

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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Plastic Bullet death



The RUC clash with loyalist demonstrators at Portadown. Keith White becomes the 16th fatal victim of plastic bullets.

Photo: Pacemaker

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THE SDLP • MYSTERY FULHAM CAMPAIGN.**

Show Trial in the making

There are a number of reasons for believing that the Irish defendants in the Old Bailey conspiracy trial this month cannot get a fair trial.

Most of the defendants are facing charges of an alleged conspiracy in 1985. In addition one of them, Patrick Magee, is charged with the bombing of the Grand Hotel in Brighton and various possession and conspiracy charges in London between 1978 and 1979.

One of the reasons why there cannot be a fair trial is the prejudicial publicity at the time of their arrest in June last year.

Some of this publicity was generalised scaremongering – 'Time Bomb Blitz Alert – Terror Diary Names 12 Seaside Resorts' screamed the front page headlines of the *Mirror*. An atmosphere of fear and danger was generated over the following days with false bomb alerts in Torquay and Great Yarmouth, an army exercise at Heathrow airport and at least 20 arrests in various parts of the country.

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Show Trial in the making

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Other newspaper reporting was more specific and infringed the spirit, if not the letter, of the sub judice ruling. Sub judice means that there are legal restrictions on what the press can say about someone charged or about to be charged. And yet the *Daily Telegraph* gave potted biographies of four of those arrested, giving their previous convictions along with comments like 'security sources in Ulster place him among the top dozen gunmen in the province.' The *Mirror* was equally clear about the guilt of those arrested — 'The IRA planned to kill and maim British families by bombing seaside hotels at the height of the summer holiday, it was revealed yesterday. Police busted the biggest IRA cell ever known in Britain and found a diary of death.' There was more of the same in the *Sun*, while the *Guardian* quoted the deputy chief constable of Sussex as saying, 'As far as we are aware, the active service unit was detained in its entirety.' (This was in reference to three women arrested in the Sussex area, who were later released without charge!)

This prejudicial reporting with police-fantasy IRA cells everywhere, is all the more alarming because it is the police who controlled what information was given to the press at the time when the suspects were being held incommunicado under the Prevention of Terrorism Act.

A lawyer rang the Strathclyde police on behalf of a worried Derry couple who had relations living in Glasgow: the police refused to give the names of those being held, or even confirm that any were from Ireland. At the same time, journalists on the *Mirror*, *Sun*, *Telegraph* etc could only have got their so-called information from the same police.

The use of the Prevention of Terrorism act is another worrying aspect of this case. The police used its powers to the

full. They held many of those arrested for a full seven days before charging or releasing them; they used that time for an anti-Irish propaganda exercise (with hoteliers being questioned about staff and guests with 'Irish accents'); and they made 'trawling' arrests.

Newspaper reports varied as to the numbers arrested. It was most likely 21 in total. The arrests apparently took place in Glasgow, Lancashire, London, Sussex, the Isle of Man and Middlesex. Such arrests — in such a blaze of publicity — cause suffering to those involved.

The people in the dock at the Old Bailey also have the disadvantage of facing a mass trial, common enough in Belfast. This works against them because charges applying to only one defendant are linked in the jury's and the public's mind with all the other defendants. Already newspapers have talked about the 'Brighton bombing trial' even though only one of the defendants is charged with that.

The mass trial aspect is made worse by the nature of conspiracy charges, in which 'guilt by association' plays a large part. Admissible evidence for conspiracy includes who you know, where you've lived, political beliefs, hearsay evidence and inference.

And so the picture of a Show Trial builds up. Trial by media, the Prevention of Terrorism Act, conspiracy law and mass trial. Add to all that:

- Jury vetting. It emerged at the trial of Maire O'Shea and others that the jury had been vetted.
- 'Security.' Again it was seen at Maire O'Shea's trial, the intrusive presence of armed police, sniffer dogs and restrictions on who was allowed into court, all create the impression that the defendants are dangerous.
- Treatment while in custody. Constant strip searching, body searching, cell changes, interrupted sleep and exercise restrictions have been used as weapons against the two women in Brixton, Ella O'Dwyer and Martina Anderson. The other defendants have also undergone a similar day-in day-out harassment. An independent psychiatrist who examined the women reported that their concentration was affected. Yet such treatment is likely to continue throughout the trial.

Show trials in Belfast and show trials in London are a product of Britain's war in Ireland. Ella, Martina and the others would not be in court were it not for that war.

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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Loyalist paramilitaries move centre stage

The British State has always upheld the rights of the Unionists over that of the Nationalist community in the North of Ireland. The violent loyalist reaction in recent weeks is a direct result of those rights being put under threat.

Loyalists believe they have the prerogative to demonstrate where they like in N.Ireland. Britain has always allowed this right, that is until July last year. An Orange Order parade was prevented from passing through the Nationalist Obins area of Portadown. On that day clashes between loyalists and the RUC (police) was bitter but only a foretaste of what was to come. The Anglo-Irish Accord had not yet been signed but loyalists saw what they thought was the writing on the wall, the sinister arm of Dublin stretching across the border.

The signing of the Accord and the subsequent meetings between representatives from London and Dublin, have given the loyalists grounds to consider their positions of dominance threatened. Not only do they bitterly resent Dublin's voice in the affairs of the North but Thatcher kept Unionist politicians in the dark during most of the negotiations. In short they have had the rug pulled from under their feet and they don't like it.

OPPOSITION TO THE ACCORD

The small town of Portadown has become a centre for loyalist opposition to the Accord. As negotiations between the RUC and organisers of the march broke down, Tom King, the N.Ireland Secretary, acting on information from the RUC Chief, John Hermon, banned all marches in Portadown for the Easter Monday.

Relief for Nationalists, who have had to endure intimidation and sectarian violence every time loyalists march through their areas, was short lived.

Despite the ban and a heavy RUC presence, up to 3,000 loyalists, including DUP members Ian Paisley and Peter Robinson, were allowed to follow the planned route at 1.30 in the morning. The RUC merely stood by and watched while stones and bottles were thrown at houses in the pre-



The scene in Portadown. (Photo: Pacemaker)

NATIONALISTS BEAR THE BRUNT

Readers of the British press could be forgiven for believing that the only people under attack in recent weeks have been the RUC. Nationalists have again had to bear a continuous round of sectarian attacks on their homes. In Lisburn, Co. Antrim on the 1/2 April at least 11 homes were petrol bombed by loyalist mobs, three residents were forced to leave their homes.

dominantly Catholic areas. Five masked men brandishing revolvers were permitted to parade up and down the streets intimidating local residents. Of the RUC action Joe Duffy, chair of a local community group, was under no illusions: 'There are witnesses to prove they [the RUC] opened the barriers. There was obvious collusion - there was a deal done to appease them over the ban.'

RUC COME UNDER ATTACK

Paisley's call to other Unionists not to return to Portadown later in the day fell on stony ground. The clashes that followed between the RUC, now bolstered by the British army, and loyalists were both bloody and acrimonious. 148 plastic bullets were fired - Keith White aged 20 years died

two weeks after being struck by a plastic bullet. Two others were also seriously injured by plastic bullets.

It was now the turn of the paramilitaries. What had up to then been sporadic attacks on RUC homes became a co-ordinated campaign. In the following two weeks 35 RUC homes were burnt out by loyalist petrol bombs. These attacks are not unprecedented: during 1969/70 and the mid 1970s when loyalists felt threatened, similar attacks took place.

Given that loyalists have always regarded the RUC, by and large, as their police force it was predictable that their anger should be vented on this same force which has now stood in their way. Certainly the RUC can be seen as a weak link in the implementation of the Accord. The attacks on the RUC have had results. Alan

Wright, the Police Federation Chair, is pressurising Hermon to withdraw from the Anglo-Irish meetings on the grounds that such attendances infer political direction.

THE POLITICIANS

The loyalist activities have to a certain extent left the two main Unionist leaders behind. Both are insistent that the Anglo-Irish Accord be frozen before talks begin. Molyneux of the Official Unionists is pushing for a complete withdrawal from Parliament and the Assembly while Paisley of the Democratic Unionists is in favour of more strikes along similar lines to the one on March 3rd.

Thatcher for her part has been able to present the appearance of being the peacekeeper in all this. A role the British State has been keen to promote since sending in the troops in 1969. The British press, in general, has been happy to comply with this presentation, ignoring the fact that Britain set up the state of N.Ireland against the wishes of the people of Ireland. We should not forget that the present situation in N.Ireland is a result of Britain's role there.

Killed by a plastic bullet

Keith White was 20 years old when he was killed by a plastic bullet, the sixteenth victim of this weapon in the North.

Like some of the other victims he had been shot in the back of the head. Like others, he did not die outright, but was kept on a life-support machine for two weeks.

The barrage of plastic bullets fired on the day he was shot injured many others; his parents said the hospital was packed when they went to see him.

Two days after White's death, on Wednesday 16th April, Chief Constable Geoffrey Dear persuaded the West Midlands Police Authority to allow him to stock plastic bullets. He said 15 police officers would be available for deployment with plastic bullets, in two months' time.

The decision was immediately condemned by Birmingham Trades Council

and Birmingham Troops Out Movement, who earlier in the year had a very successful tour with two members of the United Campaign Against Plastic Bullets, Brenda Downes and Emma Groves.

Keith White was the first Loyalist person to die as a result of these horrific weapons and his death put a different light on their use for many loyalists. Official Unionist MP Harold McCusker said that unionists did not know about plastic bullets and that nationalists may have been right all along when complaining about their use in riot situations.

His death was also condemned by the United Campaign Against Plastic Bullets who, as victims or relatives of victims, said they fully understood the anguish felt by Mr and Mrs White.

Broadcasting bias in the Republic

Section 31 of the Republic's Broadcasting Act bans TV and radio interviews with Sinn Fein members or recordings of any Sinn Fein speaker. Last year the Committee to Repeal Section 31 was formed against this censorship.

The work of the Committee has extended to wider questions of how Irish political issues are presented to viewers and listeners by the Republic's national, and only, network (RTE). Between 19th November 1985 and 17th January 1986, the Committee monitored news, current affairs and magazine programmes. They came up with the following examples of bias.

TIME ALLOCATED TO NORTHERN POLITICAL PARTIES		TREATMENT OF THE ANGLO-IRISH AGREEMENT	
	Minutes	Organisations and individuals in support of Agreement	278
Official Unionist Party	81	Unionist opposition to Agreement	170
Social Democratic & Labour Party	60	Nationalist opposition	40
Democratic Unionist Party	50	AIR TIME FOR NATIONALISTS AND UNIONISTS	
Alliance Party	39	Nationalists	216
Workers Party	6	Unionists	305
Ulster Popular Unionist Party	1		
Sinn Fein	0		

Within the last table, RTE showed a marked difference of approach. The air time given to unionists includes spokespeople of all the unionist parties — including a politician who talked of 'taking up arms' against 'Ulster's enemies' — and also a range of clergy, journalists, commentators and ordinary people. The nationalist representation was more selective: Sinn Fein of course had no air time; the SDLP had 93 minutes and Catholic clergy 61; except for 5 minutes given to specifically anti-IRA viewpoints, ordinary people were kept off the airwaves.

Any resemblance to British media bias is no doubt purely accidental.

All Ireland police?

In the midst of a massive propaganda campaign to portray the RUC as pig in the middle (sic) the real nitty gritty of the Anglo-Irish Agreement continues to be implemented. Section F of the published text of the agreement deals with "enhancing cross-border co-operation on security matters". What was not published was the details of how the governments see this being implemented.

One of the first methods agreed in a meeting of Ministers and later finalised in a meeting between senior RUC and Garda personnel in Dublin, was to set up two 'mirror image' groups of Garda and RUC members to operate along the border. They consist of five inspectors, 20 sergeants and 100 detectives from each force sharing a common radio

communications network.

Already senior personnel from both forces have been training together in Northumbria. The unit has all the hallmarks of a prototype of an all Ireland police force.

However all is not rosy on the RUC's horizon and a cloud is cast by the Stalker report. That report, a result of an investigation by the Manchester police into various shoot-to-kill incidents, is believed to come down heavily on the RUC suggesting that senior officers should be prosecuted. Some of the incidents involved cross-border activities by the RUC. At present the Chief Constable, Jack Hermon, and the DPP are busy sitting on the report presumably waiting for an opportunity to release it when it would attract little attention.

Easter Rising

Jacob's biscuit factory — now derelict but in 1916 the scene of fierce fighting — under new occupation. (Photo AP/RN)



The Republican Movement celebrated the 70th anniversary of the Easter Rising with ceremonies throughout Ireland during the Easter weekend and a major demonstration the following Saturday.

About 6,000 people took to the streets of Dublin in the usual determined and disciplined way and marched to the GPO, which was the headquarters of the Rising and from where the Proclamation of the Republic was read in 1916. After a number of speakers, including Martin Flannery, the veteran republican and American Noraid member, Pat Doherty (Sinn Fein's national organiser) gave the main address which was a scathing attack on the 26 County Government and the 'gombeen men in mohair suits' who run the country.

The Dublin government, he said, was afraid to commemorate the 1916 Rising. 'The Irish establishment is afraid that Irish people might take seriously the Proclamation of 1916; afraid that the social and economic intent of the Proclamation could be seized upon by the deprived and dispossessed sections of our people...' Quoting Liam Mellows he said that Dublin is 'the barrier government between the British and Irish people'.

Pat Doherty also appealed to the Protestant working class not to allow themselves to be used by the unionist Ascendancy: 'You will be dumped by them and by the British Government when it suits them to dump you. Only within a 32-County republic can you be guaranteed your religious and civil liberty and your equal rights and opportunities'.

The hounding of Eibhlin Glenholmes British contempt for the law

Britain's efforts to extradite Eibhlin (Evelyn) Glenholmes came to a bizarre climax on Saturday March 22, when a Dublin court released her twice because of faulty warrants.

Eibhlin Glenholmes is wanted for 'questioning' by Scotland Yard on what they claim are nine charges of IRA involvement, including the 1981 Chelsea Barracks bombing and the bombing of the Grand Hotel in Brighton in 1983.

The series of events shown below clearly indicates a lax and careless attitude from the office of the Director of Public Prosecutions, who would appear to have relied on the assumption that Dublin would comply, rather than on the law.

- October 31, 1984 — nine warrants were issued for Eibhlin Glenholmes' extradition from the Irish republic to Britain.
- Warrants were returned to London because they had faulty spellings and wrong dates.
- November 6, 1984 — Warrants were re-issued.
- Warrants found to be faulty as the information on them was not sworn again, despite the statement on the warrants that 'information on oath having this day been laid before me'.
- Details of the extradition request were published in the press and Glenholmes left Dundalk.
- March 12, 1986 — Glenholmes arrested in Tallaght, Dublin, on the basis of the warrants issued

in Nov. 1984.

- March 19, 1986 — proceedings began for Glenholmes' extradition in the Dublin District Court.
- March 22, 1986 — Warrants were found to be defective: they had the same fault as in Nov. 1984, ie, information was not sworn before a magistrate.
- Consequently, Glenholmes was released on the Saturday morning.
- Before she was released, a fresh warrant was issued in London covering one of the murder charges.
- On the basis of this new warrant, the Gardai obtained a provisional warrant; and after a hysterical chase, in which shots were fired by a Garda. Eibhlin was rearrested.
- Glenholmes was returned to the District Court.

- The court was not satisfied that there was evidence that a new warrant had been issued in London and released Glenholmes.
- March 24, 1986 — Full warrant was received by Gardai for Glenholmes' extradition, on which the previous provisional warrant was based.

The release of Eibhlin Glenholmes has provoked angry reactions, not least from the two Governments. Douglas Hurd, the Home Secretary, told the Commons that the fault clearly lies with the office of the British Director of Public Prosecutions, and he had 'no criticism' for the Irish authorities. However, Mr Alan

Dukes, the Irish Justice Minister, was said to be 'furious', and Dr Michael Woods, justice spokesperson for Fianna Fail described the events as 'a fiasco and an international embarrassment initiated by the incompetence of the British authorities.'

The behaviour of the Gardai has also been severely criticised by the Irish Council for Civil Liberties, who have demanded a comprehensive review of the force and the use of firearms.

As a result of the failed extradition, the British government are likely to review extradition procedures, said Douglas Hurd, in a Commons statement made on March 24.



Police lawlessness in Dublin

APPEAL TO WOMEN

Sinn Fein's Women's Department has appealed to all individual women and women's groups to take a public stand against the persecution of Eibhlin Glenholmes:

'This was the second time in eighteen months that Eibhlin, who is a republican, had been hounded on the basis of illegal and invalid documents. Following the first incident, in 1984, she had met with and talked to journalists, constantly emphasising her innocence of any of the offences her name had been connected with ...

Eibhlin Glenholmes has already been found guilty without trial by the media, the British and Free State Governments, and all those who disassociate themselves from her because of her republican beliefs. If she is ever extradited, it is obvious that she will not get a fair trial. Furthermore, we have all seen the kind of brutality to which she was subjected in Dublin. We all know of the repressive and degrading treatment meted out to all women prisoners, especially republicans, in Armagh and now Maghaberry jail. Martina Anderson and Ella O'Dwyer, two Irish women currently being held in Brixton jail in England, have been subjected to over 800 strip searches in less than one year on remand, and are experiencing intense psychological stress.'

Shoot-to-kill cover-up

In 1985, as negotiations between the Irish and British governments on the Anglo-Irish deal progressed, shoot-to-kill operations in Northern Ireland ceased. In that year also an international lawyers' inquiry produced a damning report on previous shoot-to-kill incidents.* Despite its comprehensive compilation the report did not receive much publicity.

Recently more details of one of the last such operations listed in Appendix A of the report have been released by the family of the victim

Fredrick Jackson. The death of Jackson was unusual in that he was a middle-aged protestant businessman with no political involvement. In all other respects, however, his death falls into one of the more common types of shoot-to-kill operations.

On October 19th 1984, an IRA unit operating in Portadown realised that an SAS unit was planning to ambush them. After riddling the SAS car with gunfire they made good their escape.

Nearby Jackson sat in his car. Other members of the

SAS unit decided he was waiting to pick up some of the IRA team. Smashing his side window, one of them clubbed him across the face and then killed him with a single shot in the back from a handgun. Realising that he had been shot, some nearby workers tried to go to his aid but were held back by the soldiers. The ambulance was not allowed to leave with Fredrick Jackson until it was accompanied by the RUC.

Later the army said he had been shot accidentally in crossfire. As yet no inquest has been held on his death, nor have the family been

allowed to see the autopsy report. Like all families of shoot-to-kill operations they are left angry and helpless in their attempts to find out the truth.

Already this year there have been two shoot-to-kill operations, one of them fatal. On February 18th an SAS unit shot dead Francis Bradley in cold blood in Toomebridge, Co. Derry.

The International Lawyers' inquiry lists one hundred and eighty such incidents.

* Mercier Press has published the report of the inquiry as a book. It is available from the Troops Out Movement for £5.95 + 50p postage.

British withdrawal - a short sharp shock?

For many years now the Troops Out Movement and other organisations have put most of their efforts into persuading people here that Britain ought to withdraw from Ireland. We have argued that this would be in the best interests of the people both in Ireland and in Britain.

It is now important that we begin discussing *how* this withdrawal could take place. In the article below, P.Curry presents his personal views on the subject and offers one possible scenario.

Again and again it is claimed by people who oppose the withdrawal of Britain from Ireland that the departure of British troops and its political machinery would lead to a bloodbath.

It is a viewpoint that we must take seriously. It is probably a persuasive argument among the general public. However, I would like to question the assumption that a bloodbath is inevitable if Britain withdrew.

Of course one has to take the factor of potential violence seriously. Withdrawal would, therefore, have to be planned carefully in order to minimise the possibility of violence.

Withdrawal should definitely not be announced two or three years in advance: history and commonsense should teach us that lesson. Consider, for example, the Home Rule crisis of 1912-14: in 1912, the British Parliament passed a Home Rule Act to come into force only in 1914. The unionists used those two years to mobilise against it. Private armies were formed, supported by elements of the Tory establishment in Britain. Only the First World War prevented a major constitutional crisis and perhaps civil war - a civil war which, unlike the one which did take place in Ireland in 1922, would have involved sections of the British military, political and industrial establishment.

Algeria is another example. Here the French settlers knew that France was going to grant independence to Algeria a long time before it actually happened. This led to terrible violence by the settlers' organisation, the OAS, against the Algerian people to try to prevent independence.

SHOCK AND DEMORALISE THE OPPOSITION

Plans for withdrawal would need to be conducted secretly. The British Govern-

ment would conduct secret negotiations with the Government of the Irish Republic, followed by a discreet truce with the IRA. With the cessation of violence, the process of disbanding the Ulster Defence Regiment could begin. It is essential that the UDR be disbanded because, although it is formally a regiment of the British Army, in practice it is a heavily armed wing of loyalism.

The actual day of the announcement of withdrawal I shall call D-Day. It would preferably be winter, to hinder mobilisation against it. Unionist politicians would only be told of the announcement a few hours beforehand, again to prevent mobilisation.

The tactics would be to create maximum shock, confusion and demoralisation among the unionist population. But it would also be necessary to offer a safety valve for those who might be thinking of offering any armed resistance. Therefore, the announcement would be accompanied by a clear offer of resettlement in Britain for those who wished it, with adequate financial compensation. Every unionist will have to ask the question, will I stay or will I leave? Most will choose to stay.

Britain could negotiate with the loyalist paramilitary leaders, offering an early release of prisoners in exchange for no violence. The British Army would not withdraw immediately but would begin to fade into the background to act as a deterrent to loyalist violence. It should be possible to have most of the British Army withdrawn within a period of twelve months.

The announcement of D-Day would be followed by repeal of all legislation that makes Northern Ireland part of the UK. Once the Union is dissolved, the unionists have no motive to use violence to keep Northern Ireland part of the UK.

UNIONISTS IN A UNITED IRELAND

Once the announcement of withdrawal had been made, Unionist leaders would be asked to discuss a New Ireland with the Government of the Republic of Ireland. The negotiations would involve the establishment of a new police force that would draw its members from both nationalist and unionist communities. And Britain would have to continue its financial subsidy to Northern Ireland for some years.

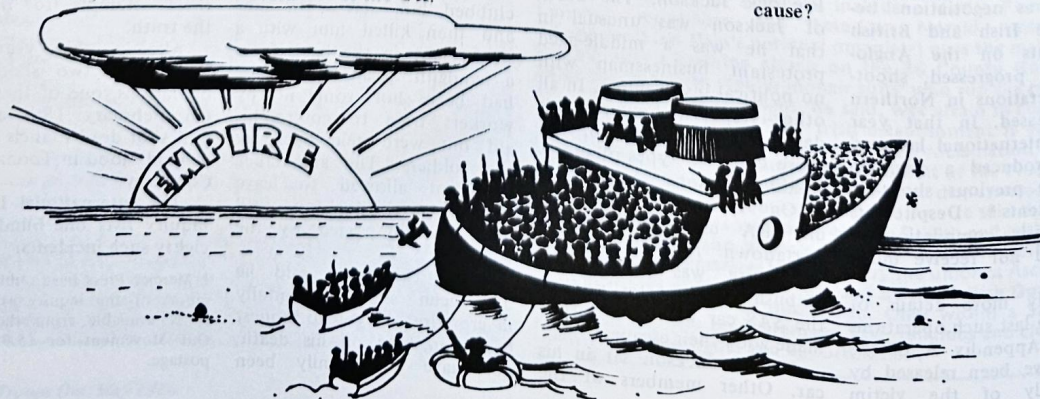
I believe that the role of the Dublin Government should be to allow as much devolution of power as possible to Northern Ireland. Northern Ireland should be allowed to select its own governor who would be elected by MPs of both communities. Dublin should encourage as much autonomy as possible in industry, trade, tourism and agriculture etc. The North should be allowed to make its own laws just like Scotland in relation to Britain.

APPEAL TO SELF-INTEREST

Still some people may have fears of a civil war. Yet I would argue that it is the unionists who have most to lose in that situation. What would they be fighting for? An independent N.Ireland? This is just not economically viable without British financial support.

We should remember that the unionists have considerable property, land and business interests in the North. Why risk losing all this in a civil war that they would eventually lose. Surely they must think of their own future in Ireland and their children's future? What if they started a civil war and lost: how could they expect to stay on in Ireland, yet what other country would take them?

A unionist-initiated civil war would be opposed by the British Army, the republican army and nationalist people and the Irish Army. Are we expected to believe the unionists are willing to commit mass suicide for a dead duck cause?



Bobby Sands 1954-1981

Bobby Sands died five years ago on 5th May, after a hunger strike lasting sixty-six days. He was a poet, writer, soldier, prisoner and MP. While on hunger strike he was elected in a by-election for Fermanagh-South Tyrone with 30,492 votes.

The hunger strike of Bobby Sands and nine others who died followed years of protest in the H Blocks of Long Kesh prison against a Government policy to treat the republican prisoners as criminals without a cause. The authorities reacted to the protest with great brutality. The consequences of the hunger strike was to strengthen the political force of republicanism – the very thing which the British Government's policy of criminalisation had tried to weaken.

The following essay by Bobby Sands predicts this development. It was written in prison and smuggled out. The essay is printed in the anthology, *Skylark Sing Your Lonely Song*.



Training Camp

When a British cabinet minister contends that to grant political status to protesting Republican prisoners would be to create a training camp for the IRA, one can easily and deliberately be misled by such a statement. These words and supporting descriptions of prisoners carrying out various military lectures and drill are but a pathetic attempt to hide the real reason.

Any British army officer would be forced to admit that the worth of such theoretical training is in the main minimal, and that practical battle experience is what makes soliders. Many of the same officers have admitted and as many have found out to their cost that the IRA Volunteer is a well-trained and competent soldier, a versatile and deadly guerrilla fighter – that the majority of captured IRA Volunteers are already obviously fully-seasoned freedom fighters. What Mr Rees and the other British war lords really mean and really fear is the future politicisation of these guerrilla fighters. An inevitability that fosters itself through a simple political awareness (that is, the realisation of the root cause of Ireland's perennial suffering – Britain) which grows to political maturity among captured POWs who hold the same ideals and principles and who because of a deeply rooted desire for freedom, vigorously seek what is the very essence of political awareness – the truth.

Where such exists, so too exists 'Freedom'. People who can think for themselves and can form their own political opinions and judgement. People who will not be so easily fooled but most significantly people who prompted by the discovery of right and truth will use this awareness to combat and change the wrong by directing resistance against the very heart of the cancer – Britain. Therefore, it is by no means a group of posing militarists whom Mr Rees & Co. fear but a politically educated armed guerrilla fighter who will not only use his political mind to guide his weapon, but to guide and teach his politically undernourished

countrymen to steer their own destiny – the sure revolutionary recipe to British defeat.

It was with this cloud hanging above the British government and the freedom of the oppressed ancient nation looming up on the horizon, that the British government, embarking upon a policy of Ulsterisation – re-Stormontisation – attempted to depoliticise the war of liberation in Ireland to portray the freedom struggle as purely sectarian strife, gangsterism or whatever would suitably belittle its real nature. Therefore, the attempted criminalisation of the Republican POWs up in H-Block and Armagh Gaol is but one blatant facet of this policy.

H-Block was engineered to crush the political identity of the captured Republican prisoner, to crush his resistance and transform him into a systemised answering machine with a large criminal tag stamped by oppression upon his back, to be duly released back onto the street, politically cured – politically barren – and permanently broken in spirit.

With eight hundred years of experience of failure in oppressing the Irish nation, a British government has yet to recognise and admit that the spirit of resistance of the Irish Nation can not and never will be broken – the first British government to do so will be the last! Yet it has been for four long years and continues to be in this typically arrogant English 'Croppie Lie Down' type attitude that the British government perpetrate countless inhumanities upon hundreds of naked men. But the Croppies in H-Block have not nor don't ever intend to lie down. We have resisted with the same undaunted Republican spirit of resistance that died in bloody mass at the gateway to New Ross, that met the might of the British Empire during Easter Week of 1916, and like that, that died in great defiance in Michael Gaughan within a lonely prison cell. But yet tempered with the sacrificial blood of Irish patriots, it is vividly alive in H-Block and the Northern

War Zone! The British government may have succeeded in destroying us in body and driving some among us insane and others to the brink of insanity but the thoughts of Connolly and Pearse are today the thoughts of the wretched of H-Block.

Today in the dungeons of H-Block the language of the blanket men is the rightful language of the nation – *Gaeilge* – it is spoken with love and vigour. It is roughly scratched upon the filthy walls in poetry and sung with pride. The silver speech that our fathers knew has been revived in prison dungeon – the future of the liberation struggle and the road to the Socialist Republic is eagerly thrashed out in political discussion and debate. Every aspect of the life of the nation and the affairs and interests of the people are discussed so that we may not only know how to get to the Socialist Republic but what to do when we arrive there. We in H-Block are actively tying our political resistance into the armed struggle. No amount of torture has stopped this. We have not been depoliticised, we have not been criminalised, if anything the incessant torture has stiffened our revolutionary resolve and determination, driving us to achievements and heights that we could never have hoped to gain. We have not been deterred from freedom's fight but rather rallied to the forefront. They have even sought to torture our women comrades but their unprecedented heroic resistance leaves us burning with pride and the torturers in utter dejection!

The face of British barbarity has once again been nakedly exposed in front of the world.

It has ensured that not only will the scars of the inhumanity which is H-Block remain imprinted in the minds of we tortured prisoners but will burn deeply and for generations in the hearts of our sons.

H-Block is the rock that the British monster shall perish upon, for we in H-Block stand upon the unconquerable rock of the Irish Socialist Republic!

Militant - A British socialist

What should be the response of a socialist in England, Scotland and Wales to the situation of N.Ireland? One definite and influential answer comes from the Militant supporters within the Labour Party and their 1984 pamphlet 'Northern Ireland: A Marxist Analysis'. But it is because they express so many themes (as well as a general tendency) in 'mainland' leftist writing about the war in Ireland, that their position will be examined here in detail.

Since 1974, argues Militant, the capitalist system has entered a period of ultimate stagnation and decay. It is this downward spiral that is profoundly revolutionary. The conditions are now right to bring forward demands for public ownership and nationalisation of major sections of the British economy. In the labour movement 'Marxism' is spreading and a revolutionary leadership (Militant) emerging.

The right (economic) conditions with the right (Militant) Labour leadership will bring socialism. Obviously in such a scenario any other movement or struggle is a diversion on the Militant road to a socialist triumph. For example, CND is criticised for taking youth 'up a political blind alley'. Though on the issue of nuclear war what analysis does Militant offer? That 'it is not only this logic [of self-destruction] that holds back the militarist sections of the ruling classes but the strength of the labour movement.'

IRELAND: THE IRISH PROBLEM

If world conditions for socialism are maturing this includes Northern Ireland. But though the right conditions of recession and stagnation are present, the working class of the six counties cannot achieve socialism because they are divided by being in thrall to sectarian ideas. But with the right leadership they will overcome the conflict of loyalism and republicanism in a common class interest and then unite with socialists in the Republic to form a complete socialist Ireland.

For Militant then the main obstacle to socialism and unity is not Imperialism but Sectarianism, not British rule but the (ideological) division of the Northern Irish working class.

It is true, they say, that this division is the result of British colonialism 'which partitioned Ireland chiefly to divide the working class and safeguard their class interests here and in Ireland.' But in the 1950s and 60s, they argue, the economic boom meant that the immediate danger of Irish revolution had receded and 'the British ruling class would have preferred to withdraw and reunify Ireland ... to remove the thorn of instability perpetuated by partition and create a stable capitalist Ireland which they could then dominate economically.'

But Imperialism ran into a problem — the sectarian politics it had once pro-

moted. A million Protestant Loyalists would not enter a united Ireland, fearing 'discrimination, loss of political control and living standards.' Any such move would bring about a vicious civil war. Faced with this impasse Britain fell back on the current stalemate of repression and political cosmetics. The economy has continued to stagnate and thousands have been made unemployed. Capitalist imperialism having created the problem of the sectarian statelet cannot resolve it. Socialists are then faced with a vicious opposition within the working class, the violence accompanying it, and old political forces (loyalists and republicans) who reflect this division. To achieve socialism then sectarianism in the working class must first be overcome. The means for doing this are two-fold: (1) uniting workers around their common class interest in trade union struggles, and (2) the setting up of a local Labour Party.

The presence of the right conditions means that the first is already taking place if only sporadically, witness the cross-community workers unity in the 1982 National Health Strike.

The role of socialists in England, Scotland and Wales is clear, to call for the overcoming of sectarianism by internal socialist forces and, in particular, to demand the British Labour Party set up a section inside N.Ireland. To do anything else would be to encourage a united Ireland without a united working class which would only lead to a bloody civil war within a capitalist Ireland. A doubly reactionary phenomenon.

Militant's position therefore rests on three claims:

1. that the labour movement in the six counties can effect change towards unity;
2. but political and ideological sectarianism divides and blinds workers to their common class interest;
3. meanwhile the role of British Rule is a frustrated one.

Let's examine each of these in turn.

MEMBERS OF THE UNION

Militant uses the 1982 NHS Strike as an example of a progressive struggle. The NHS is one of the few sectors of the economy now where Protestant and Catholic workers are present together, to be united, — elsewhere they separate out into Protestant skilled/unionised and Catholic unskilled or unemployed. Secondly, striking for better pay and

conditions from the British State (or local capital) is not incompatible with loyalty to it. Lastly, by avoiding the national question labour in the six counties supports the status quo by default.

The material division of the N.Irish working class is one of the legacies of colonialism. Though the Presbyterian settlers of the Plantation were persecuted for their particular sect of Protestantism, the British State soon found them useful to a Protestant alliance against the Catholic 'natives'. The Orange Order brought local loyalists together and Protestant farmers received favourable tenancies from Protestant landlords.

After the English Government had ended the Irish wool trade (by banning exports) linen manufacture in Ulster was encouraged (1699). With the 1801 Act of Union industry between the two countries became even closer. Cotton and other textile factories appeared in Belfast and from 1800 to 1850 workers from the nearby prosperous Protestant areas moved to the town. To service the machines an engineering industry developed and this in turn stimulated ship-



Loyalists demonstrate against their class interests. Yo Pacemaker)

Evolution from the Left

building — Harland and Wolff came in 1859. Belfast was now the eighth largest city in the UK and in contrast to the rest of Ireland, Belfast workers were already a labour aristocracy.

CLASS INTERESTS

In the mid 19th century because of the Famine, Catholics began to move to the cities to look for work. In 1864 loyalist rioting was organised by the Orange Order, and Catholic workers were driven from the linen mills, factories and shipyards. It was about this time that skilled workers (Loyalists) began to organise, affiliate to British unions and defend jobs from the newcomers. Though employers were at first happy to use cheap Catholic labour, the nationalist movement and the organising of the unskilled in the 1880s led them to encourage sectarianism. The free labour market was abolished. The closed shop and regulation of apprenticeships was used to keep Catholics out and there were anti-Catholic workers' riots in 1872, 1880 and 1884. By the turn of the century

Catholics made up 7% of shipwrights but 32% of general labourers. Catholic workers were confined to low paid or unskilled work and whereas the pay of skilled workers was as good as anywhere in the United Kingdom, unskilled labourers and domestic servants were at the bottom of the wages league.

Catholics also represented half the workhouse inmates in the province though they were only then a quarter of the population. A share of destitution continued by current unemployment figures — in 1982-4 total workless rates were — Protestant 13% and Catholic 28%. As some have remarked, due to the recession unemployment has risen in both communities. But the margin of difference has not changed — in 1971 the figures were Protestant 5.6% and Catholic 13.9%. The informal recruitment practices in much of the economy still permits discrimination. In 1982 the Fair Employment Agency reported that there were no Catholics among skilled fitters at Harland and Wolff, Catholics made up only 4-8% of skilled workers at Shorts aircraft factory and generally were overdependent on the construction industry and servicing their own areas.

DIVIDED WE STAND

There have been occasions when Protestants and Catholics have united over economic grievances. There can be a tension in Protestant workers between their exploitation as worker and their identity as Loyalist. But as we have seen their position as worker depends on their identity as Loyalist. Strikes in the sectarian statelet do not mean strikes against it. In the 1907 dock strike Catholic and Protestant workers united against the employers' attempt to break the unions. But with the appearance of the Home Rule Bill workers took up different political positions and the unity was broken. Between Jan 1930 and Oct 1932 a struggle by Catholic and Protestant unemployed and workers developed against the low rates of unemployment benefit (outdoor relief). This was at a time when Protestant unemployment had risen and local Republican politics had been disoriented and weakened by Fianna Fail's election in the South.

In 1931 however the Ulster Protestant League was set up "to safeguard the employment of Protestants". Employers were encouraged not to employ Catholics and in 1935 Loyalist riots killed 5 Catholics, pushed hundreds more out of work and drove more than 500 from their homes.

THE PRICE OF UNITY

Trades unions in the six counties therefore face problems if they wished to

develop an even-handed strategy. Their role as unions is to defend the pay and conditions of their members but most of their members are loyalist. In 1978, for example, the redevelopment of the (nationalist) Short Strand area was planned, but AUEW/TASS representatives formally complained that this would prevent an expansion of a local engineering works (where skilled Protestant workers would be employed). In the present recession such competition for resources is increasing. On the other hand, to maintain what unity there can be, the labour movement has to avoid politics — ie the national question. In 1944 the (all-Ireland) Irish TUC split over the neutrality of the Republic. In response to the split the ICTU set up the Northern Ireland Committee to deal with issues related to N Ireland. When the ICTU was reunited in 1958 the NIC was given much more autonomy and in 1964 was recognised by the Unionist administration.

To prevent such splits the TUs eschew politics — they keep no record of union members' religions so that they cannot campaign against discrimination. Nor do they campaign against repression — when Brian Maguire AUEW/TASS hanged himself at the Castlereagh interrogation centre the NIC made no comment on Castlereagh torture. After pressure from the group Trades Unions Campaign Against Repression, a motion was passed for an enquiry into Maguire's death but no demands for this were made subsequently. To take up such an issue would be divisive and 'sectarian' ie it would alienate Loyalist members.

The TU movement also often finds itself made impotent by Loyalist industrial action. Only recently loyalist workers protesting at the Anglo-Irish Agreement brought three-quarters of the six counties' economy to a halt. This recalls the Ulster Workers Council strike against 'powersharing' in 1974. Only 200 workers joined the TUC's 'Back to Work' march.

Socialists too face the trap that to avoid being 'sectarian' they must support the sectarian statelet. In 1920 the local Labour Party was driven from the shipyards for being "the same as Sinn Féin". In 1949, as the Northern Ireland Labour Party, they recognised 'the constitutional position' and the 'close association' with Britain. Though they lost their three remaining seats in that election they began to make headway in the 1950s and 60s due to changes in the N Ireland economy. These changes made many loyalist workers unemployed again. But these votes should be seen as protest votes, not votes for fundamental change.

The last part of this analysis will be concluded in the next issue.



You can't wish away the National Question. (Photo: ...)



Photo: Paul Mattsson

1986 TOM conference

The Troops Out Movement annual conference took place last month in Birmingham. It was a conference that strengthened all aspects of TOM's work, its branches, the national office, *Troops Out* paper and its campaigns.

Members from many branches attended: Birmingham, Brighton, Bristol, Coventry, Leeds, Leicester, London, Newport (Gwent), Norwich, Sheffield and Tyne-side.

In Britain we have been witnessing (or rather, suffering) a period of reaction following the miners' strike. This is seen in the News International sackings, institutionalised violence against the Black communities, the possibility of dispensing with juries for 'some' trials (the thin end of the wedge), the growth of right wing organisations, and more repressive policing methods and organisation, with plastic bullets now a part of their arsenal. The other side of the coin is that as the State, the police and employers become more blatant, so do progressive forces become more united and coherent in their opposition.

Britain also witnessed in the past year an opening out on two issues concerning Ireland which previously had been hidden injustices. The first is the Prevention of Terrorism Act: the campaign conducted by and for Maire O'Shea led to unprecedented debate, particularly in the labour movement. The outcome is not just Dr O'Shea's acquittal, but also the continuation of that work to repeal the Terror Act. The Conference also ensured support for another TOM

member, Peter Jordan, who was convicted in the same trial and sentenced to 14 years.

The second issue is the Irish victims of frame-ups, such as the Birmingham Six. Why has this suddenly become an acceptable item for the media after years of the most deafening silence? Our understanding is that it is related to the growing perception of the use of the law as a political tool.

Ireland, meanwhile, is undergoing a period of upheaval and suffering, about which only the foolhardy would confidently predict the outcome. TOM's running analysis of the Anglo-Irish Agreement is that the intention of its authors was that the Agreement should strengthen the partition of Ireland. The British State's tactics are designed to lead to a devolved local government involving unionist and SDLP politicians, for which it is necessary to break the unionists' assumptions of supremacy. However, this is a tactic that could also backfire, leaving a situation where Britain's only option would be to withdraw from Ireland.

The Troops Out Movement welcomes being put out of business by such an outcome!

TOM also sees in the Anglo-Irish Agreement a chance of building up pressure on some

aspects of British rule in the North. The Agreement did after all offer some reforms against discrimination and to enhance nationalist 'confidence' in the legal system, the 'security' forces etc. Where are they? We in Britain should do all we can to demand that the Government produces what it promises.

TOM's plans for the following year include a delegation to the North of Ireland this August and a festival for withdrawal in 1987.

In addition, TOM plans to initiate the demonstration

Aldershot show cancelled

This year's army show at Aldershot has been suddenly cancelled. In a brief press release the Ministry of Defence said that it had been cancelled at the last moment to prevent morale and recruitment being damaged by 'overstretch' in military commitments. Is a big army operation planned for this summer in Northern Ireland? To confront Loyalist protest? To 'reluctantly' introduce selective internment?

commemorating Bloody Sunday next January, to be held outside London. This year's Bloody Sunday demonstration was held in London following years of having it banned (in Leicester, Sheffield, Glasgow and Coventry). So it was important to be sure that the march actually took place. However, the significance of Bloody Sunday is that it is a symbol of the British Army's true role in Ireland - to suppress any opposition by whatever brutal aggression is necessary. It has long been the policy of TOM and most of the other organisations working on the issue of Ireland that this message is put across throughout Wales, Scotland and England.

Forwards in Leicester

Leicester TOM recently helped to organise a highly successful Labour Party day school. It was attended by 92 people including two prospective Parliamentary candidates (for Leicester East and Leicester South) and several councillors.

We were addressed by Theresa Holland, Sinn Féin councillor in Belfast, and held workshops on Women in Ireland and the Anglo-Irish Agreement. GLC councillor John McDonnell summed up with a call for us to redouble our efforts.

In the evening there was an Irish Culture evening in an Afro-Caribbean workshop. This was popular with the Leicester Irish community; songs and dancing filled the evening.

The Leicester Irish community is engaged in a campaign to get recognised as an ethnic minority by the City Council. The Labour Group on City Council has pledged ethnic minority status in its manifesto for the May local elections (Leicester is Labour run). The

Leicester Mercury denounced this, comparing Irish oppression with Scotland and Nottingham - ho! ho! - oppression.

All in all, the day school was a great step forward for our work. The next day Theresa Holland attended the re-naming of Welford Rd Recreation Park as 'Nelson Mandela Park'. In the evening 1,000 people attended a concert by Hugh Masekela. A message from Sinn Féin opposing apartheid was read out to great applause, and Leicester TOM did a brisk trade at our bookstall.

We are now organising a meeting on Irish trade unionism, and a women's group has also been set up.

Leicester TOM will be organising a mass picket in remembrance of Noel Jenkinson - the Irish prisoner who died in Leicester Prison in 1976. The picket will be in October, on the anniversary of his death.

'Frame-up' injustice

'I am at present serving a 35 year recommended life sentence for something of which I am completely innocent' began a recent letter from Tommy Quigley. He had been convicted at the Old Bailey a little over a year ago and is still awaiting news of his appeal. So upset over the verdict was one of his barristers, Helena Kennedy, she wrote an article for the *Guardian* titled "If this had been an ordinary crime I truly believe the jury might have acquitted".

Tommy Quigley's case is but a recent example of various Irish people who have been convicted to long terms of imprisonment as scapegoats for actions in this country resulting from the war in Northern Ireland. At least eighteen other Irish people have or are serving long terms of imprisonment on evidence if presented in any other type of case would not have stood up in court.

Since their release Annie and Patrick Maguire have spent most of the time campaigning for their conviction to be overturned. Convicted in 1975, the Maguires along with their two teenage sons, Annie's brother and brother-in-law, and a neighbour, on a charge of possession of explosives, they all had to serve their full sentence. Annie's brother-in-law Giuseppe Conlon died in prison protesting his innocence. They were convicted on the flimsiest of evidence, coupled with a very biased summing up at the end of the trial by the judge (now Lord) Donaldson. But most influential of all in their conviction was the trial by media carried out before their court case.

Six people who suffered this process were the men convicted of the Birmingham pub bombings. Savagely beaten by the police on their arrest, four of them signed contradictory and incoherent statements. This and forensic evidence of a most dubious nature was presented in the court against them. Evidence which would have contradicted this forensic evidence was withheld from the court by the police.

After their convictions the men tried to sue the police for assault. If they had won, it would of course have undermined so-called 'confessions' obtained in the police stations. They were refused leave to sue the police by Lord Denning on the grounds that 'This is such

an appalling vista that every sensible person in the land would say: It cannot be right that these actions should go any further. They should be struck out.'

Any attempts to have their convictions reviewed were met with almost hysterical reactions. However, due to constant campaigning by the men themselves as well as their relatives, their disgraceful imprisonment is beginning to get looked at. This was given a big boost by the *World in Action* programme in late 1985 which completely discredited the forensic evidence originally presented against them. But the government is still very reluctant to review their case and are basically sitting on it, hoping the present flurry of interest will fade away.

Their campaign is running in parallel with the campaigning of Annie and Patrick Maguire. They spent the early part of this year in Ireland appealing for support and telling the story of their conviction. Their tour was very successful and a lot of people's eyes were opened as to the nature of justice for Irish people in British courts. They have also made some headway in this country, and an early day motion in the House of Commons expressing



DUP's Peter Robinson's description of loyalist demonstrations against the Anglo-Irish agreement as an example of 'people power' has a certain irony. His boss, Ian Paisley, is an old ally of Ferdinand Marcos, ex-dictator of the Philippines. Attending a World Congress of Religious Fundamentalists in Manila a few years ago, both men reaffirmed "their stand against violence and terrorism". Denouncing Roman Catholic church groups who used churches as "a flag to cover up an army of conspirators and violators" they agreed on the difficulty of dealing "with terrorists and Marxists in the disguise of priests and nuns".

Last month dock workers refused to load a generator onto the Larne ferry, destined for Northern Ireland, at the request of a DUP councillor. Loyalists believed it was to be used as an emergency generator at Maryfield, the offices of the Anglo Irish secretariat. Much mirth was aimed at the loyalists when newspapers and television revealed that

the generator was in fact being sent to Northern Ireland as scrap metal. Maryfield gets its emergency electricity supply from Palace Barracks in which grounds it stands.

The story was fed to the media by MI5, whose numbers in N. Ireland have been greatly increased to protect the Anglo Irish Conference. Angered by continuous leaks from both Maryfield and Stormont, they allowed a senior civil servant to see a memo about the importation of the generator and put around the rumour that it was intended for Maryfield.

The far right in this country has always sympathised with sections of loyalism. Recently the National Front has stepped up their activities on Ireland and are trying to formalise links particularly with the UDA, through their Irish 'expert' John Field.

They have stepped up coverage in their paper, *National Front News*, and have begun a new magazine, *Ulster Sentinel*, aimed at a Northern Ireland readership. The latest issue contains a long article by John McMichael of the UDA. It has a reciprocal advertising arrangement with the UDA magazine *Ulster*.

Recent National Front meetings have been flooded with recruitment leaflets for the UDA and anti-IRA posters.

widespread concern at their case has been signed by 180 MPs.

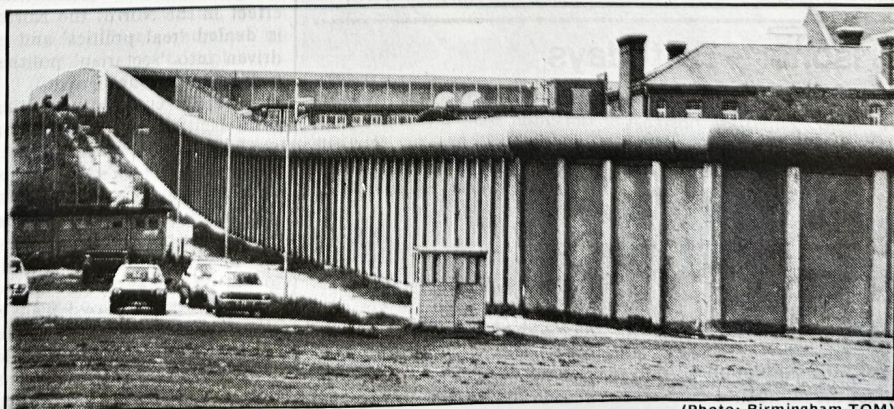
Another 'frame up' case — that of the Guildford Four — is being looked at on a *First Tuesday* programme on 6th May.

It is ironic that at a time when there are attempts to extradite Irish people like Eibhlin (Evelyn) Glenholmes amidst yet more 'trial by media', frame-up cases are finally being looked at.

They are being looked at due to the constant efforts of the prisoners themselves to bring the injustices done to them to the attention of the public.

Opposing them are the people who put them in prison in the first place. Admitting that they were wrongfully convicted would cause deep political embarrassment, and call into question the actions of police, prosecutions, and Governments. Their cases can be won — and the acquittal of Maire O Shea shows this — if they are supported by a well organised campaign reaching out to the widest sections of society.

However as long as Britain's unjust occupation of Northern Ireland continues there will be 'frame up' cases. The only way to ensure no more is complete withdrawal.



Parkhurst Prison

(Photo: Birmingham TOM)



Cash Scorer - NCCL fighter for Irish rights

Cash Scorer died of cancer on 3rd April, at the early age of 38. She was a prominent figure in the field of civil and human rights, actively campaigning against the British State's repression of the cause of Irish freedom.

Before becoming a member of the National Council for Civil Liberties' executive committee, Cash was its Northern Ireland officer for a number of years. The NCCL's present policy is in large measure due to her hard work and good influence.

She will be particularly remembered for her opposition to the Prevention of Terrorism Act, and was co-author of the book *The Prevention of Terrorism Act: the case for repeal*. But Cash was also active in her opposition to every aspect of British inhumanity to Irish people, involving herself in many campaigns including the campaign against plastic bullets. She had a legal training and was therefore concerned to expose injustice and seek legal

reform.

A long-time member of the Communist Party of Great Britain, Cash was often a critic of the party's inactivity and policy on Ireland.

At a large meeting in London's County Hall held just after her funeral, messages of sympathy and appreciation were heard from a wide section of the movement — proof of the respect she earned. Her death is a considerable loss.

Cash Scorer's contribution was not confined to Irish civil rights. She was also involved in trade union and women's rights. She was a founder member of the NCCL's Women's Rights Committee.

A Trust has been established to further her work, which will be used for civil rights projects related to Northern Ireland.

Donations can be sent to:

The Cash Scorer
Civil Liberties Trust,
c/o Michael Seifert,
Seifert, Sedley, Williams,
3 Dyers Buildings,
High Holborn, London WC1.

Prisoners' Birthdays

The Irish prisoners in Britain are held here as hostages, denied the right (as laid down in prison regulations) to serve their sentences near their homes and families. They often spend long periods in solitary confinement and are frequently moved from one prison to another. Please send them cards on their birthdays to help break their isolation — don't forget the number.

JOE O'CONNELL	338635
HM Prison, Welford Rd, Leicester LE2 7AJ	May 15th
BOBBY CAMPBELL	B32954
HM Prison Gartree, Leicester Rd, Market Harborough, Leics LE16 7RP	June 1st

And the following remand prisoner:

PAT MAGEE	B75881
HM Prison Brixton, PO Box 369, Jebb Avenue, London SW2 5XF	May 29th

Fulham's mystery campaign

In April's by-election in Fulham, a candidate called Boyd Black from the North of Ireland vied for an electoral mandate. He polled precisely 98 votes, somewhat below the Raving Looney Party (134) and the Connoisseur Wine Party (127).

This no doubt disappointing result for Mr Black should not be taken as an anti-Irish or anti-unionist rejection. The electorate of Fulham must be credited for sensing that there was something not quite open in the campaign.

Boyd Black's candidature was originally endorsed publicly by Robert McCartney (Official Unionist Assembly representative) and John Taylor (Official Unionist MEP). It was apparently the first shot in an anti-Agreement anti-Tory campaign by the Unionist Parties.

However, Black's literature stated 'I am not a Unionist'. It also stated that the campaign 'takes no position on the abstract merits of the Agreement'.

Boyd Black stood as a candidate for the 'Campaign for Democratic Rights for Northern Ireland' with the slogan 'Help Avert a War!' (their exclamation mark, not ours). His argument was that it was wrong for people in Northern Ireland to be denied a vote for the British Conservative, Labour, Liberal or Social Democratic Parties; this, he claimed, is both a denial of democratic rights since it is only these parties that could or do form a government, and also is something that has a detrimental effect in the North: the North is denied 'real politics' and is driven into 'sectarian' politics based on religious bigotry.

A clear cut civil liberties case? Neither a republican nor a unionist axe to grind? In fact, the logic of Black's position is ultra-unionist. It would enmesh the North of Ireland even more deeply into the UK by integrating it into the British parliamentary party system.

And a look at Boyd Black's own history shows more of the same closet unionism. In the seventies Black was known as a member of BICO — the British and Irish Communist Organisa-

tion. The campaign in Fulham was supported by a leading BICO member, Brendan Clifford. BICO's position is that the partition of Ireland is correct because there are 'two nations' living on the island of Ireland, the Irish Irish of the Republic and the British/Scottish people of the North descended from settlers. BICO is therefore explicitly opposed to the struggle for a united Ireland.

Also, in 1984 Boyd Black was identified as chairperson of an organisation calling itself the Integration Group. As such



he claimed that 'a united Ireland, an independent Ulster and a legislative devolved government ... cannot be achieved. Integration is, paradoxically, the only option left for giving Northern Ireland people a greater share in the running of their own country.'

Integration — that is, putting the legislative and executive functions of the North on precisely the same footing as any part of England, Wales or Scotland — has the support of a minority of Conservative MPs and an element of the Official Unionist Party. It is a position that is never argued through in any detail because any such argument would immediately prove the opposite — that the North of Ireland is very different from Britain, is in fact part of a foreign country. Even Boyd Black's disingenuous campaign started to reveal this. At an eve of election public meeting, well-meaning Labour and Tory members accidentally stumbled upon the real reason for the lack of 'British democracy' in the North — no British party standing candidates there would win any votes!

Dodgy US funding

The probability of US funding for the Anglo-Irish Agreement has implications for Ireland's independence. For such funding does not come free. The question is, what strings will be attached to it.

An example of US funding is a two-year grant to the Social Democratic and Labour Party which was agreed last year. The funding agent is also implicated in 'anti-communist' interference in the Philippines and electoral support for a military-backed dictator in Panama. The same funding agency also backs extreme right wing organisations in France against Mitterand.

The background to this interference lies in an initiative announced by Reagan in 1982 - in the British House of Commons! He described the setting up of a programme to "foster the infrastructure of democracy - which allows a people to choose their own way, to develop their own culture, to reconcile their own differences through peaceful means."

His government's National Security Council (which is

controlled by the CIA) went to work on the plan and came up with the National Endowment for Democracy. The committee to oversee the NED has as its brief, "planning, coordinating and implementing international political activities in support of US policies and interests relative to national security."

Here are the hidden strings attached to such funding: the rhetoric of 'democracy' becomes revealed as defence of US national security. For Ireland, whose independent part has a policy of neutrality in foreign affairs, any attempt to tie the British-controlled part more closely in to the US sphere, will further hamper a future united Ireland from working out its own real interests.

The grant to the Social Democratic and Labour Party comes to it from the National Endowment for Democracy via an organisation called the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs. The money \$73,161 - is to be used to set up 'a party institute on the model of the

National Democratic Institute'. Secondly, it would be used to strengthen the party through training SDLP activists, including workshops on 'strategies for constituency development, grassroots fundraising techniques' and providing 'specific services to constituents'. Readers might notice here some similarity to Sinn Fein's strategy of Advice Centres and grass roots activity.

A look at some of the other projects funded by the National Endowment for Democracy prove its anti-democratic nature:

- \$3 million was provided via the 'Asian American Free Labor Institute' for labour organisations in the Philippines. This was at the time when Marcos was still President. The Institute's representative describes the 'threat' of political upheaval after the assassination of Benigno Aquino: "If people hadn't had immediate assistance [ie NED funding] then, the success of the political left in the trade unions would have been phenomenal" (San Francisco Examiner, July 21st

1985).

- Following the election of socialist President Francois Mitterand in France, NED funds went to the National Inter-University Union and to Force Ouvriere. The former has links with the illegal paramilitary Service d'Action Civique. Force Ouvriere is an extreme right wing trade union grouping, formed in 1949 to crush a French dockers' strike. At that time, a CIA agent by the name of Irving Brown was behind its formation: the same Irving Brown is now dispensing NED funding, via the American trade union congress (AFL-CIO).

- "\$20,000, given by the Endowment through another AFL-CIO overseas branch, had been spent in the Presidential election campaign to support the candidate backed by the Panamanian Army" (Congressional Records, Dec 4th 1985).

On such evidence, NED funding to any Irish party - however small the actual quantity in cash - can hardly be regarded as neutral benevolence. The much larger sum which was approved by Congress in March to support the Anglo-Irish Agreement must therefore be regarded with deep suspicion.

Dutch ruling on political charges

Britain's attempt to extradite two H Block escapees were brought to a standstill when a Dutch court ruled that all the alleged offences committed by Brendan McFarlane and Gerry Kelly since their escape in 1983, were political.

The two men stood trial on March 25th, two months after they had been arrested in an Amsterdam flat, where they were charged with the murder of James Ferris - the prison officer killed during the H Block breakout, the grievous wounding of John Henry Adams and related firearms charges.

Judge Sturhoofd, president of the three-judge court, said the alleged offences were political because they occurred "within the framework of a struggle for political power in Northern Ireland aimed at the

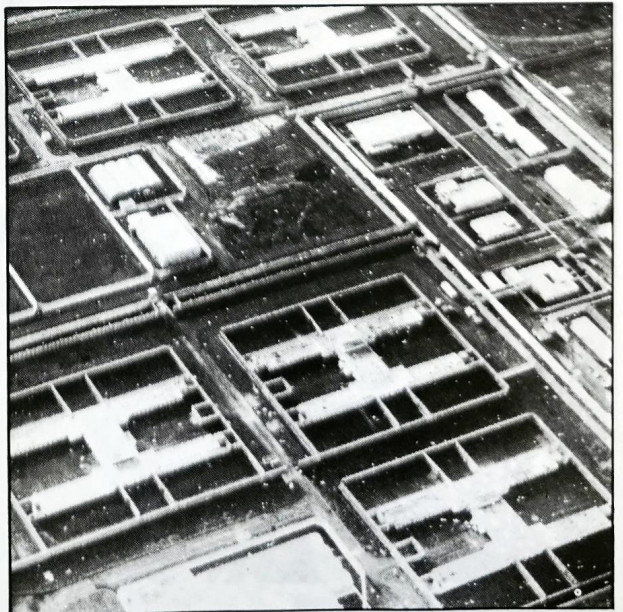
unification of Ireland, the withdrawal of British troops and the defence of the nationalist population against attacks by so-called loyalists resisting this unification."

The court also decided that the Old Bailey bombing in 1973 for which Kelly was serving a life sentence, was a political offence, therefore no extradition could take place.

But the judge told McFarlane that the bomb attack on the Bayardo Bar in the Shankhill Road in 1976, for which he is also serving life, could not be seen as political.

In Holland, the court decides whether extradition is legally permissible; the decision to extradite or not rests with the Minister for Justice.

McFarlane's lawyer said that if the Minister decided to order the extradition, he would appeal to the Supreme Court.



REVIEWS

DID YOUR GRANNY HAVE A HAMMER??? A History of the Irish Suffrage Movement, 1876-1922

Information Pack, produced by Rosemary Cullen Owens & Women in Community Publishing Course in conjunction with Attic Press, £3.95.

Did Your Granny Have A Hammer??? is as good as its title. It is part of the process of rediscovering the history which has dropped out of the standard textbooks as a result of biased (male) definitions of what is important.

The Pack is attractively presented with lots of illustrations, facsimile reproductions, even postcards and a badge. Among the reproductions is a touching letter from Hanna Sheehy Skeffington in Mountjoy jail – "my little boy is now quite accustomed to coming to jail, though at first he was greatly afraid he'd get locked in with his Mammie." This sort of presentation of history gets across the reality of those past events – it could have been me or you (but would we be brave enough?).

The Pack covers the formation of the Irish suffrage movement, militant tactics, attitudes towards the Home Rule Bill of 1912 (passed at the same time as the suffrage Conciliation Bills were being defeated with the help of the Irish Parliamentary Party), imprisonment and hunger strikes and force feeding, nationalism and suffrage, and labour and suffrage. Both these last two relationships were a mixture of unity and contradiction. For example, some women argued for a suspension of their own

demands to ensure that the Home Rule Bill got passed; others saw the two goals as part of the same struggle, to be fought for at the same time.

The finest part of the Pack is a facsimile issue of the *Irish Citizen*, consisting of articles which appeared in that paper between 1912 and 1920. The *Irish Citizen* was an independent suffrage paper founded by Francis Sheehy Skeffington and James Cousins. Francis Sheehy Skeffington was shot by a British officer in 1916 and the editorship was taken over by Hanna Sheehy Skeffington, then by Helena Moloney and then Louie Bennett. The presses were smashed up by the Black and Tans in 1920.

Here are some of the articles in the *Irish Citizen*: 'Lady Mayoress' Relief Fund' and 'Sunt Lacrimae Rerum' on relief programmes for families driven to hunger and destitution by the 1913 Dublin lockout. The Irish Women's Franchise League openly supported the workers in that long struggle. 'Women and the Irish Volunteers' – an article criticising John Redmond's takeover of the Irish Volunteers and asking women who supported the Volunteers if "they are prepared to assist a movement which has been captured by the leading anti-suffragist politician in Ireland?" (Redmond was leader of the Irish Parliamentary Party.) That article appeared in 1915. A year later came powerful support for those who took part in the Easter Rising:

"The Irish Volunteers and Citizen Army were suffragists almost to a man [...], the women prominent in the movement were all convinced and practical exponents of the doctrine of equality of

the sexes and what they preached they also practised . . . Of the dead leaders James Connolly stands foremost as a friend of suffrage, and of many a progressive cause an unfailing and courageous champion . . . Carson's Provisional Government and Connolly's Provisional Government extended citizenship to Irishwomen and gave them a place on the Executive. Ireland should never permit other leaders to fall below this high standard."

There were harsher words later for Carson (the Unionist leader) when women did have the vote, no thanks to either the Irish Party or the Unionist Party.

Another article called 'Women and the Worker' analyses the relation between the two emancipations: "Woman, in the wide sense, stands in the same relation to man as labour does to capital."

Finally, here are two bits which show that some things never change. The *Irish Citizen* reports the case of a man convicted of assaulting two young girls; the judge quips, "I see they are thinking of deporting the suffragettes to St Helena. I wonder could we send him there?"

And in 1919 the Irish Women's Franchise League, the Belfast Suffrage Society and the Irish Health Society are reported to be campaigning against Regulation 40D, whereby "Any policeman can have any woman arrested 'on suspicion' and she may run the risk of what is called a 'medical examination' but what . . . is really a gross indecency amounting to masturbation at the hands of a doctor."

We could do with more papers like the *Irish Citizen* around today.

This Pack could be criticised for underplaying the contradictions



within the Irish Suffrage movement to paint a perhaps unduly rosy picture. However, in a limited space it stimulates and inspires the reader to want to find out more, and that makes it worthwhile.

The price is a more serious problem, but it should definitely be stocked by libraries, schools and colleges. The ISBN number is 0 946211 14 0.

Sarah Grimes

This information pack is available from the Troops Out Movement, PO Box 353, London NW5 4NH. Include 30p for postage and packing.



THE IRA AT WAR

Eamonn O'Doherty,
Mercier Press £12.50

This book attempts to trace through the use of photographs the developments of the IRA from 1916 to the present day. The first few pages give a potted history of events since 1798 with the rise of the United Irishmen.

The early photographs show the destruction of Dublin centre by a British gunboat during the 1916 Rising and pictures of many of the leading figures in that rising, who were later to be executed by the British. From 1919-1920 the IRA took on the might of the British army against all the odds. The British replied with a campaign of murder and torture using the Black and Tans, the Auxiliaries with the RIC and the regular British army. The result was counter-productive, despite martial law operating in many parts of Ireland, people turned to the IRA and the Republican courts for justice rather than the hated RIC.

Following the acceptance of the

treaty between The Provisional Government of the Free State and London, Republicans who did not accept the treaty occupied a number of prominent buildings in Dublin. A bloody civil war ensued ending in the withdrawal of the IRA to the country. 77 members of the IRA were officially executed by the Free State Army, the unofficial list was many more.

What the pictures illustrate clearly is the crudity of the weapons available to the volunteers in the early days compared to today. Barricades were made up of carts and furniture. Ditches dug across roads were highly effective. The major part of the book is taken up with these earlier photos including pictures of leading members of the IRA. The later ones will have been seen by most people before.

What O'Doherty shows in a very visual way is why the IRA has survived to the present day. The book could easily have been entitled *A History of British Oppression*. Unfortunately at £12.50 it may be out of reach of many people's pockets.

Bob Chatwin

MARCH

17th Over 1/4 million people take part in St Patrick's Day parade in Dublin.

Garret FitzGerald said that the 250 million dollar US aid package to Ireland was 'on the way'.

US Federal Appeals Court rejects the latest British attempt to have Patrick Doherty extradited to N. Ireland. Doherty escaped from Belfast Prison in 1980 while on trial for allegedly killing a British army captain. The court agreed that Doherty had been charged with a political offence and therefore was exempt under the Anglo/American Extradition Treaty.

The Bishop of Derry, Dr Daly, visits Martina Anderson and Ella O'Dwyer in Brixton Prison. In condemning the strip searching he states, "I can't see that it is at all necessary even from a security standpoint".

18th A British soldier is killed by an IRA bomb in Castlewellan, Co. Down.

Women prisoners at Armagh are transferred to the new £33 million prison at Maghaberry, Co. Armagh. Armagh Prison is due to close shortly.

19th The Attorney-General Sir Michael Havers re-affirms that trials in N. Ireland based on 'supergrass' evidence will continue with full support of the government.

The hearing in the extradition case involving Eibhlín Glenholmes begins at Dublin District court.

22nd Eibhlín Glenholmes is freed from a Dublin court following irregularities in the British extradition warrants. She is later arrested by the gardai in a Dublin store, during which the gardai fired shots to disperse a crowd. She is re-released by the court.

24th New warrants requesting the extra-



dition of Eibhlín Glenholmes are received in Dublin.

Thatcher rejects Unionist proposals that the Anglo/Irish agreement be suspended pending tripartite talks on devolution between Britain, the Irish Republic and the Unionists.

Shorts, the Belfast plane makers, sign a £200 million deal with the US Boeing group.

25th A Dutch court rules in the case involving the extradition of Gerard Kelly and Brendan McFarlane that the offences committed by them when escaping from Long Kesh in 1983 were political. In addition it decides that Kelly's original offence was also political although McFarlane's is held not to be politically motivated (see article).

Former Stormont Home Affairs Minister, William Craig, expresses support for violent opposition to the Anglo/Irish agreement if negotiations fail. Craig was one of the leaders of the loyalist strike which brought down the power-sharing executive in 1974.

26th A member of the UDR is shot dead in Omagh by the IRA.

29th A British soldier is shot and seriously wounded in Derry following a republican commemoration ceremony.

The Ulster Volunteer Force issue a statement repeating its threat to the lives of people working in the Maryfield complex, which is the headquarters of the Anglo/Irish secretariat in E. Belfast.

31st Loyalist demonstrators clash with the RUC and army when prevented from marching through Portadown (see article). Later in the day homes of members of the RUC are attacked by loyalist mobs.

APRIL

1st Loyalist gangs continue to take part in sectarian attacks on Catholic homes. One of the worst areas is the town of Lisburn where at least 11 Catholic homes are petrol bombed. Three families are forced to leave the area.

2nd The Ulster Co-ordinating Committee is set up in Belfast to organise further action against the Anglo-Irish Agreement. The committee is composed of DUP members and members of loyalist paramilitary organisations.

Unionists call for the banning of plastic bullets as the condition of one man, shot by a plastic bullet during Monday's violence, worsens.

4th In the continuing attack on the

homes of RUC members a further 14 houses are attacked by loyalist gangs.

The main Protestant Churches in N. Ireland issue a strong statement condemning the latest wave of attacks.

5th During the weekend 29 homes of RUC members are attacked.

A bomb prematurely explodes in the King Arthur pub in Belfast city centre. 2 people are seriously injured.

The RUC raid the E. Belfast offices of the UDA and take away documents and cassettes. In the previous week UDA members were among 28 loyalist paramilitary members held under the PTA. All have been released without charge.

7,000 Sinn Féin supporters march through Dublin to celebrate the 70th Anniversary of the Easter Rising.

8th A member of the UDR is killed by an IRA bomb in Co. Tyrone. He is the 155th member of the UDR killed since 1970.

John Stanley, Minister for the Armed Forces, announced that a number of UDR members had been disciplined for taking part in barricades during the loyalist day of action against the Anglo/Irish Accord on March 3rd.

Jennifer Guinness is kidnapped from her home. A ransom of £2 million is demanded.

14th Keith White dies in hospital from the injuries received by a plastic bullet during violent clashes between the RUC and loyalists at Portadown on Monday March 31st.

15th Loyalists throughout N. Ireland take part in a 20 minute strike in response to the death of Keith White. A number of RUC homes are attacked.

16th Jennifer Guinness is freed by the gardai from a Dublin home.



Loyalists march past the scene of earlier rioting in Portadown on Easter Monday (Photo: Pacemaker)

COMING EVENTS & RESOURCES

TOM Delegation

The Troops Out Movement will be organising a Delegation to Belfast on 8th-11th August.

This is the weekend of the anniversary of internment (introduced in 1971) and also of the deployment of the British Army in 1969.

The Delegation will meet with political,

community and cultural organisations within the nationalist area. It will also take part in the annual internment commemoration march in Belfast.

For more information, watch out for June's issue of *Troops Out*; or contact the TOM Office: PO Box 353, London NW5 4NH, or phone 01-609 1743 (weekday afternoons).



Photo: Mark Salmon/Pentapix

LONDON

Oppose the strip searching in Brixton Prison

PICKETS

Every Saturday throughout May outside Brixton Prison. Assemble corner of Jebb Avenue and Brixton Hill, SW9, 11.30-1.30pm

and Picket of Old Bailey on the first day of the trial Tuesday 6th May.

BENEFITS

For Irish Prisoners Appeal (who have organised the campaign against the strip searches).

Sunday 4th May

With the Shamrock Occasional Band At the Old White Horse, Brixton Rd (corner of Loughborough Rd), SW9. Doors open 7.30pm, admission £2 (£1 concessions)

and Sunday 11th May

Women performers/Irish traditional music This benefit is for women only. Venue etc as above

and Saturday 17th May

Céili, organised by East London TOM at Chats Palace, Brooksbys Walk, E9 £2.50/£1.50, 8.30pm

Saturday 10th May 2.30-7pm

Rally for Bobby Sands, James Connolly Commemoration

Bookstalls, videos and music. Speakers: Jim McAllister, Sinn Féin Assembly representative; Bob Doyle (Irish veteran of the International Brigade); Troops Out Movement; Black Community, Labour Party and trade unions.

Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, WC1. Organised by the Wolfe Tone Society.

Thursday 15th May 8pm

PUBLIC MEETING

With Clare Short MP Called by the Irish National Council The Irish Club, 82 Eaton Square, SW1

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, and send it to PO Box 353, London NW5 4NH.

ENGLAND
Birmingham
Brighton
Bristol
Cambridge
Colchester
Coventry
Leeds
Leicester
Manchester
Merseyside
Northampton
Norwich
Nottingham
Redditch
Sheffield

Tyneside
York

LONDON AREA

Camden
East London
Haringey
Hillingdon
Islington
Lambeth
West London

SCOTLAND

Glasgow
WALES
Newport

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

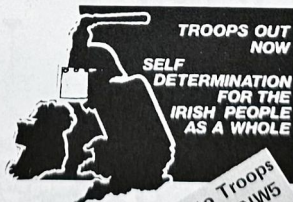
Name

Address

Membership of a branch costs £6 (£2 unemployed) payable through the branch. Individual membership is £10 (£6 unemployed) which includes a subscription to *Troops Out*.

1986 Books and Publications

list of the Troops Out Movement



Our publications list is available on request, so try us even if what you want is not on the list. All prices are in pounds sterling. We are happy to press but price and availability cannot be guaranteed.

To get your copy send a s.a.e. to Troops Out Movement, Box 353, London NW5 4NH.

All available from the Troops Out Movement, PO Box 353, London NW5 4NH. Make cheques payable to the Troops Out Movement. We also have an exhibition and a slide-show, which are available for hire.

INFORMATION ON PLASTIC BULLETS

They Shoot Children pamphlet on history and present use of plastic bullets 50p + post.

An Irish Tragedy - Britain's Disgrace poster-pamphlet about Stephen McConomy, bringing *They Shoot Children* up to date 30p + post.

Death on the Streets of Derry NCCL pamphlet, covering the killing of Paul Whitty 75p + post.

ALSO AVAILABLE:

One Day In My Life by Bobby Sands £4.95

Skylark Sing Your Lonely Song by Bobby Sands £2.95

Smashing Times by Rosemary Cullen Owens £4.95

The Spirit of Freedom by Christy Moore (cassette) £4.50

Frame-Ups (1) and (2) - leaflets by TOM. 10p each

Allow 50p postage per book, and 30p per pamphlet.