

TROOPS OUT OF IRELAND

**TROOPS OUT
NOW**

**SELF
DETERMINATION
FOR THE
IRISH PEOPLE
AS A WHOLE**

Paper of the Troops Out Movement 30p

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DROP THE CHARGES

Against Máire O'Shea



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Disband the UDR

EDITORIAL

Britain's policy of Ulsterisation in the North of Ireland has been brought into sharp focus by a recent event. On Easter Monday Martin Love from Enniskillen was murdered. The attack was claimed by the Ulster Freedom Fighters, a cover name for the Ulster Defence Association (UDA) when claiming responsibility for sectarian murders. A soldier from the Ulster Defence Regiment (UDR) has been charged with the murder.

In the same month, the UDR celebrated its 15th anniversary. Its initial role as a non-sectarian force, replacing the discredited and extreme sectarian 'B' Specials, has changed: now it is itself the section of the security forces most hated by the Catholic community.

Within two years of its formation the number of Catholics joining UDR ranks fell from 17.5% to 4%, as it became recognised as just another sectarian force. Its present level of Catholic membership is 3%. Membership is restricted to those living in the North of Ireland and unlike other regiments of the British army it only serves in the North. Its strength is now 6,500, most of whom are part-time members, with 2,600 full timers. At its head is an English Brigadier, and the nine battalion commanders are seconded from regular British regiments.

The UDR has been important to Britain's strategy of 'Ulsterisation': the UDR is intended eventually to take on the role of the British army, which took a front line in the conflict on its arrival in the North, and has latterly been an essential back-up force to the RUC (police). The UDR now patrols 85% of the North, all except 4 highly nationalist areas including West Belfast and South Armagh which are left to the regular British Army. Formerly, when the regular Army was at the forefront of the conflict, Britain had been clearly visible as the colonial power — even more so as the death toll of soldiers killed was rising. The introduction of a locally recruited force (UDR) aimed at a two-fold effect:

- to create the illusion that the conflict was an internal one between warring factions in the community, and therefore not Britain's problem.
- that the reduction in regular army casualties would result in less public interest in Britain in the war in the North.

The combined effect was to cloud the real issue of Britain's continued occupation of the North as a colonial power.

Unlike the 'B' Specials, the UDR has a centralised command structure. This means that policy decisions like the recent spate of Shoot-to-kill

incidents can be implemented more easily as a matter of strategy. In addition the fact that most are part-time members has meant that British Intelligence has a ready source of information. Their full-time jobs in local communities give them ideal opportunities to spy on their Catholic neighbours.

The list of atrocities committed by members of the UDR is a long one. Perhaps the bloodiest example was the massacre of the Miami Showband in 1975. In January this year a member of the UDR was convicted of the murder of a Sinn Fein worker in October 1982. At present 5 more members from the same barracks in Armagh are charged with murder. Two serving and six former members from Co. Antrim are awaiting trial on Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF) membership

and weapons charges.

The UDR, together with the RUC, is a brutal instrument through which the British state maintains its presence in the North. Since the latest spate of killings the call for its disbandment has been growing — though some have recommended that an expanded RUC should take their place. With the RUC's increased militarisation both in operations and weaponry, it has the capability to take on that role. And it would not have to look far to find the extra numbers!

The Troops Out Movement calls for the withdrawal of Britain from the North of Ireland. Inherent in that demand is the disbanding of the UDR and the disarming of the RUC. For these forces are the instruments used by Britain to maintain its colonial power.



The Troops Out Movement

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

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

open to any individual or group supporting the demands:

TROOPS OUT NOW

SELF-DETERMINATION FOR THE IRISH PEOPLE AS A WHOLE



TROOPS OUT

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

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

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The Terror Act ~

How it works in Ireland

The vicious effects of the Prevention of Terrorism Act in Britain are beginning to be publicised at last. But many people do not realise that the Terror Act operates in the North of Ireland as well.

About 6,000 people have been arrested under the Terror Act in Britain. In addition 4,194 people were arrested in N.Ireland up to 1983.

In the North, the Terror Act is used alongside the Emergency Provisions Act. Between the pair of them it has been estimated that about 55-60,000 have been arrested 1973-1983. Given the size of the population there, the figure points to an incredibly high level of police/military activity. Approximately 80% of those arrested are released without charge.

Both the Prevention of Terrorism Act and the Emergency Provisions Act allow arrest and detention without charge. In the seventies the Emergency Provisions Act was used far more frequently, although it permits three-day detention compared with the Terror Act's seven days. But in 1978 Britain was disgraced by revelations about the RUC's interrogation methods: brutality and physical ill-treatment was used systematically. From that time on, the Terror Act was used more often - seven days intensive interrogation achieving the same effect as a severe beating. For example, in 1976 there were 246 arrests under the Prevention of Terrorism Act (against 2,814 under the Emergency Provisions Act); in 1983 the figures were 1,174 under the Terror Act and 1,698 under the EPA.

One of the most offensive aspects of the Terror Act in Britain is the tiny proportion of those who are actually charged after being arrested (2.4% charged with offences under the Act and 5% charged with other offences). The

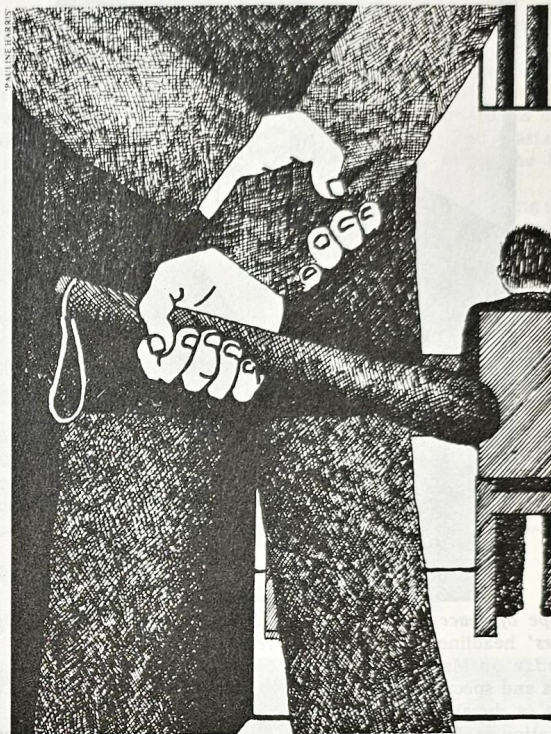
figures are an indicator that the Terror Act does not catch 'terrorists', but rather operates to harass and intimidate Irish people in Britain, and to gather intelligence.

In the North of Ireland an average of 40% of those arrested are charged with offences, which is a very different picture. It is the Emergency Provisions Act which is used more for harassment and intelligence gathering (the ratio of arrest to charge in N. Ireland taking both Acts together is almost the same as in Britain). This is probably because the Emergency Provisions Act allows soldiers as well as police to make arrests; and the arresting officer has only 'to suspect', not 'reasonably suspect' as under the Terror Act - a fine point highly appreciated by those at the receiving end.

In 1983 over 90% of those arrested under the Prevention of Terrorism Act in N.Ireland had their detention extended from the initial 48 hours. The seven day detention has paid dividends to the RUC because 'statements' produced through prolonged and intensive interrogations are admissible evidence in the juryless Diplock courts.

In the last couple of years, stories from the interrogation centres - too many to be dismissed as invented - reveal another use for the Terror Act. Almost on a daily basis people are being pulled in and interrogated not just to 'admit guilt' but also to turn informer. They are being pressurised either to become a police spy or to appear as crown witness against others as a supergrass.

Complaints have been made by priests to the Dublin Government about this. A few examples: Don Harte (17) arrested in Newry; interrogated three times, kicked and slapped; was then asked to spy on known republicans; 'They



asked me would I like to earn myself a bit of money. They offered me between £25 and £100 per week. They said if I did as they asked they would forget about the hijacking, petrol bombs and membership charges.'

Terence Meenan (21) arrested in Derry; offered £10,000 to implicate two named republicans and £200 per week for information on shootings and

hijackings; 'I refused to co-operate but they kept telling me I would be well looked after and that a cousin of mine would have a murder charge against him dropped if I co-operated.'

(Figures on the Prevention of Terrorism Act and Emergency Provisions Act from the Irish Information Partnership, Agenda)



NEWSLETTER on the PREVENTION OF TERRORISM ACT

produced by the NCCL PTA Project latest issue No. 2

Details the debate (lack of) on the renewal of the PTA in February; Federation of Irish Societies suggested amendments; news of the campaign against the PTA in Britain, Europe, and the South of Ireland; new less distorted statistics including both Britain and Northern Ireland; Standing Advisory Commission's criticisms of PTA

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Crumbs from the Table

Irish-British Diplomacy



'Hope of peace, highest for 70 years' headlined the *Mail on Sunday* on March 24th. Rumours and speculation abounded that a breakthrough on the situation in Ireland was imminent. Geoffrey Howe, the Foreign Secretary, and Douglas Hurd, Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, had just finished talks with Garret FitzGerald, leader of the South of Ireland's coalition government and his number two, Dick Spring. Speculative reports included joint security meetings between the two governments, reforms of the police and judicial system and the setting up of Anglo/Irish powersharing.

Papers in the South of Ireland were more sceptical of the so-called 'breakthrough'. They appeared to view these 'leaks' as no more than a way of gauging the effect such agreements would have in the North and to a lesser extent on Fianna Fail, the opposition party in the South.

Reaction from Unionists in the North was predictable. Paisley of the Democratic Unionist Party retorted 'We will not have the destiny of Ulster settled in Dublin'. James Molyneux, the Official Unionist Party leader, said that reform of the RUC (police) and the courts was tantamount to

'joint authority' and was 'a recipe for bloodshed'.

FITZGERALD'S PREDICAMENT

A reported 30 meetings between Irish and British ministers have taken place in the last 18 months. The current Anglo/Irish negotiations are having a significant effect on politics in the South. Britain has no intention of removing the 'Unionist veto', the stumbling block to any real progress. The 'Joint Authority' option of the New Ireland Forum, the weakest of the three options proposed in the Forum report, is favoured by FitzGerald. Britain views even this option as an infringement of sovereignty and has indicated its unacceptability. FitzGerald is therefore negotiating with Britain on something just short of 'Joint Authority'. Charles Haughey, leader of the opposition party Fianna Fail, has rejected this deal. He said, 'The Irish government must not become involved in some vague consultative role in the administration of the Six County area as a substitute for entirely new political and constitutional structures'. The call from Peter Barry, Minister for Foreign Affairs in the South, for 'the entire political leadership of this state' to back the

current Anglo/Irish talks was met with a stony silence from Haughey. Haughey for his part favours the 'Unitary State' option of the Forum report which he views as a blueprint, not an agenda for negotiations.

One of Britain's clear aims in the North of Ireland is the maintenance of 'a robust security policy' as Hurd put it. This necessarily includes the collaboration of the Dublin government along the border and a further relaxation of the extradition laws relating to political offences. This assistance is more likely with FitzGerald at the helm. He, however, cannot afford to come away from the next Anglo/Irish summit with the kind of humiliation inflicted on him at last November's meeting, with Thatcher's now famous 'out, out, out' reply to the three New Ireland Forum options. Following that summit there were questions raised among Fine Gael TDs concerning FitzGerald's continued leadership of the party. So he needs to bring something back, and it seems possible that Thatcher may be eager to comply in some way. If the returns do not come up to expectations he will have little option but to concede that further talks with Thatcher are worthless — admission which might cost him his job.

The next meeting between the two leaders is due at the end of June during the course of an EEC summit in Milan, there may also be a meeting in Dublin, Belfast or London to-

wards the end of the year.

ECONOMIC CARROT

There is another reason why Britain is keen to come to some agreement with Dublin. FitzGerald is negotiating a financial aid package to the North of Ireland from the USA and the EEC. This is dependent, it appears, on some 'political settlement' being reached. Britain may jump at the opportunity to save some of the cost of maintaining its occupation.

DIPLOMACY IN THE NORTH

Meanwhile in the North of Ireland, Hurd has given Christopher Patten the task of getting the Unionist parties and the Social Democratic and Labour Party talking again. The SDLP refuses to attend the Northern Ireland Assembly which at present is merely a talking shop for the Unionists. Hurd is keen that talks between the Unionist parties and the SDLP concerning the future government of the six counties should start as soon as possible. The sooner they start the quicker the British government can attempt to distance itself from political events in the North.

Finally, whatever the outcome of the next Anglo/Irish summit there will be no fundamental change to Britain's role in the North. Inequalities and repression which are inevitable under British rule will remain. All other agreements are merely a smokescreen to hide the only answer to the conflict — Britain's withdrawal from Ireland.



Dirty Tricks Dept. At The Top

The Army's New 'Peacekeepers'

In recent years government spokespeople have been keen to make misleading statements claiming a gradual withdrawal of troops from the north of Ireland. In fact, the number of 'security' forces, armed and controlled by Britain, has remained in the region of 31,000 for the past 12 years. Of these, the number of locally recruited personnel (Royal Ulster Constabulary, Ulster Defence Regiment) was at 14,500 in 1973. What has changed is that locally recruited troops now form a much higher proportion of the total occupying forces.

But it is clear that the government continues to see a crucial role for the regular army.

This can be seen by recent

changes in the top four army officers in Northern Ireland. In March it was announced that Major-General Anthony Jeapes is to take over as Commander of Land Forces (NI). Jeapes is an ex-commander of 22 Special Air Services, and was active with them both in Ireland and in Oman in support of the corrupt and despotic ruler. He is also a counter-insurgency theorist, and his book on the fight against the guerilla forces in Oman is being used as a basic text by the British army.

In June the present General Officer Commanding is to be replaced by Major-General Robert Pascoe. Pascoe is at present working under General Frank Kitson, godfather of Brit-

ish Army counter-insurgency thinking. He previously worked in support of former MI6 head Maurice Oldfield when he was intelligence supremo in the north of Ireland. Having served with the Greenjackets in Ireland, Malaya, Oman and Borneo at the same time as the SAS, Pascoe will be familiar with their style of operation.

In charge of 39 Brigade, which covers the eastern side of the North, is Brigadier Michael Rose. Rose also previously served there in 1978/9 — during which time a high number of 'shoot-to-kill' operations were carried out by the army. He commanded 22 SAS during the war in the Malvinas

Islands. Brigadier Michael Scott commands 8th Battalion, which covers the western half of N. Ireland. He owes his recent promotion to his command of the 2nd Battalion Scots Guards during the Malvinas war.

All four men are rising stars in the Army command and are known for their aggressive military style. Their appointments contrast sharply with the government's description of the Army's role as that of a peace-keeping force. It is to be feared that the present 'shoot-to-kill' policy will continue and the Army's actions will become even more aggressive and oppressive of the Nationalist population.

The Pressures Of Army Life

The tentacles of the Troops Out Movement extend to all classes. The advances of the Movement (see conference report) have encompassed one from the very highest echelons. We welcome him and are pleased to introduce our readers to his first contribution to *Troops Out*.

Tut Tut!

Dear Friends,

The pressures of trying to bring civilisation to the Irish continue to tell. A senior member of MI5 known in the trade as Charles was due to appear in the Old Bailey on February 26th. Until recently Charles operated from Lisburn in the north of Ireland, keeping a beady eye on events. Taking over from his pal Michael Bettany as second-in-command in Lisburn, his future looked bright. However, this illustrious chap's career ground to a halt when he was recently charged with rape and six other sex offences including incest with his twelve-year-old daughter. Described as a civil servant, Charles has been persuaded by his bosses to plead guilty. His case was discreetly dropped from the court lists on the 26th, and it is hoped to slip it in unannounced, while a jury is out, and a judge has a few hours to spare. Thus will the

case pass unnoticed by interfering busybodies and other agitators. The Press Association and *The Times* have already agreed not to follow up their initial mention of the case.

Another victim of trying to bring peace to the natives is one Colonel Richard Lea, another gentleman whose blossoming career has halted. Being a patriotic sort of chap, Richard volunteered for the SAS in 1967, where he rose to become commander of 21 SAS. In 1979 he was put in charge of all British army intelligence activities in the North and responsible to the GOC General 'Bull' Creasy. When the 'Bull' was transferred to Oman to command the Sultan's forces against the insurgents, the bold Richard followed him out this time in the guise of defence attache in the British Embassy. Oman has been infamous for some years for the large amount of corruption, involving British civil servants, army personnel and the Sultan's own personnel, centred around 'de-



H. B. S. (circled) lunching in Richmond Park.

fence' contracts. Richard was delighted to spend a few years in the sun, until his next step up the military ladder, and possibly his tunic stuffed with wads of notes. So far, so good. Unfortunately Richard was caught with his palms extremely well greased, and now has the distinction of being the first senior SAS officer to face a court martial.

Surely it is more important

than ever that we withdraw our armies from foreign lands and so protect our ruling class from pressures which lead them to commit these heinous crimes.

Yours in hope,

Henry Blythe Smythe.

P.S. I hope I am not boring you with repetition. You have probably already seen these cases splashed all over the newspapers and television screens.

Henry Blythe Smythe

Biggest Ever Population Shift

By
Sean Hone

HOW THE WAR HAS CHANGED COMMUNITIES

By 1973 the war in Northern Ireland had produced the largest forced population movement in Europe since the 2nd World War. To listen to recent remarks by Garret Fitzgerald, one might think that the bulk of those driven from their homes were members of the Protestant community. However the complete opposite has been the case, with nationalists suffering the most from intimidation.

The vast majority of population movements during the 'troubles' has occurred in the Greater Belfast area. Between 1969 and 1973 60,000 people (80% of them Catholic) were driven from their homes, mainly as a result of attacks by loyalist 'Tartan gangs'.

Pre-war housing policies had produced many mixed working class estates on the outskirts of the city. However the outbreak of hostilities in August 1969 was to bring that pattern to an end. During that month nationalists were burnt out of their homes in the Bombay and Hooker Street areas. The following year saw loyalists leave the mixed Ballymurphy and New Barnsley estates after clashes between British troops and local nationalist youths.

The introduction of internment in August 1971 led to the largest single movement of people within the city.

Loyalist families burnt their own houses in the mixed Farrington Gardens area, whilst others moved out of the Lenadoon, Ballybone, and Duncairn Gardens areas to escape gunbattles between the British Army and the IRA. Forty loyalist and thirty nationalist families left Lanark Street, as did families in mixed Springfield Part after receiving threats from loyalists. In addition loyalists forced thirty households out of Dunboyne Park, one of the few pieces of territory lost by nationalists during the current troubles.

The bulk of intimidation occurred in 1972, and was chiefly carried out by the UDA inspired 'Tartan gangs'. Most attacks took place in North and East Belfast, in places such as Ballysillon, Monkstown and Rathfern. Rathcoole was the birthplace of Bobby Sands, and in 1969 it had been 30% Catholic. Yet by 1974 virtually all nationalists had been

driven out. A variety of methods were used, such as threats, assaults, woundings, shootings, murder, and attacks on property. Nationalist homes were painted with crosses so that they could be singled out for attack. The story was repeated in Carrickfergus, Greenisland, and Dunadon, where nationalists fled to the comparative safety of West Belfast.

There have been relatively few cases of intimidation of loyalists by nationalists, although one such example was the attack on several loyalist houses at Horn Drive in the Lenadoon district during July 1976. But on the whole, loyalists have tended to leave mixed areas whenever the number of nationalists reached an 'unacceptable' level. The attitude of many loyalists that Catholics were inferior was similar to the notions that gave rise to 'white flight' from American and British cities during the sixties and seventies. The result was a Protestant exodus from Ligoniel Village, Cliftonville, Lower Cavehill, Greencastle, Orchardville, Twinbrook, Mountainview, and the Lower Ormeau areas.

Recent housing projects have reflected an acceptance of the segregation caused by such movements. The expan-

SHOW TRIALS—A Catalogue of

1982 and 1983 saw the police in the North of Ireland (the RUC) claim a wonderful new weapon in the fight against 'terrorism' — the supergrass. Now, as the last two of these supergrasses are called to say their piece in court, we can ask just how effective have they been.

THE NUMBERS GAME

About 430 people were arrested on the word of 25 supergrasses. Both loyalists and republicans were involved. Of these 25, only eight saw it through to the courtroom (and two more are involved in current trials). The others all retracted their statements.

The trials produced the following results:

Under supergrass Bennett, 14 were convicted.

Under Black, 35 were convicted.

Under McGrady, 7 were convicted and 3 acquitted.

Under Quigley, 10 were convicted and 1 acquitted.

Under Grimley, 7 were acquitted (11 were convicted, but not on Grimley's evidence).

Under Morgan, all 5 were acquitted.

Under Gilmore, all 35 were acquitted.

Under Crockard, 21 were acquitted (8 others were convicted, but not on Crockard's evidence).

The 14 defendants under Bennett all had their convictions overturned on appeal. Appeals in the other cases are pending.

The Bennett appeal outcome means that no loyalists are serving sentences as a result of supergrass evidence, despite the authorities' claim that the system is impartial.

Apologists for the system point to the figures as proof that the trials are fair and that legal standards are being upheld. They claim that the acquittal rate shows that the courts are not just a rubber stamp.

The Troops Out Movement and other campaigning organisations say that this is a superficial and false view.

Firstly, the basis of supergrass evidence is too unsound to warrant arrest and charges in the first place. Supergrasses who retracted have spoken of how the RUC put lists of names in front of them and offered any amount of money if they would incriminate these people — even people the supergrass had never met.

The potential supergrass is kept in isolation and under constant pressure from the RUC. He (they have all been men) suffers psychological disorientation as a result.

On the one hand, he is bribed with offers of a new identity abroad, large sums of money, and immunity or short sentences for charges against himself. On the other hand, he is threatened with a long prison sentence if he does not turn supergrass. Having made a deal, he is then kept in 'protective custody' and schooled by the RUC for his star appearance in court.

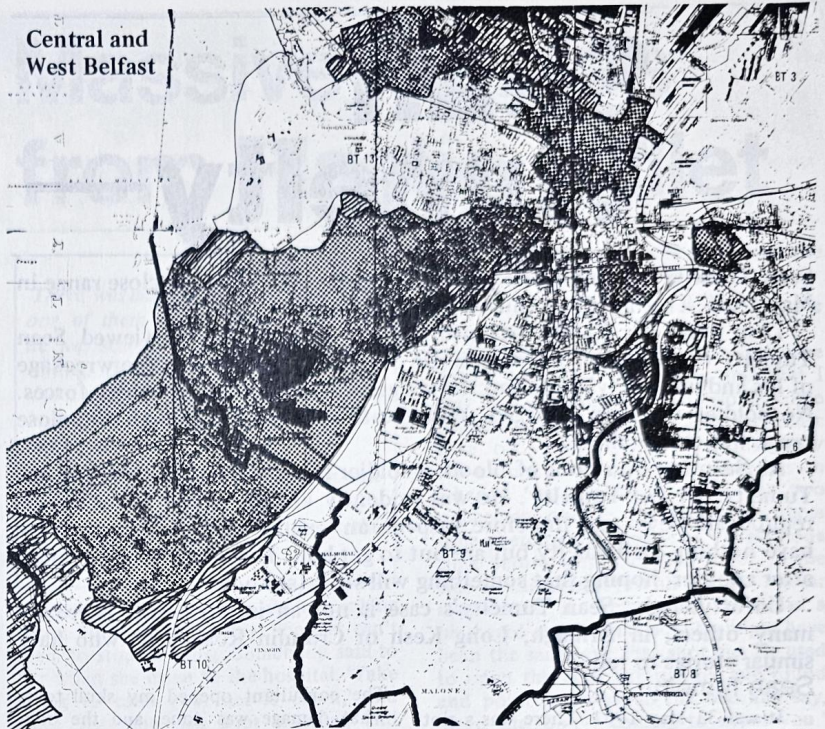


sion of Twinbrook, and the building of the Poleglass estate was designed to relieve the overcrowding in republican West Belfast which had been caused by an influx of homeless nationalists. Thus, despite having suffered the majority of forced population movements, the nationalist areas of Belfast have actually expanded in size since 1969.

Population shifts outside Belfast have been on a much smaller scale, and little territory has changed hands. Force was used by loyalists to expel nationalists from parts of Bangor, Larne, Portadown, and the Waterside area of Derry. Also in Derry, loyalists have left the West bank of the Foyle, with only the small loyalist enclave of the Fountain Estate remaining. The sharp swing in numbers towards the Catholics in the city has been reflected in the local council elections where the nationalists have gained seats at the expense of the unionists in recent years. In other towns, such as Newry, Strabane and Lurgan, the effect of the war on commerce has led to a loyalist exodus.

By the mid 1970's intimidation decreased as total segregation in working class districts was by now complete. Very few nationalists remained in loyalist areas because of the fear of sectarian attack. However there are still shifting population patterns in mixed middle class

Central and West Belfast



areas. Nationalist areas, particularly in Belfast, continue to expand.

Nationalist areas 1969;
Nationalist expansion 1969-85:



Injustice

In a written Commons reply in February, Douglas Hurd revealed that £1.3 million had been spent on supergrasses' payments, living expenses and resettlement. The RUC have twisted themselves into knots trying to explain the difference between a 'payment' and a bribe: lawyers have yet to be convinced by their arguments.

On top of this unreliability of supergrass testimony, there are other fundamental flaws in the system. In nearly all the trials, there has been no corroboration — no forensic evidence, for example, to link the defendant with the charge, no fingerprints, no eyewitnesses etc. And there is no jury for these trials: a single judge decides the verdict. If that were not enough, all the judges have been from a Unionist background.

INTERMENT BY REMAND

Secondly, we say that an acquittal coming at the end of a long period in custody in such dubious proceedings does not constitute justice.

The average time spent remanded in prison in these cases was 14.7 months as of June 1984 (Irish Information Partnership figures). Two men on trial under supergrass Kirkpatrick have spent over three years in prison, and have endured a hurdle course of being 'named' by one supergrass after another; as one retracted, another was brought forward.

Acquittals apart, the picture becomes even more horrific if one compares the rate of convictions to the rate of arrest.

About 430 people have been arrested on the word of supergrasses. Leaving aside those presently on trial, we are looking at the disrupted lives of about 350 men and women. Only 52 of them have been convicted on supergrass evidence (excluding those acquitted on appeal).

Even if the 52 upheld convictions had any validity (which we do not accept, given the nature of supergrass evidence as described above), this means that about 300 innocent people in the technical legal sense of 'innocent until proven guilty', have been arrested, spent months in prison, lost their jobs, seen their families torn apart and impoverished — for what?

POLITICAL VERDICTS

Finally, the judges' verdicts in the various trials have been determined more by outside considerations than by the

quality of evidence from prosecution and defence.

In two trials, for example, the judge dismissed the charges to protect the RUC. Supergrasses Grimley and Gilmore claimed they were paid police informers and had told the RUC in advance about IRA/INLA operations; the RUC had allowed the actions to go ahead, and risked their own men in order to protect their informer. It was at that point that the judge stopped the trial, not because of any legally-defined failing in the prosecution case.

Political expediency rules. Yet from Britain's own point of view the supergrass tactic has been a failure. The means used — corruption of judicial standards — have undermined their stated end — to create normality, democracy, rule by consent. There are few in the nationalist communities (or in some loyalist areas) who have any faith whatsoever in the courts. Justice is identified with Britain's military needs.

HARRY'S DEAL

Harry Kirkpatrick, supergrass against 31 people on trial, was convicted on five murder charges and sentenced to 999 years. Yet he since told his family he expects to serve only four years. The judge did not lay down a recommended term for the life sentences, which is the loophole by which he can slip out by the backdoor.

The first crop of supergrasses were often given total immunity, even on murder charges. This was stopped by the Attorney General, ostensibly because of public outrage but more practically for a tactical consideration:

a supergrass could retract and his immunity would still hold. He walked out free.

Harry's deal depends on his producing the goods. Appear in court and get convictions — *by whatever means, by however many lies* — and serve four years. Retract, or put up a poor showing, and they'll throw the key away on him.

A deal of this nature increases the pressure to lie and come up with more 'names'. It also destroys the independence of the judiciary: a court passes the verdict and sentence, the sentence is over-ruled by government decision.

Sean Tumelty—

Sean Tumelty was hit in the head by a plastic bullet fired at close range in May 1981. The injuries it caused are permanent.

Last year, Liz Curtis of Information on Ireland interviewed Sean Tumelty when he was out on bail. He describes the shooting, the wreckage of his and his family's life, and the vengeful attitude of the security forces. No soldier was ever charged with the shooting, even though the close range was clearly illegal.

As Sean lay in a pool of blood, a soldier in the patrol shouted, 'We got Tumelty, we got Tumelty'. He was evidently known to the Army for his republican views and therefore suspect, an 'enemy'. The RUC and Army have nothing on Tumelty but are out to get him. They are trying one ploy after another, hoping that something will stick (see box).

Unfortunately, Sean Tumelty's case is not an isolated one. There are many others, in Armagh, Long Kesh or Crumlin Road jails, who have similar stories to tell.

Sean Tumelty:

It was 31 May 1981. There was a riot situation going on and people claim that soldiers ran out of this entry and grabbed me and trailed me up into it, and the next thing they heard was a bang. All I know is that I woke up in hospital in the recovery ward. The plastic bullet gun was supposed to be put to my head and fired. As a result I was left paralysed down the left side of the body, which means I can't see out of the left eye to the left side, and my left arm is completely useless, it just dangles there. And my left leg, I have to only walk with the aid of a caliper, which I've to keep on at all times. I've a platinum plate in the right side of my head.

The consultant opened my skull to see what damage was done, and the bones just fell away, so they had to insert a plate to save me from any further damage. . . .

Was it near Divis Flats?

It was an entry near the Health Centre in Ross Road. I had seven cracked ribs and my legs were bruised. It seems what happened, when I was trailed into the entry I got a bit of a kicking. It was a Ronald George Williams of the Royal Welsh Fusiliers that shot me.

I am one of the lucky ones. I lived to tell the tale. I am still sitting here, and I'm still enjoying myself in some ways. When I think of them poor children killed and all. It must have been heart-



Sean Tumelty on life support machine

breaking for their mothers and fathers to see them in a coffin and all. . . .

So how does it affect you now? It's now three years . . .

It's three years and about three months. I've been coping on my own, mostly, since then, with the help of my mother. I try to do most things myself if possible, because I like to be independent.

But what really gets me is when you're just sitting in the house by yourself at times, you can take to drink and that, you've nothing else better to do.

And for a while I couldn't even write

...And then Persecuted by What Passes for the

When the Army failed to kill Sean they tried to use the law to put him away. This is what happened to him after he was shot:

- In July 1981, while he was still in hospital and barely conscious, he was charged with rioting and possession of a weapon. In September 1982 the possession charge was thrown out (there was *no* evidence), and in November 1982 he was found not guilty of rioting.

- Meanwhile in March 1982 he had been framed by supergrass Jackie Goodman. He was charged with two attempted murders, possession, causing explosions and membership of INLA. All these charges were dropped when Goodman retracted his

incriminating statements.

- In February 1983 he was taken to Castlereagh interrogation centre and charged yet again with possession and membership. This was on the basis of a 'verbal', which Sean Tumelty denied making. In September 1983 these charges too were dropped.

- In July 1983 he was *again* charged with possession and membership, on the word of supergrass Harry Kirkpatrick.

He is at present on trial with 30 other defendants, the only 'evidence' against him being Kirkpatrick's bribed testimony.

This amazing sequence of events shows just how deeply the legal system has been corrupted.

When the Harry Kirkpatrick show trial started in January of this year, Sean Tumelty was remanded back into prison. Previously he had been granted bail, a rare occurrence for republican defendants and due to his partial paralysis and blindness from the plastic bullet.

As the trial went on during February, Sean Tumelty began to suffer from the prison conditions. In the first week of March he collapsed twice in court. On 11th March he applied for bail. The judge turned him down.

The campaigning group Relatives For Justice occupied the offices of the Irish News, to protest at the total lack of coverage about what has gone on in the show trials, and Harry Kirkpatrick's in particular.

(Photo: Andersonstown News)





Massive Injuries from Plastic Bullet

'There was actually three of us hit, but one of them didn't report it because he was scared of getting charged with rioting. They could come and lift you and you'd end up getting fined or put in jail. He got a broken jaw, but he never reported it.'

And the hospital actually tells the police?

'Sometimes. He said he fell down the back stairs in the flats.'

things, and I had to learn to do things. My own mind wasn't my own, I was talking slurred, till my voice got stronger. People couldn't make out what I was saying and all.

So initially you couldn't...

It took me nearly a year afterwards to learn how to dress myself properly and all that. I bump into things and all. I can see forward, but I can't see anything on the left side at all.

It must have been an awful shock to your mother.

It was. She never smoked until it hap-

pened to me, and now she's smoking about 60 or 80 fags a day. She just can't seem to stop smoking. Somebody said to her when she came to the hospital, 'Take a fag to calm your nerves down,' and since that she just kept smoking and smoking. My father, he claims he spent £200 on the Falls Road, going up and down to the hospital seeing me, going in and out of pubs drinking, he was depressed. And I said, 'I wish I'd been with you, helping you!' (laughing)

You were obviously opposed to the Brits being here before.

They must have known who I was when they shot me, because when my mother and sister got over, and I was lying in a pool of blood, and this soldier had a big pad to my head, and she was saying, 'Get away, get away from him, you murdered him, you murdered him.' He was saying, 'I can't, I can't...' She says the blood was everywhere, and more soldiers came along, and one was shouting to the other ones, 'We got Tumelty, we got Tumelty,' as if that's great, we got the fucker.

Were you in the IRSP before?

Yes.

So how do you feel about the British government now, after the injury?

Well, I think I should take them for every penny that I can. Although it's not going to get me back the use of my arm and my leg. But at least it will be some compensation.

Did it make you more bitter against them?

I don't really think so. I just said to myself that I was going to have to learn to live with these injuries and that was it, and I was going to have to get on in life. And the doctors in the hospital have brought a wheelchair into the recovery ward, and they were said to my mother and father, 'That's Sean's wheelchair, he'll be going home in that.' And I said, 'I'm not getting in that. Tell them to get that out! I'll die before I get into that.' And they knew rightly that I wasn't going to get into that wheelchair, I was going to walk. And from that, I just said to myself,

Sean, you're going to walk. Even with the aid of a caliper, I ended up doing it.

What was it like in the Royal Victoria Hospital?

There was a Special Branch detective sitting on a chair the whole time that I was in it, waiting to see if I would come round and say anything. And my father gave off. And it was then that they moved me up to the recovery ward. Even when I was up there, there was two policemen outside my door the whole time guarding me. You see I was shot one time before with a rubber bullet, in the side of the face, it just all swelled, I never claimed for it. Well one of them had a big beard and I think now he might have been the same one that shot me. He used to open the door and put his gun round and point it to me in the bed and say, 'Sean the UVF's coming to shoot you.' My father went over to the police barracks and kicked up about it and got the one with the beard removed.

Even when I was in Musgrave Park Hospital my bed was beside a wee window, and the soldiers used to rap it with their plastic bullet guns, and they used to go, 'That there is for the other side of your head!'

I was charged while I was in the recovery ward, and brought to Musgrave Park Hospital (the military hospital), and I was put on remand there in a special court. And I spent the next five months in Musgrave Park Hospital, then I went for bail in the High Court, and got bail on the charges. So it took well over a year from the time I was charged till the actual outcome of the charges. That was on my mind the whole time, that I could still go to prison.

So all the time you were trying to recover, you were worrying...

I was worrying... and I had to go to courts and all. When I was out on bail I had to go down to the court every couple of weeks and get remanded.

The charges they put on me for membership of the INLA was for one day only, it was 30 May 1981, which seemed a bit funny, because I was shot on 31 May, which was the next day, which meant that I would have been a member on the day I was shot. It seemed a bit funny, that they were trying to pull a flanker on me. If I had been found guilty of the membership, more than likely they would try to get a good proportion of my money stopped. (These charges were withdrawn by the Crown with no reasons given on 23 September 1983.)

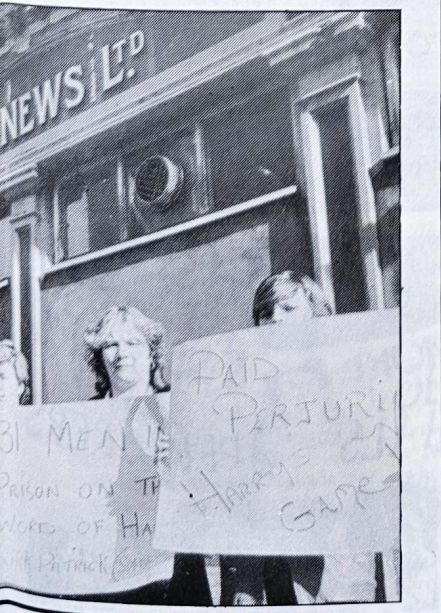
So what do you live on now?

Just social security.

Was the soldier who shot you charged?

No, he wasn't charged.

Law



Direction For The Year Ahead

TOM Conference Report

The Troops Out Movement members who attended this year's national TOM conference came away determined to build on our political base formulated over years of campaign work. Our efforts will be directed towards educating groups within our own areas to widen support for a broad-based withdrawal movement. Our campaign work needs to be organised within the framework of 'Ulsterisation', the main thrust of Britain's policy in the North of Ireland.

The question of self determination involves the whole of Ireland, about which many people in Britain are profoundly ignorant. The conference also discussed chauvinism within the ranks of withdrawal supporters, which comes across even in such details as referring to Britain as 'the mainland'.

TOM will be mobilising nationally for the August Delegation to Belfast with the accent on representatives from different organisations like Trade Unions, Black groups, peace groups and women's groups. We need to extend their involvement afterwards to mobilise for the Bloody Sunday demonstration in 1986.

The conference heard from Maire O'Shea who was arrested over the Christmas period under the Prevention of Terrorism Act. She spoke of her experiences and stressed that support for her was coming from people who had no previous interest in the PTA, as well as those already campaigning

against it. She has not been allowed to return to work by her employers, in their mind her guilt is already established. The conference agreed that TOM should work in a national PTA campaign with other organisations and to support the Maire O'Shea Support Campaign.

THE STRUGGLE OF GAYS AND LESBIANS IN IRELAND

The same day Mick Quinlan spoke on behalf of the Lesbians and Gays against Imperialism in Ireland. He is an ex-prisoner and member of Sinn Féin. The group was formed during the hungerstrikes of

1981 as a result of hostility in parts of the gay community to the nationalist struggle. It has raised the question of women's and gays' liberation in the context of the national struggle in a visible and public way. He described the extreme police harassment of gays in the south of Ireland. For example, in 1981 following the murder of a gay in Dublin, the gardai (police) used the incident as an excuse to fingerprint over 1,500 gay men. He emphasised that there were many gays who supported the Nationalist struggle. The task of Gays and Lesbians against Imperialism is to help people to come out as gay and to raise the issue of gay rights within Sinn Féin.

To help with this task the

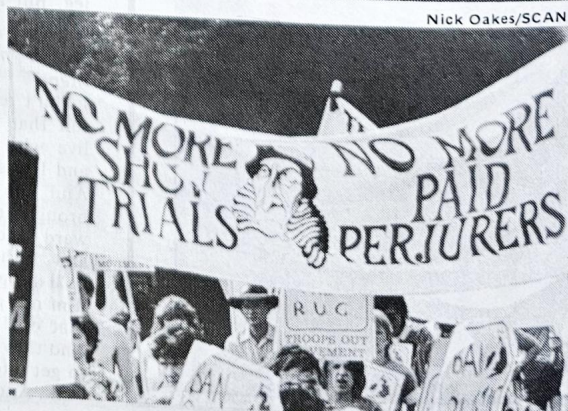
Dublin Lesbian and Gay Collective, together with Women's Community Press, are compiling a book to be published in September this year. The book, entitled *Lesbians and Gay Men in Ireland - Oppression and Lifestyles* is going to cost an estimated £4,000 to produce. Donations and sponsorship are needed to cover this cost. The main thrust of the sponsorship will take the form of advertising space from £250 for a full page to £45 for 1/8 page. The estimated circulation will be 10,000 and a high media profile is expected, with wide distribution in Ireland and Britain. For more details contact Women's Community Press, 48 Fleet Street, Dublin 2 (Tel. Dublin 714149).



Nick Oakes/SCAN



Paul Mattsson



Nick Oakes/SCAN

The State Of The British Parliamentary Parties What Opposition?

For all three opposition parties in the British parliament, Ireland is a problem. It doesn't win them votes but it does cause division in the ranks. By common consent it is put on the back burner or the long finger or whatever.

Yet over the last couple of years they have all developed more progressive policies as pressure on them mounts. The Troops Out Movement has been battling away for over ten years and has been joined by the National League of Young Liberals developing a clear policy of British withdrawal and sustaining a campaign within the Liberal Party and by the Labour Committee on Ireland doing the same within the Labour Party since 1981.

DAVE AND SHIRLEY

Last September — following the killing of John Downes in Belfast — the SDP Friends of Ireland raised an emergency motion at the SDP Council for Social Democracy at Buxton. It called for plastic bullets to be banned pending an inquiry and was passed by a show of hands.

A month later the SDP's newspaper announced that the party leadership had decided to exercise its right to overrule a Council decision: party policy would be that plastic

bullets should continue to be used until an inquiry could be held.

At the end of January, the Council met again, in Birmingham, and upheld the leadership's position on plastic bullets but left the party constitutional issue unresolved. It is to be thrashed out in May.

THE LIBERALS

The British Liberal Party has the best policy on Ireland of all the opposition parties, on paper at least. Pressure from the Young Liberals has pushed through motions for British withdrawal, a united Ireland (without the 'by consent' cop-out), repeal of the Prevention of Terrorism Act, ban on plastic bullets etc.

Yet when it came to the vote to renew the Prevention of Terrorism Act last February, the Liberal MPs abstained! The reason for this, apparently, was to ensure unity with their Alliance partners, the SDP.

KINNOCK & ARCHER

Meanwhile, back in the Labour camp: a policy of Irish reunification by consent — with consent being interpreted as the consent of the majority in the North.

So by this policy, the question is *not* how can Britain best withdraw to suit Ireland's interests, but how can the consent of the Unionists be won.

Peter Archer, on a recent trip to Ireland, gave a none-too convincing answer: politicians in the North must talk to each other; the South must make 'constitutional changes recognising the validity of the Protestant identity' (??); the UK must exercise goodwill.

Neil Kinnock, also on a visit to Ireland, was honest about what he thinks the policy means in practice: *'Modern economics as well as the geography of the whole of Ireland means that ultimately — and ultimately can be a very long way away — our Labour Party policy on reunification is the one that will be endorsed. But unless and until it is endorsed by consent by all communities in N. Ireland, there can be no significant move forward in that direction.'*

One part of the Labour Party wanted to bring that 'ultimately' a bit closer. The Greater London Labour Party in March decided on a series of public meetings to develop party policy on Ireland, to which representatives of Irish nationalist parties would be invited. It was clearly intended that Sinn Féin would be among these. The national party agent of the Labour Party stepped in and said that this step would

be prevented by the national organisation.

JOAN MAYNARD

It's the same story through the parties: take a progressive line on Ireland and *do something about it*, and you invite down the wrath of the leadership. Well, that can be progress of a kind. The contradictions will have to be brought to the surface before the historical mentality that really Ireland belongs to us is finally eradicated from British heads.

What is really a graver problem is Kinnock's 'and ultimately can be a very long way away'. The money spent, the cost in human and civil liberties, the cost in human lives, the deadening effect of having to justify repression and the ideology that continues to deny self-determination — all these mean that Ireland is a very pressing and urgent issue, for us as well as for the Irish.

One of the very few MPs who realises this is Joan Maynard, Labour MP for Sheffield Brightside. Her reward was to be voted off the Chair of the Labour Party's NEC Working Party on Northern Ireland. Her work over the years will always be remembered.

WHOSE CONSENT

Westminster North Labour Party passed a resolution in April to widen L.P. policy. The resolution stated that referenda solely of the people in the North of Ireland are not useful in finding a political solution, and should be replaced by a referendum of the people of the whole of Ireland.

Labour Committee on Ireland Debates Withdrawal

At the Labour Committee on Ireland's A.G.M. in London last month, there was general agreement from the speakers that the arguments for withdrawal and Irish unity had been won in the Labour Party. As Christine Crawley MEP said, it is now 'a practical problem, not one of principle' and she went on to criticise Labour Party policy for being 'indecisive, contradictory and inconclusive'. She sketched out her 'agenda for peace' which included abolition of the Unionist veto and an All Ireland Constituent assembly which would 'set the timescale for full military economic and political withdrawal'.

Clare Short agreed that 'the question now is how do we get a United Ireland'. 'The case for withdrawal has been made' even within the Conservative Party 'but the Government won't say it until they have a mechanism', which could include equalisation of social welfare benefits on both sides of the border, the subvention to Northern Ireland and economic policy. Should there be a parliamentary tier, and if so who should be on it? This is the detail the Labour Party has to go into to flesh out the mechanisms of the 'move towards a United Ireland' — a programme of 'unity by stealth', as it was described

from the floor and was criticised for ducking the issue of Protestant resistance. But does it? It is an argument for Joint Authority, one of the options of the New Ireland Forum, but with less emphasis on security co-operation given to it by, say, Clive Soley. But it does not change the constitutional guarantee given to the unionists. Is it a move towards unity, or does it re-establish British influence in another form?

It is only fair to say that this would not be the majority view in the L.C.I., but it does prompt the question, have the arguments really been won? The TOM slogan Troops Out Now has often been criticised

in the Labour Party for being crude and simplistic, but whatever its merits, and I think it is a good slogan, we are very conscious that it is a tactical demand and flows from our primary demand of Self Determination for the Irish People as a Whole. The Irish people and the Irish people alone have the right to determine their own future — a notion unheard in the whole debate.

It seems there is still no clear understanding in the British Labour movement of what self-determination actually means. The Labour Committee on Ireland has its work cut out for it in the next five years.

Paul O'Brien

Thursday 18 April saw a nationwide day of protest in support of 65 year old Birmingham Psychiatrist, Dr Maire O'Shea. Dr O'Shea was charged with conspiracy to cause an explosion after being held for four days under the infamous Prevention of Terrorism Act (PTA). She strongly maintains her innocence. In fact she voluntarily returned from Ireland with the stated intention of making a complaint about police action in raiding her home on New Years Eve.

MAIRE O'SHEA



Joanne O'Brien/Format

In Birmingham there was a lobby of The Home Office. There was a picket of the London Home Office and the Aberdeen Scottish Office. In Leeds and Sheffield there were vigils at the Town Halls, and a picket of the police headquarters in Coventry. The activities were supported by numerous organisations and individuals, including members of the Irish in Britain Representation Group (IBRG) of which Dr O'Shea is the newly elected National President.

Birmingham MP Robin Corbett said in a letter to the committee: *'The treatment of Dr O'Shea has been appalling and it is time the police detailed the charges against her or dropped them.'*

Resolutions of support for Dr O'Shea have come from many branches and divisions of her own union ASTMS - London, Derbyshire, Merseyside, Kings Lynn, Yorkshire as well as overwhelming support from the West Midlands.

CONSPIRACY CHARGES...

Maire O'Shea faces a conspiracy charge along with five other defendants.

But on 18th April the magistrate dismissed the charges against one of them, William Gallagher. He was acting on orders of the Director of Public Prosecutions.

Gallagher was immediately released, and now asks why he was held in prison for four months for no reason at all.

...AND THE TERROR ACT

On 19th April the Scottish Trade Union Congress passed a motion calling for the immediate repeal of the Prevention of Terrorism Act.

The motion was put by Dr O'Shea's union, ASTMS.

PRISONERS' BIRTHDAYS

Please send cards, letters and reading material to prisoners, especially on their birthdays. Let them know they are not forgotten. Don't forget to use the number.

REPUBLICANS IN ENGLISH JAILS
EDDIE BYRNE
873453

H.M. Prison Long Lartin, South Littleton, Evesham, Worcs.
2nd May

JOE O'CONNEL
338635

H.M. Prison Parkhurst, Newport, Isle of Wight
15th May

BOBBY CAMPBELL
832954

H.M. Prison, Hedon Rd, Hull, North Humberside
1st June

CON McFADDEN
130662

H.M. Prison, Love Lane, Wakefield, Yorks.
19th June

ARMAGH PRISONERS
ANNE MOORE
(remand)
7th May

MARY McCARDLE
(remand)
8th May

ANN MARIE QUINN
A Wing
16th May

Address:
Armagh Women's Prison, Armagh,

Frame-ups (1): THE CASE OF THE BIRMINGHAM SIX



NEW LEAFLET now available from TOM

Full history of these frame-ups: the torture methods used by English police to extract statements, including firing revolvers into the mouth and immersion in scalding water; the sole evidence of the discredited 'cigarette-smoke' Greiss test for nitroglycerine; police determination to obtain a conviction; prison beatings; inconsistencies in confessions obtained; the use of agent provocateurs; and the refusal of appeal.

Published by the Troops Out Movement, Box 353, London NW5 4NH
10p + postage; bulk orders 50 for £4.00

Your Letters

We welcome contributions and feedback from readers. Please write to *Troops Out* c/o Box 10, 2a St Paul's Rd, London N1.

Dear Editor,

I have been a reader of *Troops Out* for several years and have often wondered whether you ever have any contact with CND? I used to work with them, and still have very strong feelings about the nuclear threat — I dread to think what the future holds.

But last year I gave up really — CND never seems to bother about the wars that are actually going on, in Iran/Iraq, El Salvador and especially Ireland where Britain is totally responsible. They seem to have the idea that they must only work around the nuclear issue, but at the same time a lot of them talk about peace, anti-war movement, pacifism etc.

What causes war? What would cause a world war, ie a nuclear war? The First World War started from the national question in the Balkans. The Second World War started with Japan's invasion of China, Italy's of Ethiopia and Germany's of Poland and Czechoslovakia. To stop war you have to stop the cause, not just campaign against one type of weapon.

Also, although I am not British I found a lot of hypocrisy in the pacifist attitude. It is a luxury to be 'against violence' in a country which has always been able to export its own violence to someone else's country; and has never had to form a resistance movement to fight a foreign occupier.

Yours sincerely,
K. Nizam, London.

Dear comrades,

If I might continue the dialogue with Ciaran O'Hara and reply to his letter in last month's issue of your paper. His letter was informative about advances made within the Labour Party but skirted around the substance of my previous letter. For the sake of brevity, I will concentrate on just one of the questions I put.

To the point: '... the Labour Party leadership has contributed in no small way to the present predicament of the

miners ... so what hope on Ireland?' he glibly replies that Kinnock's attitude did not stop him from collecting on the street for the miners. Well, Ciaran, that's just fine. But you seem to forget the fact that in this modern age the miners were starved back to work. That the strongest, most militant, and during the strike the most politicised, section of the British working class — the men and women of the mining communities — were successfully isolated and defeated in that battle by the Thatcher government; that the key to their isolation was the refusal of Kinnock et al to support the strike and in some cases actively undermine it; that the leadership was able to do this despite widespread pressure from the grassroots to support the strike. Again I ask, what hope for Ireland from that lot?

Your horror that the Troops Out paper should criticise present Labour Party policy reflects your refusal to acknowledge the seriousness and strength of the party leadership in blocking progressive policies (ref. only 35 MPs voting against the renewal of the Prevention of Terrorism Act, despite it being party policy to do so).

But your sensitivity to any criticism of the Labour Party goes even further, leading you to draw up defences against criticisms which were never made! In your letter you refer to 'the stubborn refusal of some comrades to admit that tactics and strategies must change,' as well as some imagined suggestion that we should not 'actively campaign inside the labour movement (for withdrawal).' Well, let me repeat myself and say that only a fool would say that you should not campaign inside the Labour movement or Labour Party for withdrawal. But it can't stop there. Labour party membership has been steadily declining for many years and is now less than that of CND. Are you seriously implying that Labour party members are the only people who should be addressed on the issue of Britain's occupation of the north-east of Ireland? Look at the advances made around women's rights and anti nuclear politics over the past ten years. It was the

existence of a large women's movement and peace movement outside the Labour Party which helped people inside the party to make progress on these issues. Surely we should be trying to encourage any organisation which campaigns for British withdrawal from Ireland in a non-sectarian manner? The continuous work done on this issue by organisations such as the Irish in Britain Representation Group, Troops Out Movement, and the Young Liberals to name but a few, complements rather than hinders the work you and others do inside the Labour Party. It

is precisely to get out of the ghetto of only raising the issue of withdrawal amongst the far left (inside or outside the Labour Party) that we must encourage any area of support.

Finally as long as the leadership of the party continues with its present policies there will be criticism of the party, hurtful as you may find it. It is little consolation, to someone dragged away under the Prevention of Terrorism Act, that last year's conference passed a motion against it.

In solidarity,
Fiach McHugh

...and Poems

THE PRISONER

No curtains frame my window, no frills adorn my bed,
Four grey walls surround me, a door of iron and lead,
My neighbours other inmates who share this fate of mine
confined it seems forever, yet we commit no crime.
The years are slowly passing and many I have served
My plea is for compassion, but my words go unheard.
Feelings stir within me, torment racks my soul,
my Father sick and dying, one visit is my goal.
His days are slowly ending, his life will cease to be,
while I still languish in this cell, no visit granted me.
Yes years have passed, I've paid the price over and over
again, and still the punishment goes on, my pleas are all in vain.

Anon

BLOODSTAINS AND BITTER ROOTS

I shall not grow old in silence
waiting as my hair turns grey
I shall not sigh or shrug and say
it's nothing new
let's turn away

I wasn't brave I just ignored
the blood and excreta
on the prison wall
I wasn't brave at all
but it's nothing new

on that August day
they were shooting and beating
people in Belfast
it's nothing new
except the first eyewitness
reports rang true
before they were carefully
trimmed and tuned
for mass consumption
do you wish to be a consumer
of cutprice news

so here is your cradle
in England's pleasant land
here is your cutprice coffin
rest in peace
while Ireland bleeds

how do you feel
when people are murdered
in your name
you've not condoned it
you've not condemned it
you're not brave
no you're not brave though you do
wish for peace
if we creep in line can we please
rest in peace

I shouted no at the radio
that home of cutprice cliches
here in England's pleasant land
where we quickly wash
our bloodstained hands

I feel my anger loud and clear
I feel the sting of bitter roots
no sweetgreen muse
no poetry to play with
I leave those cutprice cliches cooking
on the radio
no I'm not brave
nor can I rest in peace
while Ireland bleeds

someone said I was brave because
at last I meant to protest
yet I wasn't brave
those times I depended
on cutprice views
for my sweetgreen muse

Liz Matthews, Bristol TOM, 1984

THE SECRET WAR

By Patsy McArdle, Mercier Press, £4.50

This book describes the war along the border areas of Ireland, from 1969 up to the present. It tells its story vividly (the author is a journalist living and working in the area), and would be a good introduction to someone who is beginning to want to learn about Britain's war in Ireland.

It is not deeply analytical, but it has the great merit of facing the facts without trying to find excuses or sit on the fence.

British Army terror in the nationalist countryside of South Armagh has continued since 1969. There is daily harassment, death threats, beatings, destructive house raids, vicious interrogations and tampering with vehicles (eg cutting brake-pipes).

The myth of the army as 'peace-keepers' is particularly ridiculous in such regions because there are not 'two warring sides' to be kept apart: there is only the Army and the people. The Army has brought war to such places as Crossmaglen.

In 1976 the British deployed the SAS more extensively, and their undercover role is well described in *The Secret War*.

The SAS did not confine their exploits to 'British' territory north of the border. In 1976 they abducted Sean McKenna from his home in Edentubber, Co. Louth, took him across the border and handed him over to the RUC. (He was convicted and sentenced, and in 1980 took part in the first hunger strike in Long Kesh.) Just north of the border they assassinated Peter Cleary.

Even more sinister is the SAS's involvement with loyalists (including members of the UDR) in carrying out the 1972 Dublin bombing and other attacks. Much of McArdle's information here comes from the disclosures of Captain Holroyd in the *New Statesman*: the assassination of John Francis Green, for example, by SAS Captain Robert Nairac and a UVF loyalist gang. Holroyd's statements backed up McArdle's own investigations.

And what was the attitude of the Southern Irish Government and police (gardai) to these British invasions of their territory?

In the first years of *The Troubles* they stood by the besieged nationalists, albeit timidly ('stood by' can have two meanings, as it turned out). But the position changed with the Coalition Government of 1973-77. Exchange of information became routine and police officers regularly visited their counterparts on opposite sides of the border. To begin with, this collaboration seemed to be exceptional, and an embarrassment when it became public. In 1972 the gardai arrested seven IRA men after a border shoot-out with the British Army. A huge crowd gathered outside the courthouse

where they were charged, and the incident made the gardai very unpopular. In 1971 there was an early attempt to extradite IRA suspects from the South, which failed when the magistrate threw out the case.

In 1973 this early ambivalence and nervousness was replaced by direct collusion with the British: intensive arrests of IRA suspects in the South, failure to investigate loyalist atrocities in the South (there were two terrible bombs in Dublin and many others in border towns, some involving UDR soldiers), acceptance of helicopter incursions, and sending back British soldiers without charging them. In one very serious incursion, involving eight heavily armed SAS men in Co. Louth, the gardai did arrest and charge them: they were fined a derisory £100 each. McArdle lists many other cases where local gardai arrested British soldiers who strayed into their territory, only to be ordered by Garda HQ to release them.

Why this attitude by the Southern Government? Certainly not for electoral reasons: the Coalition Government crashed to a massive defeat in 1977, partly because of their anti-republican stand. McArdle uses the findings of the New Ireland Forum Report to bring out how much Britain's war costs Ireland (£1,100 million to the South, £5,600 million to the North) — a fact which today is being raised in the media and by opposition politicians in the South of Ireland.

The function of this book is not to provide the answer to this question. Its value lies in stimulating concern and a wider debate on the South's role.

Mary Buckland

Available from the TOM, PO Box 353, London NW5 4NH £4.50 + postage.

IRELAND & THE ENGLISH CRISIS

by Tom Paulin

Bloodaxe Books £5.95

There can be no doubt that Irish writers have nourished 'English' literature. From Swift to Shaw, Congreve to Beckett, Burke to Yeats — this work is not only important but essential to English language culture. But of course this vital contribution did not come from the writers of another English speaking nation but from a *subject* people on whom the English language was imposed systematically as part of a colonial policy. In current critical and academic discourse about this writing the fact of colonialism may bob up every so often ('In politics Yeats was a Nationalist') but it is never central, never taken as the not just important but essential condition of this writing and these writers. Like the British responsibility for the war in the North the *literary* colonial connection is usually shuffled off into a side issue or silence.

Tom Paulin, poet and a lecturer in English at Nottingham university, was born in N. Ireland and remarks in his Introduction that as a middle-class Unionist he once believed that civil rights and social justice could come within the context of British rule. Then in the 1980s 'there was something different in the air'. He re-read Irish history and found himself drawn to the 'humane and constitutional politics' of John Hume and the SDLP. Paulin now believes in a 'non-sectarian republican state which comprises the whole of the island of Ireland' and a national culture incorporating all the traditions, North and South.



JAMES JOYCE (PLUS ADDITION)

But it is on Irish writers that Paulin is most useful. For example: in the dominant version of literary history James Joyce is the apolitical cosmopolitan artist figure who rejected the 'old country' in 1904 and exiled himself on the Continent to become the supreme modernist writer of 20th century English literature. Paulin celebrates him as a republican and a socialist republican, maker of a national epic. To this end Paulin itemises Irish nationalist reference points in *Ulysses*. An example being the brick watchtower in which Joyce's autobiographical hero Stephen Dedalus is staying at the start of the book. This tower was in fact one of the many lookout posts built by the British around Ireland's coast in 1804 to guard against a French invasion. Stephen identifies himself resentfully as 'the servant of two masters . . . the imperial British state . . . and the holy Roman catholic and apostolic church' and the chapter makes clear that the latter is also the servant of the former. As Joyce's other hero Leo Bloom moves through the streets of 1904 Dublin personal and historical memories are triggered by buildings, statues and casual passers-by. Halfway through the novel Bloom, who as a Jew represents the Irish suffering the 'Egyptian' bondage of the imperial state, comes across and is rejected by the Citizen a romantic nationalist with no connection to a broad popular struggle. To further emphasise Joyce's ideal of a non-sectarian republic there is a

Shakespearean parody in which Parnell's brother John Howard appears and says 'illustrious Bloom! Successor to my famous brother'. But this is not the Dublin of action, of Lockout and Easter Rising, but of parodies and memories, wishes and curses, 'the centre of paralyses' Joyce called it. One national movement had faded (Parnellism), no full alternative had yet arisen. This 'paralysed' social reality of 1904 Joyce did not simply reject, but attempted to evoke and analyse as a means to forging 'the uncreated conscience of my race'. He was a republican agitator.

Some of the best of the other pieces in the book are on the shifty structure of feeling known as Loyalism — those Unionists loyal to the Crown and disloyal to the State, loyal to British Ulster and hostile to British direct rulers. Paulin follows Ian Paisley's progress and slices up that stormy blood-and-cross rhetoric. He uncovers a Loyalist novel *The Red Hand of Ulster* by a Church of Ireland minister, 'George Birmingham'. Set in 1912, this features a scene where a British battleship (in support of the Govt's Home Rule policy) fires a warning volley over the heads of a Belfast loyalist crowd and the shot goes on to knock off a statue of Queen Victoria. This issues in a final 'Loyalist' demand for a British withdrawal from Ireland. 'We're not quite as keen on Kings and Queens as we were' comments a Unionist.

One interesting essay takes *Another Look at the Language Question* but what the book does not go into is the British-Irish cultural relationship. Paulin is an Irish writer (in a British context) who deals finely with Irish writers being aware of their distinct colonial and post-colonial identities as writers and assuming an idea of all-Irish cultural identity which is non-sectarian. One area he does not examine here is the nourishment of 'English' culture by immigrant talent (Swift, Congreve, Shaw, Beckett, Behan).

Is there a TOM literary criticism? Yes, it lies in remembering the cultural connections and that the conditions of this literature are colonialist. Such a work would form part of what Liz Curtis called English people's 'long hard look at their own history and at Britain's role in Ireland and parts of the world today'. It would be linked to a much broader analysis of anti-Irish racism in British culture as part of a colonial history and would include issues such as the uses of the English language by Irish writers.

In this book Paulin calls strongly for 'Irish Studies' to go alongside American and English studies. May I also propose that, especially while the Irish economy, culture and people are not yet entirely 'separate', Irish studies are vital to English Studies.

Michael Belbin



MARCH

20th

Ex-SAS officer Brigadier Anthony Jeapes is appointed Commander of Land Forces based in the North of Ireland (see article).

Chris Patten, a junior NI Minister, says he will act as intermediary to try and find common ground between unionist and nationalist politicians.

Two shops in Derry are firebombed by a group called the Bogside Republican Youth.

21st

Shorts, the Belfast aircraft manufacturers, win an order from the British Government worth at least £60 million. Despite investigations by the Fair Employment Agency, the workforce at Shorts is still 95% Protestant.

19 blacks are killed by South African police on the 25th anniversary of the Sharpeville massacre.

22nd

Seven nationalists are freed by a Belfast court following the retraction of evidence by Eamon Collins. Five loyalists are also released following a similar retraction by UVF man John Gibson.

British Foreign Minister Geoffrey Howe and NI Secretary Douglas Hurd visit Dublin for talks with the Taoiseach (Irish Deputy PM) Dick Spring and Irish Foreign Minister

Peter Barry. This is the latest of a series of high level talks. Although not officially confirmed, the main topic of conversation appears to have been possible financial aid for Ireland from the EEC and the USA to accompany any attempted political settlement in the north (see article).

Three men are given long jail sentences for the attempted murder of Sinn Fein President Gerry Adams last summer.

23rd

At the Democratic Unionist Party (DUP) annual conference, Rev. Ian Paisley announces his intention to smash Sinn Fein in the May council elections and 'trample them in the grave of electoral massacre.'

The dead body of John Corcoran, a Sinn Fein member, is found in Ballincollig, Co. Cork. The IRA admit responsibility, stating he had been executed for informing.

24th

A report in the *Mail on Sunday* announcing an imminent solution to the Irish problem is dismissed as pure speculation both in Dublin and London.

27th

An IRA bomb kills British Army Lance Corporal Anthony Dacre during a routine patrol in West Belfast.

29th

An RUC reservist is shot dead in Rathfriland, Co. Down, by the IRA.



Masked IRA volunteers at an Easter Rising commemoration

30th

The Taoiseach (Irish PM), Garret Fitzgerald, and Margaret Thatcher meet for private talks during the EEC summit in Brussels.

At the Fianna Fail Ard Fheis (annual conference) in Dublin, leader Charles Haughey says that any attempted settlement of the northern situation that fell short of a united Ireland would be disastrous. Delegates also unanimously pass a motion calling for a drastic reduction in the number of gardai (police) deployed along the border with the Six Counties.

In Lisnaskea, Co. Down, three RUC men escape injury in a grenade gun attack.

31st

Bishop Cahal Daly says that 'the conscience of the Catholic community' was being 'corrupted by the campaign of paramilitary violence'.

4th

The British Government announces plans to close the town gas industry in the north of Ireland. About 1,000 jobs will be lost.

5th

Douglas Hurd again specifically rules out any form of joint authority with the south of Ireland for the Six Counties.

7th

Commemorations of the 1916 Easter Rising are held all over Ireland. In Belfast Gerry Adams predicts that Sinn Fein will win around 35 seats in next month's council elections. In Carrickmore, Co. Armagh, 15 IRA volunteers appear on the march in a show of strength.

8th

Martin Love, a 24 year old unemployed nationalist with no paramilitary connections, is shot in the back of the head in the early hours of the morning. The Ulster Freedom Fighters claim responsibility. A member of the Ulster Defence Regiment and a regular British Army soldier are questioned concerning the killing. The former is later charged.

9th

Figures released indicate that a record number of women from the 26 Counties (South) came to Britain last year to have abortions. Abortion is illegal in Ireland.

11th

Douglas Hurd announces that his powers to order an inquiry into controversial incidents involving the RUC are to be increased. Dennis Worrall, South African ambassador to the UK, visits the Six Counties for a briefing on the political situation. Apartheid is condemned by all sides in the north, but the unionist parties agree to meet him for talks.

APRIL

1st

Speaking in America, NI Secretary Douglas Hurd acknowledges that increased security alone will not stop the conflict in Ireland.

Four women from West Belfast are jailed by a Belfast court for possession of explosives.

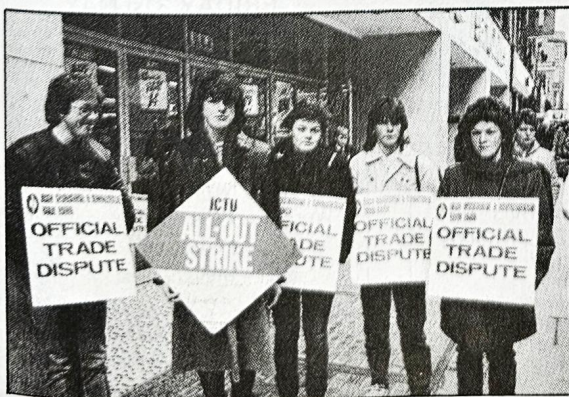
2nd

A parliamentary committee in the 26 counties fails to decide on a basis for legislation that would partially legalise divorce.

3rd

A policeman and a security officer are killed and nine others are injured when an IRA car bomb explodes outside Newry courthouse.

Stuart Bell, a newly appointed British Labour Party spokesman on Ireland, says that any initiative resulting from Anglo-Irish talks would not affect the constitutional position of the north of Ireland.



Workers picket outside Dunnes Stores in Henry St, Dublin. They have been on strike since last July because they refuse to handle South African goods. Their stand has received widespread international support.

COMING EVENTS & RESOURCES

LEEDS

FILM SHOWS

Wed 8th May:

IRELAND'S HUNGER STRIKE

Made by the H Block/Armagh campaign during the 1981 hunger strike, this film traces the history of republican prisoners' resistance.

Wed 12th June:

AUNT ANNIE'S BOMB FACTORY

plus

THE KILLING OF NORA McCABE

Two recent First Tuesday reports, the first one exposing the frame-up of an Irish family by the British courts, and the second one dealing with the issue of plastic bullets.

Wed. 10th July:

BATTLE FOR ALGIERS

The Algerian liberation struggle against French imperialism, portrayed in Battle for Algiers, has much in common with the struggle in Ireland. A classic film.

DOWNSTAIRS AT THE TRADES

CLUB, SAVILE MOUNT, LEEDS 7

Admission 50p

All films start at 8pm

A third season of films organised by
Leeds Troops Out Movement,
Box 1969, 59 Cookridge St.,
Leeds LS2 3AW

August Delegation to Ireland



Mark Salmon/Rentapap

The TOM delegation will coincide with the annual demonstration in Belfast which remembers internment date - August 9th 1971 - when the British army brutally dragged 342 people from their homes and imprisoned them without any trial, some for up to two years.

This open delegation to Belfast has two aims: to meet the people of the oppressed nationalist community, and to protest at the British military occupation of the area.

During the weekend delegates will meet and talk with representatives from local trade unions, women's groups, housing associations and political and community activists.

We can learn a great deal from the nationalist community. They continue to live and resist under British rule after 16 years of war. Occupation is not only by the Army but also by the paramilitary sectarian police force, the RUC.

This year there will be sections of delegates from the labour movement, black groups, women's groups, peace groups, gay and lesbian groups and Irish organisations. All delegates will stay as guests of local people and there will be a full timetable of activities. If you would like to go, as a delegate or as an individual, please contact us as soon as possible. Closing date is 19th June.

Write to: Delegation Organising Committee,
PO Box 353, London NW5 4NH.

JOIN THE TROOPS OUT MOVEMENT

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

ENGLAND

Birmingham
Brighton
Bristol
Cambridge
Colchester
Coventry
Leeds
Leicester
Manchester
Merseyside
Northampton
Norwich
Notttingham
Oxford
St. Albans
Sheffield

Tyneside

York
LONDON AREA

Camden
East London
Haringey
Islington
Lambeth
West London

SCOTLAND

Aberdeen
Edinburgh
Glasgow

WALES

Cardiff
Swansea

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

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

Name

Address

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



Nick Oakes/SCAN

BRIGHTON

PUBLIC MEETING 'IRELAND & THE LABOUR MOVEMENT'

Speakers include:

Daisy Mules,
member of Derry Sinn Féin
& head of SF North-East TU Dept

AT THE PAVILION THEATRE,
NEW ROAD, BRIGHTON

Organised by Brighton TOM

New date:

WEDNESDAY 5th JUNE, 8pm

LONDON

PUBLIC MEETING

Organised by the T.O.M.

BERNADETTE McALISKEY
and other speakers

MUSIC & BAR

Please ring office, 01-250 1293,
Mon-Fri 2-6pm for details, or write
to Troops Out Movement, Box 353,
London NW5 4NH.

FRIDAY 31st MAY

LEEDS

LIBERATION FESTIVAL

1pm-6pm:

Speakers including from PLO,
ANC, NUM, Amrit Wilson
Workshop on Britain's presence in
Ireland

Stalls, videos

7.30pm:

Social with Nicaraguan folk group,
'Heroes & Martyrs'

at BRADFORD UNIVERSITY
COMMUNAL BUILDING
Longside Lane, Bradford 7, W. Yorks
Bradford Liberation Festival,
c/o Resource Centre, 31 Manor Row,
Bradford BD1 4PS

SATURDAY MAY 11th