

TROOPS OUT

Paper of the United Troops Out Movement

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Photomontage by Peter Kennard for Troops Out

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SPEAKING

10p

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

Evening Standard

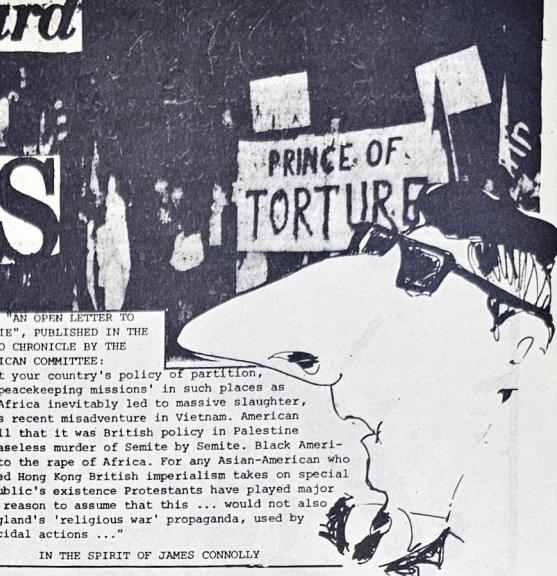
PRINCE CHARLES IN IRA DEMO

EXCERPT FROM "AN OPEN LETTER TO PRINCE CHARLIE", PUBLISHED IN THE SAN FRANCISCO CHRONICLE BY THE IRISH REPUBLICAN COMMITTEE:

"You must know that your country's policy of partition, usually labelled 'peacekeeping missions' in such places as Cyprus, India and Africa inevitably led to massive slaughter, as did our nation's recent misadventure in Vietnam. American Jewry remembers well that it was British policy in Palestine that caused the ceaseless murder of Semite by Semite. Black Americans bear witness to the rape of Africa. For any Asian-American who has recently visited Hong Kong British imperialism takes on special meaning... You must also be aware that during the Irish Republic's existence Protestants have played major roles in all levels of government and business. There is no reason to assume that this ... would not also be followed in the reunified North - thus putting to lie England's 'religious war' propaganda, used by your country's rulers to defend their indefensible and genocidal actions..."

ERIN GO BRAGH AND CHARLIE GO HOME

IN THE SPIRIT OF JAMES CONNOLLY



THE UNITED TROOPS OUT MOVEMENT

The United Troops Out Movement is a national movement made up of people who believe that the 'troubles' in Ireland are caused by centuries of British domination and the continuing British presence there, both military and economic.

It has branches up and down the country, whose members are campaigning around the two demands:

**TROOPS OUT OF IRELAND!
SELF-DETERMINATION
FOR THE IRISH PEOPLE!**

The U.T.O.M. believes that the presence of British troops in Ireland is the most serious obstacle to any solution of the problems there.

Not only have they no 'legal' right to be there (Ireland was England's first colony - the land was stolen from the native Irish several hundred years ago) but also their presence ensures that the working class in the North of Ireland cannot unite to find its own solution.

For seven years the British Army has been occupying the North of Ireland, holding down its people by coercion and brutality, maintaining the division of Ireland and keeping one part of it as Britain's colony. Yet, in these seven years, there have been few voices raised against the injustice of this occupation.

It is not surprising. We are kept in ignorance. Most of what happens in Ireland is not reported, and what we are told is distorted in ways that are hardly believable. The struggle for civil rights and self-determination, freedom from military oppression and State sanctioned discrimination come over as their opposites: immoral gangsters and the rest. Or else we are told that it is too difficult to understand, nothing is clear cut enough to take up a position on.

That the ruling class goes to such lengths to hide their actions is not surprising either. There is a danger (to them, at least) that if the truth came out they would be discredited in the eyes of those they rule, and so their right to rule would be brought into question.

The United Troops Out Movement campaigns for just such an opposition. It was formed last July at an open national conference, to develop and broaden the work of the Troops Out Movement. It is a broad front of people with many different outlooks but united in the two demands, and determined to work to see them achieved.

At the July Conference the United Troops Out Movement agreed to campaign against the suppression of the democratic rights of assembly and discussion on the Irish question, and to support the rights of Irish prisoners. Sub-committees were set up to co-ordinate the work of branches and members around publications, anti-recruitment the labour party, trade unions, and with women's movement, the black movement, the Irish community, and students and youth. UTOM supports the calling of the International Tribunal on British Crimes in Ireland.

A second conference will be held in December.

NATIONAL TROOPS OUT OPEN CONFERENCE

SHEFFIELD UNIVERSITY

DECEMBER 10 & 11

A work-oriented Conference of the United Troops Out Movement, to which everyone who supports the two demands and is interested in doing something about them is welcome. Everyone who attends will have the full speaking and voting rights. There will be several workshop sessions, around different areas of work, and towards building national events. The perspectives and structures of the movement will be discussed, and decisions taken in the final plenary session on Sunday.

Creche available

New Film

Other Cultural Events

Social

Accommodation (bring sleeping bags) Pooled fare system (based on people pooling transport costs from their area)

Please notify UTOM Conference, 182 Upper Street, London N1 about how many people coming, how many children for creche, which nights accommodation needed. Cost: 60p for each day (claimants and students half price).

TORTURE IN IRELAND TODAY

TORTURE—THE BASIC FACTS

In Northern Ireland in the first nine months of this year, 1,599 people were interrogated and 1,047 were charged, according to official figures.

Political offenders in N.I. are tried by a judge alone: the 'Diplock' courts (born out of the Diplock Commission) have no jury. Queen's University Law Department estimates that 90% of the convictions obtained in these courts are obtained wholly or largely on the basis of 'confessions' extracted from prisoners under interrogation. Suspects can be held for 7 days interrogation.

Torture is central to Mason's strategy of 'restoring the primacy of the police' and replacing internment with jail sentences.

In the same period, 213 of the people interrogated registered official complaints of brutality.

Many people don't bother to complain. Firstly because the torturers' favourite methods—spreadeagling while the victim is punched round the face, stomach and testicles, forced exercises and wrist-bending—don't leave marks. (Spreadeagling was deemed illegal at Strasbourg but continues on a large scale.) Secondly because the police investigate complaints against themselves.

Statistics also show that, despite Mason's 'successes', the number of firebombings has greatly increased, and the number of soldiers dead equals last year's figure.



Crown use of torture against the Irish people is nothing new. From the brandings of the middle ages, through the pitch caps and flogging triangles of 1798, to those sophisticated methods of sensory deprivation condemned at Strasbourg, the Crown's armies have dealt with those who fight back, who counter repression with resistance of many kinds, and ultimately the whole nationalist community suffers in varying degrees.

What is new in 1977 is the very belated British concern over the official brutality being carried out in Northern Ireland today—leading to an Amnesty International investigation. Programmes on ITV's This Week, and London magazines like the New Statesman and Time

Out are finally publicising matters that some Irish papers have been printing for years. The evidence can no longer be so easily swept under the red, white and blue carpet.

WHO IS RESPONSIBLE?

The persistent accusers are not only the alleged victims of the RUC and the Army but doctors, solicitors, priests, MP's—professional classes who in Britain, in any other context, would be listened to with respect by politicians and reporters alike. But Northern Ireland, as we are told, is 'different'. It has to be.

For what is happening at Castlereagh police barracks in Belfast takes place under the protection of the British Army. The RUC is directly controlled by the Northern Ireland Office. Oppression and brutality are not the results of British rule in Ireland—they are essential to the British presence there; they are the tools of an occupying power that knows it will always meet resistance.

PROTEST WIDESPREAD

Even the SDLP—a largely Catholic middle-class party which has never been noted for its support of the nationalists in the ghettos, has been forced to speak out on the torture. A leading member, Dr. Joe Hendron pointed to the prime source of brutality in the six counties:

'It's not just a question of a few toughs [in the RUC]—it's the Chief Constable and perhaps the Westminster Government.'

A motion passed unanimously at the SDLP conference in November

'holds the Westminster Government fully responsible for the continued ill-treatment of suspects and prisoners by the security forces'.

CLEARING THE BOOKS

This year—coinciding with a great increase in arrests, and in claims of inhuman and degrading treatment—the RUC have cleared their books of most serious offences (except for those special operations like the murder of Maire Drumm), sometimes pinning charges from four or five years ago on 18 to 20-year-olds. What a brilliant detective force the Royal Ulster Police must be.

DAY OF JUDGEMENT

When a proper reckoning is made of British policy in Northern Ireland, the politicians and the military will be indicted by world opinion, as they are now by the Irish they oppress. As one Belfast solicitor told a magistrate's court earlier this year:

'Mr Mason has said that there will be no amnesty for convicted terrorists, but I say there will be another Nuremberg for the sadistic torturers at Castlereagh.'

MORE VICTIMS OF THE PTA

In recent weeks there has been a serious stepping up of police activity under the Prevention of Terrorism Act. One example:

On Friday 4th November, Mick Tubman (a member of Sinn Fein, which is a perfectly legal organisation) and his friend Anthony Mulligan were arrested in Kilburn while walking home from a local dance. Mick Tubman had been collecting for Irish prisoners (a legal activity) and his friend Antony had held a collection box to lend him a hand.

They were held for two days before being charged on 7th November under Section 1 of the PTA which deals with financial support for proscribed organisations—i.e. the IRA.

Meanwhile the Special Branch raided Mick's bedsit and took at least £80 of money for the Sinn Fein, and also took Mick's full wage packet.

Local friends and sympathisers were up in arms about the arrests. A joint TUCAPTA-Sinn Fein picket was held outside the police station, and later that evening the local Labour Party candidate, Ken Livingstone, came to the Old Bell pub to speak to them, condemning the PTA and calling for further protests about the weekend arrests.

The two were let out on bail on Monday, 7th November.

Trade Union Committee against the Prevention of Terrorism Act

IRISH WOMEN SPEAKING

These two sets of interviews came out of two visits by women from Britain to Belfast in October. The women speaking are all from different Relatives Action Committees in Belfast. The RAC's started when a few women from Ballymurphy and Turf Lodge came together and held a meeting on Easter Monday 1976 to decide what to do about parcels not being allowed into Long Kesh prison. A larger meeting was held—they got the parcels put back on. It was then decided to stay together and build up a campaign for political status (last year the British Government withdrew political status from Republican and Loyalist prisoners sentenced after March 1976, in an attempt to depoliticise the struggle). There are now 8 or 9 RAC's in Belfast, one in Coalisland, and some in Derry. They are made up mostly of women, some of whom have relatives 'on the blanket'—others who support the demand.

We think the interviews speak for themselves—and give a good idea of how women are organising in the Nationalist areas—of the difficulties they face and of the conditions of the prisoners.

First interview: Two women whose sons are in H Block (where those protesting against not being given political status are held, in solitary confinement). The interview comes out of conversation with a woman from the UTO M Lit. Collective. The names of the women have been changed, at their request, to protect them against possible Army retaliation.

Mrs Reid: My son was lifted by the RUC a couple of days before Christmas. They kept him for three days at Castlereagh. When I went up to see him his arm was bandaged: I asked him what was the matter and he said that he had been beaten, and he was taken to hospital twice, he was that sore with the kicking he got. He did not sign a statement: it's not being brave, there's other children that's just as brave but maybe got more beating.

They charged my son with having a black object that resembled a gun the night he was arrested. Somebody heard a shot fired, and as my son was going for a fish down at the chip shop, the policemen jumped out of a jeep and trailed him away and just said he was the fellow that done it.

But that night I can tell you that wee lad was full drunk. Our Frankie couldn't have blew up a balloon if he had it in his hand, never mind firing a shot at anybody. When the doctor got up in court, he said our Frankie had that much drink he was singing to himself in the hospital. But the judge said he believed the RUC, that our Frankie wasn't drunk—so he got 9½ years for something that he didn't do, and everybody in the district knows he didn't do it . . .

When I went in to see him [in H Block] on a committal visit I near died when I saw him. Mrs McShane was with me. They sent him out in a suit and it must have been four sizes too big for him. His hair was all shaven—he has gorgeous curly hair—and his hands were shaking. I says, 'Son, don't be doing that there.' And his eyes—it was a sunny day and he had to put his hands over his eyes. I says 'O God, I'm sorry I even came up.'

Mrs McShane: My son's going into his sixth month in H Block. He signed a statement to get away from the beating. I went to see him last month and when I had seen him I said I wouldn't go back again . . .

When I went down there . . . I didn't recognise him. He had a beard, and he was pure wax, there wasn't any flesh on



him. His hands were transparent. He never bit his nails, but he hasn't a nail on him. And his bottom lip is just a complete mass of hanks, and to talk he had to keep his lip stiff. I'll never forget it till God calls me . . .

And he just sat and laughed, talking and laughing, he was all gone with nerves. If I hadn't been out of it in half-an-hour I would have run out of it . . .

Interviewer: In the British press they're putting across that they're going to win the war against the IRA by putting everyone away. Do you think they will?

Mrs Reid: No, because the smaller ones is coming up after them, and they're worse than the ones that went in. These young ones that are seven, six and five, they were brought up with it, and they're worse. Nobody asks you now what religion you are, it's just they ask you what you're in.

Our sons are political prisoners. We support them all the way. We go on all the protests there is. For our sons, for all the children in the district and in the other districts. There's too many now for to sit back and ignore it. You can't do it.

So we put blankets round us and we walk round the streets, and the rest of

the people carry torches, and there's speakers.

That day on the Falls, that was the time the Queen came, there was thousands upon thousands, you couldn't describe it. She picked the wrong time to come, for it was the anniversary of internment, and nobody will forget that. I said, 'You couldn't say the Provises were beat', for there was thousands there!

The second interview was done by women from the Women & Ireland Collective. A woman from a RAC in the Ballymurphy area is speaking, later joined by another woman speaking about Turf Lodge.

Up here it's difficult to organise because we haven't got anyone on the blanket [yet] . . . Turf Lodge have a lot on the blanket which makes it easier to get local support.

I had never spoken at a public meeting before and because of the rotating chair in our local committee everyone is having to get up and speak, this was helping people, to be less reserved in the context of the central meetings. Then you would get one woman who would be prepared to speak at a public meeting and before you knew it a dozen women at least . . . it's quite broad really—there are three women including myself who have no one inside—they are involved all the time, out on demos . . .

Left groups are involved, also internationally we had a delegation from Germany who said they would form support groups . . . also from New York . . . A lot of people who hear about us come but we don't have the funds like the Peace People to go traipsing all over the country . . .

We have support from women's groups [Socialist Womens Group; Andytown Women's Group] . . .

Do you take up other issues?

Harassment is not an issue with the Belfast Central Committee but locally the RAC's go out and protest . . . I think its time we did something about the prisoners themselves before they actually get into jail . . . we should be investigating forced confessions under torture, but there are so many things to protest about and the organisation is so young . . .

What about women prisoners?

They are building a new wing [in Armagh Jail] for women who will be refusing to work [because of demanding

political status] . . . We don't know what is happening, they keep very quiet about the new wing—there could be about 20 or 30 women in the wing and no one would know anything about it. Once they are put in this new wing they will have no communication whatsoever with anyone else. At the moment they have at least a bit of contact with other prisoners . . .

What kind of interrogation processes are going on with women?

A pregnant woman was picked up last year. They held her for 2 days in Castle-reagh. They said they had evidence of explosive substances in a car that had her fingerprints on it. She has a young child who they said she would never see again unless she signed a statement whereupon she would get off lightly with a 6-8 year sentence. They said she would go down no matter what. She had constant interrogation from 9 in the morning until 8 at night, with different interrogators every 3-4 hours. They let her go without any charge because they had no evidence—they only wanted her to sign a statement.

Are you pleased with the way publicity is going?

We are not happy with the response at all. The mass media is not on our side. We have had countless pickets and successful demonstrations and they come along with their TV cameras and interview us and it is never shown anywhere, locally or nationally.

Some of the RAC groups were represented yesterday at the Irish Women's Conference—did you go because it was a women's conference or because it would obviously help publicity?

I went as a woman and I wanted to find out what other groups are doing and what their politics are. I went as a member of the Andytown Womens Group. I probably could have gone as a rep of RAC but I did not know till the last minute . . . RAC



is predominantly women and they would have been very interested in going.

Do you think you got your point of view across?

I got it across to those who wanted to listen—maybe gave others food for thought. It depends on what your view of women's rights is and how you go about it. Well I feel that you have to work with what you have in your own area, and if it is militant women out on the streets, fighting—well fair enough . . .

Because of your involvement have you been interfered with in any way by the army or anyone else?

Personally no, but other women have been. The woman down the road had her washing line cut—petty things like that to annoy you. In Turf Lodge women were threatened with being shot if they were seen protesting in the street about army harassment as well as political status. They had their houses raided and were threatened if they protested . . .

Turf Lodge has been the focus for quite a lot of things because they had a meeting there after the Brits shot Brian Stewart. The Peace People came along to it . . . We went over to give our support. We refused to let the peace people speak at all as we thought they had already proved themselves to be pro-British . . . It seemed they wanted to take over the meeting and see what they could do to help. As far as we were concerned there was no way they could.

(Second woman): If the woman in Turf Lodge saw a soldier at all they came out with whistles and dustbin lids . . . they just marched right after the soldiers and followed them right in to the estates till they got so sick of it that they took themselves off. Just walked and marched after them. They kept this up for 18 months

every day.

The army said they were going to fucking shoot them. You should hear the way they shout after you and all . . .

They were also worried about children coming home from school, particularly young girls about 15-16 being accosted by the army . . . that's when it was all happening—when the children came out from school. When I picked my son up around 3 I would see the saracens pulling up just around that time, just waiting. Then the boys come out of school and see them right away and the next thing there would be stones thrown and that would be the start of it—every day you know . . .

It was terrible up in Turf Lodge. Do you know what they were doing? Say a couple of young lads, they were taking them—this was the commandos—they were lifting all the young lads and bringing them down [to the barracks] and really beating them up . . . oh, the blood . . . bringing them back about 2 hours later, throwing them back at the house and saying 'right boys, who's next?' You know—they are so blatant they don't care . . . You asked me a question about them beating up women—they beat up women all of the time.

If they could realise . . . I mean how would they feel if they were walking down the street, the English, and there was a lot of Irish soldiers over there, stopping 12 and 13 year old kids, standing them up against the wall, searching them and going through their school bags? How would they like it? They can go into your home any time of the day or night and search your house. They can hold you in the house under house arrest. They can refuse to let anyone else into the house. I mean, what would they feel, English people? If Irish soldiers did that to them?



The demand for Troops Out Now has been called simplistic and misguided. Many people who would like to see peace in Northern Ireland and full civil rights for the catholic minority do not see why a well-intentioned British government could not bring that about. Other objections include 'what about the bloodbath?' and 'why can't the protestant and catholic workers just get together and forget all this sectarianism?'

Most British people think of Northern Ireland as a real state, with a minority problem. We'd like to explain why we think this is not true and why the 'troubles' in Northern Ireland cannot be solved in isolation from the rest of Ireland.

ORIGINS OF THE PROBLEM

When a part of Ireland gained independence from Britain in 1921 six counties in the North were kept within the United Kingdom. This new artificial state was carved out in such a way that although four and a half of its counties had catholic majorities there was an overall protestant majority of about two to one.



This area included most of the industry and a lot of the wealth of Ireland—almost all in the hands of the Irish protestant and British businessmen and landowners. This division of the wealth along religious lines was the result of Britain's deliberate policy, several centuries before of settling protestant farmers from England and Scotland on the land taken from the native catholic Irish. These settlers, and their descendants, were then rewarded with small but important economic and civil privileges in return for maintaining the province of Ulster for the Crown.

This identification of protestantism and privilege bound the protestant workers firmly to their leaders and employers with disastrous consequences for any hope of working class solidarity. Protestant employers broke strikes by appeals to religion, and the Catholic Church hierarchy also found religion useful in sabotaging joint workers actions. (They were not above implying that the Irish catholic socialist, James Connolly, was a protestant when it suited them).

ULSTER KITH AND KIN

From the 1880's to 1920, protestant business interests organised in the Unionist Party, mobilised their followers, based in North East Ulster, to resist the demand of the great majority of the Irish first for Home Rule, and by 1916, for independence from Britain. They were actively supported by Tory interests in Britain. This armed threat to Irish independence was presented to the people of Britain as the touching desire of their kith and kin to remain loyal to the Empire (a line now used by the National Front in support of the Loyalists). In fact it was the fear that Belfast-based industry would suffer under protective tariffs designed to allow the growth of domestic Irish industry which was the major cause of this mobilisation. Land-owning interests in Britain also feared confiscation of property, while the protestant workers were told they would be swallowed up in a Papist state. (It needs saying that what economic privileges the working class protestants did have only looked good in comparison to the position of catholics, and their reaction to the threat of independence was similar to the reactions of poor whites in the American South to black demands for civil rights).

BEGINNINGS OF 'ULSTER'

Britain partitioned Ireland in the midst of the Irish war of independence. The Unionists had to settle for the largest area they thought might be economically and geographically viable, but which still contained a protestant majority. The leaders of the new Irish Free State in the south essentially agreed to partition, while paying lip service to the ideal of a United Ireland. But the Irish people as a whole never had a chance to give their opinion of partition—because there was no question but that it would have been rejected.

POLICE STATE

The Loyalists never felt safe in their new state. They set up a structure, with the help of the British Government, which denied the catholic nationalist third of the population equal civil rights, and access to jobs and housing. A repressive police force and civil service, almost entirely protestant, kept them in their place, backed up by reserve 'Specials' recruited from the Orange Lodges—the most bigoted protestant organisations. For much of the history of the state, catholics could be interned without trial under various Emergency Powers Acts. They were often victims of sectarian pogroms, and when they fought back, it

was billed as 'sectarian riots'. Unemployment was often double in catholic areas, while the skilled jobs in the engineering and shipbuilding industries were protestant preserves.

THE FACADE CRACKS

Nobody in Britain, least of all the government, gave a damn about the undemocratic nature of the Northern Ireland state until the 1960's. Then, civil reform became necessary because Britain, which wanted closer economic ties with the Irish Republic, which was now one of its biggest markets, couldn't risk the embarrassment of Irish reaction to oppression of fellow Irishmen in the North.

The government began putting pressure on Stormont (the N.I. parliament) for mild reforms, and Stormont leaders began to respond cautiously. The catholics, encouraged by civil rights agitation in America and elsewhere, began peacefully demonstrating for their rights. But these two forms of pressure on the Loyalists cracked the state wide open. The sight of ghetto catholics on the march, the fear of being 'sold out' by their leaders, provoked such brutal Loyalist reaction that the world was shocked... and even more shocked to see the attacks on the catholics led by the state police force!

'OUR BOYS' GO IN

The Orange monster, deliberately created and manipulated by Britain, could not be killed off so easily when no



TROOPS OUT NOW

longer required. A wave of violence verging on civil war swept the North. There were demands from the British public for the government to 'do something'.

The incident which 'justified' sending in British troops was a two-day siege of the catholic Bogside area of Derry by the Royal Ulster Constabulary (the police force) in August 1969. Only when the catholic defenders had beaten off the RUC, who were forced to retreat to their barracks, were troops sent in—at the request of the Northern Ireland administration—to 'restore law and order'. Callaghan's book *A House Divided* reveals that what the N.I. administration feared was that the catholics would come out of their ghettos and take over the city.

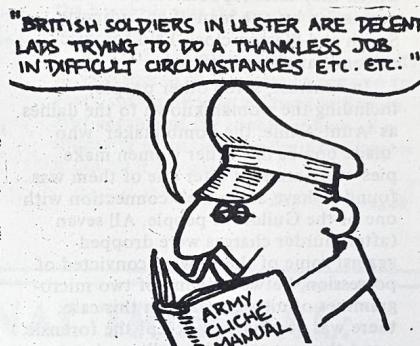
THE WELCOME WEARS OUT

Because the troops replaced the hated RUC and B Specials in the catholic ghettos, they were welcomed at first. But as the catholic militancy for civil rights continued, and began to change into a demand for an end to the state, the real role of the army—the maintaining of *Loyalist law and order*—became apparent. The troops constantly harassed catholic civil rights marches, and later began trying to suppress the fe-armed Irish Republican Army, which had come to life again in the ghettos, after a long period of inactivity, as a defence force against Loyalist paramilitary attacks.

By mid-1970, the army was openly at war with the IRA, and soon after that internment without trial was introduced once again. In reaction the catholic population of the ghettos set up no-go areas, in Derry and Belfast, where neither the RUC nor the Army could enter.

EIGHT YEARS OF MISRULE

Since then, there have been twists and turns in British policy, and in the situation. The government, in its attempts to bring order within the confines of the present state, has alternately tried wooing the Loyalists, splitting the old Unionist alliance, promising concessions to the catholic middle class SDLP, and even negotiations with the IRA. Meanwhile, apart from short truces, the guerrilla war waged by the Provisional IRA and other republican and socialist forces, has continued, while the government has found no way of reforming the structure of the state which is acceptable to the hard line Loyalists.



REPRESSION — THE ONLY POLICY

Britain now rules Northern Ireland directly, and seems to have no policy, other than a commitment to maintain the state. But there is one policy which has remained consistent throughout the whole period. That is to respond to Loyalist pressure by using the army and other security forces to terrorise the catholic communities which are the heart of nationalist resistance. The excuse used is the necessity, in Kitson's charming phrase, to 'squeeze the population until it vomits up the terrorists'.

In the eyes of the Loyalists, and of the British Government, all the people in the working class catholic areas are potential 'terrorists'—because most of them want the British out. So it is necessary for the troops to break the spirit of the whole nationalist population.

How else do you explain the regular beatings, the raids on hundreds of houses they know are not occupied by IRA members, the rape and deliberate humiliation of women, the threats and bullying, the surveillance and general harassment? (An American psychologist who had studied the situation has recently described this policy as 'psychological genocide'—Rona Field, Society

Under Siege.) The intended effect is to stop mass involvement in the struggle against British rule, and to destroy the capacity of the working class catholic areas to organise.

We do not call for troops out just because of the atrocities they commit (although that is reason enough). The way the troops are used is part of the argument for their withdrawal. They are an army of occupation with orders to put down a risen people. We want them out because they are shoring up a state which has no right to continue—a state founded on prejudice, and which can only be held together by terror.

WHAT ABOUT THE BLOODBATH?

The government hardly pretends any longer that the army is in Northern Ireland to prevent a bloodbath. But the best answer we can give to people who genuinely fear for the catholic minority after a troop withdrawal is the answer that comes from the ghettos: they would rather face the Loyalists alone, than the Loyalists backed up by the British Army. Father Des Wilson, a catholic priest from Ballymurphy, puts it simply: 'If we could get rid of the army, I'd take my chances with my catholic and protestant fellow citizens' (*Hibernia*, Nov. 4).

We do not imagine that troop withdrawal on its own is an instant solution. But so long as Britain keeps the troops there, the Loyalists will not give up their hopes of domination. In this situation there can never be reconciliation between the two communities. A British withdrawal is the first condition for bringing about a change of attitude on the part of the protestants toward their catholic neighbours, and thus the first condition for bringing about a solution acceptable to all the people of Ireland as a whole.

A LIBERATION STRUGGLE

There is no chance of working class unity in Ireland, let alone socialism, until the Northern Ireland situation is solved. We think that the struggle to get rid of British presence and interference in Irish affairs is a liberation struggle. If you support such struggles in Africa and other parts of the world, you should support the struggle in Ireland.

Unfortunately, the response of the English socialist groups and of the English workers on Ireland has been terrible. It is our responsibility not to keep our eyes closed any longer to the continued occupation of a part of Ireland by our government's troops. Mass support in Britain for bringing the troops out would put very heavy pressure on the British government. It would focus world opinion on the struggle going on in the North. Far from being unrealisable, the demand for Troops Out is a demand which we can help to make a reality.

This statement by the UTOM Literature Collective does not necessarily represent all the views within the T.O. Movement





AWKWARD FACTS

The particulars of the appeal were that O'Connell and Dowd said they went on the Guildford bombing with a third man and two women (these three, whose identities are known to *The Leveller*, are now in Ireland), and that Dowd, with O'Connell, Harry Duggan and Edward Butler of the Balcombe Street unit, took part in the Woolwich bombing. On Guildford, the Crown denied that Dowd had been involved (though he admitted it - an extraordinary attitude for the state to take towards a Republican activist!) and said that there had been at least eight on the mission (to cover the four convicted). On Woolwich, for which only Hill and Armstrong had been convicted, the Crown, while reluctantly admitting that O'Connell, Duggan and Butler *had been* involved, asserted that Dowd had only been brought in to take the place of Hill. All of which may sound like the "tidying up" it was intended to be, but there is still a whole string of questions left unanswered.

One is that there was no opportunity within prison for the Balcombe Street convicts and Dowd (sentenced over a completely different matter) to fabricate a story that would stand up to any scrutiny. It could simply not have been done, except through intermediaries, and all visits Dowd received were closely monitored by two warders.

It would have been much easier for O'Connell's unit to link in the fourth Balcombe Street man, Hugh Doherty, who could have retracted his earlier statement that he was not in Britain at the time of the bombings. In which case there would have been no need to bring in Dowd at all.

And if, as police were reluctantly agreed, the Balcombe Street unit was ruthlessly efficient, carrying out a minor blitzkrieg of London without detection, it seems strange that they should have worked with people from a drug-using, squatting background that conflicted with the Provisionals' inflexible social code.

The Leveller December 1977

GUILDFORD APPEALS TURNED DOWN—TO NOBODY'S SURPRISE

At the end of October the four people, three men and a woman, appealing against sentence for the Guildford and Woolwich pub bombings in 1975 had their appeals rejected. The appeals were based on fresh evidence supplied by the four Balcombe Street prisoners—who claimed that they had been responsible for these bombings, and that the four convicted were innocent.

The Balcombe Street evidence was condemned as a 'tissue of lies', although details of how the bombs were made, and planted, were supplied.

The story behind the arrests and convictions for the Guildford bombing is very complicated. But all four people were convicted on nothing but their 'confessions' while in custody—confessions

which they later repudiated. (And the possession by one man of an ordinary Smith and Wesson clock.) No forensic evidence at all was offered.

In contrast, seven other people, including the woman known to the dailies as 'Aunt Annie, the bomb maker' who 'made bombs like other women make pies' were arrested after one of them was found to have a relative's connection with one of the Guildford people. All seven (after murder charges were dropped against some of them) were convicted of possession, between them, of two microgrammes of nitroglycerin. In this case, there was no evidence except the forensic—and this was strongly challenged as to accuracy (the amount involved is literally microscopic) by the defence forensic expert, a respected ex-Woolwich Arsenal scientist. No evidence was offered to connect any of them with any actual bombing.

COALISLAND ANTI-REPRESSION CONFERENCE

The Coalisland Relatives Action Committee hopes to get support for a general conference on Repression in the North from all parts of Northern Ireland, and from the 26 counties.

'As families of those who have already suffered under interrogation we cannot accept torture as an "allegation", it is a cruel and unacceptable fact, the effects of which we have seen with our own eyes. Because we think many people, like ourselves before we took the step of forming the group, feel at a loss as to what to do, or feel isolated in their attempts to expose the reality of the situation, we have taken the initiative of calling this country-wide conference to provide a focus for highlighting the nature and extent of the use of torture and repression, and begin the work of a coordinated and united campaign to bring it to an end ...

'It is not a conference based on elected leaders, representatives or political spokes-persons though all are equally welcome. It is intended to be a conference where people will speak for themselves, as individuals, as families, as communities, as workers, as women,

young or old, and where we can decide, our differences notwithstanding, on what basis we can go forward together to defeat the scourge which governments at home and abroad deny exists.' (More information from Miss P. McGrath, Derrytress, Coalisland.)

RAC COMMITTEE ON POLITICAL STATUS

In early November the Belfast Central RAC called together representatives of all groups who support the fight for political status, to a conference in Ballymurphy. Attendance was very good, and there were discussions on how to broaden the struggle to include people outside Belfast, Derry and Coalisland. The centrality of political status was emphasized, but other forms of repression, and how to combat them, were also discussed. The urgency of alleviating the physical conditions of prisoners 'on the blanket' was stressed. A woman on remand from Armagh Jail reported on the women's situation, which is only slightly better than the men's.



NORTHERN IRELAND GETS UNDER YOUR SKIN

(The Director of the North London Poly)

'It is the atmosphere here more than anything else that's worrying—the tone of conversations, the attitude of people as they pass in the corridor ... The whole air has a definite texture to it—the whole atmosphere of Marxism and its associative paraphernalia of women's liberation, and abortion, Chile and Northern Ireland impregnates everyone just like coal dust gets into a miner's skin.'

TRIPES

IRISH SOLIDARITY IN SCOTLAND — GLASGOW REPORT

Scotland, and the Glasgow area in particular, present unique problems for militants active on the Irish question. In England there are trade union and labour party people who support the 'Better Life for All' campaign, who tend to rule the roost, but at least you can have a debate with them.

In Scotland the bureaucrats keep very quiet indeed. They are scared rigid of any involvement that might seem anti-British. The last time the leaders of the Scottish labour movement made a move of any kind on Ireland was when Glasgow trades council secretary and CP member John Reidford joined in the hymn singing when the Peace people came to the city.

The reason they are so cautious is very simple: there is a long tradition of loyalist sectarianism in Scotland. The Scottish UDA sent a contingent of 300 over to help out during Paisley's 'general strike' and the very name UDA is a rallying cry for many Glasgow Rangers fans. "UDA all the way" and other such demonstrations of patriotism can be heard any Saturday of the season. So there is grounds for caution on the part of bureaucrats, and for apprehension on the part of militants.

But a large proportion of the Scottish working class is of Irish origin. Despite the difficulties in the trade unions there is an interest in any sympathy with Ireland that just doesn't exist elsewhere in Britain.

To face up to the difficulties and take advantage of the opportunities Glasgow militants founded the Irish Defence League last year. Membership is based on three principles: TROOPS OUT NOW, SELF DETERMINATION FOR THE IRISH PEOPLE AS A WHOLE and RELEASE OF ALL IRISH POLITICAL PRISONERS.

In its year of life the IDL has organised a march and held two public meetings. The most recent, with Finbar O'Docherty of the Derry Irish Front attracted 60 people despite the fact that, as with all IDL events, publicity was very low key.

Every previous attempt to build a solidarity movement in West Scotland has been physically smashed off the streets.

And things have not changed. On the 12th of November *Derry Treanor's*, a well-known Irish pub in the Gorbals, was bombed. All the indications are that the bombing was the work of Orange sectarians.

The IDL has a long uphill task. But its success should be a matter of concern to every anti-imperialist militant in Britain. Just because of the problems here—if a solidarity movement cracks it in Glasgow it can do it anywhere.

Martin O'Leary, Irish Defence League

NUS WOMEN SUPPORT TRIBUNAL

At the recent NUS Women's Conference, over 600 women, from most of the Student Unions in Britain, voted to support the committee of women who are gathering evidence for the International Tribunal on British War Crimes in Ireland. There was a lot of discussion and debate, with women wanting to know a lot more about Ireland than they did.

This is something of a breakthrough. Although the NUS Women's Conference decisions are not binding on the NUS they should carry some weight—and help to break down the indifference or neglect with which the Irish question has often been treated within NUS.

More important, this means that quite a few women are now committed to helping get support and evidence for the Tribunal—on the treatment of women by the security forces. And this is significant advance in broadening understanding in Britain.

BLOODY SUNDAY COMMEMORATION

There will be a united demonstration and rally of all groups opposed to the British presence in Ireland on Sunday, January 29, the anniversary of the occasion when British Troops shot down 14 unarmed civilians on a civil rights march in Derry, Northern Ireland.

It will be held in London. Contact UTOM, c/o 182 Upper Street, London N1 for further information.

INTERNATIONAL TRIBUNAL: BIG PUSH IN THE NEW YEAR

Support is now building up for the International Tribunal on Britain's Crimes Against the Irish People. Sponsors already include 4 MPs and legal, literary, journalistic and labour movement figures from Ireland, the USA, the Basque Country, France, Norway, Australia, Holland and Britain. A lot of work remains to be done, but a firm basis has now been laid for what could be a major initiative on the situation in Ireland.

Representatives of the Tribunal visited Ireland recently and held talks with a wide number of groups. The main demand from the people they spoke to in the community in Belfast was that the Tribunal should put special emphasis on tortures in Castlereagh and conditions in Crumlin Rd., and in H-Block. Above all, as in Derry, they found an overwhelming feeling that organised opposition from the British people to what is being done in Ireland is long overdue.

Activities of supporters of the Tribunal will include gathering the most comprehensive and authoritative possible dossiers of evidence, winning wide support in the labour movement, and posing the greatest possible challenge to the British authorities over their role in Ireland.

The attempt to bring to bear the weight of the international working class on the question is something that has not been attempted before. It should not be forgotten that international opposition to the Vietnam war was an important factor in ending the American intervention there. The international working class seems to be less liable to fall for the slick apologies of the British Government which so often utilise national chauvinist ideas that Britain is somehow playing a benevolent peacekeeping role and keeping "warring communities" apart. The imperialist role of Britain is more transparent to those working classes who do not identify with the interests of "their own" state. Dispelling such illusions and making it clear that the Irish war stands in the colonialist tradition of Cyprus, Kenya etc. is one essential task of the Tribunal. For this to have most effect, it is essential that the major portion of the mass audience of the Tribunal should be genuine representatives of labour movement organisations.

After a launching press conference in December, a big effort will be required in the New Year to make the Tribunal a success.

Crimes Against Irish Women Committee

STATEMENT OF AIMS

The CAIW Committee has been formed to collect evidence and build support for the International Tribunal on Britain's Crimes against the Irish People.

CAIW believes that a successful tribunal depends upon the full and open participation of all those concerned about brutality in Northern Ireland.

The CAIW Committee will:

1. Collect and coordinate evidence on the mistreatment of Irish women by the British security forces in Northern Ireland.
2. Organise support and sponsorship for the Tribunal amongst women world-wide.
3. Seek to build an International Women's Delegation to investigate the charges and allegations collected through CAIW.

BASIS OF MEMBERSHIP

The CAIW Committee is open to all women who are concerned with the treatment of Irish women by the British security forces. Please contact us at the address given below.

37 Middle Lane, London N8.

IRISH LOOK AT CROSSMAN'S DIARIES

Although the final volume of Richard Crossman's cabinet diaries covers the Northern Ireland crisis in 1969-70, British reviewers not surprisingly have failed to pay attention to those entries revealing the ignorance, confusion and prejudice that remain characteristic of Westminster policy on Ireland.

The *Irish Times*, however, gave a comprehensive summary of the relevant extracts and followed up with its own pungent comments.

... Jim was big and burly and happy. 'By God,' he said, "it is enjoyable being a Minister. It's much more fun being Home Secretary than Chancellor . . . I had to take the decision to put the troops in while I was in the plane on the way back from Cornwall" . . .

... Callaghan and Healey both reminded us that our whole interest was to work through the Protestant Government. The Protestants are the majority and we can't afford to alienate them as well as the Catholics, and find ourselves ruling Northern Ireland directly as a colony . . .

... I know very well you don't want the skilled workers and the Protestants to leave, but shouldn't you stimulate the emigration of Catholics, whether to England or Australia or anywhere else? It would be much cheaper than promoting policies to create new industries in the region . . .

As the *Irish Times* then remarked:

The man who wrote these immortal sentences was not some naive ass or racialist madman. He was the late Richard Crossman, one of the brightest and best of British Cabinet Ministers of recent times, [sic] . . .

Further extracts from the diaries disclose only more of the same.

"It is so dirty, mucky, untidy; it really is street rioting, with boys and girls chucking beastly petrol bombs at each other and pouting each other with old guns. It is the most messy kind of civil war one has ever seen and . . . is just awful and depressing.

Nevertheless, from the point of view of the Government it has its advantages. It has deflected attention from our own deficiencies and the mess of the pound. We have now got into something which we can hardly mismanage. The Tories are with us on this. Maudling has been strongly supporting us and Ted Heath will find it very difficult to disagree with anything Jim does."

On the last day of 1969, Crossman was still praising Callaghan's Irish performance, even while foreseeing the futility of it.

" . . . and on top of that came Ulster. There Jim made his name, not, strangely enough, through success because we aren't succeeding in Ulster and in the long-term it looks very black. Nevertheless he has

handled these two things with superb political acumen and he has continued to develop the picture of himself as the bluff Home Secretary."

When Harold Wilson urged that British troops should be sent in to preserve law and order, Crossman put a vital question —one that successive British premiere have failed to answer:

I asked what law and order meant? Does it mean whatever the Royal Ulster Constabulary, who are Protestant Orangemen, define as law and order?

As the prospect of direct rule for Northern Ireland drew closer, it is plain that the cabinet and Callaghan were as unprepared as ever.

I asked whether it would be a good thing for us to have some political intelligence so that if we were faced with a civil war we should know what it was all about. Callaghan said 'I don't think we really need that. After all, I am seeing Chichester-Clark every day.' He resisted the whole idea, saying it was absurd and that the Northern Ireland Government would dislike our behaving in this way.

... Callaghan said 'I am working with a very small staff. I actually have only two men on Northern Ireland and we have nobody else dealing with it.'

According to Crossman, in the midst of decisions that gas should be used for riot control purposes, the army leaving this to the RUC, Robert Mellish, the Chief Whip, argued what is in effect a troops out position.

But if we do this won't British troops be engaged anyway, and won't it be a bloody scandal, and won't our own people be against it, and won't we find ourselves with British troops fighting on the side of the reactionaries?

Yet when Crossman could muddle the Orangemen's Twelfth of July with Saint Patrick's day in March, and when political principles (eg. never to jam radio broadcasts) were jeopardised the moment they became inconvenient to Britain, no wonder the opinion of the *Irish Times* on the whole affair was:

Many things have changed, but not the nature of British politicians. Nowadays there is Mrs Thatcher, 'rock firm for the Union'; there is Mr. Mason strutting and preening in his role as a colonial ruler. Only a few miles of water separate the Antrim coast from the island of Britain, but so far as knowledge and interest at Westminster go, it might as well be Patagonia.

CRAIG APPOINTMENT — SICK JOKE OF THE YEAR

William Craig has been the Unionist MP for East Belfast since 1974. Back in 1968, as Stormont Home Affairs Minister, he carved out a place for himself in modern Irish history by staging the police riot in Derry on 5 October that marked the start of mass Republican resistance in the North. Pictures of the way the RUC smashed up that peaceful civil rights rally were flashed around the world on that Saturday evening. Craig quickly became such an embarrassment to his boss, O'Neill, that he was shortly dropped from the Unionist Government.

On the ninth anniversary of that event, Craig is back in favour again. Her Majesty's Labour Government appointed him to Strasbourg as a Human Rights Commissioner!

Craig's 'We Will Shoot to Kill' speech to the Tory Monday Club in 1972 still ranks as one of the most malevolent statements to come from an elected politician in any of these islands. Craig said: "I am prepared to kill and those behind me have my full support. We will not surrender". When challenged today, he is not prepared to repudiate any of his past actions: he still vehemently defends the key role he played in the UWC 'strike' of 1974.

The pro-Loyalist policies of Callaghan's government, exemplified by Craig's appointment to Strasbourg, make it doubly important that Labour Party activists campaign strongly for an end to Britain's repressive role in the North.

Tom Gallagher, Manchester UTOM



OCTOBER 1968 — DUKE ST. DERRY: THE BEGINNING

REVIEWS

HANDLING THE AGGRO— OR CREATING IT?

Is the army a neutral force in society? Is the army playing a peacekeeping role in Ireland?

Can You Handle the Aggro? is a new film made by UTOM now ready for showing. It answers these and many other questions about the role of the army and what army life is like.

Recruits, often from areas of high unemployment, find that once inside, they take their place in an organisation which mirrors the outside society they came from.

Officers control the army and do its thinking, non-commissioned officers make things tick over and ensure orders are obeyed, squaddies take their place by doing and obeying—or else.

Most soldiers do not question this situation, and find themselves trying to prop up the remnants of empire, often brutally repressing peoples' freedom movements.

The film uses footage of the army in action in former colonial wars, in the present war in Ireland, and in Britain itself. It includes a number of interviews with ex-soldiers.

There is a chance to see the film at the December conference. Meanwhile, money is urgently needed to make more prints. Send a donation to the Troops Out Literature Committee, Box 10, 2a St Pauls Road, London N1. Mark the envelope 'New Film'.

VELVET GLOVE, IRON FIST

Did you know that SAS man Davies, who was on the commando raid at Mogadishu, not only served in the SAS in Northern Ireland, but also received an MBE for his 'services to community relations' (sic) there?

This information comes from the second bulletin to be produced by the Workers Research Unit (Belfast). The Research Unit, which is not aligned with any political group, aims to research matters of interest to socialists and to make the results of that research freely available to all.

Their first bulletin, timed to coincide with the Queen's visit to the North, contained a detailed breakdown of the wealth of the royal family coupled with details of economic conditions for the mass of the working class in the 6 Counties.

This new issue opens with a detailed analysis of the two prongs of Britain's repressive strategy in the North—the Velvet Glove of Lord Melchett and the Iron Fist of Roy Mason.

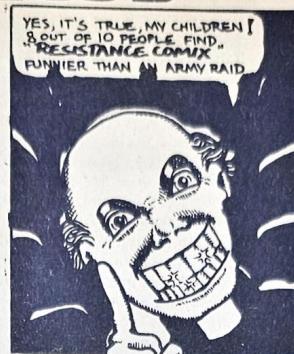
This is followed by analyses of sectarian assassinations from 1972-77, of Mason's economic package and of the use of ECT in the psychiatric hospitals of the 6 Counties.

Containing a wealth of well-researched information, this pamphlet is well worth getting.

30p plus 12p postage from Workers' Research Unit, 52 Broadway, Belfast 12.

TROOPS OUT is produced by the Literature working group of the United Troops Out Movement. We welcome comments, contributions and suggestions for future issues. Please help to sell **TROOPS OUT**. On orders for 10 or more copies, there is no charge for p&p except overseas. (One copy costs 10p + 7p p&p).

Write to: Troops Out (Literature Committee), Box 10, 2a St. Paul's Road, London N1.



ANNOUNCING . . . RESISTANCE COMIX NO.8!

Cormac, world-famous (well, almost) satirist of the Irish resistance, strikes again. And Paddy O'Looney, Irish Section of the 6th Intergalactic Revolutionary Movement, still lives despite his paranoia and despite Red Biddy, scourge of Irish male chauvinists.

12p plus postage from *Resistance Comix*, Box 21, c/o Siopa an Phobail, Avoca Park, Andersonstown, Belfast 11.

NEW RECORD

A historic record by the Men of No Property—who made *England's Vietnam*—is at last available in England and Ireland.

Entitled *Ballads from Behind the Barricades*, it was recorded in Belfast in 1970 and released in America.

The songs, several of them humorous or ironic, relate to the barricades of 1969 and 1970 and remain relevant today. A great record.

Available in England from *Rising Free*, 182 Upper Street, London N1, or direct from *Resistance Records*, Box 21, c/o Siopa an Phobail, Avoca Park, Andersonstown, Belfast 11. £2.50 plus postage.

VIDEO TO COUNTER ARMY RECRUITING CAMPAIGNS

'We were told we were going for keeping the peace but we have got quite an aggressive role. I remember an incident when an officer arrested these girls for no apparent reason and it started a riot . . . we didn't even know why he arrested them . . . It could be a couple of officers beating up a couple of guys because they didn't like them—anything we did triggered off a riot'. (Soldier serving in N.Ireland 1970-74.)

'Officers used to get golliwogs off Robertson's jam jars and stick them up on the wall to signify how many "wogs" they had killed.' (Soldier who served in Aden.)

These are just a sample of quotes from a new anti-recruitment video made by members of East London UTOM. When it was shown recently to teachers from the area, it prompted this account from one of how the army recruited in his school, in a high-immigrant area of Newham, with a strong National Front presence:

'Three soldiers in full combat uniform drove up in a landrover with a machine gun behind that they let the kids play with in the playground. In the talk they gave to third-years, they emphasized the excitement in the army: "I've just left the excitement in Northern Ireland and I'll soon be off to Rhodesia to fight on the right side. The white side." He then apologised to black kids in the audience, and then said it again! If I'd had this video available then, I could have pushed the teacher's union into demanding a right of reply to the army campaign.'

The video is 27 minutes long. Contact Y Mostyn, 6 Aston St., E.14 if you'd like to use it. We hope to show it at the December Conference.

East London UTOM

NEW PLAY ON IRELAND

Mad Micks and Englishmen—a satirical revue with a difference—written by Eamonn McCann and performed by *Pirate Jenny Theatre Company, Team II*.

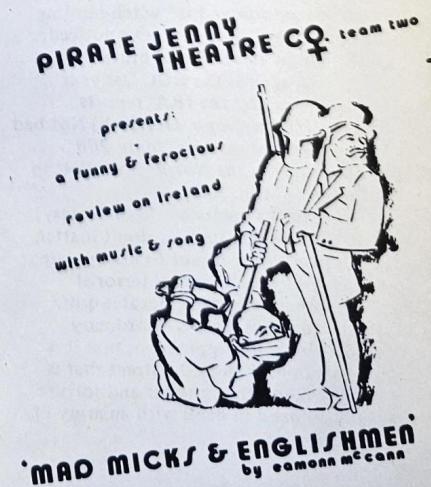
Available for bookings first week of February. The Company says: 'with a bit of organisational imagination it can be used as an effective way of opening up discussion on Ireland and building for the International Tribunal. It's designed for performance at universities, trade unions, Irish events, days of action. It's important to enquire now about booking.'

Kieran McElroy, 76 Oxford Gardens (basement), London W10. Phone: 01-960 5875 (days); 01-272 1976 (evenings)

NEW BULLETIN

Haringey UTOM and Hemel Hempstead Troops Out Committee are jointly publishing a quarterly, bulletin, the *Ireland Socialist Review*. The first issue is out in December.

Cost 27p (incl. post) from Haringey UTOM, 28 Middle Lane, Hornsey, London N8.



THE MYSTERIOUS CASE OF THE HEAD BANGING PADDY

Black consciousness leader Steve BIKO died from extensive brain damage while in police custody in South Africa. How did it happen?

Well, when he was arrested he started laughing and sneering at the police officers – at one time he laughed so much that he fell on to a chair and broke it. Later he started throwing chairs at his interrogators, and despite the attempts by the police to prevent him from hanging himself with his underpants by keeping him manacled and naked in his cell, he later banged his head against a wall, – or was it the floor?

Anyway, that's the South African police's story, and they are sticking to it.

Even the most mild White liberal will recognise here the racist myth of the Falling Over Coon. But yet, nearer home, how many are prepared to swallow its British counterpart: The Head Banging Paddy?

Gerard Bartlett, the *Daily Telegraph*'s man on the spot in Belfast believes many will. Bartlett has recently carried out an intrepid investigation into the claims of RUC brutality. Boldly venturing as far as the nearest Army Intelligence briefing, he has laid bare "a macabre prize draw for masochists". (*Daily Telegraph*, Oct 31st).

IRA sympathisers, he reveals, can get prizes of cigarettes and whiskey for inflicting injuries on themselves while in police custody.

One 19-year-old youth, while being quietly questioned by the RUC, suddenly threw himself under a table and butted his head on a radiator. Another was only restrained with difficulty when he started jabbing his fingers in his eyes and banging his head with his fists. Others use their boots or glasses to try to damage themselves.

The strain is beginning to tell on the security forces. Constant alertness is needed. Noises coming from a cell may well be the first indication that a prisoner is mutilating him/herself by banging their head on the floor or walls. One disappointed prisoner, restrained by the RUC, told them: "It has been a good try anyway" (*Daily Telegraph*, 31st Oct.)

Yet the British press has been taken in by the deception and is "witch-hunting the RUC" – as I'm sure you've noticed. Almost all of the 800 odd brutality allegations against the RUC last year were faked up by the IRA, reports Bartlett. (*D. Telegraph*, Oct.29th) Not bad for an organisation with "only 200 members left in the North". (Bartlett in *D. Telegraph*, Oct.26th)

In Bartlett's media world of fantasy, these little inconsistencies don't matter. The papers will continue to manipulate the myth of the "fanatical terrorist".

What they want to conceal is quite simple – that it is masses of ordinary people who resist oppression, that it is the woman or man in the street that is brutalised, and that murder and torture always go hand in hand with an army of occupation.

DIARY OF EVENTS OCTOBER-NOVEMBER

Oct. 17 N.I. Labour Party Conference (grant from Transport House now reinstated after 2 years). NILP had faded after SDLP and Alliance Party formed @ 1969.
Ulster Independence Party formed (Eric Robinson; mostly Protestant). (Irish Independence Party formed week before).
Devlin and B.Barr intend forming another independence 'socialist' party. J McKeague (speaking for coordinating comm. for study of negotiated independence) claims to have cross-party and cross-religion support for Ulster independence.
W McGonagle charged with murder of British soldier from 1972.
Mason seeks investment in US visit.
Prov. IRA kill retired police reservist (3rd in 10 days in Armagh/Tyrone area) Large bomb left by Catholic primary school, Crossmaglen, defused. 4 teenagers charged with murder of UDR woman.
18 Police brutality: SDLP, police doctors, police authority are 'voicing concern'.
19 Think Tank report on Race, 1974, published: 'For 50 years the British Government condoned discrimination and deprivation in Ulster'.
Prov. Sinn Fein Annual Conference, Dublin. Pledge to step up the fight; oppose EEC.
Turf Lodge: 'rioting', several arrests, 3 soldiers hurt, 6 fire bombs in Belfast.
21 Mason says new talks in offing on limited devolution (no revenue raising power and no control over security). Supported by Official Unionists, Alliance Party and SDLP, but Unionists want 1 council = majority rule. SDLP want several = jobs for the boys.
24 Mason announces new economic package: 50% grant for building and new equipment in high unemployment areas & 40% in other areas. (Max. grant elsewhere is 22%). For electricity: £250m debt written off and 5 year subsidy means 30% reduction in bills for industrial users.
25 Prov. IRA posters in Belfast explain summary punishments; say RUC areas have crime rates 5 times as high as Prov. areas.
26 UDR man injured in bomb blast.
27 Guildford and Woolwich appeals rejected.
Nov. 1 Thames TV film on RUC torture in Castlereagh: doctors support torture allegations.
2 Tory Party demands inquiry into conditions of British army in N. Ireland.
3 3 fire bombs.
4 TV film of 29th: RUC answers - says wounds self-inflicted to discredit RUC. IBA under pressure. Chairperson of IBA forced to visit N. Ireland.
5 UDR man killed (14th this year).
6 Queen's Speech – government policy to stay the same.
7 British soldier killed (catholic, on leave at parents' in Belfast). 14th soldier killed this year.
8 Prov. IRA rebury Frank Stagg in Republican grave.
9 12 fire bombs over weekend.
12 Gusty Spence joins peace movement; peace movement urges his release.
14 Eve of firemen's strike: 9 bombs in Belfast.
15 3 of the men convicted for the Birmingham pub bomb to sue Home Secy & 2 chief Constables.
16 Two fire bombs at factory.
17 Petrol bomb (most prob. Loyalist sectarian attack). Girl dies.
21 Provisionals set up own fire service. N.I. Office urges people NOT to use it.
22 Mason to see SDLP in new round of devolution talks.
23 Provisional IRA statement: have resisted temptation to bomb because they support firemen and don't want them forced back to work to aid security forces.
24 UVF force firemen at gunpoint to break strike (bomb in shop). Another bomb at Belfast Car Hire.
25 DuPont: new £29m plant and equipment. Announce can now do without raw material from BOC plant nearby, so net loss of 450 jobs. Move financed and welcomed by Mason. N.I. Standing Advisory Commission on Human Rights recommends a bill of rights for whole UK, not just for N.I., and that European Convention should be enforceable in courts but only against public authorities; and that even then Parliament should be able to suspend parts of it in N.I. Ireland during emergency (so what's new?).
26 N.I. Divorce Law to be equalised by 1979 but all cases must go to High Court (which means long delay) and court must adjourn if it thinks reconciliation is possible.
27 Judge's report recommends legal aid for civil courts (i.e. for judicial separation). Govt. unlikely to act on recommendation.
28 System of monitoring police questioning introduced by police & SDLP on eve of Amnesty investigation.
29 Vanguard Party dissolves; Craig back with Unionists.
Devlin and Barr still thinking of 3rd new independence party.

