloody Sunday, the planning and execution of this atrocity all figure in this personal commemorative article.

No event in history can be understood if considered in isolation. We must seek out its root cause and track the chain of events leading up to it. Places such as Sharpeville, My Lai and more recently Beirut, are associated with the slaughter of innocents as is the name Bogside, all joining a list of merciless massacres, solely because a ruling-elite turned its face against the granting of fundamental demands made by a politically conscious and active populace. The reason why our blood splattered the pavements and barricades on January 30 1972 was because the nationalist community within the six-county statelet had been denied their basic human rights since the Stormont Government was set up in 1921, which in turn has its roots sunk in the fact that our country has been subjected to eight hundred years of imperialist interference.

LOYALIST BATONS

It was but a few years previous when that nationalist minority took to the streets in the belief that reformist agitation would result in the dawning of a new equality in votes, employment and housing. Such rallies and marches, always in conformity with the principles of non-violence and passive resistance, while meeting with massive world-wide sympathy and practical solidarity, were attracting a vicious response on the streets from the strong arm of unionism — the RUC police. The aim was a simple one, drown the spirits of the marchers with water-cannon and strike fear into those who dared challenge the status quo by well directed baton-charges. The right-wing elements, led by Paisley and such cheer-leaders as William Craig of 'Shoot to Kill' fame — paradoxically in recent years a Human Rights Commission at Strasbourg — were given a free hand in endeavouring to beat the protest movement physically off the streets. In the months that followed the first serious baton-charges at Derry's initial civil rights march on October 5th 1968, the RUC and armed loyalists launched a deliberate onslaught in a vain attempt to force the protest movement to confinement within the ghettos. Such events in April and August 1969 became known as the Battle of Bogside, and 'The Falls' (Belfast). In previous decades the RUC tactics seemed to work, but this time they faced entire working-class communities. The British Government, no doubt with some reluctance, sent in the troops to 'aid the civil authority' — viz; the Stormont junta and its Unionist 'police'.

UPSURGE

Sporadic rioting continued, but by the early summer of 1971 the British government and garrison were making noises about 'being content with the progress being made' In some areas the RUC were on the hoof, and the media went to great lengths to show this apparent 'return to normality'.

The shooting dead of two non-combatants in Derry by the British army at the beginning of July, dramatically changed the political and military scene. Beattie and Cussack had been well-known and popular young men. Their deaths resulted in the youth once again taking to the streets in militant fashion to resist the powers-that-be. A formerly quiescent Irish Republican Army was now emerging as a well-trained and equipped military organisation, steadily growing in both numbers and political influence. Even the tame collaborators within the middle-class SDLP were forced by popular demand to withdraw from the sham 'parliament'. From this point on the nationalist community as a whole, not just republicans, began to view the British army as aggressors. The mask of the 'peace-keepers' had slipped, and the ugly face of imperialism had been revealed for all.

INTERMENT

In August 1971 the Stormont junta introduced its most repressive of weapons — internment without charge or trial. It had been used in every decade since the statelet was established, rather

than concede even the most minimal demands of the nationalists. Unlike more subtle regimes, Stormont had not learnt the lesson that old methods do not always prove effective in new and changing situations.

Immediately on the introduction of internment, which involved hundreds of British troops as well as loyalist forces, Stormont Prime Minister Brian Faulkner declared a 12-months ban on all political demonstrations. The leaders of the six-county Civil Rights Association (NICRA) showed a great reluctance to openly defy the dictates from Stormont hill. More and more they became insignificant, as the nationalist masses began to create new organisational structures — the most successful being the Northern Resistance Movement. This body encouraged a whole array of protest activity. A rent and rates strike was its central response to internment, attracting the support of some 40,000 households.



UNIFIED PROTEST

Internment had had a unifying effect on the entire nationalist population. The nature of the dawn swoops, many being dragged half-naked from their beds and beaten into army trucks, had been witnessed by hundreds of families awoken after 4a.m. by the din of vehicles and helicopters. The first few weeks following that event showed that rather than end political militancy, internment actually exacerbated the situation, with 35 people having died as a result. The nationalist community had not been intimidated. The original rent and rates strike grew to embrace non-payment of TV, radio, car and dog licences; road tax, ground rent, electricity and gas bills, and even hire-purchase to British and unionist companies. Local government came to a virtual standstill, with professional and civic figures withdrawing from public life.

BAN DEFIED

Reports of internees being hooded, subjected to white-noise and physical assault began to emerge from the concentration camps. The many-sided protest movement was now in no mood for back-tracking. A new determination was coupled by intense activity. By the end of December a group of trade unionists from different parts of the north, in conjunction with the People's Democracy, laid plans to defy Faulkner's ban. On Christmas Day some 4,000 marchers braved the elements on the snow-drifted roads to Long Kesh some ten miles from Belfast. The British Army has been outflanked and their attempts to stop the march proved abortive. There was a sense of jubilation in the nationalist ghettos all over the north. The marching season had begun in earnest. The law had been flouted and made to look like an ass. The barricades remained intact in the post-internment reaction, holding out both the British army and RUC. A common joke at the time was that the US could reach the moon, but the Brits couldn't cross Rossville Street. In Derry, as in Belfast,

behind those barricades, people began to create their own structures e.g. co-ops, people's taxi, newspapers, radio stations, and even an independent postal service etc.

BRITISH ANSWER

The British military and political elite saw all these activities as being 'an affront to established ideas of good order'. On January 28 1972 the Cabinet's Defence and Overseas Committee met, immediately following discussions at 'inner cabinet' level. Such august gatherings were hardly discussing a mere arrest and snatch-squad operation and such discussions gave more than an ominous hint of what was to follow.

The political events prior to Bloody Sunday are important to recall. The winter of 1971-72 was the aftermath of the introduction of internment. To survive politically Faulkner had to do



something drastic about the massive reaction by nationalists or be outflanked by his own right-wing. Craig was stomping the countryside building up his new Vanguard movement at mass, often semi-fascist, rallies. By early January Paisley's DUP was threatening that unless 'firm action' was taken against 'Catholic lawlessness', his party too would begin to defy the law. The march called by the NICRA for Derry on January 30th heightened the urgency of this problem for the British.

It was rumoured in the Bogside that the IRA had instructed all its units to dump arms so that there would be no incident on January 30th which might provide the British with any excuse to use unnecessary force, especially when it was envisaged that upwards of 30,000 marchers would be on the streets. A jovial crowd gathered on the day at Creggan and as the demo moved off only the British guessed that such would end in a river of blood, with 13 dead and 17 seriously wounded.

ARMY PLANS

Faulkner held talks with the British Army General Tuzo on the 26th January; the next day he flew to London for private talks with Heath. By the 28th he obtained a public commitment from the Army and RUC that they would take 'action' - as yet unspecified, against illegal marchers. On the 29th a re-assured Paisley called off his counter-demonstration in Derry, saying that he had been informed that the march would be stopped 'by force if necessary'. The chosen instrument was to be the 1st Battalion Derek of the Parachute Regiment under the command of Colonel Derek Wilford who was later to be decorated with an OBE for his service to the Crown on that date.

MARCH STOPPED

The British army allowed the march to leave the Catholic Creggan estate but prevented it from marching to the Guildhall Square by barbed-wire barriers. The organisers almost immediately diverted the march, swinging right along Rossville Street to a rally at Free Derry Corner some 500 yards from the British obstructions.

While Bernadette Devlin and Lord Brockway addressed the assembled mass meeting, a small number remained at the British barriers to verbally abuse the troops. Their protest also included some stones being thrown. The Brits responded by using CS gas and water-cannon. By Derry standards it was hardly a 'major riot'.

FLEEING CROWD SHOT

As later television pictures showed, the group of protestors gradually dispersed, and were absent from William Street when British tactics changed. By 4.15, stragglers making their way to the meeting began to flee at the sight of advancing troops, some 3 companies in all, with those not in armoured vehicles being quickly positioned into firing positions. As the cracks rang out most believed these to be rubber bullets or CS gas canisters being fired. The full horror however was to be witnessed by thousands of eye-witnesses. Those who were shot down were either fleeing...

... KEVIN MCILHINNEY was on his hands and knees crawling away from the rifle-fire when a soldier shot him. The bullet entered his left buttock and travelled through his body to exit at the left shoulder.

Some were going to the assistance of friends or relatives...

... BERNARD MCGUIGAN was shot in the back of the head as he crawled on his stomach towards the dying PATRICK DOHERTY.

Others were trying to surrender...

GERALD MCKINNEY, as everyone fled, stood still holding his hands above his head. A soldier came up and shot him in the chest at point-blank range.

TANGLE OF LIES

The British army's version of events - as given in the official statements to the House of Commons by the Ministry of Defence - can only be described as a tangle of lies. They claimed they opened fire after coming under attack from nail bombers and 'a fusillade of fire of 50-80 shots from the area of the Rossville and Glenfada flats'. Not even the hacks of Fleet Street, who were among the score of journalists present, made such a claim, on the day itself or later as independent witnesses. No one accepted the MOD contention that IRA active service units were engaged in overt armed activity on that date. The British could not present spent shells or bomb fragments to support their face-saving claims. The world was told that their army had, 'in all cases aimed shots at men identified as gunmen and bombers'. They conveniently ignored that some women were shot as well. Forensic tests showed that those killed could not have had contact with weapons or explosive substances at the time of demise; no weapons were found on or near their bodies; no charges were brought against those wounded; and in later months the British Government were to offer large sums by way of compensation to the relatives. The British claimed that some of those shot were on their 'wanted list'; yet this was easily disproved. They said they shot 3 snipers in the flats, yet all the casualties were at ground level.

WHY?

No definite version of what happened can yet be written, and even as the author of 'Sunday, Bloody Sunday', I can state that we might have to wait until 'the 30 year rule' of non-publication of government papers has been passed. Even then there is no guarantee of publication. Some people speculate that the massacre was an attempt to draw out the IRA into an ambush situation and wipe them out in the Bogside ghetto. Others say that the British went berserk - though it is inconceivable that rigidly disciplined paratroopers would lose their heads at the sight of unarmed civilians running away from them. The MOD story has virtually no supporters outside 'the establishment' itself. Another view is that the massacre was to give a number of catholic heads on a plate to disgruntled Unionism, thereby softening them up for the abolition of Stormont later that year.

But perhaps in the last analysis speculation is not necessary. One point stands out incontrovertibly. The massacre was consistent with the entire role of the British Army since internment - to terrorise and break the resistance of the minority community and placate the growing strength of the loyalist far right.

Labour Party IS IT READY TO LEARN?

'Foot kicks Red Ken' screamed the headline of the *London Standard* on Monday December 6th. Two days previously, news had broken of the invitation by 26 Great London Labour Councilors for elected Sinn Fein representatives Gerry Adams and Danny Morrison to visit London. On the same Monday, the *Daily Mirror* attributed Labour Party spokesperson Don Concannon with the incisive comment: "It will cause a stink, and quite right too." (Mild stuff, compared to his later incitement to riot if the visit went ahead.) The troublesome business of Britain's presence in Ireland was indeed once again causing a 'stink' in the Labour Party.

However, despite the predictable reactions of the Labour leaders (GLC Councillor Steve Bundred, one of the organisers of the visit, has aptly described Concannon as 'possibly the most despicable man in Labour Party politics'), a couple of years ago, the very organisation of such a visit would have been unthinkable in Labour Party circles. Labour's support for repressive policies in Ireland was automatic, and the likes of Ken Livingstone and Steve Bundred were few and far between. The pressure for change has come about for two main reasons. Firstly, the massive support in Ireland for the demands of the H-Block hunger strikers (and the subsequent growth of the Republican Movement generally) demolished the argument that militant Republicanism has little support. Secondly, left-wingers in the Labour Party who recognise the reality of Ireland's British problem have made a number of gains over the last few years.

This has resulted in official Labour Party policy being increasingly recognised from within for the absurdity that it is: on the one hand supporting the eventual reunification of Ireland, and on the other, giving the artificially created 'majority' of Unionists in the six counties the right to veto any changes. Even the long silent Tony Benn (who did not mention the word Ireland once in his book *Arguments for Socialism*) supported the proposed Sinn Fein visit in a speech in the House of Commons, and went on to call for British withdrawal. At a local level, some Labour controlled Borough Councils have begun to recognise the need for a socialist perspective on the war in Ireland. Islington Borough Council in North London passed a comprehensive motion at its full meeting in December, after being addressed by a delegation from the Irish in Britain Representation Group. The motion opposed attempts to take the vote away from Irish people in this country, and called for the banning of plastic bullets, the repeal of the PTA, British withdrawal from Ireland and self-determination for the Irish people as a whole.

Developments such as these can only bring pressure to bear for changes in current Labour Party policy, aptly

summed up by the text of Foot's letter to Ken Livingstone about the Sinn Fein visit. The second paragraph reads: "If you wish to learn more about the conflict in Northern Ireland I think you must see other groups too who command more votes and more support than Sinn Fein, including the trade unions, who have a special role in resisting the sectarian politics which have been the curse of Ireland." In other words, recognise Loyalist supremacy, and pretend that there can be a 'Better Life For All*' in a statelet deliberately designed to prevent

it. And, most important, don't forget the crocodile tears when a bomb goes off.

* The 'Better Life for All Campaign' is the official response of the trade union movement in the six counties to the war. In fact it's not a campaign at all, but a document which condemns violence sectarianism and discrimination. It has no part in day to day union activity.

LABOUR PARTY & IRELAND

Next month's *Troops Out* is beginning a series of short articles on the history of the Labour Party's record on and involvement with Ireland. Don't forget to buy or order your copy.

Policy Slammed

Current Labour Party policy on Ireland is described as 'doomed to failure' in a report recently submitted to the Party's National Executive Committee by the socialist lawyers group, the *Haldane Society*. The report states that: "British withdrawal from Northern Ireland should be the policy objective of British socialists, notwithstanding the opposition of a substantial section of the Northern Irish population to this policy." The *Haldane Society* comprises several hundred lawyers, barristers and academics from the legal profession, and has been reviewing its policy on the war in Ireland

over the past two years. The report goes on to argue that: "To be trapped into making the consent of the population of Northern Ireland the decisive consideration in an analysis of Northern Ireland politics, is ultimately to be trapped in the language and mechanisms of the Loyalist population of an artificial political entity. By failing to confront the Unionist veto, current party policy "will remain a mere pious hope; an insubstantial and ineffective policy for a problem that, while it remains unsolved, brings continued suffering, misery and poverty to the people of Northern Ireland."

Copies of the *Haldane Society's* report can be had from T.O.M. P.O. Box 353, London NW5 4NH, price 50pence.



Cartoon from 'Labour Herald'

PRISONERS' BIRTHDAYS

Please send cards to these prisoners who endure horrific conditions in English jails — often in isolation — so that they know they are not forgotten. Remember to use the prisoners' numbers.

ANTONY CLARKE			
726381	HM Prison Albany, Newport, Isle of Wight		11th Feb.
GERRY YOUNG			
507954	HM Prison Long Lartin, South Littleton, Evesham, Worcs WR11 5TZ		27th Feb.
JOHN McCLUSKEY			
136 282	HM Prison Hull, Hedon Road, Hull, Yorkshire HU9 5LS		12th March
PATRICK MULRYAN			
461575	HM Prison Long Lartin, South Littleton, Evesham, Worcs WR11 5TZ		23rd March
GERRY CUNNINGHAM			
132016	HM Prison Long Lartin, South Littleton, Evesham, Worcs WR11 5TZ		24th March

A motion calling for the repatriation of Irish Republican prisoners in British jails to prisons near their homes, has been tabled at the European Parliament, by a group of British Labour MEP's led by former British cabinet minister Barbara Castle and co-signed by Euro-MPs Richard Balfie, Alf Lomas and Roland Boyes.

The motion, which is expected to be debated in the current session of the Parliament, says that the families of men and women imprisoned far from their homes suffer 'sacrifices and stresses which constitute cruel and inhuman treatment'.

Prisoners in all EEC member states would be entitled to transfers under the motion, but specific attention is drawn to Irish prisoners in British jails.

The *Troops Out* Movement is currently running a campaign for, among other things, repatriation for those Irish prisoners who ask for it. As always money is vital to any campaign and donations should be sent to Box 353, London NW5 4NH.

ONE YEAR TO 1984

A Conference under the title "One Year to 1984: Resisting the British State" was held in London on December 11th by the Troops Out Movement. The range of speakers and topics fully bore out the old saying that "the sun never set on the British Empire because God didn't trust Britain in the dark".

The conference began with a showing of the film "Mau Mau" about the Kenyan independence struggle. Then Harpal Brar, National Organiser of the Indian Workers Association spoke on the link between the fight against imperialism by oppressed people all over the world, Ireland included, and the fight for the social emancipation of the working class in the imperialist countries.

Mary Nellis from Derry gave a detailed account of how repression in the North of Ireland works, dividing it into three areas — the police, army, special courts and prisons; social oppression, such as bad housing, unemployment and enforced poverty from the Payment of Debt Act, and technology such as surveillance, computers and identity checks. She pointed out that despite all these things, "the resistance movement which is the IRA, Sinn Féin and INLA is surviving, is growing in popularity (as witnessed by our successes



Mary Nellis (Photo Nick Oakes/Photon)

in the Assembly election) and it will not disappear... We are on our way to victory".

The preceding week's events surrounding the invitation to Gerry Adams and Danny Morrison of Sinn Féin to visit London and their subsequent exclusion, were outlined by GLC councillor Steve Bundred. He believed

that the events of that week inflicted more damage on the Government than the Opposition front bench had done in three years. He pointed out that the Government was vulnerable to attack on Ireland "and that we must learn to attack them where it hurts".

The afternoon session was opened by Gail Lewis of the Brixton Black Women's Group, who gave a detailed history of British imperialism and the links between the experiences of Ireland and other colonised peoples. Gerry O'Brien of "Relatives For Justice" in the North of Ireland told of the pressures put on people to become informers and how as a result of their "confessions" hundreds of people are held in prison as a sort of mini-internment.

Dave Douglas of the Yorkshire NUM spoke of the attacks of the State on miners, one of the more militant sections of the working class, and how the cohesiveness of the mining communities is being deliberately eroded. The final speaker was Unmesh Desai of the Newham 8 Defence Campaign. The Newham 8 are a group of young Asians who, while defending a school from racist attacks, were assaulted by a group of white men yelling abuse. They turned out to be police and the Asians have been charged with assault.

The willingness to learn from each other's struggles was felt at this Conference is a very hopeful sign for the future: it is the same spirit that leads to wall murals in Belfast supporting the Palestinians, to Asian youths supporting last year's Bloody Sunday commemoration march in Birmingham.

'SILENT TOO LONG': Relatives Speak

The inquest into 11 year old Derry youth Stephen McConomy, killed by a plastic bullet in April last year, opened in Belfast on Wednesday 19th January.

The week beforehand, Stephen's aunt, Rhona Toland, made a brief speaking tour of northern England along with Michael English, whose 19 year old son, Gary, was deliberately run down and killed by an Army armoured car two years ago.

They spoke at meetings in Leeds, Sheffield, York and Manchester, organised by the Troops Out Movement. Both Rhona and Michael are members of Silent Too Long, a group formed by relatives of the hundreds of Irish people killed by the British Army, the RUC police and loyalist paramilitaries. (See also Troops Out Dec 82/Jan 83).

Stephen McConomy's inquest is being held in Belfast — in common with all plastic bullet victims because they are taken to the Royal Victoria Hospital in Belfast before they die; therefore the bodies are under the jurisdiction of the Belfast coroner.

The result of this, the meetings heard, is that "Shankill juries" (i.e. loyalist) chosen by the coroner hear the cases. They are obviously not very sympathetic to nationalists killed by the army or police.

In Gary English's case, however, his father says there is still no sign of an inquest being held, two years after his death. Michael English is being obstructed at every turn, and he describes his battles to get at the truth in a way which prompted several listeners to remark on the similarities with the now notorious Helen Smith case — except that in the North of

Ireland it is the rule rather than the exception.

Because Gary English was killed in Derry, his inquest will have to be held there. As it is a predominantly nationalist city the chances of an "unlawful killing" verdict are high, given the overwhelming evidence presented on the speaking tour by Michael English — including statements by eyewitnesses and soldiers, forensic evidence and photographs.

"They'll be happy having the inquest in about five years time — when my son is just a memory," said Michael.

It is hoped that speakers from Silent Too Long will be making more trips to England, Wales or Scotland this year. Such visits are essential because the British media excludes such views and experiences from its coverage of the war in Ireland — where only those killed by the IRA or INLA seem to have relatives.

- In Sheffield, Rhona Toland was invited on a radio phone-in programme with Euro-MP Richard Balfé. One of the phone-callers was Labour MP Don Concannon, who remains under the delusion that all the plastic bullet victims are "rioters" and "petrol bombers"! Rhona soon enlightened him, exposing his prejudices and ignorance at the same time.
- In Manchester, Rhona and Michael attended a small meeting at Manchester University at lunchtime on January 18, organised by the University Women's Group. In the afternoon they recorded an interview with BBC Radio Manchester. In the evening they addressed a TOM meeting in UMIST attended by about 70 people. Dr Redgrave, a medical expert who participated in the international tribunal of inquiry of deaths and serious caused by plastic bullets, also spoke. He described some of the hundreds of appalling injuries caused by plastic

bullets that he had witnessed in Ireland and emphasised that none of the fourteen people killed by plastic bullets had been involved in rioting.

Michael English said he had brought this message to people in Britain — that if Britain were not prepared to protect the basic right of an individual to justice and equality before the law, then Britain should leave Ireland and allow the Irish people to administer justice themselves for the people of Ireland.

PLASTIC BULLETS PETITION

A 2000-name petition was handed in at No.10 Downing Street, on Friday 10th December, by Richard Balfé MEP, which called on the British Government to implement the European Parliament decision to call on all member states to ban the use of plastic bullets.

The petition came from New Zealand where it was signed by people of Scots, English, Welsh, Irish and European extraction as well as by Maoris and members of all peoples who make up New Zealand society. A copy of the petition was handed in at the British High Commission in Wellington, New Zealand.

The petition was organised by the New Zealand H-block and Armagh Committee which was formed to build support for the hunger-strikes which ended in the tragic deaths of ten young Irish men in Long Kesh. Today there are such committees in five of the largest cities of New Zealand: Auckland, Wellington, Christchurch, Dunedin and Hamilton.

This latest petition is yet another example of the growing international condemnation of, not only Britain's use of plastic bullets, but of Britain's occupation of the North of Ireland itself.

REVIEWS & LETTERS

ABORTION THE IRISH QUESTION

By Dr Andrew Rynne, Ward River Press, Knockedan House, Swords, Co. Dublin, IR£3.50.

This book is a must for anyone who is interested in the proposed 'pro-life' amendment to the Irish constitution.

In *Abortion The Irish Question*, Andrew Rynne points out that although the British 1861 Offences Against the Person Act makes abortion in Ireland illegal, there has never been a prosecution under the Act. Bearing in mind that upwards of 3,000 women travel from the 26 Counties every year for abortions (and about the same number from the Six Counties), this is an important reflection of attitudes.

The proposed amendment however, it has been suggested by 'Barristers Against the Amendment', would permit the state or any citizen to take out a court injunction to prevent a woman from having an abortion.

Access to abortion if she wants it, for a woman, is something which a majority of people in Britain regard as a civil liberty. Attempts to restrict such access in recent years have met with massive opposition.

In Ireland, the assumption has always been that the vast majority of the population are opposed to abortion. This may well be true, but in his book Rynne illustrates that people's attitude is by no means simplistic.

The second part of the book puts sixteen 'relevant' questions to twelve people who have spoken out on the question. Most of them are influential people in Irish society ranging from a professor of obstetrics and gynaecology at Trinity College Dublin to journalists, clerics and women's movement activists. (No Catholic bishop, however, was willing to be included.)

The biggest weakness of this book is that it never mentions the actual reality of life for most women. Women are almost irrelevant to the debate as posed, but Rynne and others do point out that nobody has yet surveyed the reasons why Irish women have abortions. Andrew Rynne has listened to six women's views on the subject and that is a start.

Rynne is opposed to the proposed amendment. It solves nothing and will if passed create more problems both for Irish women and for Ireland as a whole, as its sectarian nature will fuel the fires of Unionist bigotry.

Falls Memories

by Gerry Adams, Brandon Press, Dingle, Co. Kerry. £1.95

Gerry Adams's *Falls Memories* is a rare and interesting book, both timely and readable in its account of the Nationalist people of the Pound Loney and the Falls Road. Now excluded from England, Scotland and Wales, Gerry Adams, recently elected as Assembly man for the West Belfast constituency on a Sinn Féin platform of clear support for the armed struggle against the British in the North of Ireland, gives an insight into the concerns, conditions and realities of the people who elected him. Those expecting his book to focus on religious wars and peace-keeping forces of British government propaganda and media coverage will be disappointed – and of the last 13 years of war, as he says 'mar a deirtear, is e sin sceal eile' (as they say, that's another story).

Firstly, in *Falls Memories* he writes of the pre-colonial Irish society from 3700 BC. That it has been handed down and remembered in folklore is evidence from the recurring references to 'fairy forts' – the burial places called passage graves in Britain. It seems that the British army barracks Fort Pegasus is built on and had destroyed a 'fairy fort'. So destructive has the continuing impact of British influence been that few forms of that society remain as recognisable features. Gerry Adams recounts the destruction through the writings of the time, linking these by his and other people's memories.

At each of the two major periods of British activity and growth of power – the conquest and plantation of Ulster in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and the industrialisation of Belfast in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries – the position of the native Irish had deteriorated and was marginalised. The fall from power of the native Irish was achieved initially through a policy of exterminating them. Writing in 1600 it is reported

'I burned all along the lough within 4 miles of Dungannon and killed 100 people, sparing none of whatever quality, age or sex, soever besides many burned to death. We kill men, women and child and whatever we find.'

For this, Chichester was rewarded by Elizabeth I by grants of land and Belfast Castle. With the power of the Ulster chieftains broken, the way was open for the English to disinherit the native Irish, the Plantation of Ulster began in earnest. That the oppression was sectarian is evident from the congregation of Gaelic Irish to the west of Belfast city centre, outside the earthworks built after 1641 in what is now Castle St. The British army and RUC still maintain a check point in Castle St. to secure the city centre from the native Irish. They were forbidden to live within city or town walls, and the congregation to the West of the city was the



(Photo: John Sturrock/Network)

beginning of West Belfast in its present form.

With the industrialisation of Belfast in the last two centuries and the development of cotton and linen mills, the policy and practice of oppression was extended. Belfast grew to become the most populous town in Ireland, its hinterland stretching to the cheap labour supply of Donegal, Connemara and Leitrim, pulling in the impoverished people – the survivors of the famine, the subsistent handloom weavers and the poor farmers and their families. They congregated in West Belfast and in the other nationalist strongholds. The women and children found work in the mills, the men were employed as carters and dockers and were excluded from the skilled jobs in the growing engineering and shipbuilding industries.

Gerry Adams recounts with evident respect for the people of the Pound Loney and the Falls Road, the attempts to unionise, to improve factory conditions and to organise politically – the response from the authorities was openly sectarian and divisive. With chapters on education, the catholic church, the workers and the unions he plots the growth of West Belfast, the miseries of the people, the building of the factories, houses, schools and churches – who financed them and who used them. In fact, the emphasis of British policy has been to marginalise West Belfast and the native Irish population centred on it. West Belfast was built as a colonial ghetto and has been maintained as one – harnessed to British capital and power.

As he writes, the reader learns of the men, women, children and characters of the area. The Old Man's story is particularly enjoyable. He depicts working class life in an inner city area and it is recognisable as such. I have a feeling, however, reading this book that while the Pound Loney and its streets have largely disappeared, the spirit of the people continues, and out of that spirit the present war has come.

Dear Troops Out,

While liking the Dec/Jan issue of *Troops Out*, I feel I must write to complain about the article "The Truth about 'Tit for Tat' Killings". In the article it states that sectarian murders are not practised by Republican groups in Ireland.

It's a falsehood to say that "sectarian murders", or killings other than sectarian, have not been committed by Republicans. Bayards Bar, the twelve Protestants killed in the Whitecross massacre etc, provide examples which the Republican movement has admitted as such itself. It's a pity to resort to disguising aspects of reality which don't help the case for a United Ireland. But they have to be confronted.

What has to be stated, explicitly, is that sectarian murders are a result of the false sectarian state created by Britain and the Loyalists. That such oppression is part and



TROOPS OUT NOW
T-SHIRTS, white with
green lettering. £3

parcel of the permanent role of the Loyalist majority and that sectarian murder was often condoned, as state policy, by the government, police and latterly the British Army, or even at the beginning of the Northern Ireland state when the British Army and Loyalist paramilitaries openly co-operated in suppressing the Catholic minority.

What has to be examined in the pages of *Troops Out* is that sectarian murder is the inevitable result of British-created "colonial" policy in the North of Ireland, and that the only way to end it is to have Britain withdraw.

Fraternally, M.D., Tyneside

Troops Out welcomes your views and opinions. Send your letters to Box 10, 2a St Paul's Rd, London N1.

NOVEMBER

25th
Results of General Election in South of Ireland leave no party with overall majority; new Government formed by coalition of Fine Gael (led by Garret Fitzgerald) and the Labour Party.

28th
RUC police reservist shot by IRA in Armagh.

29th
Sinn Féin representative Gerry Adams and a Sinn Féin tenant meet Housing Minister about conditions on Moyard Estate, West Belfast, where recently one child contracted polio and another died from gastro-enteritis. Minister invites SDLP and Alliance Representatives along to take the credit, agrees to some repairs of sewage system but not to demolition.

30th
Prior addresses his new Assembly (totally Unionist in ideology) and consents to their demands for increased 'security'; more police to be recruited, at a cost of £38 million; asks Govt to permit extradition of suspects from South to North, refers to 'silent and clandestine security measures that take place' by RUC and British Army.

DECEMBER

2nd
Part-time UDR soldier shot by IRA in Co. Tyrone.

Unemployment figures in North show continued discrimination: Strabane, Dungannon, Cookstown (nationalist) have 33-37% unemployed against average 20.1% (official figures) - itself appalling.

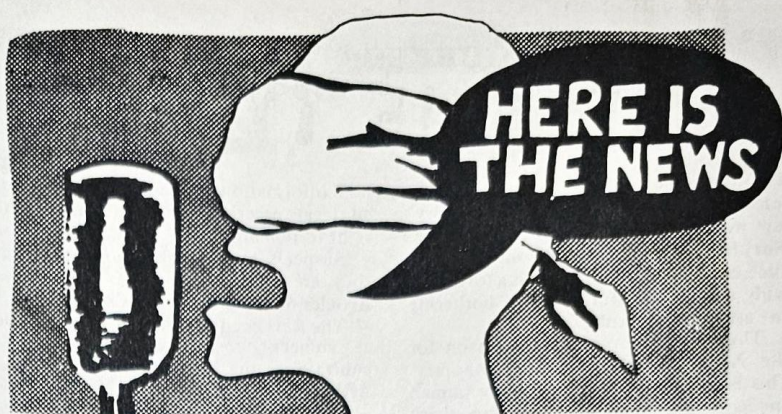
5th
26 British Labour councillors invite Sinn Féin elected Representatives Gerry Adams and Danny Morrison to London for talks on Dec 14th.

6th
INLA bomb Droppin Well pub in Ballykelly during Army disco: 11 soldiers and six civilians are killed.

7th
Trial starts in Belfast of 38 people charged with IRA-related offences on the 'evidence' of supergrass Christopher Black - they have been remanded for over a year, 16 of them in custody. Black's parents - who have been trying in vain to contact him for 15 months - are expelled from the court when they spoke to him from the public gallery. In a case in Dublin an extradition order is granted against Dominic McGlinchey wanted on a murder charge in the North - his plea that it was a political offence is withdrawn half-way through the application.

8th
Home Secretary Whitelaw passes exclusion order, under Prevention of Terrorism Act, on Adams, Morrison and another SF Representative Martin McGuinness, preventing them from entering Britain. This is on request of London police head Kenneth Newman (ex-RUC). Thatcher gives reason as 'police knowledge of involvement in terrorism'; Unionists complain, why aren't they arrested in North then? Foot supports Thatcher, on grounds of public order. Also in Commons, Emergency Provisions Act is renewed for another six months by 94 to 15 votes; Benn: 'There is no policy that we can decide in this House for Northern Ireland because we should not be there at all... Britain must withdraw from Northern Ireland.' And a Select Committee in Parliament examining the voting rights of Irish people in Britain erupts in Tory anger over Ballykelly bombing; Hattersley (Labour) promises that if Tories take away vote, Labour will restore it.

12th
Two members of INLA are victims of RUC shoot-to-kill policy: Seamus Grew and Roddy Carroll are shot dead in Armagh by a police roadcheck; civilian eyewitnesses contradict



RUC version. Verbal protests from Cardinal O'Fiaich, Dr John Armstrong (Church of Ireland primate) and SDLP deputy Seamus Mallon; even Alliance Party calls for inquiry; six Armagh priests accuse RUC of 'policy of summary execution without trial'. Prior admits existence of anti-terrorist squads in RUC but denies any policy of shoot-to-kill.

16th
Seamus Mallon, deputy leader of SDLP and a member of Dublin Senate, is deprived of his Assembly seat by a court in Armagh because he is 'a member of a legislature outside the British Commonwealth'.

Middlesborough Council, Cleveland, becomes the eighth local council to vote against disenfranchisement of the Irish in Britain; later in the month Coventry and London Boroughs of Islington, Haringey and Hackney do likewise. But Birmingham and Kensington vote to deprive the Irish of their voting rights in Britain.

17th
Closure announced of Michelin tyre factory at Mallusk, Co Antrim, with job losses of over 2,000 - the biggest single closure of 1982 (including British Enkalon and De Lorean).

20th
UDR soldier shot by IRA in Armagh. Fine Gael to reactivate its Constitutional Crusade (started during its last term of office) 'to remove aspects of the Constitution regarded as obstacles to better North-South understanding', in particular the claim to the whole territory of Ireland. Serious danger of new Dublin Govt appeasing Unionists.

22nd
Dr Andre Rynne (see p.10) is arrested and charged with selling contraceptives (condoms) illegally (without a prescription) - he courted this as a test case to challenge the Health Family Planning Act in South of Ireland. Thatcher visits the North for 7 hours - first leg of Christmas tour round Britain's colonial wars. A priest, Father Mac Seain, is arrested by the RUC in Co. Armagh under Emergency Provisions Act for refusing to translate his name from Irish; he is subjected to mockery and scorn in the police barracks.

27th
Shoot-to-kill policy: 19 year old Patrick Elliott is shot dead by British soldiers after robbery of a chip shop in West Belfast. No firearms or republican connections. His mother calls for an inquiry.

29th
And another: Kieran Leonard is shot and wounded by British Army in Co. Fermanagh. RUC claim he was 'acting suspiciously', and was shot near a bomb detonator wire; in fact he walked by chance into an army stakeout. After shooting him, the soldiers tied him to a tree.

30th
RTE (TV/State Company in South) censors debate on the 'abortion' referendum to amend the Constitution to protect the life of the

unborn: stops a discussion on the 'Late Late Show' and restricts coverage to news broadcasts and current affairs programmes which must be 'objective and impartial'. On 11th Jan RTE chairperson Fred Donovan expresses this impartiality by a comment, 'Death on demand is what we are talking about!' NUJ protests at his interference.

JANUARY 1983

1st
Irish Congress of Trade Unions issues statement against the proposed 'abortion' referendum: it is unnecessary because abortion is already against the law; 'grave doubts about the wisdom of using constitutional prohibitions as the means of dealing with complex moral and social problems'; and 'There is a pressing need for radical reforms in family law particularly as regards marital breakdown and the rights of children. These are matters which must be given priority attention'.

5th
Dublin Government bans the Irish National Liberation Army (INLA): membership of INLA, like that of the IRA, now carries prison sentence of 7 years; public meetings outlawed; possible restrictions on media coverage.

A meeting of Irish, Scottish and English Catholic bishops in Armagh is picketed by relatives of shoot-to-kill victims angered by recent statement of Bishop O'Brien which supported the 'security' forces.

6th
Two members of RUC shot by IRA in Rostrevor, Co. Down.

11th
UDR soldier Brian Roberts gets life imprisonment for murder. His victim, in Ardoyne 1981, was an innocent Catholic walking home; he also wounded three others - all with his UDR-issued pistol.

12th
NF leader Martin Webster is fined £100 for organising an illegal march - a counter-demonstration to last January's Bloody Sunday Commemoration march in Birmingham.

Malcolm Macarthur is given life sentence for murder in Dublin - he pleads guilty to murdering nurse Bridie Gargan and no evidence is heard; another murder charge is adjourned. Fears of a cover-up due to Macarthur's friendship with Attorney General.

16th
Belfast judge William Doyle is shot by IRA: 'Doyle was a prominent member of the North's Orange judiciary and as such was actively involved in the propping up of the British imperialist presence in Ireland.' (IRA statement)

18th
RUC reservist shot by IRA in Derry. Dublin Minister for health, Barry Desmond of the Labour Party, shocks Government by refusing to introduce the Bill to permit the proposed referendum on the 'abortion amendment' to the Constitution. It will be introduced by the Minister for Justice instead.

EVENTS & RESOURCES

END THE TERROR

The Prevention of Terrorism Act was introduced in 1974 as a 'temporary' law which has to be renewed each year. Not that it seemed to make much difference in practice: the renewal is a formality with only a handful of MP's bothering to attend as a rule.

There is, however, a good reason for the Act being classified as temporary. This is that it undercuts so many human and civil rights that it makes a mockery of the statute books. If it were a regular permanent law this fact would be glaringly obvious and even conservative law-makers would have to oppose it. By calling it 'temporary' the British State has got away with it, so far.

During the past year the Jellicoe Inquiry has been examining the workings of the Act. Submissions made to it by the Connolly Association, the Federation of Irish Societies, the Irish National Council and the NCCL have exposed how the Prevention of Terrorism Act has blasted great holes in accepted human rights:

- The Prevention of Terrorism Act empowers the police to arrest, detain and interrogate without subsequent trial or appeal. This contravenes Article 6 of the European Convention on Human Rights (*habeas corpus*).
- Under the Prevention of Terrorism Act people can be 'excluded' from one part of the UK (usually from Britain to Northern Ireland), even though they have not been charged with a crime under the Act. This contravenes Protocol 4 of the European Convention.
- The exclusion orders cannot be challenged. This contravenes Article 13 (the right to a legal remedy within one's own country).
- The Act makes it an offence to with-

hold information. This contravenes accepted legal practice of 'judges rules' (the right to remain silent).

- Suspects have no right to know what they are charged with. This contravenes Articles 6 of the European Convention.

— The Act specifically defines Irish people as subject to exclusion orders. This contravenes the Race Relations Act and Article 14 (all are equal before the law).

- The Act empowers police to make arrests 'on suspicion'. Accepted legal practice is that the police must have 'reasonable suspicion'.

— The Act permits seven days detention without charges. This greatly extends police powers and results in practice in heavy interrogations, and threatened or actual physical brutality.

The Prevention of Terrorism Act has brought fear and suffering to the 5,500 plus held under this law; it has brought total disruption to the lives of 257 people served with exclusion orders. For the millions of Irish people living in Britain, the Prevention of Terrorism Act means an overall atmosphere of intimidation, the real probability of police harassment and the possibility of a sudden and unjustified arrest. For everyone else in Britain the breaches of human and civil rights mentioned above tears into shreds the 'fabric of democracy' you might imagine you are living in.

So write to your MP demanding that she or he votes against renewal of the Act this year (the Labour Party has a policy opposed to it, the other Parties do not). Join the Lobby of Parliament on February 16th organised by the Connolly Association. End nine years of terror brought about by the 'Prevention' of Terrorism Act.

LOBBY OF PARLIAMENT

To prevent the renewal of the Prevention of Terrorism Act

16th February

CONFERENCE AGAINST THE PREVENTION OF TERRORISM ACT, AGAINST MEDIA MISREPRESENTATION AND DISCRIMINATION

Organised by Connolly Association

Sat 5th February, Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London WC1, 2-5pm



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 ten 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 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

NEW from Troops Out Publications

'CREATION OF TERROR'

This pamphlet examines the PTA in its background and history, uses and effects. It contains interviews with people who have been detained under the Act and offers some suggestions of what can be done if the PTA catches up with you or someone you know. It also contains a fold-out wall poster.

PRODUCED BY THE TROOPS OUT MOVEMENT

Price 45p plus 20p p&p

LONDON

DISCO

In Aid of the Anti-Amendment Campaign

THE BELL, PENTONVILLE RD, N1

Sat. 5th FEB 8-12pm

Bar Extension and Food

Women only

BIRMINGHAM

Labour Committee on Ireland SOCIAL

with Ros Na Ri, traditional Irish Music

Fri 11th Feb, 8-12pm

The Mermaid,

Sparkhill, Birmingham 11

MANCHESTER

LABOUR MOVEMENT DELEGATE CONFERENCE TO BAN PLASTIC BULLETS

Sessions: What is a plastic bullet? How is it used? The Northern Ireland context. With speakers from Ireland and Britain. Bar, refreshments, creche and evening social.

Saturday 26th February, 11.00am.

UMIST, Barnes Wallis Building,

Sackville St, Manchester 1

For more details: Box 15,

164/6 Hanging Ditch, Manchester M3 4BN

ARMAGH JAIL PICKET ON INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY

In 1983, as in previous years, International Womens Day will be marked by a day of solidarity with the Irish women prisoners in Armagh jail. For details of travel and other planned events during the weekend, contact:

Armagh Coordinating Committee
c/o 374 Grays Inn Rd, London WC1
March 4th-6th

DEMONSTRATION

The Troops Out Movement is initiating a march on May 7th 1983 calling for: Britain Out of Ireland, and Self-Determination for the Irish People as a Whole.

If you wish to support this demonstration or want details, contact the TOM, PO Box 353, London NW5 4NH