

# TROOPS OUT

*Troops Out Now!*



*Self Determination For The  
Irish People As A Whole!*

Paper of the Troops Out Movement 20p

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Photo: Joanne O'Brien/Format

## Irish Self Determination The Only Solution

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# ELECTIONS AND THE NORTH OF IRELAND

When it comes to elections, the British way of 'democracy' in the North of Ireland has been tried and found wanting.

Among the terms of settlement when Ireland was partitioned in 1920, was that local government elections in the North would be held under the proportional representation (PR) system. In the local elections of 1920, the Nationalist Party, Sinn Fein and the Belfast Labour Party all won seats under this system.

The response of the Unionist Party was to introduce a Local Government Bill in 1922 which abolished the PR system. The British Government at first hesitated, but it took only the mere threat that the Northern Ireland Government would resign for Westminster to wave it through. Thus a one-party state was set up.

For 50 years under the Northern Ireland Government (Stormont) the franchise was limited to ratepayers "and their wives" (!), while businesses had extra votes. In Britain this restricted franchise was abolished in 1945, but Stormont saw to it that the North of Ireland was excluded from this Act.

Furthermore the wards and constituencies were 'gerrymandered' - rigged - to make every Unionist vote count while many nationalist votes were 'wasted' (eg by putting them all into one ward with a huge majority). By this means areas with a nationalist majority like Derry or Fermanagh ended up under Unionist control.

The worst excesses of gerrymandering etc were changed as a result of the Civil Rights protests of the '60s and early '70s. Nonetheless, the North of Ireland remained very under-represented at Westminster: its constituencies were on average double the size of constituencies in England, Scotland and Wales even though it is supposed to be an equal part of the UK. It was only as a result of a very unprincipled deal between the Labour Government and Unionist MPs in 1978 that the number of constituencies has been increased from twelve to seventeen.

And what are they worth? In April 1981 Bobby Sands was elected an MP by 30,492 voters in Fermanagh/South Tyrone. He wrote, "There is but a single issue at stake, the right of human dignity for Irish men and women who are imprisoned for taking part in this period of the historic struggle for Irish independence".

A month later Bobby Sands was dead. The Westminster Parliament, of which he had been elected a member, ignored the wishes of his electors and refused to grant the prisoners' demands.

To add insult to injury, the British Government passed a law preventing prisoners from ever standing as election candidates.

So the June 9th General Election is *not* used by republican organisations as any stepping stone to power. They have no illusions that the goal of breaking British rule in Ireland and re-uniting the country will ever be achieved by electing MPs to Westminster. In fact most of the republican candidates have the stated intention of never setting foot in the place, and they are elected on that basis. What the election does offer is, firstly, a chance for the Irish to voice their mass rejection of British rule in a way that the British Government and others will find hard to ignore. And secondly, it offers the means for elected representatives to answer the needs of the people in their constituencies in Ireland, for housing or jobs or redress against the daily harassment of Army and police.

Finally, the republican parties use the election to challenge the 'constitutional nationalist' politicians like Gerry Fitt and the SDLP who have a history of propping up British rule and betraying those who have had no choice but to vote for them in the past.

For us in Britain who want to see British troops get out of Ireland, the election offers us far less. There is still no party - apart from the Welsh Plaid Cymru - which clearly takes this stand. Ireland does not figure as an 'election issue'.



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 ways circumstances allow, are the backbone of the TOM. Membership, or affiliation is open to any individual or group supporting the demands:

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

## CORRECTION

In last month's interview with GLC Councillor Steve Bundred (*Troops Out*, May, p. 5), it was stated that the Labour Party opposed 'the repeal of the Prevention of Terrorism Act'. This should have read, 'the renewal of the Prevention of Terrorism Act'.

Our apologies to our readers and to Steve Bundred.

## NEW PAMPHLET

### "LABOUR AND IRELAND - WHICH WAY TO WITHDRAWAL?"

By Don Flynn,  
with foreword by Ken Livingstone.  
An analysis of the Labour Party's dealings with Ireland, past and present.  
75p (plus postage), from  
Chartist Publications, 170 Wandsworth Rd,  
London SW8

## Join the TOM

**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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Make cheques payable to Troops Out (Literature Committee). Send to Box 10, 2a St. Paul Rd, London N.1.

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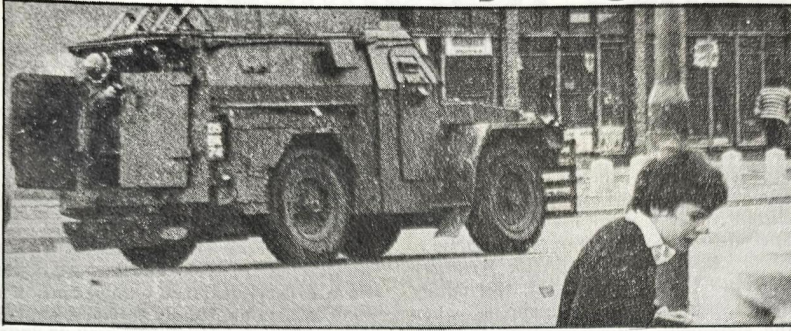
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Membership of a branch costs £6 (£2 unemployed), payable through the branch. Individual membership is £7.50 which includes a subscription to *Troops Out*.



# The Death of Gary English and Jim Browne



After two years and a vigorous campaign by their families, an inquest was finally held in Derry on May 3rd and 4th into the deaths of Gary English, 19 and Jim Browne, 18. The jury found that both died after being hit by an army landrover driven at high speed into a crowd and that the landrover then reversed over the body of Gary English.

The verdict was in direct contrast to that of a Belfast court which in 1981 cleared the driver and his superior of 'reckless driving'. This charge was brought against the two soldiers to try and divert the massive public outcry which followed the young men's deaths.

The inquest itself exposed the totally false nature of the way the case against the soldiers was prosecuted. Most important was the testimony of Mr John Taggart of the Northern Ireland forensic

laboratory. He had submitted evidence at the trial (but never the clothes Gary English was wearing) which implied that Gary ran into the path of the landrover and that the landrover never ran over him. Commenting on his evidence the coroner said he found it 'strange' that the forensic scientist examined traces of paint which were not visible to the naked eye, yet he missed seeing a very obvious tyre mark across the back of the shirt.

Another discredited state witness was an army photographer who identified Gary English as a rioter. At the inquest the photo showed a youth with a different jumper and different hair. The soldiers themselves changed their evidence when cross examined by the families lawyer.

Professor Marshall the state pathologist could not 'state categorically' that a large mark on Gary English's back was caused

by the landrover driving over him. However Professor Delgarde, a leading Danish pathologist and expert in traffic accidents gave graphic evidence that Gary's death was due to a jeep reversing over him. He had been asked to appear by the English family after the cover-up at the trial of the two soldiers.

After the inquest Gary English's father Michael said that he was satisfied with the outcome as it proved beyond reasonable doubt that his son's and Jim Browne's deaths were not victims of a traffic accident as had originally been suggested but a callous act by the driver of the landrover.

Local Sinn Fein elected representative Martin McGuinness said "the RUC inspired story that the two teenagers deaths was a mere traffic accident has now been well and truly exposed as the falsehood it was. The people of Derry can expect no justice in the six county courts.

**Footnote:** Since March 22nd when the inquest was postponed to enable the families to get legal representation, the landrover which killed Gary English appeared regularly outside the English's home, often stopping for some time. The indentations and marks where it had hit the young men were still clearly visible. This was the first time the vehicle had been on the streets since the two men were killed in April 1981.

## WHO IS BUILDING UP THE WALLS?

In 1981 the Department of the Environment (N. Ireland) announced plans to demolish run-down homes built by Victorian property speculators in the Bone area of N. Belfast. As many as possible people would be rehoused in their local area, and new factories would be built there. About seventeen acres of housing previously occupied by protestants was cleared for this industrial zone.

In the occupied North of Ireland the security forces also have a say in planning through a committee which liaises with the D.o.E. Decisions on the redevelopment of Belfast are taken at a very high level in the Northern Ireland Office, and can be radically altered by the security forces.

In the Bone area, the houses running up to the factory side have yet to be built. But a 12 foot high wall has been constructed facing onto the Catholic part on the north side and a nine foot one on the south east protestant side. Both have rotating metal spikes on their tops, called locally 'German razor plating'. These walls cost £220,000 (NIO figures), more



Cities in the North of Ireland have the worst housing conditions in West Europe, both for Catholics and Protestants. Yet redevelopment — when it comes — only perpetuates divisions.

than 10% of the claimed budget for promoting the industrial enterprise zone.

Official spokespeople for the D.o.E., the Department of Economic development (who provided the money), and the Enterprise zone all say these walls are not to separate catholic from protestant but to shield houses from noisy factories and to protect the factories from vandalism! They call the walls 'screens' and 'environmental barriers' which just happen to be

at 'sectarian interfaces'.

There are 14 of these 'sectarian interfaces' in North Belfast and in other parts of the city there are already eight walls, or barriers made by the motorway or dual carriageways. Despite protests from local people and action by councillors it looks as if Britain, having already divided the North from the South of Ireland, seems determined to perpetuate sectarian divisions in cities in the North.



# Police Kidnap Republicans

Harry Kirkpatrick (whose wife Elizabeth was taken by the Irish National Liberation Army (INLA) around May 13th) has been on remand in Crumlin Road Jail, Belfast, since March '82. He is awaiting trial on five charges of murder, four of them of members of the security forces, and 61 other offences, and is being held in an annexe, cut off from other republican prisoners.

Hefty charges, and being held incommunicado are sure signs that the security forces are using heavy pressure and isolation tactics to force a prisoner to crack and turn 'supergrass'. This has been a new form of repression unleashed on the six counties since the ending of the hunger strike in 1981. Other victims have been Christopher Black, Raymond Gilmour, Jackie Goodman (who later retracted his incriminatory statements) among others. It's not that these men have suddenly had a 'change of heart or conscience'.

Early in May, Harry Kirkpatrick dismissed his solicitor and told his wife he didn't want to see her any more. This

alerted the INLA to the fact that he was in danger of turning Queen's evidence. (Often this means being told what to testify against people whom the 'supergrass' doesn't even know, by the Special Branch.) So, in a move to avert the Branch's possible outcome, they took his wife into a place of hiding "to expose the deal currently being made between the RUC Special Branch and her husband Harry, in conjunction with the British Attorney General" (INLA statement). Her family hadn't reported the 'kidnapping' when the statement was released on Monday, May 16th. The RUC statement made wild allegations about the danger Elizabeth is in at the hands of the INLA. But in fact the danger lies with the RUC, not with the INLA. The RUC have kidnapped and held many relatives of 'supergrasses' as a way of stepping up the pressure on the supergrass.

The RUC reacted quickly and viciously. Kevin McQuillan, the vice-chair of the IRSP in Belfast, was arrested near the IRSP press centre on the Monday evening. The next morning (May 17th) another 17 IRSP members from Belfast

and Armagh were likewise kidnapped. These included Suzanne Bunting, wife of Ronnie Bunting, murdered by loyalists in 1980, and Jimmy Brown, Belfast chairperson of the IRSP. Both Kevin and Suzanne recently spoke at the May 7th march for British withdrawal in London.

Jimmy Brown was stopped by the security forces twenty-six times in April for between 15 and 45 minutes — once three times between 8.00 and 10.00pm. He was also threatened with execution as soon as the opportunity should arise. It is also widely thought that he would stand in the coming general election. Sean Flynn, another detainee, has been the victim of an assassination attempt, and was previously arrested and charged with INLA membership when he was an IRSP Belfast councillor.

Under the Prevention of Terrorism Act, the RUC can hold these IRSP members for seven days even without charging them. With charges they could be held in prison for a year or more before they are brought to trial. These arrests are the latest in the long list of harassment the IRSP has faced.

## ...and other countries

### BRITISH ROYALTY HIT BY PROTESTS

The prejudice of Britain's newspapers and TV is so strong that few people here know that the recent tours abroad by the Royal family were met everywhere by large and angry demonstrations calling for Britain to get out of Ireland.

News of these protests were censored out of existence, probably by the media themselves. They would rather that the British public did not know how unpopular Britain's rule in Northern Ireland is.

An 'Open Letter' to Prince Charles from the New Zealand H Block/Armagh Committee explains the reasons for their anger.

"Exactly 100 years before you were crowned Prince of Wales, your great grandfather's uncle, Prince Albert, cancelled a proposed visit to New Zealand. He was warned of the Taranaki Maoris taking up arms — like the dispossessed peasantry of Ireland — against the theft of their land. He was warned of Irish immigrants on the West Coast of the South Island rioting against British rule. And he was warned off the Pacific altogether by Irish sympathisers in Sydney who shot and wounded him on his Royal Visit to Australia.

"Those Irish immigrants and sympathisers of last century were trying to get the same message through to Prince Albert as we are to you:

**GET YOUR SOLDIERS OUT OF IRELAND.**



### PRISONERS IN FRANCE GAIN RELEASE

Last September, three Irish Republican Socialist Party members (IRSP) living in Paris were swooped on by the newly set-up Special Anti-Terrorist Squad.

Stephen King, Mary Reid and Mick Plunket have been in jail in Fresnes, outside Paris, ever since. Their arrests came shortly after the bombing of a Jewish restaurant in Paris during the last bitter Israeli Palestinian war in Lebanon. Everything points to these three having been 'set up' by the squad as an 'international terrorist cell'.

They have been held in isolation from other prisoners and to an extent,

from each other. Parcels, money and letters etc. have not been getting through to them. Recently their meals have been interfered with and they have been subject to heavy abuse from the warders.

On May 5th, they began a hungerstrike to demand association with other prisoners and for the right to be treated as political prisoners until their case comes to trial. Petitions have been circulated on their behalf, signed among others, by Simone de Beauvoir.

As a result of their hunger strike, they were released from prison by the authorities.



# Withdrawal Has Been Won

In last month's issue of *Troops Out* we explained why we have the demand *Troops Out Now*. But there are many people who think there would be a bloodbath if Britain withdrew from Ireland.

The same argument has been trotted out over the years to justify holding on to colonies around the world, by Britain and other powers. Nearly all the colonies are now liberated, and it is worthwhile to look at how the withdrawal of the colonial power was effected, in a few examples. Each country is unique but they all have lessons for us as well.

## INDIA

Those who put the bloodbath argument usually point to India as the prime example. And without a doubt the transition in 1947 was very horrific. Literally hundreds of thousands died when Britain withdrew its army and colonial government. The reason for this horror was not the granting of independence, however, but the partition of the colony into three countries — India, Pakistan and Ceylon (Sri Lanka). This involved the migration of 6½ million Muslims in one direction and 5½ million Hindus in the other.

Partition worsened the divisions in Indian society and made the killings foreseeable and almost inevitable. Furthermore, the huge shift in population, if it had to happen at all, needed time and immense administrative and military resources. Yet Britain rushed through the independence settlement, even bringing forward the date for its withdrawal from June 1948 to August 1947.

"Public opinion has preened itself on British virtue in withdrawing voluntarily from India, but posterity may dwell rather on the haste with which the withdrawal was carried out . . . It may be hard to disentangle whether the British action was based on high principle or on a less glorious desire to retreat to shelter before the storm broke."

*Manchester Guardian, 11th October 1947.*

The hurry was to ensure that power did not fall into the hands of communist liberation forces. The ending of the Second World War had unleashed the drive for independence in colonies all over the world. The People's Democratic Republic of Vietnam was proclaimed, and China was on the verge of doing the same. In Malaya and the Philippines the people had taken up arms against the colonialists.

India looked set to take the same path. In August 1945 there were clashes between workers and police; mass demonstrations followed all over India; Calcutta was barricaded and cut off for several days. The next year over 2 million workers took part in strikes against British rule. The Royal Indian Navy mutinied and went on strike against British imperialism and for the release of political prisoners. Peasants in Telengana rose up against the feudal lords and liberated over 3,000 villages.

Faced with a crisis of these dimensions, Britain's strategy was to defuse the liberation struggle. It played up the religious and social divisions (which it had helped to create during its long colonial rule) and handed over power to the business and landed classes that would remain economically dependent on Britain. "The British Government believe that British commercial and industrial interests in India can look forward to a fair field for their enterprise under the new conditions" (British Prime Minister Attlee, Feb. 1947). That the "fair field" was stained with Indian blood was of no importance!

## PARTITION

The parallel between India and Ireland is in this very clear tactic of divide-and-rule Britain uses. The historic parallel is not with Ireland in 1983 but with Ireland in 1921, when Britain partitioned Ireland. Civil war was the consequence, costing Ireland more lives than the War of Independence in the preceding years.

The re-unification of a country is altogether a more peaceful process than its partition. For example, it cost several million lives to maintain the partition of North and South Vietnam (no doubt in the name of the democratic wishes of the majority in the south); it cost very few lives — at least internally — to reunite the country once America had been driven out.

## KENYA

In most colonies, the withdrawal of the colonial power and its army signals the end of a 'bloodbath'. However, in our newspapers and Government reports, the attempted suppression of the liberation struggle is not termed a bloodbath. Curiously, it is often called 'peace keeping'. There is a bloodbath like this at present in the North of Ireland, with 2½ thousand killed since 1969.

In Kenya, for example, the British Army 'kept the peace' against the Kenya Land and Freedom Army for which they invented the name Mau Mau to make it sound primitive and tribal. This war saw 80,000 Africans detained in prison

"I would say that the conditions I found existing in some prison camps in Kenya were worse, far worse, than anything I experienced in my four and a half years as a prisoner of the Japanese."

*Duncan McPherson, Assistant Commissioner of the Kenya Police during the national liberation war.*

camps, and 13,000 Africans killed. 167 members of the white security forces were killed in the same period.

When those forces withdrew in 1963, the killing ended.

## ANGOLA

The three Portuguese colonies in Africa won their independence in the mid-seventies. This was after long years of war against the Portuguese Army. In Mozambique and Guinea Bissau, independence brought real peace, for the first time since colonisation.

But Angola suffered further years of civil war, still not finally settled today. The cause of the war is foreign interference: Cuban and South African forces stand in for the rival claims of the USSR and USA to exercise control over Angola's mineral wealth and strategic position.

Ireland does not share Angola's misfortune to be situated in a crossroads position. A reunited Ireland would be under great pressure to join NATO as the western bulwark of Europe, but it is not placed as the battlefield of East-West rivalry.

"Well of course they're terrorists, they're just like the IRA."

*Margaret Thatcher describing the Patriotic Front in 1979, a few months before she had to welcome them as the new Government of the new Zimbabwe.*

## THE SETTLERS' ROLE

Internal divide-and-rule and external foreign interference are the two bloodbath factors emerging from these examples. The third and final factor is that of the settler class fighting to maintain its power against the forces of liberation.

It is unnecessary here to dwell on the injustices built into the system of settler-ruled states like Israel (Palestine) or South Africa (Azania). The sufferings of their people are well known. Neither of these regimes would survive long without the support of their powerful backers, but even the fourteen years of Ian Smith's Unilateral Declaration of Independence in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) cost 30,000 deaths and left one third of the population living as refugees by its end.

"We want immediate majority rule accepted as a fact, but we will deal with the mechanics after the fact has been accepted."

*Robert Mugabe, leader of Zimbabwe African National Union.*

We have considered that Ireland is not too vulnerable to the first two bloodbath factors — but is it at risk from the settlers? The Irish Protestants derive from English and Scottish settlers, and although there was much assimilation over the centuries the Unionist element kept asserting the British identity — would these cause a bloodbath?

In next month's *Troops Out*, we will conclude by looking at the part played by the settlers in Algeria which has many features similar to Ireland.



# MARCHING FOR BRITISH

PHOTOS BY HELEN DADY

2000 people braved appalling weather conditions to march (to the accompaniment of the John Ogilvie Flute Band and John 'Bap' Kelly Accordion Band) from Hyde Park through West End shopping crowds to Trafalgar Square, demanding 'Britain out of Ireland' and 'Self-Determination for the Irish people'. As the Home Secretary had turned down without explanation an application for a rally in Trafalgar Square the march continued past the House of Parliament to County Hall. The march was led by a symbolic display of ten Black Flag bearers, a coffin and portraits of the ten dead hunger-strikers.

The rally opened with Mary Pearson of the Troops Out Movement welcoming the broad support evidenced by the sponsorship lists and shown by the many organizations on the march: Labour Party branches, Trade Unions, National League of Young Liberals, Labour Committee on Ireland, Irish in Britain Representation Group, Cumann na Poblachta, Sinn Fein, Irish Republican Socialist Party, women's groups and students' groups. The rally heard a telegram from Italian Euro MP Mario Capanni (absent due to Italian General Election): "This demonstration is important because the hunger strikes showed the stark reality of British rule in Ireland."

Five people were arrested during the demonstration — all were released later after being charged with minor public order offences. The provocative behaviour of the police in making these arrests forced the stewards to halt the march twice in its progress through the centre of London.

A recent Channel Four TV opinion poll showed a large majority of British people in favour of withdrawal.



Suzanne Bunting added was arrested, along with Party. Raids and arrest part of the arsenal of

BRITAIN OUT OF IRELAND

SELF DET



# WITHDRAWAL

## GROWING DEMAND FOR TROOPS OUT

Among the speakers at the Rally calling for British withdrawal from Ireland were Dave Douglas of the National Union of Mine-workers, representatives from Sinn Fein and the Irish Republican Socialist Party, and Janice Turner of the National League of Young Liberals.

Suzanne Bunting from Belfast powerfully recreated what life is like for the nationalist people of the North under the daily repression of the British Army. She was seriously wounded and her husband and friend killed by loyalist assassins in 1981, with the connivance of the British Army. She described the new British tactics of summary executions and death threats, and the use of 'supergrasses'.

Ken Livingstone, leader of the GLC, told how the press and TV had gone to town with 'shock horror' treatment of his visit to Belfast to meet Sinn Fein leaders in February and then had suddenly dropped the story. The reason for this was that the visit was actually welcomed by people in Britain and the press slanders were rebounding. He said, "If there was a referendum tomorrow there would be a majority of two to one of British people in favour of withdrawal. We speak for the majority on this issue."

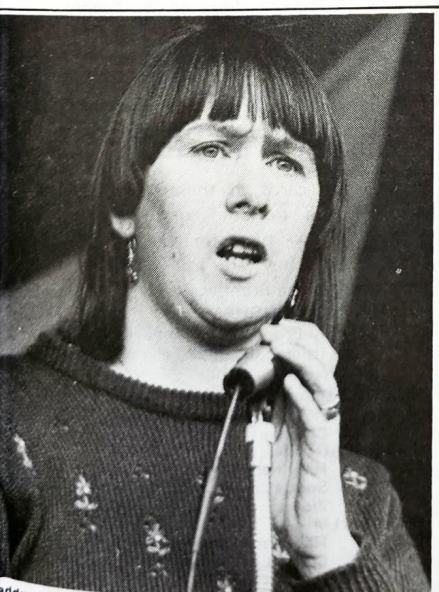
Livingstone also predicted that Britain would be out of Ireland within a decade: "The sacrifice of the ten hunger strikers will be seen as a turning point in history."



## BIRMINGHAM COMMEMORATION

On May 1st, several hundred people marched through Birmingham in a demonstration called by Sinn Fein. It commemorated the hunger strike of Bobby Sands and his comrades in the H Blocks.

This march was also supported by the Troops Out Movement.



addresses the rally. Soon after her return to Belfast she with other members of the Irish Republican Socialist Party, wrongful imprisonment and assassinations are all of repression directed against republicans in Ireland.

## THE TURNCOATS

(to the tune of "Easter Week")

Whatever will happen to all the turncoats  
When Ireland will be free again?  
Will they feel ashamed of the way  
They ridiculed our brave young men?  
They called them murderers and said  
They committed suicide,  
But that's not true,  
As well they all knew  
How and why our young men died.

If all the turncoats throughout the world  
Would think and open their eyes,  
And keep all the Brits at home  
And stop listening to their lies,  
Their mission is supposed to keep the peace  
Up the Falls or in Bogside.  
If they truth they would tell  
They know full well  
How and why our young men died.

Do these turncoats know what our men and  
women went through  
In Castlereagh, in Armagh or Long Kesh?  
Like trapped animals they had to stay,  
Bodies torn and their young faces

Old and worn,  
But they bore their cross with pride  
They are with us yet,  
We'll not forget  
How and why our young men died.

Now to all you turncoats this I have to say:  
I would have another think without delay,  
For the war is still going on,  
Think what you may.  
But your excuse is that they're all criminals of  
the IRA.  
You all said that Bobby Sands and his comrades  
were in the wrong.  
If it was up to you, or the Red, White and Blue,  
More of our young men would be gone.  
We all hope and pray, there will come the day  
When we'll stand with joy and pride  
And remember our young heroes,  
Of how and why they died.

Written for the second anniversary of  
Bobby Sands' death, RIP.

Lily Bochan, May 1st 1983

# TERMINATION FOR THE IRISH PEOPLE



## PLASTIC BULLETS EXHIBITION

To what lengths will some of our politicians go to keep the truth from us?

In the London Borough of Camden, the local council agreed to display in their libraries an exhibition about plastic bullets, which the Camden branch of the Troops Out Movement has produced.

The exhibition gives brief histories of the people killed or seriously injured by plastic bullets. It explains the Government position regarding their use and contrasts it with the daily reality in Belfast and Derry. Finally it lists the organisations which have called for plastic bullets to be banned (starting with the European Parliament) and warns of the likelihood of their use in Britain.

Certain Tory councillors pretended outrage at the Council's decision and — significantly — appealed to Michael Foot to intervene! Curiously enough the same exhibition has been on display in nearby Hackney libraries for several months without one single word of complaint from anyone.



Plastic bullet — actual size

## MASON RESELECTED



Former Northern Ireland direct ruler Roy Mason has been re-selected as the Labour Party's parliamentary candidate for Barnsley in South Yorkshire. Only one vote was cast against the man who came to be hated by nationalists in the six counties during his years there.

In 1978, during the height of RUC torture in Castlereagh, the Troops Out Movement held a 600-strong march through Barnsley. And in the 1979 General Election Brendan Gallagher, the father of an H Block prisoner, won more than 300 votes standing against Mason in the town.

Concern over Mason's record in Ireland contributed to widespread dissatisfaction with Mason's right wing views on everything else, and the miners in particular pledged to ditch him as Labour candidate.

But to the eternal shame of Barnsley Labour Party Mason has now been re-selected.

## Making Bradford A Politics-Free Zone

A speech from a Labour councillor attacking the role of British troops in Ireland was used by two Liberal councillors in Bradford as an excuse to vote with the Tories to scrap the city's Nuclear Free Zone policy.

Bradford in West Yorkshire was one of the first of the 150 Nuclear Free Zones in this country, but as both Tory and Labour parties have an equal number of seats the balance of power rests with the Liberals.

Up to now they supported the Nuclear Free Zone, but they split at a recent council meeting, enabling a motion to be passed saying that Britain has enjoyed its longest period of peace this century and scrapping the anti-nuclear policy.

Bradford North Labour Councillor Barry Turner made a strong speech disputing the claim about the period of peace since the Second World War. He pointed out some of the wars which British troops have been involved in since 1945 — Palestine, Greece, Suez, Cyprus, Aden, Kenya, Oman, the Falklands, and others, ending with "beating down the nationalists in Northern Ireland since 1969."

The speech provoked uproar. Liberal leader Paul Hockney said it was "irrelevant and outrageous", adding that the "unjustifiable, vitriolic attack on the British Army by Councillor Turner" had changed some of his members' minds.

The Labour leader on the council also joined in, saying he was 'appalled' at the speech.

Barry Turner insists, however, that his speech was entirely relevant.

"While my views on the British Army are not necessarily those of the Labour Group as a whole," Barry Turner says, "they do represent a growing trend within the Labour Party in support of British withdrawal from Ireland."

### PRISONERS' BIRTHDAYS

Please send cards to these prisoners, who endure horrific conditions in English jails — often in isolation, so they know they are not forgotten. Don't forget the number.

#### ROBERT CUNNINGHAM

131877 HM Prison Long Lartin, South Littleton, Evesham, Worcs. July 12th

#### ANN GILLESPIE

994769 HM Prison Styal, Wilmslow, Cheshire June 7th

#### CON McFADDEN

130662 HM Prison Long Lartin, South Littleton, Evesham, Worcs. June 19th

#### PAUL HOLMES

119034 HM Prison Long Lartin, South Littleton, Evesham, Worcs. June 22nd

#### ROBERT CAMPBELL

B32954 HM Prison Winchester, Hampshire

#### EILEEN GILLESPIE

94770 HM Prison Styal, Wilmslow, Cheshire July 17th

#### BRIAN KEENAN

B26380 HM Prison, Welford Road, Leicester. July 17th



## ARMAGH AT THE WOMEN'S T.U.C.

While debating a motion on the treatment of women in prison, the Women's Trade Union Congress heard also about the outrageous treatment being meted out to women in Armagh Jail.

Rose Arden of the Union of Construction and Allied Trades Technicians reported her observations made during the recent International Women's Day delegation to Armagh.

Conference participants were reminded that repression and degradation in Armagh has been introduced 'only' against Republican prisoners. But that if people remain silent about such abuse simply because they have

political disagreements with Republican women, the methods will find their way into standard prison treatment of women.

Of course the UCATT delegate is quite right. One is reminded of the story of the German liberal who said of the nazis and his own inactivity against them, "When they came for the Communists, I said 'I am not a Communist, this has nothing to do with me.' When they came for the Jews, I said, 'I am not a Jew' and so I did nothing. And when they came for me, there was no-one left to do anything to help me."

Anyone who still doubts the speed with which such innovations spread might be interested in a comment made by police about three women they had arrested on May 7th 'Britain Out' demonstration in London: "They're too ugly, we won't bother strip searching them." Such comments expose Northern Ireland Office 'assurances' that searches are always performed by medically trained people and are purely a function of security. Clearly they are intimidatory and abusive — and must be stopped immediately.

## SAVE NICKY KELLY

On May 1st Nicky Kelly started a hunger strike in Portlaoise Prison in the South of Ireland. He is determined to win his release or die rather than serve a twelve year sentence for something he never did.

Nicky Kelly is a member of the Irish Republican Socialist Party who was framed on a mail train robbery charge in 1976. He was tried in the Special Criminal Court in Dublin which has no jury: he and two others were convicted even though there was no evidence against them except 'confessions' which had clearly been beaten out of them. The other two appealed against the conviction and were released, but Nicky Kelly had gone to the USA and when he returned he lost his appeal on a technicality.

Support for Nicky Kelly's release has been growing throughout May. Four people in Nicaragua staged a token hunger strike in solidarity. Law students in Cork University elected him as their honorary vice-President.

1000 people marched in Dublin to call for his release. Motions of support have been passed by Leirtrim County Council, Naas Urban District Council, and Sligo, Waterford and Dublin Trades Council. And on May 17th an exhibition in Dublin of prisoners' art was briefly occupied by The Nicky Kelly Committee. The Minister of Justice had to make his opening speech in front of a poster of Nicky Kelly saying: "I am innocent. I am on hunger strike. My life is in your hands."

In England there were pickets held in Leeds and two in London outside the Irish Tourist Board, called by the Troops Out Movement and supported by a wide range of groups. The first one, on May 12th, was timed to coincide with a press reception for tour operators, thus embarrassing the Dublin Government's tourist drive. Over 40 people attended the second picket, two days later.

The National League of Young Liberals wrote to the Government in Dublin asking them to "consider at the very least a retrial for this unfortunate man so that justice may be seen to be done."

Committees have been set up in London, Birmingham and Manchester to strengthen support for Nicky Kelly. Please give what help you can to save his life and win his freedom:

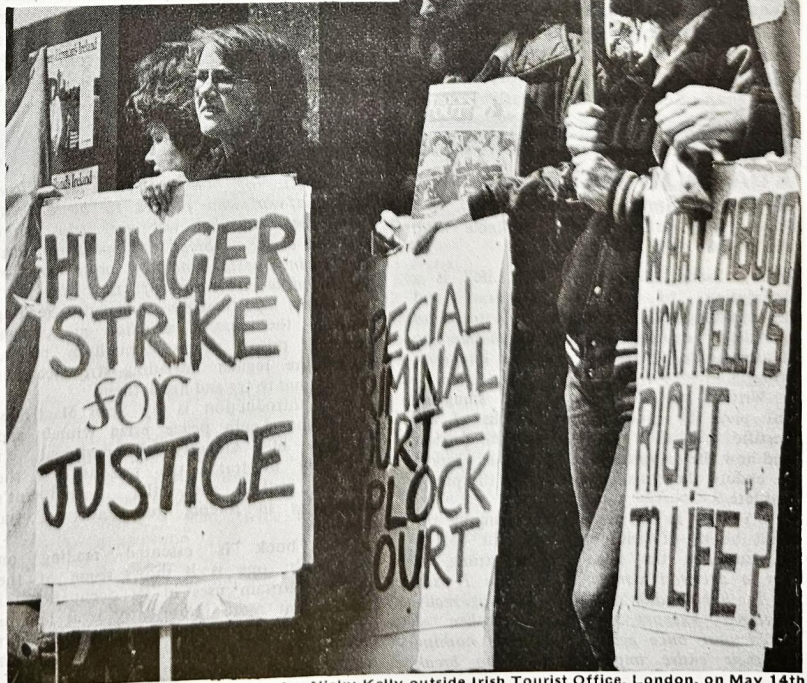
Organise a picket or some kind of protest in your area — possible places

include Aer Lingus, Allied Irish Bank, and Irish Consuls.

- Please send donations and/or messages of support to the Release Nicky Kelly Committee, 11 Grange Terrace, Blackrock, Co. Dublin, Ireland.
- Write to the Irish Embassy to question Nicky Kelly's imprisonment. Under the Irish Constitution the Minister of Justice does have the power to release him. 17, Grosvenor Place, London SW1; or phone 01-235 2171.
- Send cards and messages of support to Nicky Kelly, c/o Portlaoise Prison, Laois, Ireland.

A leaflet outlining the facts of the case is available from TOM, Box 1969, 59 Cookridge St., Leeds 2.

The address of the Release Nicky Kelly Committee in London is: c/o 265 Seven Sisters Road, London N4.



Picket for Nicky Kelly outside Irish Tourist Office, London, on May 14th (photo: Joanne O'Brien/Format).



# The Labour Party And Ireland



This is the fourth in a series of articles outlining the history of the Labour Party's policy on Ireland. The third article led up to the establishment of the loyalist veto over Irish reunification which the Labour Party introduced in its 1949 Ireland Act.

In 1951 the Labour government fell, and thirteen years of Conservative rule ensued. During that period there was very little discussion of the situation in Northern Ireland, the convention that Westminster should leave the affairs of the six counties to Stormont continuing to be observed. Little changed during the first years of the 1964 Labour government. The discrimination against Catholics in employment, housing and the franchise continued to exist, as did the repressive powers of the Special Police Act, enforced by a sectarian police force. James Callaghan later wrote of his early years as

Home Secretary (with responsibility for Northern Ireland):

*"I had no occasion to seek more work or to go out and look at the problems of Northern Ireland unless they forced themselves upon me."*

In 1968 the problems of Northern Ireland did at last force themselves upon the Labour government. In the post-war period in Northern Ireland, opposition to the Unionists and Stormont had been focussed in the constitutionalist Nationalist Party, and the IRA border campaigns of 1956-62, neither of which proved very effective. Thus in 1967 the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association was set up to campaign for the abolition of discrimination against Catholics. NICRA and the Northern Ireland situation became a national and international issue when in an October 1968 march British and foreign news programmes showed the RUC savagely attacking the peaceful

marchers — who included three Catholic Westminster MPs.

Following this public exposure Labour prime minister Wilson demanded civil rights reforms from Stormont, otherwise threatening to limit the Assembly's powers. O'Neill, the Unionist leader, introduced some limited reforms and promised more in the future. Right wing opposition in his party and escalating civil disturbances led to O'Neill's resignation in April '69, and his replacement by Chichester-Clark. In August provocative action by Protestants led to riots in Derry and Belfast which lasted for three days. In Derry the Catholics successfully repelled RUC and Loyalist attackers from the district of Bogside. The Unionists, fearful that this successful Catholic action might spark off widespread nationalist rebellion, asked Westminster to send in British soldiers to end the conflict. Callaghan outlined the situation thus:

*"The government of Northern Ireland has informed the United Kingdom government that as a result of the severe and prolonged rioting in Londonderry it has no alternative but to ask for the assistance of troops at present stationed in Northern Ireland to prevent a breakdown of law and order."*

This demonstrated clearly that the troops were not sent in as a peace-keeping force to separate two warring sides, but to restore Protestant law and Protestant order over the defiant Catholics. This was further emphasised in the 'Downing Street Declaration' a few days later when Wilson reaffirmed Labour's commitment to the Loyalist veto, and to Stormont. In line with its policy since 1949 the Labour government still did not wish to take on responsibility for Northern Ireland affairs. As Roy Jenkins, who had been Home Secretary until 1967, stated: *"If there is one thing I have learnt it is that the British cannot run Ireland"*. Within three years as the conflict in Northern Ireland increased in intensity, a Conservative government was going to have to attempt just that.

## Reviews

### A DAY IN MY LIFE

By Bobby Sands

Pluto Press, £2.95 + p&p (available from the T.O.M.)

Bobby Sands *"A Day in My Life"* is a description of torture, boredom and degradation, but primarily a story of incredible courage and determination to participate to the full in the Irish liberation struggle.

Written on toilet paper and smuggled out piece by piece the book tells of the horrific conditions on the blanket protest and how the prisoners gave each other support to endure the constant attacks by the prison warders.

*"A Day in My Life"* ranks among the great books of prison writings, for behind the suffering the spirit remains strong. *"I was a skeleton compared to what I used to be but it didn't matter. Nothing really mattered except remaining unbroken. I rolled over once again. They have nothing in their entire imperial arsenal to break*

*the spirit of one single Republican prisoner-of-war who refuses to be broken, I thought, and that was very true. They can not or never break our spirit. I rolled over again freezing and the snow came in my window on top of the blankets."* It makes particularly poignant reading knowing the present situation in Armagh women's prison where Republican prisoners endure regular degrading strip searches and beatings to try and break them.

The introduction is by Sean MacBride, Nobel and Lenin peace prize winner and founder of Amnesty International. It succinctly illustrates the reasons for the hunger strike and the government's callousness in forcing the deaths of the prisoners.

The book is essential reading on two levels: one is it shows some of the brutality Britain uses in its occupation of Ireland; but more importantly it lets us see the strength of that unbreakable spirit of Resistance. *"Tíocfaidh ar la, Tíocfaidh ar la" — "our day will come"*.



Also new from Pluto Press:

### UNMANAGEABLE REVOLUTIONARIES

BY Margaret Ward: about how women have fought for Irish independence. £5.95 + p&p (also available from the T.O.M.)





APRIL

20th

Church hierarchy in Ireland considers setting up secretariat to look after the welfare of Irish prisoners, to monitor their treatment and prisoners' rights, including in Britain.

The sister of 'supergrass' Ray Gilmour says he was never an undercover police agent (as RUC Special Branch makes out). N.Ireland Minister of State justifies the use of informers and claims not to know of any deals for immunity from prosecution and money for a new life for informers.

House of Commons Select Committee rejects suggestions that Irish people living in Britain should lose their voting rights. Right-wing Tories argued for this after the Hyde and Regents Park bombings.

21st

Owen Carron (MP for Fermanagh/S.Tyrone) says that the Home Office has viciously refused parole to Richard Glenholmes, an Irish prisoner in Long Lartin, to attend his mother's funeral. The Gillespie sisters in Durham were similarly treated recently.

The Official Unionists win by-election in S.Armagh (Seamus Mallon's SDLP seat). Election mostly boycotted by nationalists.

In an article in the Lancet, Lawrence Rocke (senior registrar at Royal Victoria Hospital, Belfast) says that plastic bullets cause more severe injuries to skull and brain, and more deaths than rubber ones. In his survey (made during hungerstrike) 31 of 99 patients had severe head injuries.

Lorraine Gilmour (wife of 'informer' Raymond Gilmour), tells of their 'holiday' under RUC guard. They went from Army housing estate in Lisburn to Ipswich to Cyprus to Newcastle. After 7 months she managed to phone her parents (in March). Raymond was drugged up most of the time, both were promised a new life, money, jobs, and a new home abroad.

Supreme Court judges in Dublin reject by 3-2 an appeal by D. Norris of the National Gay Federation that legislation against homosexuality is against the 26 Co. constitution.

The US Wall Street Journal says N.Ireland is a 'classic little guerilla war'. Also that the British claim security is being Ulsterised, and that Prior believes it is 'useless and reckless to talk about a United Ireland'.

22nd

A forum of Irish Community organisations in London, set up to discuss the political situation in Ireland, is invited by Owen Carron to send representatives to meet Assembly elected Sinn Fein leaders in N.Ireland.

Pat Craven of Bessbrook (27) shot by Army in S.Armagh checkpoint. RUC state a gun accidentally discharged but a witness said 'a few minutes later another 5 shots were fired and I saw British soldiers running up to Pat'. He nearly lost a leg.

23rd

John Hume (SDLP) elected as candidate for new Foyle constituency in Derry. He will stand against Sinn Fein in the general election.

The Protestant Action Force (cover name for UVF) plant no-warning bomb in Hole in Wall pub. They wrongly think it is an 'IRA bar' and attack it after jailing of many UVF members via an informer.

25th

Kevin Crilly (19) from Armagh sentenced to 18 years for 'attempted murder' of part-time UDR member in February 1982.

International Red Cross group visit Long Kesh to inspect conditions. They will also visit Crumlin Road, Armagh Women's Jail and Magilligan. This group tried to negotiate an ending of hungerstrike in '81. No details to be published.

Jim Molyneux (Official Unionists) says that use of informers and informer business is undesirable and should be replaced by voluntarily given information!

Gerald Tuite appeals against his sentence. Tuite escaped from Brixton prison and was later arrested in 26 counties, and tried and sentenced there for offences in London. His lawyer Sean McBride (UN Nobel prizewinner) claims that Special Criminal Court had no jurisdiction to try him for offences committed in other countries. There are 6 other grounds of appeal concerning admissibility of evidence etc.

26th

Ian Paisley (DUP) also joins in condemning the use of 'informers'.

SDLP councillors abstain over a motion in Derry Council that the 'London' should be deleted from Derry and the historic wrong to the city amended. Their abstention led to the motion failing.

28th

26 Co. government refuse to sign European Commission for Human Rights document to abolish the death penalty — ironic in terms of their anti-abortion stand.

The SDLP decide to field a candidate for Fermanagh/S.Tyrone, thus potentially splitting the nationalist vote.

Eddie Gallagher, serving a sentence for the kidnapping of Dutch industrialist, Tiede Herrema, announces he is standing in the Donegal by-election and wins 300 votes. 46 members of the Belfast DUP resign in an internal row. They feel they have been taken over by Shankill loyalist heavies.

29th

SDLP reject Sinn Fein proposals to arrange electoral pacts over new seats in the general election. Sinn Fein ask them to stand on a basis of British withdrawal, an amnesty for political prisoners, self-determination for Irish people, and a boycott of Westminster. The SDLP can't accommodate this.

30th

Youths in Derry attack security forces with petrol bombs and have live rounds fired on them.

MAY

1st

Story emerges that Special Branch police in 26 Cos. arranged a deal with Eddie Gallagher and Marian Coyle that if they released Tiede Herrema their sentences would be cut to 4 and 2 years each, which hasn't happened. Questions to be asked in the Dail (parliament).

Nicky Kelly begins a hungerstrike for his release, in Portlaoise prison.

2nd

Republican Press Centre releases statement for the Sallins IRA claiming responsibility for the Sallins mail train robbery Nicky Kelly was convicted for, for the second time. 'It was our volunteers,

our organisation, which carried out the Sallins mail-train raid for which an innocent man is serving 12 years'.

Tuite's appeal is dismissed in the Courts of Criminal Appeal in Dublin, and will not therefore go to the Supreme Court.

3rd

2 women in Armagh jail are soon to be released after 9 years of indefinite sentences, and for the first time not on health grounds.

Eilish Flynn the first woman to be tried in 26 Cos. for activities in the North gets 5 year suspended sentence under Criminal Law Jurisdiction Act 1976.

4th

Father of Derry youth Gary English who was killed by Army landrover at Easter '81, says the inquest decision showed Gary's death to be a malicious act, and challenges the DPP to prosecute soldiers concerned.

Legal aid body FLAC calls on Justice minister Noonan in 26 Cos. to review Nicky Kelly's case.

As Prior visits Fitzgerald (Premier) in 26 Cos, Defence minister Heseltine attacks Irish neutrality in press conference at Belfast's airport. Leads to strong protest from Irish government.

The Law Society of Cork University elects Nicky Kelly as Hon. Vice president and asks for his case to be considered.

5th

Another 'supergrass' trial begins in Belfast. Ten men are being prosecuted on 'evidence' of former IRA member Kevin McGrady.

The INLA shoot Eric Dale in S.Armagh. They hold him responsible for the deaths of Seamus Grew and Roddie Carroll at the end of last year. A few days before the anniversary of Bobby Sands' death media propaganda put out 'scare' over bombings in Britain.

6th

A writ of habeas corpus goes out to RUC to produce Linda Quigley, wife of Derry 'informer' Robert Quigley. She is not produced and RUC Chief Hermon denies she is in police custody.

7th

2,000 march for Britain out of Ireland in London. March coincides with anniversary of death of Bobby Sands.

Army escapes bomb ambush in Co.Down.

Gerry Fitt is offered Unionist support in the elections for W.Belfast seat as rearranged boundaries put them out of the running. Some sections call him 'true grit Fitt' (true colours Fitt)! Fitt declined the offer

9th

IRA bombing blitz in Belfast City Centre against commercial enterprises.

10th

Woman accidentally killed by the IRA in Derry during attempted assassination of her husband, a British army sergeant.

Sergeant was off limits at time, he was supposed to stay in local army married quarters.

13th

3 Belfast Irishmen and a New Yorker convicted in New York on charges of supplying weapons to the IRA. The trial lasted 12 weeks and the jury took 4 days to make their verdict. They are convicted in spite of CIA involvement.

16th

The INLA announce they have taken Elizabeth Fitzpatrick, wife of Crumlin prisoner considered likely to inform.

RUC constable shot dead by IRA in S.Belfast home.

Tiede Herrema announces plans to settle in Dublin (see May 1st).

17th

In retaliation for taking of Elizabeth Kirkpatrick, RUC arrest 18 IRSP members in Belfast and Armagh.



## Forthcoming Events

### SHEFFIELD

#### WOMEN AND IRELAND CONFERENCE

With speakers  
from the North of Ireland

*Women only*

At The Hub, Sheffield, 10am-5pm

**SATURDAY 25th JUNE**  
and Ceili in the evening

#### EXHIBITION— BIN LIDS AND BARRICADES

The struggle of women in Ireland  
and their part in the struggle for  
national liberation.

Rent and Rates Room, Sheffield Town Hall  
**20th JUNE-30th JUNE**

### LONDON

#### T.O.M. BENEFITS

Organised by East London TOM  
Two evenings not to be missed!

Both at Chats Palace,  
Brooksbys Walk, E9,  
8 to late

£2.50 or £1.50 unwaged

**SUPER COMBO + support**  
**FRIDAY 17th JUNE**  
and

**CAROL GRIMES + support**  
**FRIDAY 1st JULY**

### LONDON

#### CONFERENCE ON PLASTIC BULLETS

With Richard Balfe (MEP),  
Steve Bundred (GLC Councillor)  
Plus workshops and exhibitions

Social in evening

Organised by Labour Committee on Ireland  
At County Hall, London SE1

**SATURDAY JUNE 25th**  
**1-5pm**

### LONDON

#### LABOUR MOVEMENT CONFERENCE ON IRELAND

Speakers from Irish and British Labour  
and trade unions, outlining the situa-  
tion facing the Northern Ireland trade  
union movement, and campaigning in  
Britain. The greater part of the time  
will be given over to discussion.

Delegates' fees £3, observers £2;  
cheques payable to Labour Movement  
Conference on Ireland; send to Box 189,  
32 Ivor Place, London NW1.

At Conway Hall, Red Lion Square,  
London WC1

**SATURDAY JULY 16th**  
**Starts 10am**

## Campaign Against Strip Searches In Armagh Jail

After the dirty protest of 1980 and the  
hunger strikes of 1980 and 1981, women  
prisoners in Armagh Jail are now being  
subjected to forcible strip-searching.  
Since November 1982 women have been  
strip-searched whenever entering or leaving  
the prison. The searches are performed by  
groups of female and male prison officers,  
sometimes as many as ten. Between 9  
November 1982 and 1 March 1983, 772  
strip searches have been carried out on 97  
women; one woman was strip-searched  
nineteen times in eleven days.

All prisoners are subjected to the  
searches, regardless of age or physical  
condition. Women who have been searched  
include: a 43-year-old mother of three;  
menstruating women who are required to  
remove their tampons or sanitary pads;  
adolescent women held in Armagh's  
young offenders unit; a woman who was  
5½ months pregnant; a three-year-old girl  
visiting a prisoner.

The Stop the Strip Search Campaign  
has been set up by women in London to  
call attention to the deteriorating condi-  
tions in Armagh and to put an immediate  
end to the strip searches. For more  
information, contact the Campaign c/o  
A Woman's Place, Hungerford House,  
Victoria Embankment, London WC2.

### IRANIAN SONG "ZENDANI" (PRISONER)

Prisoner, you are the ultimate of screaming,  
Prisoner, I have you always in mind.  
You that your strong will and determination,  
Is heard of all over this land.  
Prisoner, you the ultimate of screaming,  
Prisoner, I have you always in mind.  
In the eyes of every one you are still the lion,  
Although you are a prisoner of the cruelty of  
the kings.

Through your bloody fight, tomorrow will  
belong to you.

Tulips are watered with your blood.  
Light shines from your face, onto the soil of  
your path,  
Tomorrow will be yours.

Your selflessness, all over Evin† prison,  
Is a reminder of the selflessness and fighting  
spirit,

Of Bijan\* and Shahin\*.

The happenings in our history, full of ups and  
downs,

Has a lesson for us, and will help us in the path  
to victory.

† Evin prison is one of the most notorious  
prisons in Iran

\* Political prisoners martyred by the Shah's  
regime

## TOM DELEGATION to IRELAND



For the last three years TOM has  
organised a delegation to the North of  
Ireland. Our delegations have given  
people the chance to see for themselves  
what British army occupation means,  
as well as the opportunity to support  
the Belfast anti-internment march  
which takes place early in August.

There will be a delegation this  
summer. Exact dates are not yet  
decided but if you are interested in  
going please contact the TOM c/o  
PO Box 353, London NW5, and get  
next month's Troops Out which will  
carry more details.

I am interested in the TOM delegation in  
August 1983. Please send me details (I  
enclose a stamped addressed envelope).

Name .....

Address .....

.....

.....

Send to PO Box 353, London NW5 4NH.

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