

IRA AMEND CONSTITUTION

1986



Photo from APRN

THE IRISH Republican Army recently held its first General Army Convention for sixteen years.

This is a further indication of the changing attitudes of Republicans to the struggle in Ireland and their reappraisal of the tactics necessary to achieve a United Democratic Socialist Ireland.

Several very significant changes were made to the Constitution of Oglaiġ na hEireann.

A statement issued by the IRA after the Convention said: 'The Convention opened with a unanimous pledge of rededication to the armed struggle and confidence in the armed struggle as being the means of breaking the British connection and bringing about Irish independence.'

Army

At the same time it was reaffirmed that the Army prohibits offensive action

against the administration of the twenty-six counties or its forces.

As well as amending the Constitution to support the taking of parliamentary seats in the Leinster House Government, which was passed with more than the two-thirds majority required, the Convention agreed that the IRA Constitution be modernised so that it reads in non-sexist language.

Language

The objective of restoring the Irish language as the everyday language of the Irish people was reaffirmed and a secret ballot elected a twelve person Army Executive.

The Convention was held in secret and delegates from all over Ireland attended.

These changes make it clear that the direction being taken by Sinn Fein towards a more overall involvement in social issues is supported by the IRA.

South Londoners prepare boycott fight

A MEETING of labour movement activists discussed ways for British trade unionists to fight against apartheid last Monday in Brixton.

It opened with a video on the Dunnes Store Strike in Dublin where shopworkers have been on strike for just over two years to stop the store handling South African goods.

Cathryn O'Reilly, one of the strikers, discussed the best ways to organise anti-apartheid boycotts from her experience.

Leaflets had been distributed to shopworkers around Brixton which had, it seemed, worried the police, who informed the adminis-

trators of the meeting room to 'expect trouble'.

Dot Gibson, secretary of the South-west London USDAW, drew attention to the difficulties of shopworkers trying to organise.

Many are women and youth on short-term contracts and flexi-hours, organised by management based

BY LYNN BEATON

on profit levels recorded in the computerised tills.

The meeting was the beginning of a campaign in the labour movement to give confidence to shop workers to carry out union policy to boycott South African goods in the stores.

The video, which is very inspiring and would make a good start for anyone else wishing to organise, is available from Brendon Archbold, 9 Cavendish Row, O'Lehane Hall, DUBLIN 1. Telephone 0001 74321.

The history of the Dunnes Store strike is quite unique. The strikers are introduced as

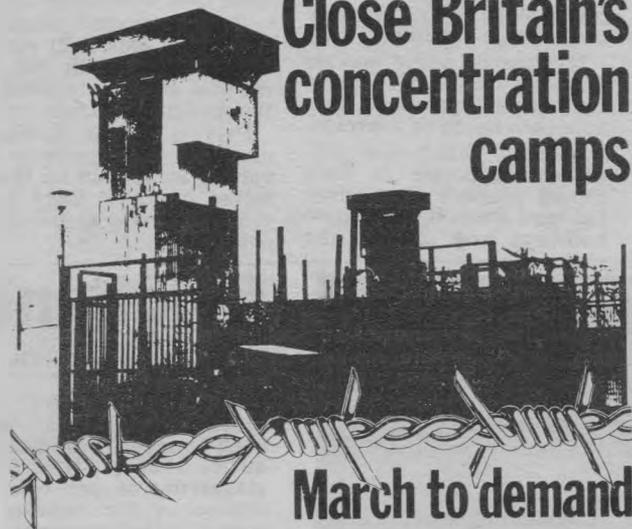
'These extraordinary you people . . . and that's exactly what they are.'

Their principled solidarity puts many an old time 'activist' to shame.

Cathryn O'Reilly explained to the meeting, 'When we first decided to refuse to handle South African goods we were just following our unions' instruction about something we knew was right, we didn't even know very much about South Africa, but we soon learned, we learned a lot more as well.'

● NEXT week, *Workers Press* will print an interview with Cathryn about the strike and the lessons it has taught her.

Close Britain's concentration camps



March to demand

Troops out of Ireland! Prisoners out of jail!

● Saturday 9 August 1986 ●

1pm Islington Town Hall, Upper Street, London N1
Republican marching band ● Phone 01-729 0414

Irish Freedom Movement

SILK CUTS OUT

Robert Kilroy-Silk MP for Knowsley North, declared last Thursday that he would resign his seat in autumn, to begin a new 'career' with BBC television.

The 44-year-old former golden boy of Kinnock and the Labour Party rightwing, declared that 'Militant have driven me out of politics.'

He said he had been the victim of three years of 'misery and vilification', and that his 'enthusiasm for politics had been destroyed.'

A large part of his constituency is formed by Kirkby, which knows the type of misery and poverty Kilroy-Silk himself has never experienced.

He lives in Buckinghamshire in a mansion with two acres of ground and is rarely seen in Kirkby.

He has not made an appearance at the constituency Labour Party for ten months.

Kilroy-Silk has been an MP since 1974, and declared in the past that he meant to be prime minister.

He was to be a future Labour Minister and resigned as shadow minister of Law and Order two years ago to devote time to fighting

his constituency party for his seat.

This arrogant middle class careerist, who accuses others of vilification, has been in the vanguard of the witchhunt, denouncing his opponents as 'Militants'.

The Constituency Labour Party is leftwing and supported Liverpool council, but local CLP members say that out of 140 delegates, only four are Militant supporters.

Even Knowsley council leader, Jim Lloyd, who is rightwinger, was denounced 'as a Militant' because of his stand against Kilroy-Silk.

The constituency forced Kilroy-Silk to stand for reselection, but the Labour leaders came to his aid by postponing the reselection conference.

No wonder Kinnock burst out in chagrin and anger at Kilroy-Silk's resignation.

It broke up the rightwing tactics which were meant to prevent the reselection taking place before the next election.

LIFE IN SANDINIST NICARAGUA

WE WERE hearing a fair amount a few weeks ago in the media about Nicaragua, or at least, President Reagan's hysterical ravings.

He was trying to justify his proposal that the US Senate grant £100,000 in military aid to the Contras. This request was refused by a very narrow margin, and he is expected to make a compromise suggestion soon.

Reading the bourgeois press we glean very little about the gains of the Sandinist revolution or the life of Nicaraguans since the 1979 victory, or the 'Triumph' as it is now called.

I interviewed Charles Fletcher, who spent three months in Nicaragua with the first British Coffee Brigade, about his impressions of the developments in the country and the difficulties which are created by the hostility of the US.

SINCE the Triumph the coffee harvest has been crucial to the economy and every year for the three months of the harvest, brigades of Nicaraguans from the cities go out to pick the coffee beans.

The harvest coincides with the long school break and a number of Ministries close down or run on a skeleton staff to release workers, teachers and students are released for the harvest. In-

1972 earthquake. A lot of the families in the area worked at the nearby market which was uncontrolled so there were no controlled wages and the people were removed from the revolutionary process of re-organisation.

'The new school building was being built by people who lived near the school, the parents of kids and the students at the school themselves, which was good as it drew the school and community closer together. This was reflected in the increasing numbers of children attending.

'It's exciting being in a place where there is a revolutionary process going on. Where you can speak to people who are involved in that and who are willing and

Interview by Lynn Beaton

open to talk about politics. The majority of people you speak to know exactly what imperialism is — are very clear about what the US is trying to do at the moment.

'Most people told me they were better off since the Triumph and of course, they're the ones who should know. The whole process of building the new society has involved a large number of programmes in health, education, child care, sport

'Directly, not at all. Over the last year the Sandinista army has driven the Contras out of the coffee-growing region. Activity now seems to be confined to sporadic attacks from across the Honduran border.

'In last year's coffee harvest the Contras were able to kill a number of pickers — the aim being to frighten people off and generally disrupt coffee production, whereas this year the Contra couldn't interfere, so the only real evidence I saw of the war was the number of soldiers and armed people about.

Defence

'I must stress that seeing soldiers and armed people in Nicaragua is very different from seeing soldiers and police in this country, because in Nicaragua there is no distinction between soldiers and other people except that they wear a uniform. On our UPE there was one member of the rural militia who was responsible for defence but who was also involved in the harvest itself and most of the other



One of the biggest problems faced by Nicaragua is the shortage of materials but people are keen to build their new society. Here, local people are helping to build a new school for their children's state.

threat to US imperialism, there's no two ways about it. It is a threat by example, it's the same threat that Grenada was. It's the threat of a tiny country in Latin America kicking out US imperialism and it's the threat of progress. Nicaraguans themselves are aware of this, I saw wall paintings there which said "Cuba yesterday, Nicaragua today, El Salvador tomorrow."

'But most people I met support the Sandinistas who are very confident and open about the process they are engaged in. At the moment they are dealing with a mixed economy while trying to build a socialist society with socialist institutions.

Process

'Fifty per cent of businesses in Nicaragua are still private and so it's not a socialist country by any means, but I'd say it's a country that is building socialism.

'The cost to the Sandinistas of the Contras being there and being supported by the US is that they have to spend fifty per cent of the government's income on de-

overseas.

The British Brigade picked coffee on an UPE (state farm) for four weeks near Matagalpa in the middle of the coffee growing region to the north of the country. This UPE was chosen to host several international brigades because it was considered safe from Contra attack.

Triumph

Charles explained: 'The poorest people in Nicaragua are the campesinos (peasants), but those I met are totally behind the Sandinista Revolution and are very clear that their living conditions are much better now than they were before the Triumph.

'The agrarian reform which has been taking place since the Triumph has meant that campesinos have been given land to farm cooperatively which belonged to Somoza. On this land they are able to grow food for themselves as well as crops for sale, whereas before the Triumph these campesinos were dependent on the seasonal work of harvesting.

'Each UPE has a number of permanent workers who receive a wage throughout the year. Some of these are involved in the harvest as well as the brigades, but they are responsible for making the decisions about the running of the UPE.'

After Charles had been on the UPE for a couple of weeks he learnt about a project in Managua to build a school and decided to extend his stay to work on that after the harvest. The project was mainly funded by money from Britain and involved building a new pre-school unit in a poor area of the city.

'The school was in a region that was destroyed in the

ity and water - the records show that these things have been undertaken with zeal.'

Charles was reluctant to generalize from his short visit and experience but he said: 'The only limitations seem to be the materials, there are great shortages of things because of the war and the US blockade.'

I asked him how aware of Contra activity he was:

the UPE.'

The bourgeois media seem puzzled by the venom of Reagan against such a small country which hardly seems a threat to the might of the US. But Charles found this understandable

'Reagan presents Nicaragua as a military threat which is just a lie, you can't deal with that presentation seriously. But Nicaragua is a

aggressive is a lie to cover up what the US wants to do to preserve its exploitation of Central America.'

Charles felt that the Contras had very little support in Nicaragua itself. 'Any support for the Contras comes from the bourgeoisie who are opposed to the state intervention of the Sandinista and who are worse off now than they were before the Triumph.

blockade; hospitals run short of medicines, schools don't have enough materials. I visited a factory where they roast and grind coffee and cocoa where there were no filters for masks, so people were working without masks — it is those day to day shortages that you notice and that seem to be the biggest problem to the development of the socialist

'The lesson of Vietnam is that the US couldn't win any war, but US policy has always been a combination of the economic attack and the military terrorist activity of the Contras. Both have an enormous effect on the development of the country and greatly hinder the programmes they are trying to initiate.

'The Contras claimed to have 15,000 fighters last year. During this year 10,000 of them were either killed, captured or gave themselves up to claim amnesty — so in terms of numbers the Contras are ceasing to be a real military problem. Despite the amount of US money that they've had, they haven't been able to claim control of a village, let alone an area.

Amnesty

'Their actions are the actions of terrorists, I mean during the literacy campaign teachers were always a target for Contra attack. Teachers were killed, schools were burnt down. So they don't appear to have anything positive to offer.

'In the last elections, 80 per cent voted and of those 70 per cent voted for the Sandinistas — that seems to show the support that they have.

'The Triumph is seven years old now and half the population in Nicaragua is under 15, so in every way it's a very young country. The pride in the revolution is very strong and people say that they will defend it with their lives and it is clear that is true.'

Nicaragua is greatly in need of support from Britain. Coffee and building brigades as well as material aid, is organised by the Nicaraguan Solidarity Campaign, 20-21 Cornwall Terrace, London, N1.



Half the population of Nicaragua is under 15: the spirit of the revolution is shown here by eight-year-old Orlando, helping to make window shutters for a new school in Managua

GENERAL COUNCIL LOBBY BUILDS CAMPAIGN

A LIVELY lobby of trade unionists demanded of TUC delegates to the General Council Meeting on Wednesday July 23 that they launch a campaign for immediate sanctions to blockade the Apartheid regime.

The lobby was inspired by the call for action of the British working class made at the NUM Conference in Tenby by two South African miners, Cyril Ramaphosa and James Motlatsi.

Motlatsi, President of the South African NUM, said: 'We are calling for international solidarity action all over the world.'

'We are calling on the working class of the world to take action. Workers in South Africa are starting to doubt the TUC for not taking revolutionary solidarity action.'

As delegates approached

and from South Africa, cut all financial and commercial links — stop the flights, post, telex, etc. (The only exceptions being links which aid the liberation movement).
'That they give immediate financial aid to the black trade unions and all the li-

REPORT BY
LYNN BEATON

massive European-wide day of trade union solidarity and strike action in support of the gaoled South African trade unionists.

'That they demand the ICFTU approaches the WFTU and WCL to launch a united similar action throughout the world's trades unions.'

Cathryn O'Reilly, a Dunnes shopworker from Dublin who has been involved in direct action against South Africa for over a year said, 'I think the lobby is great. This is what the TUC needs.'

'It's no good having paper

'Not only shopworkers, but all workers should start fighting. If we wait for Margaret Thatcher we'll be left waiting and waiting.'

Jim Bevan, an AEU Official from South Wales was optimistic. He said it was important to raise this issue of sanctions against South Africa as the only effective way of striking a blow for South African workers.

'I have spoken to all the delegates from my own union coming here today. They all support the call for sanctions whilst recognising that members may lose their jobs

Even if they did impose sanctions they wouldn't be in the class interest, they would work out some way to get around it.

'We have to rely on our own class to impose sanctions. If we build a big enough movement and get enough people calling for sanctions in the trade union movement, at branch meetings and so on, the TUC will be forced to act.'

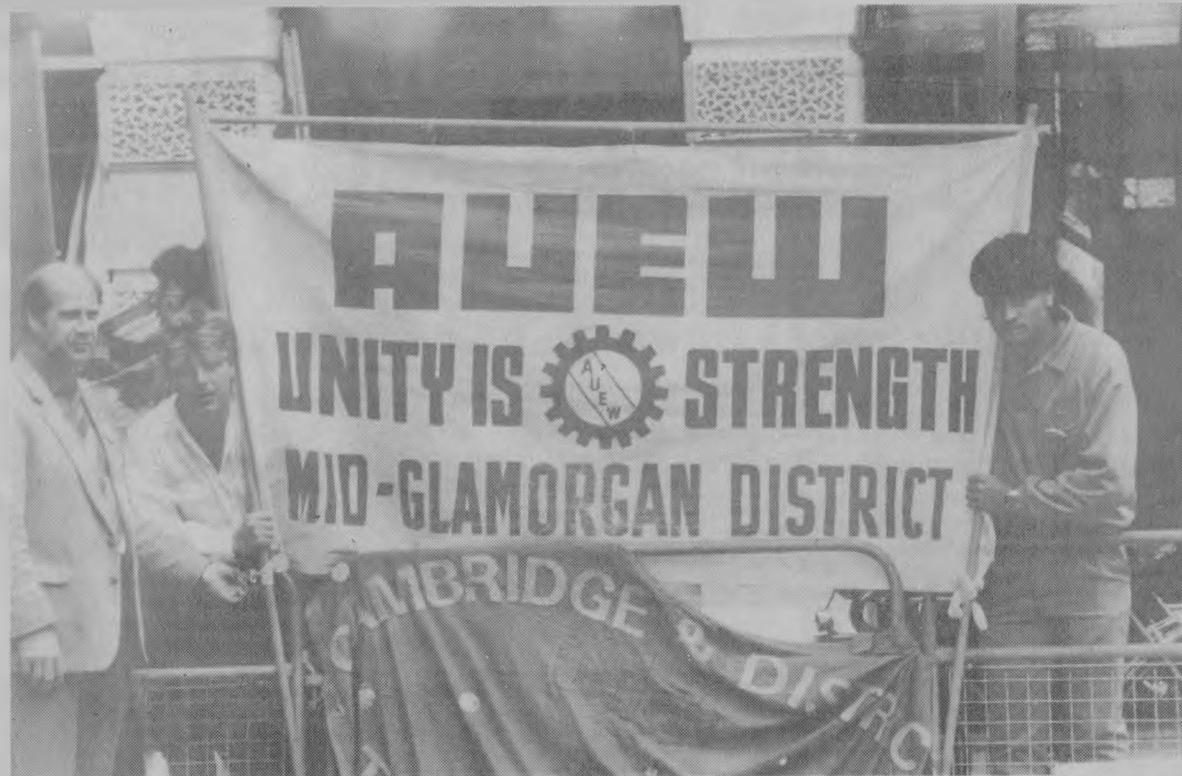
'Our group was set up in support of the printworkers to make sure that people in lesbian and gay communities know what is happening

that the British TUC can exert in the form of sanctions by its own membership will be beneficial to workers in South Africa who have themselves made this call.

'Willis and Todd have seen for themselves first hand the real conditions in South Africa and not had to rely on filtered lies from South Africa through our media.'

'They surely must realise the seriousness of the situation and act immediately. I'm sure British unionists will respond to that call.'

The lobby of TUC delegates was supported by



Jim Bevan (left) Mid Glamorgan AEU District Secretary with two striking Tudor Products workers

We must demand our leaders act on their fine words. We demand of the TUC leaders:

'That they launch a campaign now throughout the trade union movement for immediate workers' sanctions to blockade South Africa — block all goods going to

'That they campaign for the adoption of jailed trade unionists by the British labour movement, to fight for their release and send financial aid to their families.

'That they immediately take the lead in calling for a

they will support them if they take action.

'They should be taking a lead now, making sure that their members have all the information available on South Africa. It's no good only dragging out their policies when they are entertaining visitors from the ANC.

'They've been lagging now for 25 years. It's not enough to talk, we need action now.

that could be lost; that is how serious my union is.

'You can't be other than moved by the plight of workers no matter how hard you are and no matter if it causes hardship.'

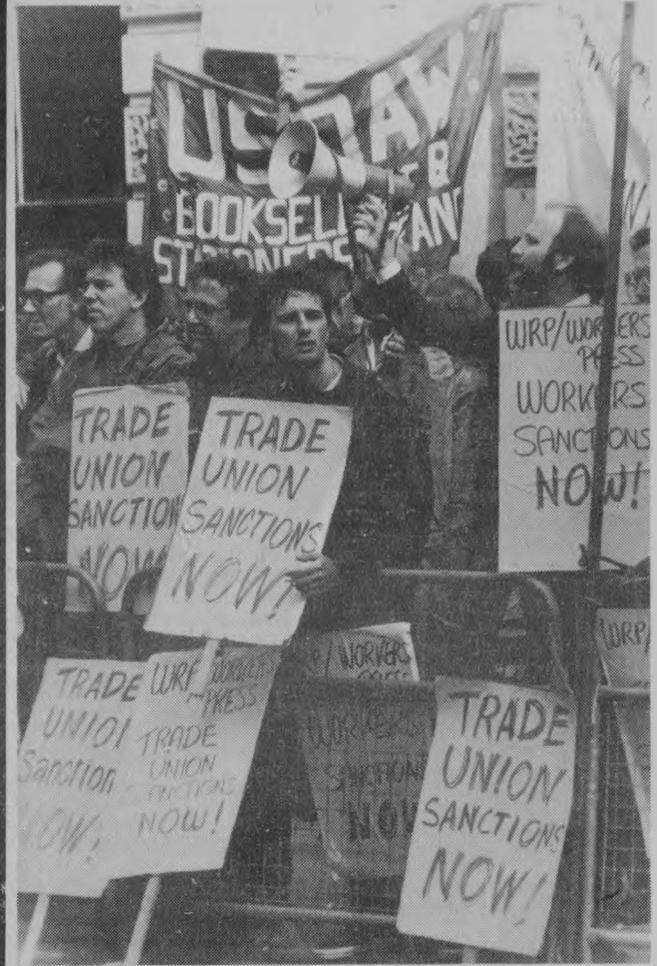
Chris Brind from the Lesbian and Gays in Support of the Printworkers said,

'Our group want to see sanctions imposed now: we can't wait for Thatcher.

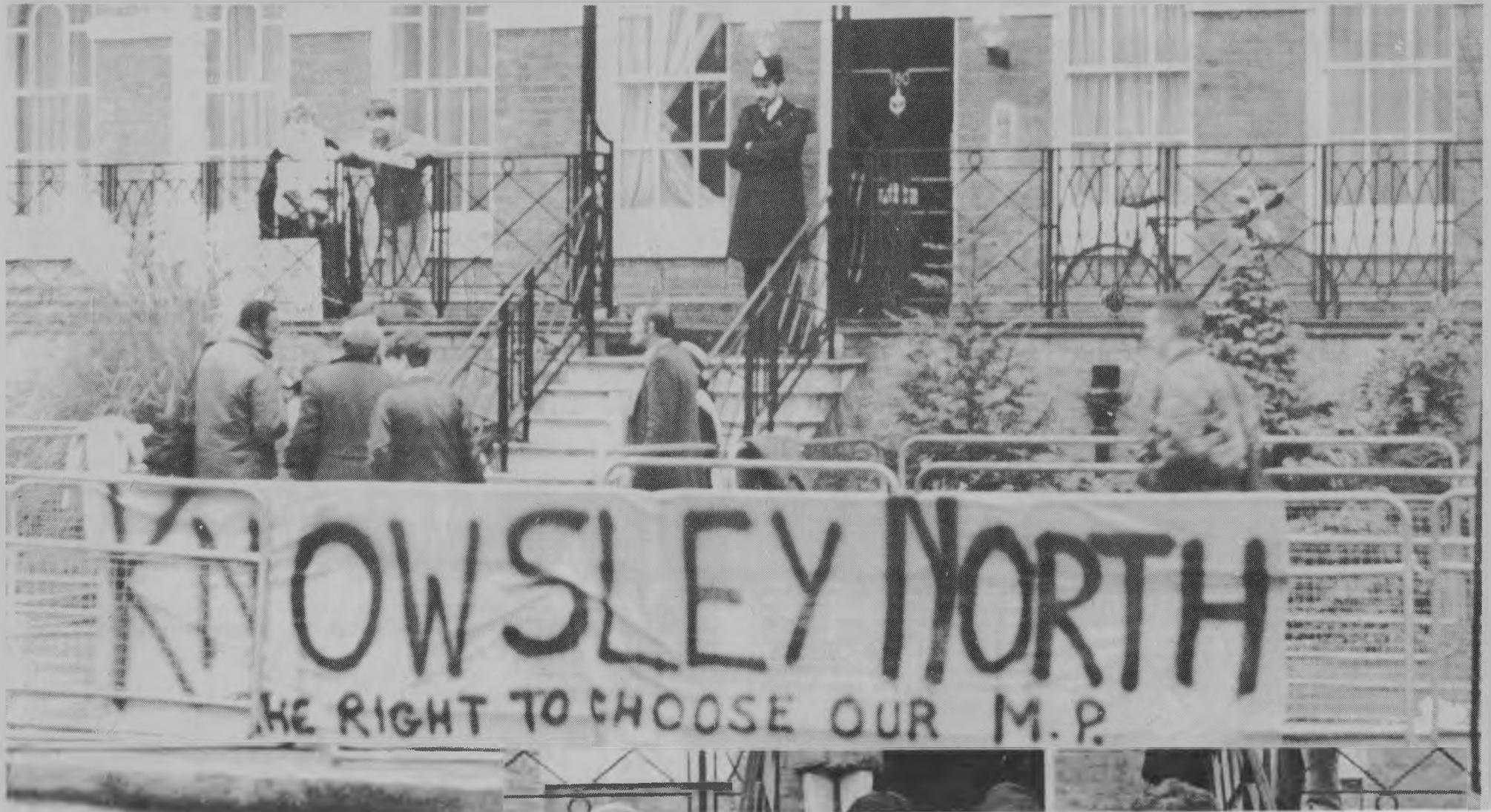
'We are setting up a Left Out Group in London which will be for lesbians and gays to organise around class issues and link up with a group already operating in Leicester.

Tom Hosey, a NALGO member from Lambeth said, 'The trade union movement has a responsibility to fellow trade unionists in South Africa and I think any pressure

wham NUT, Lambeth NALGO; Trades Councils including, Oxford, Merthyr Tydfil, Birmingham and political groups including the Workers Revolutionary Party, Workers Power, International Communist Party, Labour Party Young Socialists, the Leninist supporters of Socialist Viewpoint and the International Group.



When Knowsley came to Walworth:



evoked last Wednesday, October 22, when nearly a dozen women chained themselves to Labour Party headquarters in London.

Two mini-bus loads of Labour Party members from the Knowsley North constituency, representing five Labour Party wards and four Transport and General Workers Union branches, arrived in London to protest at the National Executive Committee meeting which was usurping their right to reselect a candidate for the area.

The women, who were dressed in period costume and sported sashes of suffragette colours — green, white and purple — said:

'The suffragettes fought for the right to vote and now we are fighting to exercise that right.

'We demand the right to choose who will represent Knowsley North.'

This is the second time that the NEC has usurped the right to select the candidate for Knowsley North.

One of the women, Margaret Carney, said,

'In 1983, Kilroy-Silk was imposed on us without choice. Twelve months ago our reselection process was suspended pending an enquiry.

'Now Kilroy-Silk has resigned and once again our reselection process has been suspended with all the indications showing that the NEC is about to impose yet another candidate.

'As women are an integral part of the Labour Party, we will be staying chained until we hear the result of the NEC meeting.

It is well known among left wingers in the area that this move is to prevent the selection of left wing nominees. (see letter, p13)

It is believed that the NEC hope the Liberals will demand a by-election to give them the opportunity to claim lack of time for the constituency selection process to take place.

Alan Kelly, from the Kirby Unemployed Centre, told Workers Press:

'This is a warning to the whole left of the Labour Party: it's not just Militant that is being witch-hunted, Kinnock is out to crush any opposition in the party.'

The Unemployed Centre has been accused by the right wing of the party as

being a base for Militant, but Alan Kelly denied this, saying, 'This is just nonsense, there is not one Militant supporter that works there'.

'Les Huckfield, who has no connection with Militant, would almost certainly win selection for North Knowsley; the Militant candidate would probably come in second or third.

Alan Kelly said the reasons given by the party leadership for the enquiry are fabrications.

The Merseyside East Euro-constituency was accused of not providing the necessary seven days notice of a meeting.

But Frank Kelly told Workers Press that they now have proof from the Post Office that the notices were sent seven days in advance.

Kinnock has also stated that he doesn't believe that Huckfield has the backing of the Transport and General Workers Union but militants in the area say everyone knows he has had the union's backing for eighteen years.

At the same time as the left are being accused of gerrymandering, the EETPU sent eighteen new delegates into the constituency branch at the time Kilroy-Silk was trying to get re-election.

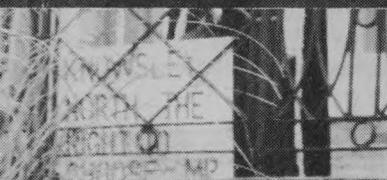
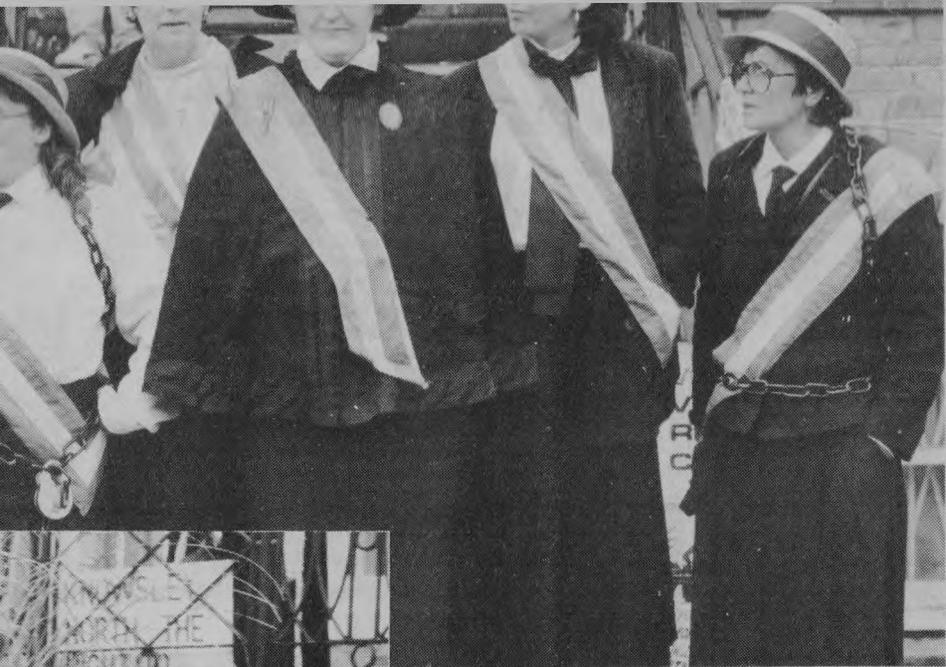
Local party activists are not even convinced that all of these 'delegates' come from the Mersey area.

Alan Kelly said that if the NEC tries to impose a candidate on the constituency they will refuse to recognise the nomination.

'We have more right to be in the party than any imposed candidate and so we won't resign.

'But we know how they work and it will lead to expulsions. We're not going to sit back and let Kinnock tell us what to do.'





Workers Press at the Labour Party Conference fringe meetings

One year out on Broadwater Farm

OCTOBER FIFTH is anniversary of the Broadwater Farm riot; October 4th of Cynthia Jarrett's death.

Martha Osamoor, a resident of Broadwater Farm, told the Labour Campaign for Criminal Justice fringe meeting at the Labour Party conference of the background to the events of last October which culminated in the death of Cynthia Jarrett and PC Blakelock.

Martha told the meeting the problems faced by blacks arriving in England in the early 60s.

She arrived from Nigeria in 1963. Her husband had a small one-room flat in a very run-down area of Haringey.

The search for a better place to live was made almost impossible by the racism of landlords who frequently displayed signs which said: 'No Irish, No Dogs, No Niggers'.

She didn't know what the word 'nigger' meant.

When she first saw it, she knocked on a door which was slammed in her face by an

irate landlady asking if she couldn't understand English.

The black community of Haringey was forced to confine itself to poor quality overcrowded housing.

They needed Council housing because private housing was denied them outright.

The racism of Council housing officials meant that black families were only given one offer and again forced to accept sub-standard housing.

Places like Broadwater Farm were built — but without any consideration for the residents' needs or background.

REPORTS BY LYNN BEATON

The estate provided nowhere for anyone to meet, nowhere for the children to play — only the corridors.

As soon as the residents moved in, the police moved in after them.

Harassment of children led to their criminalisation, which increased the police presence.

The residents had come from a number of different backgrounds and Martha said: 'Our colonial masters made sure that the different cultures were divided.'

A group was set up to overcome the cultural divisions and to work together for improvements in the conditions.

As the group met it became obvious that the children were nearly always arrested for the first time on 'sus' (suspicion that the arrested is going to commit

a crime). Arrest led to criminalisation.

At the end of 1980, the police decided to establish a mini-police station on the Farm because the Haringey station couldn't handle it.

The local media published the story with a headline: 'Mini Police Station For Crime Estate'.

The community group at the farm called a meeting. People were incensed at this description. Demands were taken to the Haringey council.

The community group proceeded to set up a youth club, a nursery, many projects were developed offering training for the youth and co-ops such as a shop, a laundry and a hairdressing salon provided employment.

The residents of Broadwater took their environment into their own hands and

moulded it to meet their own needs.

Nothing happened on the Farm without the community group being consulted.

As a result, the crime rate decreased. The police continued their harassment.

A visit was arranged to the West Indies so the youth could see where they came from. Several of the community group leaders went too.

When they returned, drugs had been pushed all around the estate and had become a real problem.

The residents asked the police why they hadn't stopped this.

In turn, they started a rumour that there would be riots at Broadwater Farm.

On October 3, 1985, Floyd Jarrett, one of the youth leaders, was picked up by police for a regular car check.

He was handcuffed, taken to the police station and the key to his mother's flat was taken by police.

The rest of the story is well known. Martha said that, since October 5, the police harassment is worse than ever.

Using the excuse that they were looking for Blakelock's murderers, police smashed in people's doors.

They could easily have acquired keys from the community group if they had had warrants.

Martha asked why people don't listen to the cries for help that come from groups suffering police intimidation and oppression.

She said: 'Why did the miners have to go through it, why did the printers have to go through it before they knew that it was happening to us?'

**Social chauvinism —
alive and well in
the Labour Party**

**SWAPO calls
for trade unions to
impose sanctions**

relating to the recruitment of a group of elders discussing what to do about their wayward sons.

Party spokesman on Ireland Stuart Bell sent his apologies and said he might arrive late, but didn't. It was therefore left to Peter Archer to make the main apologies of the meeting — that the Parliamentary Committee on Ireland had still not produced a statement.

He assured us that this was due only to secretarial difficulties and he was prepared to 'stick his neck out' and say that there would be a statement — within six months.

The Labour Party obviously has very severe secretarial problems.

Archer thought we shouldn't waste our time talking about the Anglo-Irish accord because it has been talked about a great deal already.

He said that the British presence, of course, must be ended, but that any solution must be a process.

Because the Labour Party cares so much, they want to make sure they get it right and develop the right policy

to make the transition.

More debates and receiving more submissions was the way ahead. There must be no commitment to a rigid timetable.

He called for a reserve of ideas which would ensure that the Labour Party retained the initiative!

Archer condemned equally the violence of both sides. He said nothing about the organised violence of the capitalist state.

No mention of the tragedy of children and innocent adults being killed by plastic and rubber bullets. No mention of the brutality of strip-searching and the torture of prisoners.

Or of the continued harassment and intimidation of the

the RUC.

Archer said that if the Labour Party was accused of being just hot air, just talk, he would agree because that is what we need right now to solve the situation. Lots of talk.

Alvin McGuinness, SDLP chairman, spent his allocated time justifying the Anglo-Irish Agreement and assured us that the SDLP was making inroads into Protestant groups. He said nothing about the recent gains of Sinn Fein.

These have shown that many of the Nationalist community see Sinn Fein as their political representatives.

At question time many frustrated Labour Party delegates raised objections to the handling of the Irish question by the speakers.

But no one dared to mention openly, let alone support, the right of the Irish people to determine their own future or to take up arms against the imperialist state which oppresses them.

Salford family faces deportation

A SALFORD FAMILY faces deportation to Iran. The Mashadimirza family came to Britain for medical treatment.

Before leaving Iran they sheltered a leading opponent of the Ayatollah Khomeini regime, who has since been imprisoned and tortured.

Penalty

The penalty for harbouring opponents of the regime is death without trial.

Although the family are now living in fear of their lives, the Home Office has refused their application for political asylum.

They were due to be deported on September 23 but considerable public pressure

and new evidence has now forced the Home Office to reconsider the case.

Confirms

This evidence, conveyed by Stan Orme the family's MP, confirms the danger they would face if deported to Tehran.

The family believes that there is other evidence against the deportation order but this has to remain confidential for the moment.

The case is far from won and the Support Group are appealing for help from any individual or organisation.

● Please write to Mizra Family Support Campaign, c/o South Manchester Law Centre, 584 Stockport Road, Manchester, M13 0RQ.

LONDON STUDENT MARXIST FORUM Sunday October 5: A Marxist Analysis of Money — trip around 'Money' exhibition at British Museum. Meet on the Museum steps, 3.30 pm. Organised by N London WRP

EL SALVADOR SOLIDARITY CAMPAIGN Sixth Anniversary of formation of FMLN. LSE, Houghton Street, WC2, 7PM. Friday October 10. FILM: 'In the Name of the People' followed by Rally and a 'Fiesta' with food, drinks and LA music

LPYS MASS DEMONSTRATION 'TORIES OUT' Saturday October 18. Assemble: 11.30am Southwark Park for March to Trafalgar Square — Rally and Bands.

MANCHESTER IMMIGRATION WIVES AND FIANCEES CAMPAIGN National Demonstration and Rally against Racist Immigration Laws. October 11, Assemble: Long-site Library, Stockport Road, Manchester at 12.30 pm. (For further information ring Loretta Loach, 061-225 5111.)

but Labourites hedge bets at AAM's closet meeting

DENNIS Healey's address to the Anti-Apartheid fringe meeting at the Labour Party conference was significant for what it did not say.

None of the expected great promises of what a Labour government would do. There was little in the way of Tory-bashing.

In fact, Healey shifted the responsibility for imposing sanctions from the British government to the United Nations and then to big business.

His speech ended by saying that the most pressing demand must be that comprehensive mandatory sanctions be passed in the Security Council of the UN.

Earlier he had put the responsibility on the US government for their vetoing of the UN sanction motion already moved.

He also lampooned the US for not selling off its gold stocks, saying that, if America put some of its gold onto the open market, it would bring down the price of gold and affect the apartheid regime far more than any sanction campaign.

British big business must refuse to trade with South Africa.

he said nothing about the Labour party's responsibility. Nor that of the trade union movement.

His speech was a preparation for the betrayal of the South African working class

from a future Labour government.

However, Diane Abbott, prospective Labour Party candidate for Hackney and Stoke Newington, pledged that the six Black Labour MPs would 'not stop until we see the next Labour government deliver on South Africa.'

She was obviously attacking Healey, when she said that it was easy to score points off Thatcher while the Labour Party was in opposition but that when it was in government it would be hard to move from the moral stand to actually taking action.

But she didn't indicate the sort of action she had in mind, or for what she considered would be a 'delivery'.

She ended by saying that she 'sincerely hopes that the next Labour government pledges its commitment.' Clearly, she has her doubts.

Only the Namibian speaker from SWAPO made a clear call for sanctions which he directed to the British working class.

He asked that the transport workers and the miners refuse to handle South African imports or exports.

He also called on the Labour Party to support SWAPO in its own right and asked that the Labour Party conference came out with a clear position.

● Footnote : While most fringe meetings battle it out for audiences, Anti-Apartheid appeared not to want one.

Only conference delegates or official visitors were allowed into the meeting without a special ticket.

When we went to get a special ticket we were told that the meeting was full and there were no more left.

In fact, the meeting was half empty from the beginning — and more so after Denis Healey had spoken .

Bolton support for Guildford 4

BY RICHARD KNOTT

ONE OF the Appeal Court judges who dealt with the Guildford Four case was a leading Black-shirt in the 1930's, a meeting in Bolton, Lancs, was told last week.

A motion to form a 'Free the Guildford Four' Campaign in Bolton was passed with an important amend-

ment — to take on board the case of the Birmingham Six, framed for the Birmingham pub bombings.

A speaker from the Campaign told the meeting that, after the IRA's bomb campaign in the early 'seventies, the Irish community began undergoing a 'sentence of silence and fear': many families settled in England had to uproot and return to Ireland.

The speaker urged people to write to the Home Office.

the Irish Embassy and the Irish government in Dublin to demand these gross miscarriages of justice be overturned.

The meeting was reminded that in November an important television documentary concerning the Guildford Four and the Birmingham Six will be shown on Channel 4 to coincide with the publication of Robert Kee's book on the trials.



Interview by
Lynn Beaton

DUNNIES STRIKERS LEAD THE WAY

Boycott the apartheid state

PAGE 6 The Workers Press Saturday August 9 1986

IN CHINA

thoughts of this sort are of great importance not only for the field of world history.

'The questions of the victory of socialism in one country, permanent revolution, the question of socialist

ance.'

As the journal 'Socialist Alternatives' notes in reporting this, so far the Chinese moves towards reassessing Trotsky have been limited to

assist modernisation — is having some political spin-off.

Zhu Tinguan says in his review, 'we will need to be courageous in dealing with

the heavy clique would shoulder at!) is deserving of some applause.

● Source: 'Socialist Alternatives', 22 Charles Street, Oxford

WHILE GOVERNMENTS around the world debate the pros and cons of imposing sanctions on the apartheid regime in South Africa and while the TUC mouths intentions but takes no decisive action, eleven shopworkers in Dublin celebrated the second anniversary of their strike for boycotting South African goods. I refer of course to the Dunnes shopworkers and their decisive and courageous stand against the apartheid regime.

The dispute started in response to an instruction from the 1984 Conference of the Irish Distributive & Administration Trade Union calling on members to boycott South African goods and promising support for any members who took action.

The Dunnes workers discussed the instruction and decided unanimously to carry out the boycott and refuse to handle any of the South African foods sold in the store.

I interviewed Cathryn O'Reilly, one of the Dunnes strikers, during her recent visit to London to support a lobby of the TUC General Council to demand trade union sanctions. She talked about the strike and how it had affected those involved in it.

'THE DAY after we told management we were called into the office two at a time and asked why we were boycotting South African goods.

'They asked us what had South Africa ever done for us and were we prepared to put our jobs on the line for people thousands of miles away.

'We said we were going to continue. Nine people backed out and eleven of us said we were going to continue.

'We were placed on checkouts with management standing behind us, just waiting for a conflict to come up.

'That day there were hardly any customers in. Usually we would be put on the floor to pack, but we were all left on the checkouts all the time. We were bored to tears but we still weren't allowed off.'

The following day, the test came. A customer approached the checkouts with a South African grapefruit in her trolley.

'She hovered between two registers and then went to Mary's. Mary politely explained that we couldn't handle South African goods because of our union's policy on South Africa and because of the system in South Africa.

'The customer said that

grapefruit and told Mary that she had five minutes to reconsider.

'When she said that she'd continue with the boycott they said they had no option but to suspend her until she changed her mind.'

Mary clocked out and the other ten clocked out with her.

The union put two compromises to the company: either the workers would handle South African goods, provided the company agreed not to order any more, or they would go back into the store with South African goods there, provided that they weren't obliged to handle them.

Picket

The company refused both offers and so the workers put a picket on the store.

Cathryn explained: 'at first we didn't really know very much at all about South Africa but we had to learn quickly. We learned mostly from people who'd been exiled from South Africa.

'The first day we put on the picket, the people who'd backed down walked past us. We all said, "Good morning", and they ignored us.

'Later that day they

the the window of the canteen at us.

'Most of them had been our friends and they started shouting out in the street, personal things that we'd told them. We tried to ignore them and realised that they were just scabs.

'Our union backed us from the beginning but the Irish Council of Trade Unions gave us some placards for our picket and then left us to get on with it.

'We asked them for support but they told us that they were supporting the British miners. Even though there were eleven of us they used that as an excuse.'

At first the company refused to talk to the union, Cathryn said. 'After three months there was a meeting between the union and the management of our store.

'They said they'd make a compromise when the customers didn't want the goods, when the competitors stopped selling South African goods and when the Government put a ban on them.

'It was obvious that customers didn't want South African goods. Since we'd put on our picket, business had fallen by 60 per cent.

'As for the competitors, there were other stores that



'As for waiting for the Government to put a ban on, we'd written to Garret Fitzgerald who had been a member and sponsor of the Anti-Apartheid movement for two years.

'He referred our letter to Roy Quinn, the Minister for Labour, who looked into it for nine months and then referred it to the Labour Court.

'The Labour Court decided that we'd made our point and it was now time to go back to work.

'But we didn't come out to make a point — we came out to have the right to refuse to handle South African goods.'

Two of the strikers went to meet Bishop Tutu in Eng-

land when he was on his way to collect his Nobel prize. They asked him to appeal to the churches in Ireland to support boycotts against South Africa.

Tutu said that he did not think he ought to have to appeal to the churches, that it should have been second nature to them.

However he did invite the Dunnes strikers to visit South Africa and go on a tour with the South African Council of Churches.

The strikers raised the money to cover the costs of the visit in the trade union movement and through collections on the picket line.

They hoped to visit the homelands, talk to black

trade unionists about how the boycott was helping them and to meet Winnie Mandela.

However the South African authorities refused them entry and they had to fly straight back.

Cathryn explained that they were held up at Heathrow for three hours.

They were told that British Airways were refusing to take them because it would mean risking the plane being impounded.

An official from the South African Embassy arrived with letters denying the strikers entry to South Africa, but they refused to speak to him because he was an

Zola Budd runs on blood!

'ZOLA BUDD runs on blood' — this was the message from Tyneside Anti-Apartheid movement at the Kodak Classic Games at Gateshead Stadium on Tuesday night.

Protesters at the South African runner's inclusion in the games drew attention to the decision by the Commonwealth Games Federation to exclude Zola Budd from the Edinburgh games because she failed to satisfy the British residency qualification laid down by the federation.

This precedent was overturned by the Amateur Athletic Association as Budd was allowed to participate in the Kodak Classic meeting sporting a Great Britain track suit.

Budd had to be secretly smuggled into the stadium instead of arriving with the rest of the competitors.

However this subterfuge was to no avail as Budd still

a field of four.

Demonstrators were incensed when members of the National Front wearing 'Zapp 'em Zola' tee shirts began taking individual photos of the protesters.

Brian White of Anti-Apartheid told Workers Press: 'Some people ask why politics should be brought into sport but in South Africa blacks are not allowed to participate in sport.

Died

'People should also realise that in South Africa many more children under five died of malnutrition than did in the famine of Ethiopia.

'Zola Budd is not interested in becoming a British national. She would run for anyone who gave her a passport.

'Gateshead council must

ing Budd to attend this event tonight. They should be supporting the sports boycott of South Africa.'

David Clelland, Labour MP for Tyne Bridge, approached the large and noisy demonstration that was taking place outside the stadium, after congratulating the demonstrators in their protest saying he supported their stand totally.

He then proceeded to enter the stadium. This hypocritical behaviour was also evident at the weekend with a visit to the Edinburgh games by Neil Kinnock in what he described as a private visit.

After his daily beatings in the press and television, crying out for sanctions against South Africa, the Labour leader in this sanctions bustings exercise has demonstrated clearly his lack of commitment to the oppressed of South Africa.

Dunnes striker Cathryn O'Reilly talks to Workers Press

official of the racist regime.

Eventually the plane departed, seven hours late, with the strikers on board.

'When we arrived in Johannesburg the next morning we saw lots of guards around and we assumed that was normal. In the queue to go through customs we were asked if we were the group travelling from Dublin.

'They brought us up six flights of stairs. I can remember there were only about four security men when we started and the more we went up the stairs the more security were joining us.

'At one stage there were 32 armed guards around us.'

After being thoroughly searched, the strikers were escorted back onto the plane.

'As we left, we just said, "We'll be back, when South Africa is free."

'By this time the strike was a year old.

Pressure

'We continued with the picket; we continued to put pressure on the church; we continued to put pressure on the government.

'We had had a lot of support from British trade unions and I think that shamed the Irish TUC into giving us support, which they finally did.

'But at first everybody wanted to cop out, everybody wanted to say that it wasn't their problem.

lot of things going on you realise that it does involve you.

'It even opens your eyes to the injustices going on in your own country. For example a lot of the things that are going on in the North of Ireland are the same things that are happening in South Africa.

'People have said to me that we shouldn't have Sinn Fein on our picket line because they're men of violence, but they're no different to the ANC. They've tried a peaceful struggle for so long it didn't work.

'There were children going out and fighting with their hands and they were getting plastic bullets. I mean there's only so much people can take.

'This strike hasn't really changed my attitude to the North but it's made me try to get people in the South to realise what's happening there at the moment.

'Some of us have become involved in a stop strip search campaign, we've campaigned for the Repeal of Section 31 of the Broadcasting Act (the ban on Republicans speaking on radio

movement and different religious groups.

'Anti-Apartheid did invite us to their annual conference and they did award us with certificates and Mandela medallions, so they have been good to us, but I think they could have been better.'

I asked Cathryn if they had any idea where the strike would lead them when they first started it.

'No, never in a million years. I can't say why we decided to take the action, we just did, we never really thought about it.

'If someone had said to me two years ago, that I'd be going on strike for people thousands of miles away and that I was going to get up at public meetings and go to South Africa I'd have laughed at them, because I would have thought, there's no way.

'I mean I would always go up and fight with any manager and I'd fight for what I believe is right, but I could never imagine myself getting up at a conference or something.

'Now I've addressed enormous meetings at Labour Party conferences, spoken

congratulating us and thanking us for the action we'd taken.

'He then went on to talk about his wife and daughter who'd been killed in South Africa by a parcel bomb and he described the way they were found, just a mass of pulp.

'This man had spent twenty years in in prison in South Africa and he had lost his daughter and his wife and he was congratulating us.

'We felt that we'd done nothing, but it was really touching, everyone came out with a lump in their throat and crying. It made us all more determined.'

Cathryn also had lots of suggestions for the sort of action people could take while we wait for the TUC to impose sanctions.

'Everybody you talk to knows how wrong the system



CATHRYN O'REILLY

in South African is, but it's not just good enough to talk about it, it's well and truly time to do something.

'You don't have to be employed, you can complain in your local supermarket if they have South African goods on sale and you can ask them to take them off sale.

'In colleges or schools you can ask them to stop selling South African products in the canteen.

'If you do work, you can refuse to handle South African products and make sure that your union has a policy on South Africa and are prepared to support you if you do take action.'



STOCKPORT BAN VOTE

'NO FOOD OR COMMODITIES of any type from South Africa' voted Stockport council on July 22.

This was part of a ten-

Manchester, is refusing to accept any cheques drawn on Barclays.

They are advising customers who bank with Barclays to change their

African goods because the next week they'd have someone asking them to ban Chilean goods and then Russian etc.

'They said they would impound goods for Dunnes and they did, but Dunnes started to get their goods in from Belfast.

'In December 1985, the business figures for our store were down by 80 per cent.

'The Government asked if we'd lift our pickets to give them a chance to work on sanctions. They said that they'd give us the results by the end of March 1986.

'In March this year the Irish Government agreed to introduce agricultural sanctions next January.

'Our store only handles food and so they think agricultural sanctions will be enough.

Consideration

'I think they took us into consideration when they did that.

'So we'll stay on strike until January and when we do go back to work, we're going to campaign because we should have complete sanctions, not just cosmetic sanctions.'

I asked Cathryn how she thought the strike had changed her.

'It's changed everyone, it's opened so many doors. I mean before the strike we didn't know much about South Africa.

'I knew black people had been discriminated against because of the colour of their skin, but I never thought what I could do that might help them.

'I was like most people, you just work from Monday to Friday and you get your wages and wonder what you're going to spend it on.

'Everything else that's going on around you doesn't seem to involve you, but once you open your eyes to a

It also included disinvestment and non-involvement in any cultural or sporting links with apartheid.

In another move against South Africa, Grassroots, a well-known left bookshop in

only banks not involved in South Africa are the Co-op Bank and Trustee Savings Bank, but it is Barclays that has the greatest involvement in South Africa.

Martin Ralph

or television) and got involved in a lot of other things.

'At the beginning of this strike I didn't even know there was an Anti-Apartheid movement.

'At the time they were very small, they only had four branches. Now they have 30 or something, that's how aware people in Ireland have become.

'At the beginning not many of the Anti-Apartheid people came down to the picket line.

'They gave us financial donations but it seemed as if they were a lot of middle-class people, just involved in a nice cause. They had their name on a sponsorship list, but they weren't prepared to get out and do anything.

'I mean there are people in Anti-Apartheid that do get out and do things, but there are them who sit back in their armchair and say, "oh, isn't it shocking!" and that's about as far as it goes.

'At first the AA thought it was really great that someone had taken action about South Africa, but when it started going on I don't think they were too pleased with us.

'None of us were members of Anti-Apartheid and we did what we wanted to do whether they thought it was right or not.

'They had no control over us; I think some of the action we took, they wouldn't agree with.

'At first the Irish Anti-Apartheid didn't even ask us to meetings or anything.

'The British did but in Ireland all the meetings we did were through the trade union

at an International Women's conference. Now these are things that we've all done.'

The strike has obviously been very solid for two years and I asked Cathryn whether that solidarity had ever been threatened.

'No, I mean, we have had our arguments and if one person was down the rest would rally round and try to pick them up.

'Sometimes you get down, and you think, God, nobody gives a shit about us, we're just left here.

'It was a hard time for us when the Labour Court told us to go back to work but we knew we wouldn't go back.

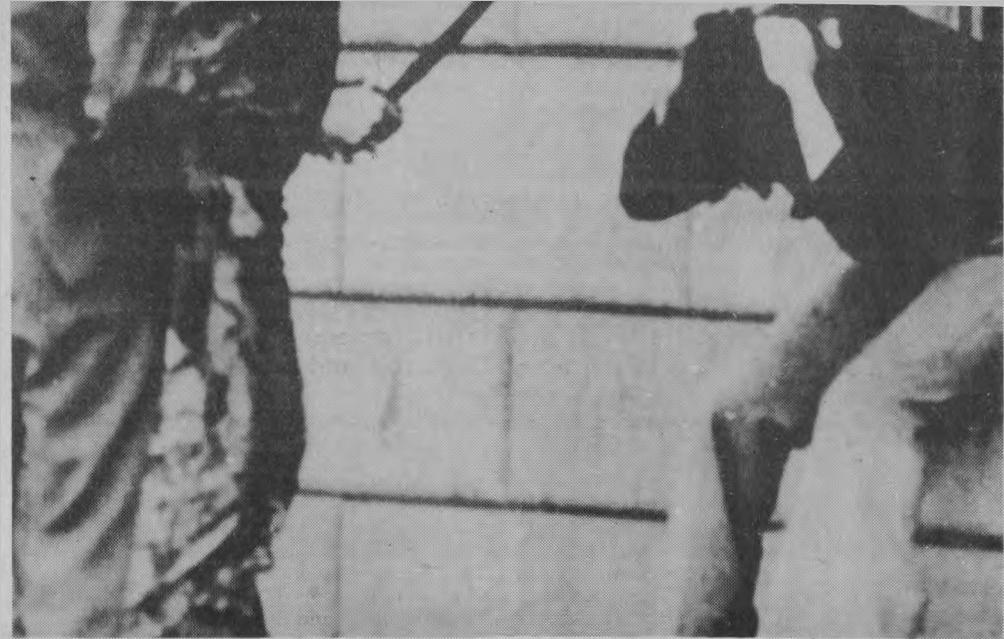
'Even if our union had told us to go back to work we would have stayed out, that's how strong we felt about it.

'I think the miners helped us as well. We met miners at the beginning, they used to come over to raise money and they'd stand on our picket line with us and we'd joke with them about who'd been out the longest.

Strong

'When they went back to work, we were real sad. When we found out about it we were in bits, but it made us strong too, we said "they're not going to do that to us."

'At other times we were given real encouragement. I remember Marius Schoone came to Ireland when our strike was only two months old, he got up and started



MPs' links with apartheid

NEARLY A QUARTER of Tory MPs have company interests in the apartheid regime, and donations to the Tory Party from apartheid-linked companies amount to £1.2 million, says the latest issue of *Labour Research*.

Cabinet minister Tom King is one of the 71 Tory MPs who are directors, shareholders, parliamentary consultants or advisers to 85 companies which directly or indirectly have a financial stake in South Africa.

Babcock and Pritchards pay the lowest wages in South Africa; three Tory MPs are connected with them.

The Labour Research report lists all the MPs with South African business links. Three of them are Labour MPs.

Dr. John Cunningham is an adviser to Albright and Wilson and Dow, two che-

mical companies whose US parents have South African subsidiaries.

Gordon Oakes, MP for Halton, is a consultant to Tate and Lyle, which has a subsidiary in the apartheid state.

Roy Mason, former Tory Home Secretary and MP for Barnsley Central, is a consultant for Imperial Tobacco, part of Hanson Trust which has six subsidiaries and one associate company employing 1,652.

Crawley Branch WRP

Day Schools

Sunday, August 17 'Historical Materialism'

Sunday, September 21 'Political Economy' Geoff Pilling

10.30am — 4.30pm

Ifield Community Centre, Ifield Drive, Crawley

Entrance: £1 per day

Creche and refreshments available

THE 102nd DURHAM

THE ONE hundred and second Durham Miners' Gala welcomed guests from all over the country last Saturday, July 12, and provided an atmosphere which none could ever forget.

It was a celebration of the strength of the story of Durham's miners — as the brass bands and the banners paraded the picturesque and history-steeped cobbled lanes, miners and their friends rejoiced in the proud heritage of generations who had celebrated the Gala before them.

The miners this year, just over one year after the end of the Great Strike of 1984/85,

Early unions held 'a big meeting' to decide whether or not they would sign the bond.

Eager to induce the miners to accept another harsh contract, the employers put on cheap beer and offered each miner who signed a contract a bounty of two week's wages, more money than any miner would normally hold in his hand at once.

Throughout the last century the Durham area saw enormous struggles to establish unions.

All housing was owned by the collieries so any miner who took strike action would be

HOW IT BEGAN

BY LYNN BEATON

included a pride in themselves and their knowledge of the part they had played in their own history, as well as a great respect for the courage of their forefathers.

This respect was tinged with a bitterness at the cruel brutality which is part of the history of every miner.

The history of the Gala itself is the history of labour learning to fight against the rapacious brutality of pit owners.

Until towards the end of the last century miners in Durham worked under a feudal bond system.

Every year, miners signed a contract with their owner, which bound them for the next twelve months.

Any miner who broke his bond, by refusing to work or accept the harsh conditions of the bond, was called before the magistrate and handed out at least a prison sentence.

One day a year, on the day the contracts were signed, miners were free.

immediately evicted and forced to live in the moors.

Often the army was brought in to carry out evictions and force miners back into the pits. At times the whole of the Durham area was occupied by the army.

When bonding ended, 'the big meeting' was turned into a Gala to celebrate the freeing of the miners.

It still retains that sense of celebration today.

At the same time it also contains a bitter sadness at the destruction of the coalfield in the last forty years.

In 1942 there were 120 pits. Today there are only six, one of which is immediately threatened with closure.

The banners of all the closed pits were exhibited in a marquee which was the most popular of the events on the field.

They hung in long lines and their silence told of the death of an era while their colours told of the battles that each represented.

Durham Mechanics second day of action

THE MINERS' determination to fight was once again confirmed last Tuesday when strike action brought WESTOE COLLIERY to a halt.

The strike, solidly supported by the NUM members and the Deputies, was the second in a series of one-day stoppages called by the Durham Mechanics.

The Mechanics' action is for the reinstatement of Geoff Hartnell and all sacked miners; to force the Coal Board to pay the back money stolen from them; to restore the conciliation machinery in the industry and to stop the closure of Seaham colliery.

The 130 UDM members at the pit had been urged by their branch officials to cross the picket lines and work as normal. Everybody expected them to do so.

UDM branch president George Hunter said before the strike: 'We will definitely come to work. Our rules are quite plain: we do not recognise picket lines which do not recognise the UDM.'

However, the UDM's predictions couldn't have been more wrong. Throughout the day about a dozen men went into the pit.

As the almost empty buses arrived at the gates, the obvious success of the strike was greeted with cheers and the pickets were contemptuous of the odd scab who sat, lonely, on the odd bus.

A coal board spokesman said nearly 6,000 tonnes of

BY LYNN BEATON

coal had been lost through the strike.

Jim Perry, President of the Durham Mechanics and secretary of the Westoe Lodge, said on the picket line: 'I am very pleased with the strike and the excellent support the Mechanics have received from the NUM and the Deputies and we thank them for that.'

Jim expects the next six days of action to be as successful as the first two have been. He pledged to keep the pressure on the coal board until the sacked men are reinstated.

Referring to the UDM members, he said: 'This will be a chance to show that they really respect democracy.'

Durham Mechanics voted overwhelmingly for the strike action on September 18. Their first target was Murton colliery where a strike, four days after the vote, was a great success.

At Westoe, the Deputies met at 4a.m. and agreed to meet only the minimum safety requirements.



PICKETS outside Westoe pit had an easy job when only a handful of scabs turned up for work.

At each shift they met inside and balloted to decide which 15 men would stay in. As the others left the pit they were greeted with cheers from the pickets outside.

The feeling of solidarity was strong and it was again clear that any talk of the miners being finished as a fighting force is nothing but the pessimism of cynics.

The success of the strike at Westoe was especially significant as it was feared there might be trouble because of some conflict in the NUM lodge since the 1984-85 strike.

Seven men have been sacked at the pit since the end of the strike and the conflict is between those who want to take direct action to

fight the sackings and those who don't.

The last two sackings took place only one week ago when 2,200 men brought the pit to a standstill when they refused to cross a spontaneous picket organised by the sacked men.

A later meeting decided to hold a ballot over the issue despite the fact that a pre-

vious ballot, now stale because of new Tory regulations, was overwhelmingly in favour of action.

However on Tuesday there was no question of support for the Mechanics' action. The NUM lodge secretary Tommy Betts said he expected his members to respect the action and they certainly did.

while Seaham and sacked men picket NCB



SACKED miners lobbying the British Coal offices in the north-east.

A MEETING of the Durham Area union officials and the coal board in the North East decided last Tuesday October 7 to go ahead with a local review procedure of the closure of Seaham colliery.

The meeting was picketed by miners from Seaham Colliery and sacked miners.

These meetings are normally held monthly but the last two have not taken place. It was felt the Coal Board was avoiding talking about a review for Seaham.

Albert Nugent, secretary of the Campaign to save Seaham colliery, told Workers Press: 'It's our right. The Tory Government were strutting about in 1984-85 saying that the review procedures were sacrosanct.

'Let's see how sacrosanct they are now.'

While the meeting was still taking place the coal board announced its plan to reduce the amount of redundancy money after March next

year.

It was felt this was intended to stampede the men at Seaham and elsewhere to take redundancy immediately: if redundancy is not taken in the next six months miners will only get half the money.

But redundancy money is only equivalent to two or three years' earnings and if it hasn't been spent on what social security regard as the necessities of living in the first year you can't receive any social security.

The meeting was also picketed by several sacked miners in the Justice for Mineworkers Campaign. Among them were John Little and Glen Black from Dawdon Colliery who were sacked in October 1984 after an incident where colliery windows were broken.

Both men were charged and given two-year sentences. They have served eight months in jail and feel that they have more than paid for the windows which were broken.

John and Glen told Workers Press: 'All we did was put a window out. A scab put some NUM windows out and he went to court and got a two-year discharge.

'We put some NCB windows out and get a two-year prison sentence and lose our jobs as well. We've more than paid for the NCB windows.'

Workers Revolutionary Party

ARCHIVE SALE

PLUS MISCELLANEOUS EQUIPMENT

Saturday 19 October

10a.m. to 5p.m.

21b Old Town, Clapham, London SW4

Archive material includes: Workers International News, Fourth International (1940-1980), Labour Review, SLL/WRP pamphlets, CP material, Labour Monthly, Communist International & pamphlets, International Socialist Review (SWP).

Equipment includes: Industrial bric-a-brac; fixtures & fittings, furniture, electronic and electrical oddsments, various paraphernalia. etc.

Refreshments available

Admission 50p

REPUBLICAN PRISONERS OF WAR

LONG LARTIN

HM Prison Long Lartin,
South Littleton, Evesham,
Worcs, WR11 5TZ

LIAM BAKER: 20-year sen-
tence, 464984.
JAMES BENNETT: 20-year
sentence, 464989.
EDDIE BUTLER: Life sen-
tence, 338637.
ROBERT CUNNINGHAM: 20-
year sentence, 131877.
GERRY CUNNINGHAM: 20-
year sentence, 132016.
JOHN McCOMB: 17-year
sentence, B51715.
ANDY MULRYAN: 20-year
sentence, 461576.
PATRICK MULRYAN: 20-year
sentence, 461575.

PARKHURST

HM Prison Parkhurst, New-
port, Isle of Wight, PO30 5NX

NOEL GIBSON: Life sentence
879225.
PATRICK HACKETT: 20-year
sentence, 342603.
TOMMY QUIGLEY: Life sen-
tence 69204.
PETER SHERRY: Life sen-
tence, B75880.

WAKEFIELD

HM Prison Love Lane, Wake-
field, W Yorks. WF2 9AG

HUGH DOHERTY: Life sen-
tence, 338636.
SEAN KINSELLA: Life sen-
tence, 758661.
CON McFADDEN: 20-year
sentence, 130662.
PAUL NORNEY: Life sen-
tence, 863532.
NATALINO VELLA: 15-year
sentence, B71644.

ALBANY

HM Prison Albany, Newport,
Isle of Wight, PO30 5RS

VINCE DONNELLY: Life sen-
tence, 274064
HARRY DUGGAN: Life sen-
tence, 338638.
BILLY GRIMES:
SEAN HAYES: 20-year sen-
tence, 341418.
STEPHEN NORDONE: Life
sentence 758663.

GARTREE

HM Prison Gartree, Leices-
ter Rd, Market Harborough,
Leics, LE16 7RP

ROBERT CAMPBELL: 10-
year sentence, B32954.
RONNIE McCARTNEY: Life
sentence, 463799.
JOE O'CONNELL: Life sen-
tence, 338635

FRANKLAND

HM Prison Finchale Ave,
Brasside, Durham

WILLIAM ARMSTRONG: Life
sentence, 119085
MARTIN BRADY: Life sen-
tence, 119087
BRENDAN DOWD: Life sen-
tence, 758662.
PAUL HOLMES: Life sen-
tence, 119034.
EDDIE O'NEILL: 20-year sen-
tence, 135722.

LEICESTER

HM Prison Welford Rd,
Leicester, LE2 7AJ

PAUL KAVANAGH: Life sen-
tence, 1888
BRIAN KEENAN: 21-year
sentence, B26380.
GERRY McDONNELL: Life
sentence, B75882
PATRICK McGEE: Life sen-
tence, B75881.

HULL

HM Prison Hedon Rd, Hull,
Humberside

ROY WALSH: Life sentence.
119083.

DURHAM

HM Prison Durham, Old
Elvert Street, Durham.

MARTINA ANDERSON: Life
sentence, D25134.
ELLA O'DWYER: Life sen-
tence, D25135.

INNOCENT MEN AND WOMEN FRAMED BY THE BRITISH POLICE:

CAROLE RICHARDSON
290719, HM Prison Styal,
Wilmslow, Cheshire
PATRICK ARMSTRONG: HM
Prison Gartree.
PAUL HILL: 462778, HM Pris-
on Wormwood Scrubs.
GERARD CONLON: 462779,
HM Prison Long Lartin.
JUDITH WARD: HM Prison
Durham.
HUGH CALLAGHAN, 509499,
HM Prison Gartree.
JOHN WALKER, 509494, HM
Prison, Long Lartin.
BILLY POWER, 509498, HM
Prison Wormwood Scrubs.
GERARD HUNTER, 509495,
HM Prison Frankland.
RICHARD McILKENNY,
509498, HM Prison Worm-
wood Scrubs
PADDY HILL, 509496, HM
Prison Gartree.

They are all serving life and in
the case of Carole Richardson,
indefinite detention.

CANTEEN WORKER ON NUM LODGE COMMITTEE

A CANTEEN WORKER has achieved a breakthrough in the National Union of Mineworkers by being voted on to the NUM Lodge Committee at Murton Colliery in Co Durham.

Pat Curry said: 'My appointment to the committee has astounded a lot of the men, but it has

been accepted and welcomed by everyone.

'They are pleased that the tiny minority of women at the pit are taking an interest.'

Pat, who works in the pit canteen, continued: 'I hope this will be a breakthrough for women and that more of us will get involved with the NUM.

'It is important that we

should because our jobs are just as much at stake as the men's when a pit comes under threat.'

Although all pits employ women in the canteens it is very rare for them to be elected onto NUM committees. A few years ago a woman was elected to the Nottinghamshire coalfield branch committee.

BOOST FOR NOTTS NUM

AN INTERIM Tribunal hearing held to exonerate Mick McGinty, vice president of the National Union of Mineworkers, who was sacked from Ollerton Colliery last month decided that the Coal Board should re-instate him and that he should receive all wages lost.

The Tribunal agreed with the NUM that McGinty had been sacked not because of any unsatisfactory work record but because of his union activities.

The Coal Board's actions were an infringement of a section of the Employment Act which allows unionists the right to recruit and distribute union literature.

The Board has refused to reinstate McGinty until a full Tribunal hearing has taken place but they must honour the decision of the Interim Tribunal and pay him full wages while the full hearing is pending.

Because the case put by the NUM was so strong and the Coal Board offered very little evidence, it is believed that a full Tribunal will uphold the decision made last week.

However this will not be binding on the Coal Board who can refuse re-

BY LYNN BEATON

instatement and instead offer compensation.

The case for McGinty was clearly strengthened by the industrial action taken at Ollerton the day after he was sacked.

90 per cent of the men at a pit which has a 66 per cent UDM membership stopped work and brought the pit to a halt for 24 hours.

Action

This action confirmed that both NUM and UDM men were convinced that McGinty had been victimised and they were not prepared to stand for it.

Ray Chadburn, Notts Area NUM President told Workers Press: 'The Board plans to take the NUM out of the

field altogether.

'They were keen to get rid of Mick because he had been very successful at Ollerton recruiting for the NUM. Ollerton has 30 per cent NUM membership.'

The decision of the Interim Tribunal is a victory for the NUM in Notts as it establishes clearly that they are legally entitled to recruit members and distribute literature at the pits despite the Coal Board's attempts to intimidate NUM members to stop them doing so.

Last week the first Notts pit to be closed since the strike of 1984/85 officially ceased production and NUM members are being harassed and intimidated over job transfers.

It is being made clear that transfers will only be given to members of the scab UDM.

Since the 1984/85 strike in Notts the NUM have been forced to work in an underground way as they did between 1926 and 1937 when Spencerism dominated the Notts Coalfield.

The UDM have a union

office at each pit, a telephone and a noticeboard. They have access to management for discussion of grievances, facilities to hold meetings at pits, in canteens and in miners' welfare.

They can distribute leaflets and newspapers at the pit head and they can conduct ballots.

They regularly meet with management at pit level and at area level.

The NUM are denied all these facilities and many NUM activists have been threatened with dismissal for the distribution of NUM literature or merely for discussing the advantages of strengthening the NUM in Notts.

Despite all of this the NUM is still continuing to challenge the authority of the UDM in the pits, and is still recruiting members.

The decision of this Interim Tribunal will strengthen the ability of NUM to organise in Notts and boosted the morale of NUM members in the area but they still have a long battle ahead of them.

BOYCOTT SA COAL!

says Hatfield Main NUM

THE HATFIELD MAIN Branch of the NUM has called a march in solidarity with the South African NUM on Saturday, November 8th.

Workers Press spoke to Dave Douglas, Hatfield Main Branch Delegate who said:

'The South African NUM are in the vanguard of the struggle in SA.

'And they gave a very high proportion of their funds to the British NUM during the miners strike, which they couldn't really afford — it was a strong selfless action which showed their international solidarity.

'The South African NUM so admired the British miners that they named their union after us.

'Miners internationally have a strong fraternity, strong international links because the work of miners all over the world is very similar.

'For all these reasons Hatfield Main Branch decided to send a resolution to the Yorkshire Area Council to co-ordinate a national demonstration with rail and dockers unions.

The focus of this demonstration was to be the Trent Wharves where 30,000 tons of South African coal a month are being imported.

'To our great surprise the leadership of the Area Council under Sammy Thompson tried to talk down the resolution saying it was premature and that the Yorkshire and Humberside TUC should organise the event and were holding a forthcoming

BY LYN BEATON

meeting.

'I reluctantly agreed with that on behalf of the branch.'

'But after that three things happened.

● 'Firstly 177 miners were killed on one afternoon in South Africa.

● 'Secondly the EEC excluded coal from any boycott

● 'And thirdly I discovered that the Yorkshire and Humberside TUC wasn't going to meet until January.'

National

Hatfield Main decided not to wait any longer and to call a National demonstration themselves.

They approached the Doncaster Anti-Apartheid who agreed to co-sponsor the demonstration and since then the Yorkshire Area AA has also agreed to support it.

All Yorkshire NUM Branches have been contacted to participate and as many nationally as could be reached.

Douglas said: 'I mean, it seems pointless to go around shops asking people not to buy tins of food when you've got 30,000 tons of coal coming in your back door.

'The demonstration is to expose this coal trade because millions of pounds are being made out of it.

'We also suspect that the coal board maybe involved in some way with the importation of South African coal although we have no proof yet.

'We appeal to all sections of the labour movement to come and support the demonstration — See Box below.

WORKERS PRESS

8/11/86

UDM loses ground

NOTTS MINERS, the so-called 'weak-link', held a very successful 24 hour strike at Ollerton pit in Nottinghamshire on Wednesday October 15.

Ninety per cent of the men came out on strike at a pit which has about 66 per cent UDM members.

The strike was held in support of Mick McGinty, Notts Area NUM Vice-President, who was sacked from Ollerton on Friday October 10, allegedly for threatening a Deputy.

Management at Ollerton is known throughout the Notts coalfield for its strong support of the UDM.

At the beginning of this year, Mick McGinty was threatened with suspension for recruiting members to the NUM and distributing NUM literature.

The NUM sought a Tribunal hearing on the grounds that this threat by management undermined the trades union Act which allows unionists every right to recruit and distribute literature.

The hearing was set for November. Four weeks ago an argument took place between Mick McGinty and a Deputy. Several witnesses have stated that there were no threats made.

Management investigated

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the incident for four weeks, during which time Mick was interviewed but the evidence of the witnesses was ignored.

None of them were interviewed or asked for statements.

Last Friday Mick was given notice.

At a meeting on Tuesday October 14, the 350 NUM members at Ollerton (about 33 per cent of the total workforce at the pit) voted for a twenty-four hour strike the following day.

NUM members were delighted with the results of the strike. It shows clearly that UDM members in the heart of the UDM stronghold are becoming disillusioned with the scab union and will not tolerate the victimisation of NUM militants.

The success of the strike was admitted by the Coal Board who said that there had been loss of production.

NUM strikes over sacking

And the 90 per cent support for the strike has been a great morale boost for the NUM in Notts who have been struggling in a minority since the beginning of the 1984/85 strike.

This is a very blatant case of the victimisation of a militant: Mick was one of the leaders of the strike in the Notts area.

Although the majority of Notts miners worked through that strike and although the UDM still has the majority of miners, the Coal Board or the UDM have never had it all their own way.

From the beginning of the UDM's history, many men in Notts have been aware of the dangers it has presented to miners — and not just those who held out in the twelve month strike.

The history of Spencerism in Notts is well remembered.

Despite the most vicious and underhand campaign by the Coal Board to try and force all Notts miners to heel to the UDM, they have never been able to squash the

strength, resistance and courage of the men who have fought to maintain the area branch of the national union — the NUM.

As the Coal Board attacks on miners increase, the NUM in Notts is picking up more and more ground.

At all pits, men who worked right through the year-long strike have joined the NUM.

The small concessions made to the Notts area after the strike are already being attacked with one Notts pit named for closure.

The success of this strike action has implications far beyond the struggles of the Notts miners.

It is a clear indication to whole of the British working class that the attacks by this Tory Government will not be tolerated.

● It is also a clear indication to all those sowers of pessimism within the labour movement as a whole and within the NUM itself that the miners are far from defeated as a fighting force.



HENRY RICHARDSON

Tribute to Notts women inside — p.3

OUR DAY WILL COME!

RECORD SENTENCES FOR REPUBLICANS

THE LIFE sentencing of Gerard McDonald, Peter Sherry, Ella O'Dwyer and Martina Anderson who were found guilty of conspiracy, and Patrick Magee, found guilty of the Brighton bombing shows once again the determination of the Government and the courts to enforce its imperialist rule in Northern Ireland.

The Trial itself was scant on evidence of either the Brighton bombing or the so-called 'seaside reign of terror' but it did provide an opportunity for the press to drag up the emotional whinings of Tory leaders and to heighten their anti-Irish campaign.

During the sentencing of Magee the judge must have exhausted his vocabulary of insulting adjectives in his thirty-six minutes of condemnation.

Magee's sentence of eight life sentences and the recommendation that he is not to be released before serving at least 35 years equals the stiffest terrorist punishment

ever handed out by British courts and shows the hypocrisy of a legal system that applauds the violence of British troops in Northern Ireland.

Despite the tirades of the judge however, the Republicans in the dock and their supporters in the gallery shouted, 'Tiocisaidh Ar La' ('Our day will come') and

By LYN BEATON

'Up the Republican movement!' as these sentences were passed and as prisoners left the dock.

Ella O'Dwyer and Martina Anderson wore the Irish colours, green, white and gold and as Ella O'Dwyer was led away to the cells her sister shouted from the gallery, 'Ireland unfree shall never be at peace.'

'That's right' O'Dwyer responded.

Francie Molloy, a Sinn Fein councillor, said the prisoners were convicted some months ago and should now be allowed to serve their sentences in Ireland.

The Irish Prisoners' Appeal condemned the sentences meted out on the prisoners, the remand conditions under which they were held

and the press coverage to the trial, the sentencing and the circumstances of their arrest.

The IPA will continue to campaign against strip-searching, to fund-raise for the costs of an appeal in the British courts against the refusal by the High Court to grant an injunction against the Home Office to stop strip-searching and to continue to expose this degrading practice.

The Workers Revolutionary Party will continue to fight for the rights of Irish people to fight for a free and united Ireland.

● As we go to press, we have just received copies of letters written by Martina Anderson, Ella O'Dwyer and Gearoid Mac Domhnaill from Brixton prison. We shall reprint them in next week's Workers Press.

MARIA TOLLY

Voices, Maria Tolly — Stroppy Cow Records.

THIS album is a chronicle of the battles and struggles of our time.

True to the folk music tradition to which this record belongs, Maria Tolly has given the pain, the frustration, the courage and the strength of those involved in struggles a musical voice.

Music has always been a powerful part of every struggle bringing inspiration because it expresses more than the cold hard facts, it expresses the emotions which motivate action when words only motivate complaint.

Songs play a direct role in struggle at mass gatherings when their singing proclaims and secures an emotional unity.

Sometimes the songs are battle cries, sometimes warnings and sometimes statements of solidarity with other struggles.

The other side of political song is its role as a herald of news, which excites the spirit while informing us. Through song the very depths of our being can identify with another struggle far away.

Maria Tolly's record brings us the experience of many struggles, most of the songs she has written herself. Each song is carefully researched to express the mood of its subjects.

The only two songs on the album not written by Maria place her own songs soundly in the folk genre. 'Song of the Exile' is a strong statement that political work doesn't end with exile written by Barry Gilder, a South African who left his homeland in 1976 and 'Tres Morillas' Maria introduces on her word sheet as 'the oldest song about imperialism that I have come across.'

It tells of the decimation of the Moorish people by Queen Isabel and King Ferdinand in the Iberian Peninsular.

Maria's own songs give us a range of insights into the lives of women in struggle and in the case of 'Troops Out' she delivers a cry for action.

She has obviously been deeply moved by the plight of Ulster, 'Maghaberry Jail' rages against the use of strip searching as a form of torture, 'Living a Nightmare' ponders how mothers cope in Northern Ireland with the dangers of the institutionalised violence faced by their kids as well as all the other dangers which constantly worry all mothers and 'Torn in Two' is the lament of Elizabeth Hill, mother of Paul Hill, having her son incarcerated in a foreign jail.

'A Model OAP' is light relief which is a spoof about the delights of life on the old age pension, and 'Waves' is a tribute to the

strength of struggle generally though for the composer the song was inspired by 'the strength and optimism' of 'my lesbian sisters and my Black and Asian friends'.

'Rosa' is a call to support Nicaragua and 'Mum's the Word' a celebration of the political awakening and assertion of miners wives.

'Right of Way' exposes the plight of the physically impaired and 'Hey Brothers' is a strong call from women unionists to their brother unionists for a voice in their own movement.

All of these songs have important messages to impart and Maria has clearly developed each one with care and commitment and her presentation catches the atmosphere of their birthplace.

Maria financed the record herself which is a further statement of her own commitment to the struggles she sings about.

I have heard Maria sing some of the songs from the record live and unfortunately I don't think the production of the record does her justice, but that is a problem all working-class balladeers have to live with. It is because of the power of their music, that they are denied access to the technological heights of the bourgeois music industry, and this industry has shaped our expectations.

In any case for me, folk music is for singing and not for listening to in the isolation of my own lounge room. I am therefore delighted to have access to a record full of new and moving songs which I can learn. I recommend this record to anyone who wants a testament to the struggles of this time and who enjoys the unity of singing about our struggles.

The bin lids rattled...

FIFTEEN YEARS AFTER internment the atmosphere in Belfast is still heavy with memory and tense with nervous anticipation.

Everybody here has their own story and their own memories of the nightmare of that night in 1971 when British soldiers dragged 300 men from their beds and away into the night.

As bonfires lit up the sky, children ran around as children do at these events, but there was a difference.

Their excitement was edged by a bitter hatred for the army whose presence was strong and provocative.

These children all have relatives dead, in jail or injured by the war.

Before long the fires had spread. Everywhere bits of roads were set alight and

BY LYNN BEATON

small barricades were set up.

At 4.30 bin lids rattled and banged.

One woman told me that after that first night every time soldiers were sighted the bin lid alarm went up and everybody raced from their houses to the entrances of the nationalist districts to form human barricades.

But if the soldiers wanted to get in, they did anyway.

They moved bulldozers in when necessary and just lifted women and children out of the way.

Sunday was a day of high tension.

It was just two years ago that John Downs was shot with a plastic bullet at point blank range on an anti-internment march.

Everybody dressed up and in some way it had the atmosphere of a carnival, but underlying was a fear of what might happen this year.

Headed by armoured cars, flanked by soldiers and police brandishing rifles and plastic bullet guns, the march wound its way down the Falls Road.

At every intersection crowds stood by cheering before they joined in. Each group was watched by the military.

Speeches were drowned out by helicopters whirring overhead.

The military moved through the crowd waving their murderous weapons carelessly, others sat safely up in their Saracen thrones aiming their rifles at individuals.

On the roofs of the shops which lined the street rows of rifles pointed down at the crowd below.

WEAPONS OF

Plastic bullets will come to Britain!

**PART ONE OF A SERIES
BY A REPORTER IN BELFAST**

— says Belfast campaign

THE PLASTIC bullet is not a riot control weapon but a weapon of repression.

This is the message from the United Campaign Against Plastic Bullets in Belfast.

Jlm McCabe, from the Campaign, told Workers Press: 'It does not stop riots and it does not deter people from rioting.

'When plastic bullets are introduced the riot will get even more vicious and people will be much more determined to succeed in their protest because someone has been hurt.

'But most of the 16 people who have been killed here by plastic bullets have not been involved in riotous behaviour, have not even been in a riot situation.

'The plastic bullet is being used as a weapon of suppression, to drive people off their own streets, to make them stay at home and to make them bow to the will of the government.'

Seven of those killed here by plastic bullets have been children, too young to be a threat to the security forces, and none of the victims of the bullets has been accused of breaking the law.

well for the purpose of repression because the people here, who are the targets, know full well the damage that can be inflicted.

The rest of the world is led to believe that a plastic bullet is a tiny piece of plastic the size of a live bullet.

In fact it is three and seven-eighths inches long and one and a half inches in diameter and weighs four and three quarter ounces.

It is flat at both ends and so the damage it inflicts on impact is often not immediately obvious.

The bullet has a muzzle velocity of well over 160 miles per hour and an energy level above 110 foot

Whilst the damage is enormous people usually don't die till a couple of days after they have been shot, when the spontaneous anger at the shooting has died down.

The media report that someone was wounded and neglect to report the death when it occurs a couple of days later.

This American research was done between 1973 and 1975 and the results were made available to the British government.

In August 1981 an International Commission of Inquiry investigated the use of plastic bullets in Northern Ireland.

One of its members, Dr Tim Shallice, wrote in the New Statesman:

'The conclusion seemed inescapable to members of the Commission: the Northern Ireland authorities were knowingly allowing widespread, indiscriminate and illegal use of a weapon whose lethal potential was well known.'

It is estimated that in 1975, the year the plastic bullet replaced the rubber bullet, 3,500 were fired.

A further estimate is that there has been one death for every 4,000 rounds fired.

The US research showed the lethal nature of plastic bullets when fired within regulations.

The British army rules recommend that plastic bullets be fired 'at a range not less than 20 metres', and that they are fired below waist level.

However, in at least six of the fatal shootings the bullets were fired from a much closer range than 20 metres.

When Brian Stewart's mother took an action about her son who had been killed, the soldier who had killed him was asked if he was aware of the firing instructions for plastic bullets.

He said, no. Despite this he was commended as a very competent and able soldier.

They are also clearly fired above waist level. The then Northern Ireland Secretary Humphrey Atkins replied in an answer to a parliamentary question that in three

1981 saw a savage escalation in the death toll and rate of serious injuries.

This was the year of the hunger strikers and many of the deaths took place after protests about hunger strike deaths or just after their funerals.

The authorities were using plastic bullets not to disperse riots but to intimidate the republican communities.

Of the seven people killed, three were children, one was a 30-year old housewife and three were men in their forties.

The use of plastic bullets here has very grave implications for the whole of the British working class.

Not only must we take the responsibility to work through trade unions, political and community groups to force the British government to stop their use in the north of Ireland, but we must also fight now to prevent their use in England, Scotland and Wales.

The police in Britain have been issued with plastic bullets and their use is imminent.

use them, killing innocent civilians.

In February 1982 Whitelaw admitted to the House of Commons that:

'Some 3,000 baton rounds and 1,000 CS projectiles (gas) of approved types are now held by police forces in England and Wales for anti-riot purposes.'

There have already been reports of plastic bullet guns being sighted on the picket line at Wapping. We cannot wait until the death toll begins to show itself, we must act now.

There is no doubt that the British ruling class will use these weapons on workers who threaten its rule.

So far they have been reluctant to use them in Britain because they are afraid of the outcry it would cause and the solidarity it would bring to the nationalist communities in the north of Ireland.

But we must not overestimate or be duped by that reluctance.

The admission that the police are already in possession of the weapons means

Bullets

As well as the deaths, there have been hundreds of people wounded, often with permanent injury, blinding, or brain damage.

Plastic and rubber bullets are not being misused here, but used for the purpose for which they were designed: in situations where the authorities want to use force, but where the use of live ammunition would cause a storm of criticism and therefore be politically counter-productive.

Plastic bullets serve very

When fired at five yards range the plastic bullet has an impact energy of 210 foot pounds.

Weapons with this amount of punch cause serious skin lacerations, massive skull fractures, rupture and destruction of the kidney, fracture and fragmentation of the liver, haemorrhages, necrosis and rupture of the heart when fired at the heads of baboons and the bodies of small pigs.

These sort of injuries suit the purposes of the security forces.

same. Jim said:

'The armed forces and the security forces are not made accountable for the rounds of plastic bullets that they fire in as strict a way as they are for lead bullets.

'This can be seen from the fact that so many are fired. The media and the police cannot give and will not give an exact number.

'They will sometimes say two were fired, three were fired, when people who were there know that hundreds were fired.'

ment for plastic bullet injuries.

Of the 45 who were treated as in-patients, 31 had head injuries.

Of the seven people killed by plastic bullets in 1981, five died from head injuries, one from a chest injury and one had both head and chest injuries.

Of those injured that year, four lost an eye, several had fractured skulls, one had epileptic fits after the incident and two are likely to remain partially paralysed.

After the Brixton and Toxteth riots in 1981 the then Home Secretary William Whitelaw said that plastic bullets would 'mean inflicting injury or even death on rioters'.

This despicable hypocrisy shows the callousness and the determination of the British imperialist authorities to the so-called citizens of Northern Ireland.

On the one hand they admit the lethal nature of the bullets while they continue to

control and police provocations such as we saw in Brixton a few weeks back all point to the imminence of plastic bullet shootings in Britain.

● **The British labour movement must unite with the United Campaign Against Plastic Bullets to stop their use in Ireland to prevent their use in Britain and to demand that those responsible for the murders of innocent civilians in Ireland are made to face justice.**

Plastic and rubber bullets — the death toll

Francis Rowntree, aged 11½, died April 23, 1972

Hit in the head by a rubber bullet near the Divis Flats on the afternoon of Thursday April 20.

The bullet was fired by soldiers in a Saracen armoured vehicle. The bullet had been hacked in half, with a torch battery replacing the missing half.



Tobias Molloy, aged 18, died July 16, 1972

Struck in the heart in the early hours of Sunday July 16 by a rubber bullet fired at point blank range by soldiers near a British army check-point on the border.

Youths returning across the border from a dance in Lifford were stoning sol-

diers. Friends said Tobias was not involved.



Thomas Friel, aged 21, died May 22, 1973

Hit on the head at around midnight on May 17 by a rubber bullet fired by British soldiers at about 25 to 30 yards range.

Thomas was on his way to his home in Cregan Heights, Derry. His brother, who was with him, said the area was quiet at the time although there had been rioting earlier.

Stephen Geddis, aged 10, died August 30, 1975

Hit on the side of the head by a plastic bullet fired by soldiers from the Royal Anglian Regiment, near his home at Divis Flats, West Belfast.

A patrol tried to remove

two cushions on fire in the road. Some boys stoned the soldiers. A bullet was fired and hit Stephen who was playing about 40 yards away and not involved in the stoning.

Stephen was the first killed by a plastic bullet and his



case was reported in the 'Sunday Times' by Derek Humphry who wrote:

'By all accounts Stephen was not one of the city's wild youngsters. He was withdrawn and rarely went outdoors, spending most of his time playing with toys and learning the guitar and mouth organ.'

Brian Stewart, aged 13, died October 10, 1976

Hit in the face by a plastic bullet soon after 6pm on October 4.

He had just left his home in



Turf Lodge, West Belfast, and was standing on a corner. There was no rioting in the area at the time. The British army made a number of contradictory statements to justify the shooting.

Michael Donnelly, aged 21, died August 10, 1980

Hit in the chest in the early hours of Sunday August 10, the weekend of the anniversary of internment.

A social worker who worked with both Catholic and Protestant youth, he had just come off duty at the Ballymurphy Community Centre in West Belfast.

He was walking home

through the Lower Falls when he was hit by a plastic bullet fired by soldiers at 15-20 yards range as he walked up Leeson Street, where troops had earlier been firing plastic bullets at youths.

Paul Whitter, aged 15, died April 25, 1981

Hit by a plastic bullet fired by a policeman in Derry at around 8.30pm on Wednesday April 15.

A group of boys had been stoning the RUC, who retreated into a bakery. The boys began stoning an electrical



shop and then, with the exception of Paul, moved away. Paul was alone when an RUC man emerged from the bakery and shot him in the head from about seven yards.

Julie Livingstone, aged 14, died May 13, 1981

Hit on the head by a plastic bullet as she walked towards her home in the Lenadoun



area of West Belfast at 7pm on Tuesday May 12.

She was returning from an errand with a friend. A group of women and children were banging bin lids in a protest following the death of hunger striker Francis Hughes. Two British army Saladin armoured vehicles came up the road. As the protesters ran for cover, plastic bullets were fired from the Saladins. Julie was found lying on the ground, fatally injured.

Carol Ann Kelly, aged 12, died May 22, 1981

Hit on the side of the head by a plastic bullet fired by soldiers in a jeep at about 9.30pm on Tuesday May 19,

REPRESSION

The united campaign against plastic bullets

THE UNITED Campaign Against Plastic Bullets has two aims: to ban the use of plastic bullets and to demand justice and bring to court those who murder people with plastic bullets.

The Campaign was formed in Belfast in 1984 after the killing of John Downes at an anti-internment rally.

Some of the victims of plastic bullets and some of the relatives of those killed decided that too many had been killed and injured already.

The Campaigners have picketed Brocks Fireworks who manufacture plastic bullets, demonstrated outside police stations and held vigils on the anniversaries of the deaths.

Video

They have made a 60-minute video which shows plastic bullets being used and the actual killing of John Downes. It includes interviews with 13 relatives of those killed.

The campaigners are very willing to make their know-

erning the use of lead bullets were broken as often as the rules governing plastic bullets and if as many people died in the same circumstances with lead bullets, there would be a public outcry.

Another member of the campaign said, 'In any case, the punishment for rioting is a few months jail and the punishment for kids throwing stones at armoured vehicles should be a clip over the ear, but here people are killed and most often there is not even any riot at all.'

Jim said, 'The pain and torture doesn't stop when your loved ones are killed, you've then to go through a period watching nothing being done. You've to go through the whole legal process. You have to take out a

are threatened that they will be prosecuted by the RJC and charged with riotous behaviour.

'The Coroner is hostile towards them, he has no sympathy for anyone taking a case against the security forces.

'The Public Prosecutor is not sympathetic either. He has brought civilians to court who are serving long terms of imprisonment on the flimsiest of evidence. In many of these deaths he has a great deal of evidence, of eye-witness accounts and so on, but still no charges are laid.'

Britain

The Campaign has no doubts that it is just a matter of time before plastic bullets will be used in Britain.

'We're trying to prepare the British people before it happens to them,' they said. 'We want to stop it before someone is killed.'

'The Loyalists here thought they were safe be-



to the problem of plastic bullets in Britain.

'How they can say that I

REPUBLICAN POWs

Jim McCabe, one of the Campaign leaders, said, 'The British government have been trying to get the message across that to control ethnic minorities or trade unionists in riot situations plastic bullets are necessary. We are trying to educate the people of Britain into realising that the plastic bullet is a failure as a riot control method.'

The Campaign believes it is wrong to see plastic bullets as separate from live ammunition.

Jim said, 'If the rules gov-

ernment were using them, but it wasn't true and if people in Britain think they won't use them there either, that isn't true either.

Innocent

'We've had some compensation and the people who've been killed have been cleared as innocent, none of them have been accused of breaking the law.

'Yet the people who caused their death are not even charged.

'In many cases witnesses

'The media are introducing the idea of plastic bullets in Britain now. There was a television programme recently about the introduction of plastic bullets into Britain.

'They didn't contact anyone from our Campaign and when I asked why, they said that the Northern Ireland situation was not germane



his home in the Creggan area of Derry when he got caught up in rioting in the Bogside in the wake of hunger striker Patsy O'Hara's death.

Nora McCabe, aged 30, died July 9, 1981

Hit on the head by a plastic bullet at about 7.45am on Wednesday July 8 in West Belfast.

Youths were throwing stones following news of hun-

He was standing in the kitchen of his first floor flat in the Divis complex, West



ten days after the funeral of Bobby Sands.

She was returning to her home in Twinbrook, on the outskirts of West Belfast, with a carton of milk for her mother.

Witnesses were adamant that there was no rioting in the immediate area. They said that when the army jeeps came into the area, the soldiers were very agitated. Five soldiers had been killed by the IRA in South Armagh and the soldiers were shouting at the residents, 'We'll get you for our five mates today'.

Henry Duffy, aged 45, died May 22, 1981

Hit by plastic bullets in the chest and on the left temple soon after midnight on Friday May 22.

Henry, a widower with seven children, was returning from a city centre pub to



ger striker Joe McDonnell's death. Nora, who had two boys aged seven and two and a three-month old baby girl, was walking towards the Falls Road with a friend to get cigarettes when an RUC jeep approached and a policeman fired at her from a range of about six feet.

Peter Doherty, aged 40, died July 31, 1981

Hit on the head by a plastic bullet fired by soldiers at around 1am on Friday July 24.

Belfast. The soldiers responsible were clearing barricades in the street below.

Peter Magennis, aged 41, died August 9, 1981

Struck in the chest by a plastic bullet soon after midnight on Sunday August 9, the internment anniversary, in Bawnmore, a tiny nationalist area in North Belfast.

He and his wife had come out of their house to protest to young rioters who had thrown a petrol bomb into their front garden.

Two RUC Land Rovers appeared. The rioters disappeared, leaving Peter, his wife and a friend in the street. A Land Rover drew alongside them and Peter was shot at point blank range.

as there are because we do actually know what plastic bullets will do and how they are actually used.'

● Members of the campaign would welcome invitations to speak in Britain. They can be contacted at 195 White Rock Road, Belfast 12.

The video is available from the same address for £30.00 plus £2.00 postage or can be borrowed from the Campaign Against Plastic Bullets, 25 Horsell Road, London N5 Tel. 607 9615.

Stephen McConomy, aged 11, died April 19, 1982

Hit by a plastic bullet in the back of the head fired at Bishop's Gate, Derry, on April 16.

There was 'insufficient evidence to suggest that he was actively involved in rioting'; the soldiers who fired from a Saracen armoured car were not in 'any great danger'; Stephen was shot at a range of 17 feet when the minimum recommended range is 60 feet.

John Downes, aged 22, died August 12, 1984

Shot at point blank range at an anti-Internment rally when he went to the aid of a friend who was being batoned to the ground by police officers.

The rally was a peaceful protest, but the RUC stormed into the crowd firing plastic bullets in an effort to capture the rally's main speaker, Martin Galvin, a spokesperson for NORAIID.

Keith White, died April 14, 1986

Struck by a plastic bullet fired by the RUC at an Apprentice Boys demonstration in Portadown on March 31.

He was the first Loyalist victim and witnesses claim that he was an innocent bystander to the riots which were taking place.

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INNOCENT MEN AND WOMEN FRAMED BY THE BRITISH POLICE:

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They are all serving life and in the case of Carole Richardson, indefinite detention.

The information on this list is supplied and updated by An Cumann Cabhrach, British section, for which we thank them.

WEAPONS OF REPRESSION

What price justice in the North?

**PART TWO OF A SERIES
BY A REPORTER IN BELFAST**

INDIFFERENCE in Britain to the continuing use of rubber — now plastic — bullets in the six counties is, as we said in last week's article, not accidental.

They are portrayed as a means of 'control' — a method of containing 'civil unrest' which avoids the use of live ammunition; a 'safe' alternative for a 'neutral' 'peacekeeping' force.

This is not the case. As the United Campaign Against Plastic Bullets has stressed, they are weapons of repression, designed to cow the population and isolate militants from the broader community. Their victims are almost invariably the innocent, the young, the bystander.

This week's instalment of our series is an interview with Emma Groves, blinded by a rubber bullet in 1971. She has since been a tireless campaigner against their use.

EMMA GROVES was woken up in the early hours of the morning of the November 4, 1971 by a British army raid.

A neighbour had been taken by the soldiers and Emma went to help his wife and young children who were very distressed.

When Emma returned to her own house, paratroop-

terms with it.'

From then Emma gradually got better. She taught

Once Emma resumed her life, she became very concerned about the continued



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A soldier was positioned at each door and no-one could go in or out of any of the houses except the military who continued arresting young men and boys.

Emma told me: 'It was all very terrifying and very frustrating. We had never been under house arrest before so we didn't know what to expect.

'We were all looking out of our windows at the young men and boys being taken away, some of them had just pulled on a shirt and trousers and were still in their bare feet.

'You didn't know whether to scream or cry.

'I'm the mother of eleven children. At that time they were still very young, we were all sitting in the living room feeling very helpless and so I said to one of my daughters to put a record on to boost up our morale.

'The record was only playing minutes when a paratrooper stepped right in front of my window and fired directly into my face.'

Emma had been hit in the face by a rubber bullet which damaged both her eyes. She would never see again.

She said, 'It's a terrible, terrible shock to find that you'll never see again, that you'll never see your children again and never be able to go out and do your own shopping.'

The shock sent Emma into a deep depression.

'When I got home from the hospital, I just laid in my bedroom, I didn't want to live.

'That went on for a long time and then it occurred to me that I would have to come to terms with it, the children were crying all the time and my husband was lost and nobody seemed to be able to get on with their lives because I was blind and couldn't cope with life.

'So for the sake of my family I decided to come to

family and friends, she learnt to cope with her injury and to resume her life.

Aware of the terrible injustice that had been done to her, Emma wanted to take legal action against her attacker.

'It's a terrible tragedy not to be able to open your own door and walk out at any time — and it's made worse by the fact that it was done deliberately and no-one had to account for it.

'If it had been an ordinary accident, a car accident or something where you feel there's nothing can be done about it, then you have just to live with that.

'But when you know that someone deliberately fired a bullet and shoots you and you lose two eyes, it adds to the tragedy.

'There were a lot of eyewitnesses who saw that soldier walk right in front of my window and aim inside it.

'His commanding officer must know who that soldier was, all of his mates must know who he was, it was the only bullet fired that morning.

'But I still don't even know who he was and I have tried very hard to get him brought to justice, but I couldn't.

'There was no threat to the army that morning at all, there was no need to fire a bullet at me, I don't even know why he did it, I can only assume it must have been because I had a record playing.

'The authorities did admit guilt because they awarded me compensation, but the day it was awarded I was broken-hearted.

'I had been a very happy housewife, I had my children to rear and a husband who was able to provide for our needs.

'I didn't need money, but I did need my eyes.

'I felt it was another injustice that they would offer me money but not prosecute the man who blinded me.'

replaced by the plastic bullet which is even more dangerous and more lethal.

Emma became a tireless campaigner against the use of the plastic bullet.

She went to America in 1982, after the hunger strikes, on a speaking tour, which specifically focused on the use of plastic and rubber bullets.

During this trip, Emma and some of her supporters picketed a shareholders' meeting of the company who were at that time manufacturing plastic bullets, explaining to the shareholders the way the bullets were being used.

As far as she knows, the company has now stopped manufacture, which has been moved to the Brock's Fireworks factory in Scotland.

After the death of John Downes in 1984, Emma was instrumental in setting up the United Campaign Against Plastic Bullets.

She felt that a continuous campaign was needed to educate people in both Ireland and in England about the use of plastic bullets and also to organise to have them banned.

Emma believes that if the people of Britain knew the facts they would join in the campaign,

'It's usually innocent people who are hit,' she said.

'I don't think people realise how little justice there is in Northern Ireland.

'When you've been injured or had someone killed here, you try to get justice, but you're just an individual trying to get justice and there isn't any justice in Northern Ireland, especially if you're dealing with the security forces.

'I don't think people realise that they can do what they like here, they don't have to account for anything, they can shoot into your living room, they can come into your living room they can raid your house and



CHILDREN of Belfast — Its always the innocent who get hit, says Emma Groves

pull your family out of bed and arrest them.

'I've always felt that if the ordinary man and woman in the street in England were aware of what's going on in the Northern Ireland in their name and in the name of justice, they wouldn't allow it.

'But the media is controlled by the Government so the British public are not aware of just what's going on.

That's one of the reasons why our Campaign feel its necessary to travel to England because, unless we go to them personally and tell them the facts, they are not being told the truth.'

I believe Emma is right when she says that the ordinary people in Britain have no idea of the horrors of life in Northern Ireland at the hands of the British Government.

But the labour movement itself must take some responsibility for this.

They have been aware of the British occupation here for eighteen years now and have done very little to stop it.

They have refused to search out and publicise the

truth of what is happening here.

The labour leaders have no excuse, they know from their own experiences how the media distorts and lies.

But all too often it has been all too easy to hide behind media lies and hype about the terror of the IRA.

Who is more innocent than a housewife attending the affairs of her own family in her own living room?

Where are the tears for her tragedy?

It is well past time this complacency stopped. It is time we turned our attention in a real way to mobilising against the imperialist occupation of Northern Ireland.

We must forge a campaign which will leave no-one in doubt about the terror and carnage that the British army perpetrates on the nationalist communities here and why it is necessary for the IRA to take up arms and fight for a free and united Ireland.

It is not enough to merely have a 'Troops Out' policy on our books and to attend the occasional rally.

We must focus our forces on a campaign which builds

support as it develops.

To do this we must raise the details of what occupation means here and not just mouth empty phrases about its end.

As part of this process we must support the United Campaign Against Plastic Bullets and make sure that the British working class are fully aware of how these weapons are being used.

The first aim of the Campaign is to have the use of plastic bullets banned.

Two pickets have been held outside the Brocks factory where the bullets are manufactured.

British trade unionists must follow this lead, and mobilise against the manufacture of these weapons.

In the short-term we should also call for a boycott of the fireworks manufactured by Brocks, by individuals and by local councils etc.

As Emma Groves says, 'While British children delight in the miracles of Brocks fireworks, Irish children are being killed by Brocks plastic bullets.'

WEAPONS OF REPRESSION

AN OUTRAGE DEFENDED BY LIES

Part three of series on the campaign against plastic bullets by a reporter in Belfast

THIS IS A PLASTIC BULLET

SINCE THEIR INTRODUCTION IN 1975, 12 IRISH PEOPLE HAVE BEEN KILLED BY THEIR USE:

NAME	AGE
Stephen Gaddy	19
Brian Stuart	18
Michael Donnelly	20
Paul Whitters	15
Julie Livingstone	14
Carol Ann Kelly	13
Henry Duffy	45
Noel McCabe	58
Peter Dobson	35
John McGinnis	61
Stephen McCoombs	11
Sean Downes	22

THE POLICE ARE NOW PREPARED TO USE THEM ON THE STREETS OF BRITAIN

NOW WE ARE ALL POTENTIAL TARGETS

The United Campaign Against Plastic Bullets in Ireland is very concerned that the British working class and particularly the ethnic groups within it are aware of the full ramifications of the use of plastic bullets, both in terms of the damage they inflict on their victims and they way they are used as weapons of repressions.

When talking to the victims of plastic bullets or the close relatives of those killed is the sense of outrage and injustice that has been done by the State.

Individuals, in deep grief and shock are suddenly confronted by the full machinations of a State whose hypocrisy knows no bounds, which has no compassion whatsoever and no respect for the life of its citizens, takes no account of truth and defends the indefensible with lies and distortions.

As the video, made by the United Campaign Against Plastic Bullets 'Plastic Bullets — The Deadly Truth' says, 'relatives have all confronted the difference between what is happening and what the official line says is happening.

'There is a sense of complete isolation and frustration living in a society which to their mind has committed the ultimate immorality in killing someone close to them.

'They are denied any redress at all.

'The most difficult thing to come to terms with is that the state can kill on the streets.'

All of these sentiments are expressed by Jim McCabe, whose wife Nora died in July 1981 after being shot in the head by a plastic bullet fired from an RUC landrover.

Devoted

Since Nora's death Jim has given up his job and has devoted his life to bringing up his three young children, fighting for justice for Nora's murder and fighting against the use of plastic bullets.

When I talked to Jim, two things became very clear.

The first was his initial disbelief that such a thing could happen, despite the fact that as a resident of Belfast he had witnessed much state terror and knew that there had been several deaths as a result of the plastic bullet.

Jim's experiences show

the effectiveness with which the state manages to cover each of the deaths, so that they either pass unnoticed or the victim is seen to have been associated in some way with rebellious behaviour, thus lulling people involved in peaceful, daily business into a false sense of security.

The second thing that becomes clear is that having experienced the naivety of this attitude Jim now feels compelled to bring Nora's murderers to court, not to seek revenge, but to let the world know how the state distorts and rationalises its actions.

Nora McCabe went out, at 8 o'clock in the morning to buy cigarettes at a corner shop, not twenty yards from the house in which she was staying.

On her way back from the shop on the corner of Linden Street and the Falls Road, she was hit.

Jim said that when he was first told Nora had been hit, it never occurred to him that she had been seriously injured and he assumed she had been in the vicinity of some minor struggles.

Neither of these ideas proved to be true.

Earlier that morning had Jim had been woken up by the banging of bin-lids, which was done after each hunger strikers' death as a sign of mourning.

When Jim arrived in Linden Street a friend told him that Nora had been taken to hospital and that it 'was serious'.

Jim told me, 'Even then I didn't realise.

I went to the hospital and

told them who I was and a doctor came and was explaining and I asked him how Nora was.

'He said, "injuries of this kind are always serious."

'I still had no idea, I thought that since Nora had been admitted to hospital she must have a broken arm or perhaps some bruising on the back or something like that.

'No-one had told me that she had been hit on the head and it wasn't until I saw her, lying on a stretcher, unconscious, with her head banded that the full impact hit me.

'Still it never occurred to me that she would die.

Surgery

They told me that she would be going through surgery and I kind of assumed that the operation would make things OK.

'After the surgery which lasted up to seven hours, a doctor called me into a room and told me that in actual fact Nora had very little chance of surviving and that if she did survive her speech would be affected and her hearing and sight because of the area in which the bullet had hit her.

'In actual fact, Nora died at two o'clock the following day.

'At no time did I realise, and I think in most cases where plastic bullets are concerned people don't realise that they are being used or that they can kill.

This is even though two children and one adult had died not so long before Nora,



Jim McCabe speaking at a vigil, in Andersonstown on the Anniversary of John Downes death. Behind him, commemoration crosses are held bearing the names of all of those who have been killed by plastic and rubber bullets in Northern Ireland.

it still didn't sink in that a plastic bullet could kill anyone.

'The shock of it did not really come until after the funeral, Nora was buried and everything had kind of died down and the public were gone.

'I had the private realisation that I no longer had a wife, through her being hit by a plastic bullet.'

At first Jim went to live with his mother who took care of the children.

'I had very little to do at that time and so I had an awful lot of time to think.

Initially about Nora's death and then gradually about the consequences of it in a personal way.'

Jim decided to give up his job to look after his children, who he felt needed him emotionally after the trauma of losing their mother.

The children were very young, Paul was seven, Jim two and Aine was only a baby of three months when their mother was killed.

Jim said, 'I realised that for the kids benefit I would have to give up work and look after them, not in a material sense because I wasn't experienced as a mother or at cooking or cleaning etc., that was all a complete foreign way of life to me.

'But more in an emotional sense the kids needed me close to them for longer periods than I could have given if I was working.'

Several dates were set and cancelled before the inquest



The plastic bullet sounds ineffective, but when the size of it is known, the damage it can do becomes more apparent.

on Nora's death took place in November 1982.

An eyewitness to the shooting who was a local resident testified that she had seen an RUC landrover, which was travelling down the Falls Road, turn partly into Linden Street and stop.

She said she saw what appeared like a 'black rubber thing sticking out of the right hand side of the landrover.' She gave evidence that she then heard a bang, saw sparks at the side of the landrover and saw Mrs. McCabe, who had stopped and was standing frightened against a wall, fall to the ground.

She also said that there was no riotous behaviour of

first of the two reach the junction of Linden Street, turn slightly into the corner of Linden Street and then stop.

Then a puff of smoke

'I personally will never give up until I have the Assistant Chief Constable in court to give his reasons why he ordered

one of his subordinates to

and they had searched for it and had failed to come up with a copy of it, so they assumed that the Canadians had either destroyed it or taken it back with them.

idea that the Coroner is totally sympathetic with members of the security forces and is hostile to people who bring cases against them.

'We requested that the video be placed in the hands of the Director of Public Prosecution.'

The inquest was adjourned to assess the new evidence.

An RUC officer was put in charge of the investigation.

Statement

When the inquest was reopened twelve months later, the jury issued a statement which agreed that the bullet that killed Nora McCabe had come from the RUC landrover and said: 'There is no evidence to suggest that

**Announcement for WRP members
WRP Irish Commission
WEEKEND SCHOOL**

**Saturday-Sunday September 27th-28th
College of Marxist Education, Derbyshire**

**DISCUSSIONS ON:
IRISH SOLIDARITY WORK
THE IRISH WORKING CLASS AND THE NATIONAL STRUGGLE
PROSPECTS FOR TROTSKYISM IN IRELAND TODAY**

Cost £12 plus fares from areas. Please make bookings with WRP Irish Commission, 21b Old Town, London SW4 OJT.

was in charge of the two landrovers and ordered the firing of a baton round into 'Clonard St', has since been promoted to Assistance Chief Constable of the RUC.

Jim said, 'I hold him (the Coroner) responsible for those RUC men not being brought to court.

'I hold the Director of Public Prosecution responsible for those people not being brought to court and I hold the RUC in general responsible for their colleagues not being brought to court and facing charges in relation to Nora's death.

'This is another aspect of the plastic bullet issue which makes it much more difficult for people to live with it.

We are so helpless in the situation, the only way open for me and other people who have had relatives killed is to take a private prosecution, that entails a lot of expense, which the ordinary working class person cannot afford.'

Nevertheless Jim is working towards such a case, he has been awarded an 'undisclosed' amount of compensation, so in a way guilt has already been admitted.

Jim is fully aware of the difficulties he faces in trying to get such a high ranking official of the state brought

to justice, he said: 'It is very difficult to envisage or imagine a judge finding a case against him.

It is also very difficult, if the D.P.P.

had brought a case against him to imagine a public prosecutor cross examining an Assistant Chief Constable in the way that he would examine a working class person who is accused of membership of an illegal grouping or party, so the entanglement of the fight for justice is much more difficult here in Northern Ireland than it would be in England.

Prosecution

'As far as the RUC is concerned Nora's case is closed But I am still working on a private prosecution and I personally will never give up until I have the Assistant Chief Constable in court to give his reasons as to why he ordered one of his subordinates to shoot Nora in the back of the head.

'I'm going to continue fighting, I've got nothing to lose, I never had anything.

What I have to gain, is not a vindictive procedure, I want it to be seen that plastic bullets have been used to kill innocent people.'

Crawley Branch WRP

petrol bombs, not even a crowd gathered.

Evidence

In contrast the RUC evidence of the then Chief Superintendent, James Crutchley and numerous 'about sixteen' other RUC officers was that at no time was a plastic bullet fired into Linden Street.

Crutchley stated that at the time he was in charge of two landrovers travelling down the Falls Road and that he was a front seat passenger in the vehicle in question, under oath he claimed that he had seen 'two youths running from the direction of Clonard Street (which is 20—30 yards below Linden Street) and ordered one plastic bullet to be fired.'

He claimed that he did not know if anyone was hit but 'What I do know is that no baton rounds were fired after we passed Clonard Street and I am definite that none were fired either into Linden Street or at the junction of Linden Street and the Falls Road.'

RUC evidence also claimed that there was a riot going on at the time and that stones and petrol bombs were being thrown and that the RUC officers were in danger.

Nora's injuries suggested that she had been hit at very close range, an estimated six feet, much closer than the 20 yards stipulated in the rules governing their use.

When the RUC evidence had all been given the barrister representing the McCabes sought leave to introduce some new evidence.

Unknown at the time of the shooting, and purely accidentally a Canadian film crew were videoing the events in the Falls Road that morning.

The video clearly shows two landrovers driving up the Falls Road, it shows the

shoot Nora in the back of the head'

appears from the right hand side of the vehicle, the side facing Linden Street.

In the video, there is no evidence at all of rioting, no stones or no petrol bombs.

When this evidence was introduced into the inquest the Coroner asked why it had not been placed in the hands of the RUC.

Jim said, 'The obvious reason that we had not placed this evidence in the hands of the RUC was because they had concocted their story and everyone knew it was a tissue of lies in order to protect themselves.'

'They had already tried to make our eyewitness look like a liar.'

Plausible

'I think there were sixteen of them, all telling the same story and it would have seemed very plausible to anyone who didn't know, to the jury for example.'

'We knew that if they had seen the video they would, in some way have made their story to fit it.'

'I had wondered how the RUC were going to excuse the killing of Nora, because it was obvious she had been killed by a plastic bullet and there was an eyewitness who saw the actual shooting.'

'I had no idea they would try to deny that they had done it.'

'Medical evidence states that Nora's injuries were caused by a plastic bullet, now civilian people have no access to plastic bullets, or plastic bullet guns.'

The British army was not in the area at all at the time.

'Apparently the RUC knew of the existence of the video

And it is very obvious from their story that they didn't know we had a copy.

'This is why I found the Coroner's suggestion that it be handed to the RUC rather abhorrent and backs up my

to be fired at in the street. 'Neither is there evidence to suggest that the deceased was other than an innocent party.'

After the inquest Jim felt that the coroner should have recommended that the men responsible for his wife's death should face charges, but no such recommendation was made.

In fact James Crutchley who by his own admission

Day School
Political Economy — Geoff Pilling
Sunday, October 5
10.30am - 4.30pm
Ifield Community Centre
Ifield Drive, Crawley
Entrance £1, Creche and refreshments available

REPUBLICAN PRISONERS OF WAR

WAKEFIELD

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GERARD CONLON: 462779, HM Prison Long Lartin.
JUDITH WARD, HM Prison Durham.
HUGH CALLAGHAN, 509499, HM Prison Gartree.
JOHN WALKER, 509494, HM Prison, Long Lartin.
BILLY POWER, 509498, HM Prison Wormwood Scrubs.
GERARD HUNTER, 509495, HM Prison Frankland.
RICHARD McILKENNY, 509498, HM Prison Wormwood Scrubs
PADDY HILL, 509496, HM Prison Gartree.
They are all serving life and in the case of Carole Richardson, indefinite detention.

The information on this list is supplied and updated by An Cumann Cabhrach, British section, for which we thank them.

WEAPONS OF

IN IRELAND

MURDER WITNESSED BY THE WORLD



Brenda Downes



Part four of a series on the

daughter Clare. Brenda de-
scribed the scene when they

— by a reporter in Belfast

In the last three parts of this series on plastic bullets, we have dealt with the way the security forces are using plastic bullets in Northern Ireland, the damage that plastic bullets can do, and the way that the whole state machine rolls into action to blacken the name of the victim and justify each death.

This week we focus on the case of John Downes (referred to as Sean Downes by the bourgeois media), who was shot at point blank range by an RUC gunman. John's case is different from all the others in that his shooting was witnessed by the international press and because of this, and only because of this, the RUC's attempts to cover his shooting in the usual way were unsuccessful and his murderer has been charged and tried.

John's case is also significant because whilst the Security Forces have claimed that nearly all the killings have taken place in a 'riot situation' which eye-witnesses have disputed, John Downes was undoubtedly shot in a situation which was called by all who witnessed it, a riot situation. But it was the armed security forces who rioted, the occasion has been dubbed, by even the most conservative of observers — a police riot.

When I spoke to John's wife Brenda about the killing she described the horror of that day and the insensitivity of the hospital staff when she was finally told that her husband was dead.

John was shot at the Anti-

internment Rally in Belfast, in 1984. Anyone who has attended an anti-internment rally will know that for the participants it is not a time of violent resistance.

The armed struggle of the Republican movement is conducted in a disciplined way by the Republican Army. The anti-internment

rally is very much a peaceful demonstration and a time when the nationalist community get together to share the suffering they have all endured since internment and to express their solidarity and their nationality.

On August 12th 1984 Brenda and John Downes went to the rally with their baby

John Downes

'We were at the back of the march and even when we first arrived I was really scared because the whole atmosphere that day was very bad.

'Police were opening up with plastic bullets before the whole crowd had even got in.

We went to the side of the chapel, out of the way. I knew John wanted to listen to the speeches so I told him to go up to the front and we'd wait for him.

Shooting

'We must have waited half an hour and there was no sign of him. I couldn't get back down the hill because the police were shooting plastic bullets everywhere. People were panicking and running everywhere.

'A lady brought us into her house and kept us there. It was about an hour before I could get out again.'

When Brenda got home she discovered that John had been hit and she was advised to go to the hospital, but no-one seemed able to give her any more information. She said:

'When I got there they didn't even know whether John had been admitted or

not because they had that many casualties. They had to send a lot of people to another hospital. So she asked me to wait.

Wait

'Then a sister came and asked me John's name and what he'd been wearing and for a description of him, and then I went back into a cubicle where I had to wait again.

'Another sister came in and asked me again for a description of John and then said that a doctor wanted to talk to me.

'The doctor wanted another description and then asked me if John had any tattoos and when I told him and described them, he said, "I've got very bad news for you, your husband's dead."

'Well it was just hard to believe and I really didn't take it in. We had been together so peacefully just a couple of hours before and now they were telling me that John was dead.

'They handed me pills and made me take them. I refused to identify the body, I couldn't believe it could be John. I thought there must be some mistake.

'They wanted me to ring his parents and I wouldn't do that either. A priest rang his parents and in the end his father came and identified the body.

'I went back to his parents place where a doctor gave me more pills.'

A neighbour of Brenda's described the scene at the anti-internment rally that day: 'You couldn't say plastic bullets were coming this way or that way plastic bullets were coming everyway. Men, women and kids were being hit. At one stage we had to get in a car to cross the road, just to cross the road.'

The same woman described seeing ambulances arrive and being packed with people who were all injured, 'as soon as they filled one, another would arrive', she said.

Bullet

Police issued a statement immediately after the shooting saying that the bullet which hit John was a ricochet, but eye-witnesses denied it. The RUC Press statement said:

'At 3.40pm today police on duty on Andersonstown

REPRESSION

IN BRITAIN

THE issuing of plastic bullets and CS Gas to police in Britain has happened without more than a murmur of protest.

However the Northumbria police committee have challenged the right of Home Secretary Douglas Hurd to issue the police with these lethal weapons.

It has always been the role of police committee's to issue local police with equipment but in this case it was done without even any consultation.

Until now opposition to the in-

roduction of plastic bullets in Britain has mainly taken the form of proving that they are lethal.

This is not in doubt. The experiences of Northern Ireland don't have to be brought to Britain for us to know that plastic and rubber bullets kill.

The Northumbria challenge may have important implications, about the use of these weapons in Britain and also about the growing inclination of the police force to be directed centrally.

Road in connection with the anti-internment parade were attacked by stone-throwing youths on three occasions as the parade approached Connolly House, provisional Sinn Fein headquarters in Belfast.

'Police occupied the roof of the adjoining property after removing the stone throwers using plastic baton rounds when necessary. At 2.47pm Mr. Gerry Adams introduced the excluded member, Mr. Martin Galvin, who then appeared on a platform erected at Connolly House.

As Galvin was about to address the crowd who were seated on the roadway, police moved forward to detain him.

was found to be dead on arrival at hospital.'

Other reports though were in stark contrast.

Sinn Fein issued a statement which said: 'However during the speeches the senior RUC man on top of the single level shops opposite Connolly House appeared to give an order over the radio for a baton charge and for volleys of plastic bullets to be discharged, not at rioters because there were no rioters but at sitting men, women and children.

During the attacks on the demonstrators and the Sinn Fein office, Gerry Adams continued to appeal for calm. An RUC inspector seized the microphone from

wered on the panic-stricken crowd.

'A plastic bullet had left a gaping wound on one youth's face and he lay on the ground gurgling blood as it bubbled and streamed from the hole in his swollen left cheek.

'Sean Downes had been sitting on the wall behind me and was hit in the chest and mouth. He lay in the street struggling for breath while a man desperately tried to give him the kiss of life.

'His shirt was opened and we could see the round scars and purple mark where the bullet had struck his chest. Efforts to resuscitate him were all too obviously in vain.

He lay back with his



the crowd which numbered in excess of 2,000, obviously determined to prevent Galvin's arrest and who had been instructed from the platform to do so.

To protect themselves from those throwing missiles and to effect entrance to Connolly House, the door of which had been barricaded after Galvin had entered, a total of 31 plastic baton rounds were discharged, a number of them in the air, to disperse the crowd.

Initial reports indicated that 20 persons were taken to hospital three of whom have been detained and a 22 year old man who was identified as a rioter

speaking equipment.'

The Irish News report of the events was an eye witness account which described the result of the police charge as 'sheer pandemonium.'

Warned

She went on to say that reporters and photographers were truncheoned and warned not to take any photos of plastic bullets being fired into the crowd.

She continued: 'It was ten minutes before I could get across the road and plastic bullets were still being sho-

The international press were unanimous in their condemnation of the police onslaught.

As a result, the RUC officer responsible for shooting John Downes was charged and suspended from duty.

When I spoke to Brenda she had no confidence that his trial would be other than procedural, two years had passed and it hadn't been brought to court.

However last week the case was heard in Belfast. As we go to press we are not aware of a verdict having been reached.

Jim McCabe from the United Campaign Against Plas-



There is no longer any doubt about the imminence of plastic baton rounds being fired in Britain. Above, police with plastic baton launcher at Broadwater Farm during riots in 1985.

tic Bullets said to me, "This is typical of the way they work. The trial just started, we weren't informed it was coming up. Brenda wasn't informed, she is on holiday at the moment and doesn't even know it's taking place.

RUC Reservist, Nigel Hegarty, was originally accused of murder and the charge was dropped in favour of manslaughter.

Pretext

Last week when his case came to trial it was the Prosecution who...

Photographs clearly show that Hegarty, like other RUC men that day, did not use sights when they fired.

Hegarty was no more than two metres from John Downes when he shot him. The regulation minimum laid down by the RUC is twenty metres and the excuse that the police were protecting...

Saturday September 27 1986.

Belfast — Wednesday September 24: **John Downes' killer cleared**

A question for the Labour Party conference: **NO DEBATE ON IRELAND —**

WHO PAYS THE PRICE...



The Downes family before John's life was snatched away by state terror.

ON PAGES six and seven, Workers Press presents Part 4 of a series on the use of plastic and rubber bullets by the British Government in northern Ireland — the case of John Downes.

On Wednesday — since the article was written — John Downes' killer, RUC Officer Nigel Hegarty, was acquitted of a manslaughter charge brought against him by the Director of Public Prosecutions in Belfast.

JIM McCABE, of the United Campaign Against Plastic Bullets, told Workers Press after the acquittal was announced, 'It's as we expected. We



'This verdict is proof that the whole thing was a total and complete whitewash. It shows that the judiciary are now adding their voice of approval to the RUC and British Army use of plastic bullets in the killing of innocent men and women.'

'John Downes was the fifteenth victim. Fourteen people have died before but this is the first time any of those responsible have been brought to trial.'

With a Labour Party conference upon us, the question which burns to be asked is — what do they intend to do about the use of these lethal weapons on innocent civilians?

This verdict also comes as a grave and sinister warning for the British working class.

If state murder can take place on the streets of Belfast and be exonerated by the 'impartial' judiciary — it can happen here.

When delivering his verdict, the Judge said that Hegarty had only two or three seconds in which to decide what to do.

He said that, having regard for the stress of the moment and the obvious determination of the deceased, he was not:

'Satisfied that the Reservee had been in breach of the regulations governing the

A vigil commemorating the anniversary of John Downes death. His killer has been exonerated making the judiciary complicit in the shooting.

firing of the baton round or that he could have interposed himself between the deceased and the two policemen so as to take the force of the attack himself.'

The 'attack' is an unproven allegation that John Downes was running towards two police officers with a stick in hand.

Even if this is true, and eye-witness accounts are conflicting, what damage could a stick do against two heavily armoured police?

Hegarty could have shot from a distance, tried to intervene or shouted a warning to the two police supposedly in danger.

But instead, Hegarty waited until John Downes was at point blank range and

then fired a plastic bullet into his chest.

RUC regulations on the use of plastic bullets insist that they must be fired at a range of more than twenty yards and below the waist.

Hegarty broke both the regulations and John Downes is dead.

But a court has now ruled that Hegarty was not using his plastic bullet gun unlawfully.

So confident was Hegarty of his acquittal that no defence case was brought before the court.

Hegarty himself didn't take the stand, nor did his lawyers bother to bring forward any evidence of his innocence — the sham prosecution did it all for them.

The trial took place while Brenda Downes, John's young widow was holidaying abroad.

When I talked to Brenda on a recent visit to Belfast, she told me that although she didn't expect justice to be done, she was living in hope that it might.

Now the case has been brought to court without her even being informed and the killer of her husband has been exonerated by the state without her even having the opportunity of putting her case.

Jim McCabe said, 'This shows their unsympathetic attitude. Of course this verdict will have an enormous effect on Brenda — but they didn't even let her know the

trial was coming up.'

It is well past time that the whole of the British Labour Movement started to take some real action to force the British government out of Ireland and to stop their reign of terror on the nationalist population of the six counties.

Brenda and John Downes' right to a peaceful and full life was snatched from them by the British state.

It cannot and must not be tolerated.

Refusal by the people of Britain to act against this condones it.

Do we have to wait until plastic bullets kill in the streets of Britain before we act?

HOW JOHN DIED

— page 6

FOR LABOUR'S TREACHERY?

WEAPONS OF REPRESSION

From Ireland to Britain

BY LYNN BEATON

A VISIT to several industrial centres by two members of the United Campaign Against Plastic Bullets from Belfast cemented bonds between trade unionists in Britain and the struggle in the north of Ireland. Jim McCabe and Archie Livingstone from Belfast were able to bring to all of those they met something of the harsh reality of life in northern Ireland under British occupation.

The building of solidarity between workers in Britain and the nationalist community of northern Ireland has been neglected and hampered in the past by political misleadership, shortsightedness, bias, and misconception. The policy of dividing the two groups by the British ruling class has been very successful.

Social chauvinism has been promoted by the leaders of the British labour movement and by most left wing parties.

The working class has largely accepted this position and whilst national liberation struggles far away have been supported, the struggle of the Irish nationalists in the six counties has been spurned.

At the same time Republicans in Ireland have tended to see everything that is British as the enemy.



The tour by Jim McCabe and Archie Livingstone finished with a picket at Brocks Firework in Scotland asking workers to put pressure on management to stop manufacturing the lethal weapons.

class has been misled and refused to offer solidarity to the Irish struggle. It has also denied them the opportunity of learning the lessons of that struggle and preparing against the imminence of such attacks on themselves.

This situation is now changing. As the attacks of the Tory Government on the British working class become more severe the commonality with the struggle in Ireland becomes more difficult to hide.

The turning of this tide was the miners' strike of 1984/85 when not only did the

turn its full force on them and that its repressive practices were not reserved for the nationalist communities in Ireland, but Irish nationalists also realised that they alone were not the target of British state repression and that it would be used on any section who rose to resist the attacks of the state.

Sinn Fein have made it clear that they welcome any chance to build links between their own struggle and the struggle of the British working class against their common enemy, the British imperialist state.

their position on Ireland and the Labour Committee on Ireland has a firm policy of withdrawal of British troops and works hard to establish links between Republicans and the struggles in Ireland with the Labour Party.

A number of unions are beginning to advance policy calling for an end to the British occupation and several delegations of unionists have visited the north of Ireland.

The more serious of the socialist parties are also re-evaluating their positions and realising that in the past they have allowed social

meeting of the Durham Mechanics, a shop stewards meeting at Austin and Pickersgill shipyards, a combined NUM and Mechanics meeting at Murton, a public meeting in Manchester as well as several small and informal meetings with activists and trade unionists in Manchester, Durham, Tyneside and Newcastle.

Everywhere they spoke the impact was dramatic. Hearing first hand accounts of the way civilians in northern Ireland are killed on the streets by the police and the army brings a living under-

a riot situation, when John Downes was killed during a police riot.

Jim stressed that once plastic bullets are used in Britain the police will never again be able to walk the streets unarmed.

The armoury of the police will necessarily escalate until armoured vehicles are as common on the streets in Britain as they are in the six counties.

In Durham the visit was hosted by the Durham Mechanics section of the NUM.

REPUBLICAN PRISONERS OF WAR

LONG LARTIN

HM Prison Long Lartin, South Littleton, Evesham, Worcs, WR11 5TZ

LIAM BAKER: 20-year sentence, 464984.
JAMES BENNETT: 20-year sentence, 464989.
EDDIE BUTLER: Life sentence, 338637.
ROBERT CUNNINGHAM: 20-year sentence, 131877.
GERRY CUNNINGHAM: 20-year sentence, 132016.
JOHN McCOMB: 17-year sentence, B51715.
ANDY MULRYAN: 20-year sentence, 461576.
PATRICK MULRYAN: 20-year sentence, 461575.

PARKHURST

HM Prison Parkhurst, Newport, Isle of Wight, PO30 5NX

NOEL GIBSON: Life sentence 879225.
PATRICK HACKETT: 20-year sentence, 342603.
TOMMY QUIGLEY: Life sentence 69204.
PETER SHERRY: Life sentence, B75880.

WAKEFIELD

HM Prison Love Lane, Wakefield, W Yorks. WF2 9AG

HUGH DOHERTY: Life sentence, 338636.
SEAN KINSELLA: Life sentence, 758661.
CON McFADDEN: 20-year sentence, 130662.
PAUL NORNEY: Life sentence, 863532.
NATALINO VELLA: 15-year sentence, B71644.

ALBANY

HM Prison Albany, Newport, Isle of Wight, PO30 5RS

VINCE DONNELLY: Life sentence, 274064.
HARRY DUGGAN: Life sentence, 338638.
BILLY GRIMES:
SEAN HAYES: 20-year sentence, 341418.
STEPHEN NORDONE: Life sentence 758663.

GARTREE

HM Prison Gartree, Leicesters Rd, Market Harborough, Leics, LE16 7RP

ROBERT CAMPBELL: 10-year sentence, B32954.
RONNIE McCARTNEY: Life sentence, 463799.
JOE O'CONNELL: Life sentence, 338635

FRANKLAND

HM Prison Finchale Ave, Brasside, Durham

WILLIAM ARMSTRONG: Life sentence, 119085
MARTIN BRADY: Life sentence, 119087.
BRENDAN DOWD: Life sentence, 758662.
PAUL HOLMES: Life sentence, 119034.
EDDIE O'NEILL: 20-year sentence, 135722.

LEICESTER

HM Prison Welford Rd, Leicester, LE2 7AJ

PAUL KAVANAGH: Life sentence, 1888.
BRIAN KEENAN: 21-year sentence, B26380.
GERRY McDONNELL: Life sentence, B75882.
PATRICK McGEE: Life sentence, B75881.

HULL

HM Prison Hedon Rd, Hull, Humberside

ROY WALSH: Life sentence 119083.

DURHAM

HM Prison Durham, Old Elvert Street, Durham.

MARTINA ANDERSON: Life sentence, D25134.
ELLA O'DWYER: Life sentence, D25135.

INNOCENT MEN AND WOMEN FRAMED BY THE BRITISH POLICE:

CAROLE RICHARDSON: 290719, HM Prison Styal, Wilmslow, Cheshire
PATRICK ARMSTRONG: HM Prison Gartree.
PAUL HILL: 462778. HM Prison Wormwood Scrubs.
GERARD CONLON: 462779, HM Prison Long Lartin.
JUDITH WARD, HM Prison Durham.
HUGH CALLAGHAN, 509499, HM Prison Gartree.
JOHN WALKER, 509494, HM Prison, Long Lartin.
BILLY POWER, 509498, HM Prison Wormwood Scrubs.
GERARD HUNTER, 509495, HM Prison Frankland.
RICHARD McILKENNY, 509498, HM Prison Wormwood Scrubs
PADDY HILL, 509496, HM Prison Gartree.

They are all serving life and in the case of Carole Richardson, indefinite detention.

The information on this list is supplied and updated by An Cumann Cabhrach, British section, for which we thank them.

ty between catholics and protestants in the six counties.

It was in this changing climate that the visit by Jim McCabe and Archie Livingstone from the United Campaign Against Plastic Bullets took place.

Both Jim and Archie have suffered personally from the use of plastic bullets by security forces in the six counties.

Archie's 12 year old daughter Julie was killed by a plastic bullet on May 13, 1981.

Jim's wife Nora was killed on her way home from buying a packet of cigarettes at the local shop on July 9, 1981.

During their visit the two men addressed the Labour Committee on Ireland meeting in Blackpool, the Northern region TUC, a public

the six counties.

And knowing that the police in Britain are now equipped to murder in the same way awakens the knowledge that unity must be built between the two groups.

It was clear that while most of those who attended meetings or met Jim and Archie were aware that plastic bullets kill in Ireland they were not aware of the way these weapons are used to suppress and intimidate a whole community.

Jim McCabe pointed out that as riot control weapons plastic bullets are a total failure. In fact the reverse is true. Their use on innocent civilians creates anger which often leads to riots.

He also pointed out that only one of the fifteen killed in Ireland have been killed in

violence on peace lines and at Orgreave took little persuading of the dangers which face the British working class from an armed state force.

But it was clear that a great deal of education about the use of these weapons needs to take place and at all the meetings attended by Jim and Archie it was agreed that a campaign against plastic bullets was necessary in Britain to prepare the British working class and to demand an end to their use in Ireland.

Throughout the visit the meetings were followed by informal discussion which brought a powerful solidarity between the struggle in Ireland and the struggle on the mainland.

Visits like this one can achieve what reams of paper never could.



Left to right; Archie Livingstone (United Campaign Against Plastic Bullets), Geoff Hartnell (Justice for Mineworkers), Jim McCabe (UCAPB), Jim Kelly and Alan Ides (Silentnight strikers) all waiting to address the Northern TUC to seek support for the struggles they are involved in.

WORKERS PRESS
talks to

JOE AUSTIN

vice chair, Sinn Fein
in the six counties



JOE AUSTIN

A WORKERS PRESS correspondent was recently a guest of the nationalist community in Belfast. We are very grateful to the many people who took time to tell us of their struggle against British imperialism in a variety of aspects.

JOE AUSTIN, vice-chairperson of Sinn Fein in the six counties, interrupted a busy schedule to explain how Sinn Fein is grappling with the problem of developing a political consciousness within the working class. In this first part, he discusses the role of the electoral struggle and, perhaps more important, the relationship between elected representatives and those whom they represent.

In the second and third parts, to be published in our next two issues, he discusses the relationship between political and armed struggle, Sinn Fein's prognosis for the future of the Irish revolution and how it views the responsibilities of British socialists.

AM I right in assuming that Sinn Fein has a policy which sees this struggle as a protracted one and

peatedly and consistently is that, for us, armed resistance cannot be seen in isolation from political resistance.

are involved in that struggle are obviously highly politicised and highly motivated.

What we have said, of course, is that every act

We have had limited success which was not only successful in terms of having a number of people elected, but also in terms of changing, to a large extent, the complexities of the various offices that we have been elected to.

We have restructured the whole role, for instance, of councillors.

We have brought something completely new and revolutionary to the role of an elected representative.

So that, when we talk about success in that electoral field, we don't simply mean the number of votes that have been cast for Sinn Fein, but that plus what we have

to represent, they actually were in collaboration, both on a day to day level and on an overall level, with the authorities.

Despite our massive unemployment and rampant social deprivation, the SDLP played no role in it, as far as applying pressure or highlighting those issues.

If you look at the SDLP's historical position, they were formed to assist the smooth running of British involvement in Ireland and that's the role they're playing.

We are in confrontation politics, whether it be on the national question or whether it be on the day to day issues that face the nationalist population.

those demands came to their final conclusion.

The end result of that was that we brought whole delegations, almost street loads of people, representing housing estates, tenants groups or community groups to negotiate with those statutory authorities and that totally confused them.

They had operated for at least the previous four years, and for some of those groups from their very formation, on the basis that they dealt with a minimum of complaints.

Those complaints made an individual party or the elected representative look good but the remainder of their attitude was that you

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IN FACT that isn't anything new. What we have said re-

struggle. The IRA Volunteers who

involved in from 1981, with electoral intervention as a strategy.



We believe, in fact we're convinced that if we went on winning elections for the next thirty years, British imperialism wouldn't be forced out of Ireland.

So the armed struggle, political resistance — with a revolutionary dimension to that resistance — and an on-going campaign of politicisation, is the guarantee of success.

We don't take one type of resistance and say that an escalation of that is sufficient.

So, as I've said, armed resistance to British occupation is part of an overall resistance.

None of those factors will win in isolation.

CAN YOU explain more about the changing role of elected representatives?

WELL, OBVIOUSLY what happened — and it's not unlike English politics; the role of an elected representative until Sinn Fein came on the scene, in terms of electoral success, was almost on a basis of patronage.

Complaints were dealt with on the basis of party loyalty.

The role of an elected representative was primarily a party political role first of all, and then a constituency service after that.

Their loyalties were of course to their party and their class interest.

If you look at the role of the SDLP you find that real assistance to the nationalist population didn't exist.

Representatives were seen a month before elections and a month after elections and the responsibility of an elected representative was zilch, it was nil.

The other aspect of it is — and this is the class nature of the SDLP — rather than being a voice in defence of those who had elected them, or those who they purported

front the housing authorities. It is our business to confront the DHSS people as well as it is our business obviously to confront the British occupation and British imperialism.

In the May Council elections in Belfast in 1985, our position was that our candidates had to follow a number of different points.

Number one, we had a positive campaign of discrimination towards women.

That meant that they had to be not only selected for seats, but that the seats they were selected for had to be at least winnable seats.

Having said that, unfortunately, we managed two women out of nine candidates, which is not by any means satisfactory, though these women won the seats they stood for.

The other criterion was that the candidate had to be local and they had to have at least two years in a local advice centre, of which in Belfast we have 15.

They had to be unemployed and they had to give a commitment that they wouldn't take a job, on the unlikely basis that a job would present itself.

In Belfast overall, we returned nine candidates, seven who sit on Belfast City Council and two who sit on Lisburn Council.

We were very conscious in the election that we wouldn't be used as a referral group, nor would we be in the business of negotiating, on behalf of the people who elected us, with the statutory authorities.

We would negotiate with those who elected us.

Our business would be to create a climate for the local population of any given ward, starved of authority, starved of any real opportunity, to bring about change that would make the demands and would see that

as well as you can, and keep them happy.

So we are in the business of exposing that and in the business of creating the psychological attitudes in people to fight back.

That in itself has had a number of very interesting developments.

Just to isolate two of the major problems for a minute — unemployment and bad housing.

We took up campaigns on the whole issue of single payment, that is, if someone is unemployed and they are entitled to an extraordinary payment for a number of things.

The unemployment offices don't tell you that of course.

It was really unheard of that anyone would have got this extraordinary payment for either clothing or bedding or whatever.

We took a whole estate, Ballymurphy, and we had a mini-campaign which we had initiated, but had no major role in after its initiation, when the local population got back in single payments in a period of two months £18,000.

That has repeated itself in every estate.

The consequence is that the DHSS office is now inundated with people looking for single payments.

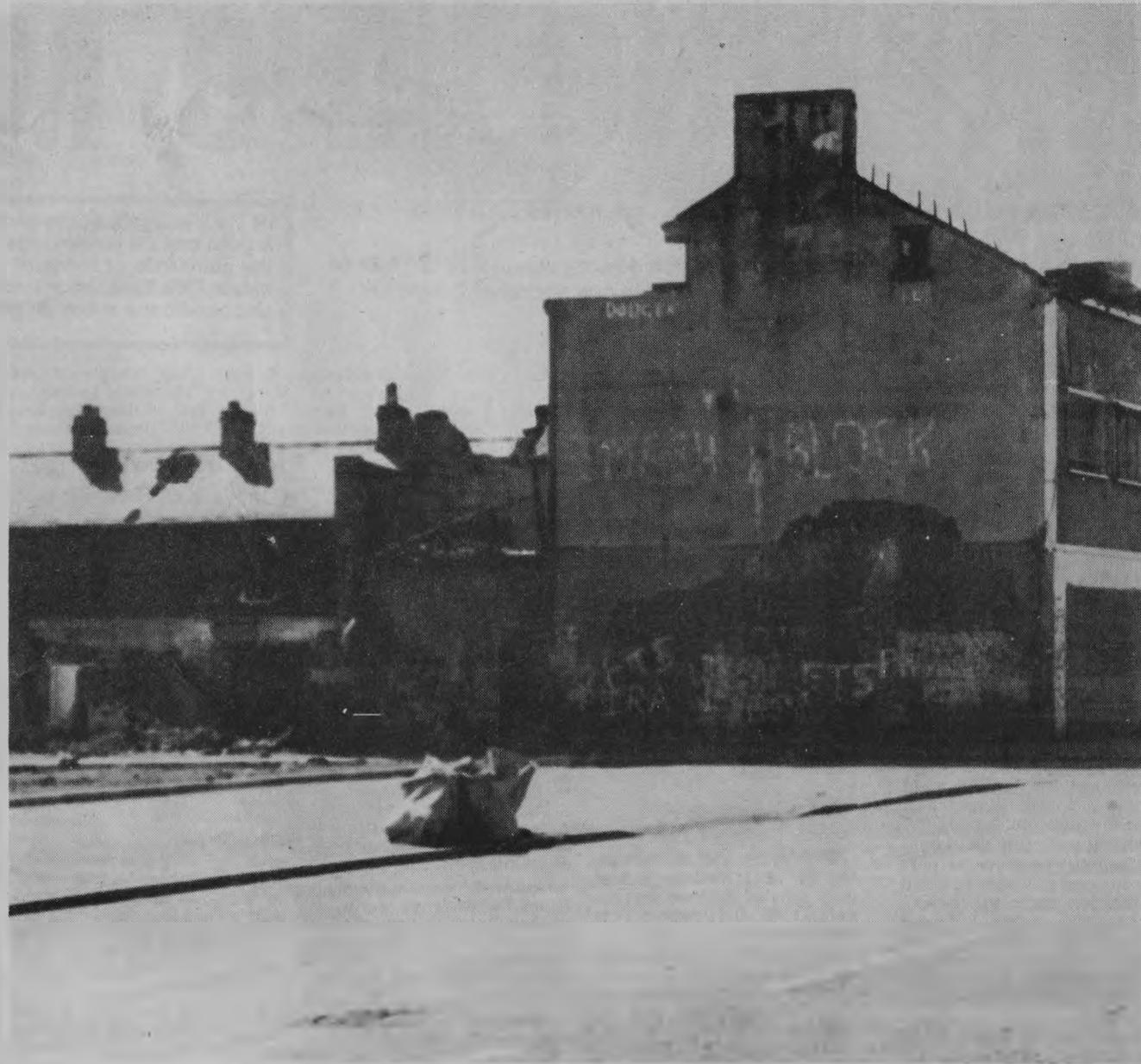
They have had to quadruple their staff, which is of course sound as part of the overall process.

The same with the housing authorities. A number of years ago, the type of homes or the type of repairs that the Executive did was mandatory.

I mean they did it and if you didn't like it that was too bad.

Now that isn't the situation in many cases: there are, in every area, in almost every street, those people who will not accept simply what's given to them.

That process of allowing



people, in a more limited way, to bring about their own change has seriously changed the local nature of politics.

An example of that is that we have 15 advice centres in Belfast, the SDLP have one.

They didn't have any until we opened all of our 15 and I suppose that, in a very small way, is a significant example of the fact that they are under pressure to meet at least the same constituency service that we would provide.

We made no election promises that we could solve the problems, but said that

A great problem for the Nationalist communities in Belfast is housing. Sinn Fein's electoral policy is geared towards increasing politicisation by mobilising people to fight local authorities themselves. Above and below left, dramatic election murals, defaced by paint-bombs thrown by the British Army.

elected representative and the concept of constitutional power, what it actually represents.

The state is a conspiracy; cosmetic surgery does not make it less so.

What ends the conspiracy

Two small economic units are easier to control, where the working class is divided.

That state and the nature of those statelets, as far as Irish Republicans are con-

begin a process for all the things that they'd actually fought and died for, the capitalist class had pipped them to the post.

Now that will always hap-

REPUBLICAN PRISONERS OF WAR

LONG LARTIN
HM Prison Long Lartin,
South Littleton, Evesham,
Worce. WR11 5TZ

FRANKLAND
HM Prison Finchale Ave,
Basside, Durham

tion, the whole question of repression, of British occupation, was to confront the British occupation and from that we could begin to develop an alternative.

The SDLP has been fighting elections for something like fifteen years on the basis of false promises.

In the last elections people just wouldn't accept the promises that they made.

Again, one of the issues was that everybody said that we had got it wrong when we named our candidates in the May election, that the political so-called pundits said that we had not got the personality or style — that people were only looking for personalities and that we had seriously miscalculated.

They predicted a maximum of 36, we in fact took 66.

The people we put up were the people who weren't personalities necessarily but were the people who had been doing that work.

That again in a small way was changing peoples' attitudes.

So, first the electoral strategy isn't, 'How many people we can have elected to the so-called corridors of power?' but is to diminish the role of the elected representative and to create a situation where people will find out.

It's to break the dependency on elected representatives and to try and place that dependency where it politically should lie — with the local populace of whatever geographical area.

Now I think that is happening. I think that the Anglo-Irish Accord is an example of that and is to be seen as an opportunity by the SDLP to replace one set of false promises with a new set of false promises and thus to create that crutch which the SDLP require.

So we are changing on a local level the concept of an

the street firing plastic bullets, massive unemployment, social deprivation or community attacks by the Loyalists.

That's as we see the way forward at this point of time.

THE TRADITIONAL communist view is that, to take power and to build a socialist society, the state must be smashed.

Do you accept that premise theoretically and, if so, how does your current policy fit in with that?

WELL, IT'S quite obvious if you look at the formation of the two statelets in Ireland.

The northern state and the state in the South both have an economic and a political dependency on Britain: the very formation of those states was a conspiracy against the Irish people.

The partition of Ireland was a direct consequence of the British in their long term strategy being unable to smash the small nucleus of revolutionary thinking in Ireland.

So the geographical division of Ireland is less important, to some extent, than the psychological division and the division of the Irish people.

WHEN YOU talk about the psychological division, are you talking about the psychological division between the people of the two states or between Catholics and Protestants?

BOTH, BOTH. But primarily on the general basis of who is living north and south.

The partition was an attempt, and a quite successful attempt, to stop any radicalisation of Irish thinking.

It has effectively stopped the coming together of those with similar class interests, that's the working class, to defeat the interests of capitalism north and south.

cause of what the states represent — all that is not in the interest of the Irish working class.

They give the Brits — when I say the Brits, I don't mean the British troops or the British people, I mean that hierarchy of influence and control — small units that they can control, manipulate, direct and directly influence and they also ensure that British interests in Ireland are relatively safe.

For us to achieve the democratic socialist republic we're looking for and fighting for, it's obvious in terms of implementing a policy of social and economic justice that the working class has got to become a united force that can harness and cater for a rule in their interest.

So, yes; the states have to be confronted and they have to be smashed.

There's an attitude, or at least there was an attitude, within Republican circles some time ago, many years back, that all of those battles can wait until the national question has been resolved.

We would argue that that's untrue.

We would argue that the economic struggle, and to some extent even the struggle for social justice, has to begin and has to complement the struggle of the national question.

Historically, what, of course, has happened is that Irish Republicans have physically fought — and I suppose the best example of that is the period from 1916-1920 — for national independence, but didn't consciously fight to bring politicisation into that.

The battle to some extent to remove the Brits, at least from part of Ireland, was successful but the battle for the Republic failed.

When it came, as they saw, time to implement and to

That is, if you like, part of the psychology, and it's seen in very small ways.

The whole psychology of delegations meeting housing authorities: it's almost like training a boxer, you don't train him the night after the fight, you train him in preparation.

So the people who fight for their homes in terms of housing and who fight against the conspiracy of the DHSS, they'll fight in their interests and they cease being bystanders and that fight is further advanced.

They'll fight the state, or they'll fight policies or they'll fight a programme which is obviously not in their interest — so that's part of the politicisation that's taking place.

That politicisation is more important than our limited election successes but it actually complements those and one can't be seen in isolation from the other.

Again, if you're looking at the so-called political experts, when we embarked on the campaign of limited electoral strategy they predicted we would take 0.1 per cent of the vote.

We in fact took 44 per cent.

That was because the groundwork had been done — that was in 1984.

So to go back to your very first question.

Yes, the state has got to be confronted and, yes, the state has got to be smashed, it's got to be smashed in order to build an alternative.

The alternative as far as we're concerned is the establishment of a democratic socialist republic — a 32 county republic that is.

But that republic doesn't take shape the day after the Brits leave, it takes shape now.

Continued next week

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BILLY POWER, 509498, HM Prison Wormwood Scrubs.
GERARD HUNTER, 509495, HM Prison Frankland.
RICHARD McILKENNY, 509498, HM Prison Wormwood Scrubs
PADDY HILL, 509496, HM Prison Gartree.
They are all serving life and in the case of Carole Richardson, indefinite detention.

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WORKERS PRESS talks to JOE AUSTIN vice chair, Sinn Fein in the six counties

This week Workers Press publish the second part of an interview with Joe Austin. In the first part of the interview he discussed the role of the electoral struggle and Sinn Fein's policy of changing the traditional relationships between elected representatives and those whom they represent.

This week he discusses the importance of the national struggle, the divisions between the Irish working class as they are perpetrated by British Imperialism and the importance of the armed struggle and its relationship to the political struggle.

Next week the interview will continue and discussion will include Sinn Fein's prognosis for the Irish revolution and how it views the responsibilities of British socialists.

CAN YOU tell me something about your strategy to end the British occupation.

WELL, WE are involved in, and have historically been involved in, a campaign of armed resistance to British occupation.

politicisation takes place in the form of the sort of economic resistance that we spoke of and also in the form of the massive cultural revival in terms of the Irish language.

A national identity taking place right across the north where they took the culture from us as a weapon, and the

something which would give some satisfaction to the nationalist population.

WELL I mean there is always that danger.

There's also a danger of us being sucked into clientism — ie delivering social services.



JOE AUSTIN

That threat is not simply a militaristic threat which they can live with.

But they can't live with a threat that comes both in terms of armed and physical resistance and also psychological and political resistance that is extremely deep rooted and that isn't simply calling for a tampering with the state or limited reforms but in fact is asking for everything.

Now I think that when people ask Sinn Fein what do you want, the answer's very simple: everything.

That demand enjoys popular support. Along with minimum political demands that don't only start and stop with Sinn Fein but with the entire

that is the direction that we're heading in.

The British imperialist class can live with militant physical resistance. They have an army, a very large army with unlimited resources.

What they can't live with and what they haven't been able to either intimidate or coerce or buy is a deep-rooted political resistance to British occupation in Ireland.

That's why the Accord's in operation, for no other reason.

If you're looking to what people like King says or even what Thatcher says on occasions, that's what they're worried about and that's

army into the sea, they would be wrong.

From what the IRA have said, from statements they make and from what one reads about them I am convinced that isn't their particular strategy.

I think it is a combination of military resistance, operations that have a military success either in the short term or long term, and the political resistance that manifests itself within the ranks of Sinn Fein, and in many cases is led by the local populace.

I think it is that combination and getting that combination right that will eventually lead to victory.

You have to look, as we do of course, that simply get-

that the armed resistance to British occupation, in itself, cannot and will not remove the British, let us say British imperialism, from Ireland.

But a parallel campaign of political resistance that popularises Irish Republicanism, that popularises the need to bring about the changes we have spoken of, will not only lead to a British withdrawal primarily, but in the long term will lead to the building of a democratic republic.

So what we're involved in is political, economic, social and cultural resistance to British occupation.

One of the things Republicans are very conscious about is that the strategy of the Republican movement has had three main component parts, it has had a militaristic part, it has had a constitutional part and it has had a revolutionary part.

I would suggest that probably since the period of 1916 this has been the first phase of our struggle for national liberation where the revolutionary component part has been in leadership. Has been, if you like, in control.

Consequently the old taboos that would have been in ascendancy during the phase when the militaristic leadership was there, that armed struggle was sacrosanct and that everything had to be tailored to the armed struggle, and that politics and the like would come later on, have gone.

The taboo of the militaristic leadership, that electoral intervention would lead to constitutional sell-out, has also gone and we have a situation now where we actually see the armed struggle being relevant only when it complements the overall struggle.

You don't keep one away from the other, but they are all part of an overall ability to resist.

Part of our theme is that

if you spoke Irish you had to be a school teacher, smoke a pipe and grow a beard and that was the middle-class badge of distinction.

Now we say that the language is a weapon which is the property of the working class because primarily they are the people who carried the language and in many cases the people who sacrificed to keep that language.

But the language is only a weapon in terms of the overall national identity and that's used as such.

Again there are small examples of that being successful.

We contested the Assembly elections in 1982 and for the first time included in any manifesto north or south a complete section in Irish.

We were of course successful to a large extent in that campaign. So successful were we in terms of our manifesto, in terms of having a section of our own language in it, that in the January by-election this year the SDLP included in their manifesto a section in Irish.

Now if we wanted to be very cynical, which of course, comrade we're not. . .

But that was an example of pressure being brought from the ground and how it affects the SDLP.

We embarked on a whole campaign in support of the local re-naming of streets and in fact whole areas are now named in Irish.

YOU SEEM to give a lot of emphasis to the fact that many of your electoral campaigns have put pressure on the SDLP to take certain positions which you see as positive.

Is there not a danger that the capitalist state or the British imperialist state will simply use your campaigns in order to learn how to adapt itself to

in terms of highlighting any area of social injustice leads a small group of people to believe that if you pressurise hard enough and you push hard enough you can reform the system, where actually you can't at all.

The demands that we make of the state are demands that we make in conjunction with the resolution of the national question.

They are in conjunction with our demands to resolve our English problem and that of course is the problem of occupation.

That's why we say in part of our manifesto that all these issues that affect the nationalist population, or affect the Irish population, the whole question of deprivation, the whole question of repression, all of these are part of the national question and can't be seen in isolation from it.

The economy is run for a section of the Irish people, the capitalist section, supported by British imperialism. That is the reason why we have unemployment and all of those things.

I believe we successfully resist. I think you can see the success of that in the fact that 17 years on in this current phase of the struggle the Brits have been forced to bring in the Anglo-Irish Agreement, to work against the political strength of Sinn Fein and the successful continuation of armed resistance.

Now I think that that's an indication that we have in fact got it right, that we are not simply a party (which we were described as not that long ago) of protestors or as being the negative state of Irish politics.

I think from the point of view of capitalism and of those who support British occupation we present the real threat.

state is running in panic.

I think that we have got it right. That isn't to say that we've got everything right and that isn't to say the Brits are going to leave this time next week but I think that at this phase of the struggle that combination is correct.

The politicisation has a long long way to go, both in terms of how Sinn Fein perceive events and change and also how the nationalist population perceive what is to be their way of life.

What are the changes, what are the restrictions, where does the conspiracy come from, that all has to take place?

It hasn't reached its conclusion, it probably will never reach its conclusion but

It's aimed at separating the nationalist population from the militant political revolutionary demands that Sinn Fein make and that's what's happening at the moment.

That's their strategy and they have to date been successful.

IN APPEARANCES, at least, it seems that the armed struggle threatens the British state most of all, particularly when it is taken to Britain.

I DON'T for a minute separate the armed struggle from the political struggle and I think that if the IRA were struggling with the belief that simply by force of weapon they could drive the British

It's a very major step, but it isn't the end. To a large extent it's the beginning of a process.

And I think the guarantee that that process will continue has to be found in the politicisation of huge sections of the working class north and south. That is the business we're in as well as resisting the British army presence.

Resistance to the British occupation and the class question are, as Connolly said, two sides of the one coin.

CAN YOU tell me how you see the role of the armed struggle.

WELL THE armed struggle





The campaign of armed resistance to the British occupation of Ireland has a long history from which many lessons have been drawn. The continued economic domination of the South by Britain has taught Sinn Fein of the necessity to combine the armed struggle with a political one.

of course is number one a resistance to the armed repression that's raised against the Irish people by the British occupation forces and supported by British capitalism and to some extent supported and collaborated with by Irish capitalism.

So it is number one armed resistance.

Number two it is a way of demonstrating clearly and a way that people can understand that there is resistance to British occupation in Ireland.

It is a way of ensuring that the question of the British occupation of Ireland will always be to the forefront — at

sources that are in the business and are quite able to, on a huge basis, support an armed liberation struggle.

It's a different situation in Ireland.

But the same common denominator is that right to resist.

I think that again the nature of the IRA is different.

We happen to be, unfortunately, on England's doorstep.

We happen to be in the

They're slightly less the victims than the nationalist population are, there's a marginal difference in terms of unemployment levels, in terms of housing.

The formation of the state in the north was very clearly built on sectarian pillars, the original statelet of Northern Ireland was of course nine counties.

When the sectarian headcount was carried out the leadership of the Loyalist community, or the Unionist

something like 170,000 Loyalists, cut them off.

So the Loyalist working class are primarily a tool of the system.

They have been led to believe that there is an aristocracy of labour and they are it.

They have been led to believe that their interests lie with, not only the link with Britain but also of the capitalist statelet in the north.

They have, to a large extent, been neutralised in terms of employment practices and employment condi-

them while they present no trouble to the state.

In terms of when the British presence has been removed, and there has to be that struggle to establish the democratic socialist republic, that has to involve the large section of the Loyalist population, that is the large working class.

We have a moral and a political and a revolutionary responsibility to do nothing that will damage that.

That's why when we spoke earlier on about the sectarian attacks that were taking place, apart from the fact that sectarianism is wrong,

attempting to bridge that sectarian gap.

Before you can cure an illness you have to properly diagnose what it is.

We believe we've done that.

But to effect a cure you have to remove the illness.

The divisions in Ireland, particularly among the Irish working class, are being perpetrated by British occupation and I mean the Loyalist working class obviously are Irish.

The Loyalist working class obviously have a class interest, which they may not

(partly for their own reasons but also because of the nature of English politics) always understand what Sinn Fein is doing.

But they certainly understand when operations like Brighton take place or the RUC or British troops are killed or injured in successful IRA attacks.

SINCE I'VE been here I've been making comparisons with other national struggles, particularly Vietnam and Nicaragua, and it has seemed to me that those struggles have paid more attention to the armed side of it, that there was in fact a mobilisation of the people involved to arms.

WELL I think both of those struggles, Vietnam particularly, now looking back on it historically, were the classic armed guerilla struggle.

I think that the economic, political, cultural and geographical location is completely in contrast with where we happen to find ourselves.

I think that oppressed people everywhere have the right by whatever methods are available to them, and whatever methods they find appropriate, to resist oppression, nationalist occupation or attacks on a culture.

I think that in terms of the terrain in Vietnam that you can't actually compare the two struggles other than to say that the basic ingredient, that is the right to resist, is similar.

Nicaragua is again a different situation because of where it's situated, because of the open support that those Latin American liberation struggles have got from



St. James Crescent — Many of the street names in nationalist areas have been changed to Irish.

middle of Europe.

We happen to be in what's called a civilised society, which is not civilised of course, and we happen to be in a different culture and geographical situation.

The IRA don't need large battalions of people to resist British occupation.

It's nature and part of it's success, is the IRA's ability to move in small units, to operate almost at will and to inflict casualties on the British occupation forces, despite the overwhelming size of that force.

This, supplemented by the whole need and the whole ongoing campaign of popularising that struggle is the success story.

Its not how many armed personnel you have but the very fact that you can wage a revolutionary struggle on Britain's doorstep.

I think that's the guarantee of success.

HOW DO you see the Protestant community here fitting in with your strategy.

WELL OBVIOUSLY the Protestant Community, I mean the protestant working class community are themselves a victim of the partition of Ireland.

We spoke earlier on about the psychological division, that of course was a very conscious thing.

The Loyalist community or the protestant community, in terms of their present economic situation, are the victim of capitalism.

community, at that stage realised that the nine counties didn't give them the permanent in-built majority they sought.

So they just annexed three counties and entrapped

tions, wages, strike levels, etc.

You have the condition that the patronage of the state will only extend to

REPUBLICAN PRISONERS OF WAR

WAKEFIELD

HM Prison Love Lane, Wakefield, W Yorks. WF2 9AG

HUGH DOHERTY: Life sentence, 338636.
SEAN KINSELLA: Life sentence, 758661.
CON McFADDEN: 20-year sentence, 130662.
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FRANKLAND

HM Prison Finchale Ave, Brasside, Durham

WILLIAM ARMSTRONG: Life sentence, 119085
MARTIN BRADY: Life sentence, 119087.
BRENDAN DOWD: Life sentence, 758662.
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HULL

HM Prison Hedon Rd, Hull, Humberside

ROY WALSH: Life sentence, 119083.

LONG LARTIN

HM Prison Long Lartin, South Littleton, Evesham, Worcs, WR11 5TZ

LIAM BAKER: 20-year sentence, 464984.
JAMES BENNETT: 20-year sentence, 464989.
EDDIE BUTLER: Life sentence, 338637.
ROBERT CUNNINGHAM: 20-year sentence, 131877.
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to try and bridge that gap, to try and bring about that sort of class interest to bring it to the forefront.

I know that with all the difficulties that we're facing at the moment, that we have recognised that responsibility and are very conscious of it.

I don't think that we can talk in terms of being successful in that coming together while there is British occupation.

DURHAM

HM Prison Durham, Old Elvert Street, Durham.

MARTINA ANDERSON: Life sentence, D25134.
ELLA O'DWYER: Life sentence, D25135.

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WORKERS PRESS

talks to

JOE

AUSTIN

vice chair, Sinn Fein in the six counties



JOE AUSTIN

PART 4

IN THE FIRST three parts of this interview JOE AUSTIN discussed how Sinn Fein in the six counties is grappling with the problems of developing political consciousness within the working class.

He explained the role of Sinn Fein's electoral struggle and the breaking down of the existing relationship between elected representatives and those whom they represent.

He talked about the importance of the national question, the relationship between the armed and the political wings of the struggle and how together they challenge, not only the British occupation of the six counties, but the capitalist class system.

He also discussed the confusion of Republicanism with the Irish Free State and described the struggle as he sees it after the removal of British occupation: how the capitalist class will try to re-establish control over all of Ireland.

This week the interview is concluded by Joe Austin talking about his views

when that Government is seen to be in support of British imperialism, or at least is seen to be anti-Republican, people become confused.

Now the reason they're anti-republican is because we pose an economic and a cultural threat to what they are involved in and to where their interests lie.

The Accord is the coming together of all those class, cultural, religious, political interests.

They are coming together to defend their interests, which are under threat because the Republican movement poses an economic, so-

bringing about radical change either at local or national level, we have been to the forefront and we've carried that struggle.

Now that doesn't mean that we exclude all others, but that's the logistical reality of it.

We see issues that lend themselves to broad fronts, we see issues that lend themselves to the national concern and consideration — such as strip searching, plastic bullets, the conditions of prisoners — all of those are issues that the 'left' and the liberal section of our society has a responsibility to play a role in.

see British imperialism, we also disagree with them.

We are republicans, we are socialist and their view of that would almost be a benign view of it.

So there are major economic differences in how we perceive what occupation is about, what imperialism is about.

WHAT ABOUT your differences with the Trotskyist parties?

WE HAVE our differences with the Trotskyist parties. The primary difference between ourselves and those groupings is that we're republicans and they are Trotskyists

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on a two-stage revolution and his hopes for a permanent revolution? Communists in Britain.

HOW DO you see your struggle fitting into the debate among communists about a two stage or a permanent revolution?

I THINK that you have to look at the subject matter and from that you have to develop a strategy.

The long term strategy of the Republican movement is the establishment of a democratic socialist republic.

As a first step, you have to have the means of bringing about that change.

Now that means in the North, where we have an army of occupation, 44,000 members of British forces supported by unlimited military resources, that we have to pitch our resistance at a realistic level — parallel to that.

What we have to do of course is develop politicisation.

Then, in the South, we have a situation whereby there isn't an army of occupation, there is an economy of occupation; there's an economy of dependency; there's a social and psychological dependency on Britain and support of it by a capitalist class.

We have a populace unhappy with the economic situation, who see themselves as observers looking at the struggle in the North, being fed a diet of propaganda and having a gut reaction that the British occupation should end but not really seeing themselves openly involved in it.

Who would blame their economic despair, not on British occupation, not on economic occupation but on another incompetence — in terms of political parties.

We have attempted, as part of our long term policy, to link all those issues and to link them with the British occupation.

We have a situation whereby, at this phase of the struggle, it is highly unlikely that we have either the strength or the logistical opportunities of removing the British occupation suddenly and establishing a *de facto* socialist government.

So it has to be two stages, because what we're dealing with is a situation where a section of the population, of the Irish Free State population, see their particular part of that revolutionary struggle, or that armed resistance, as being over.

Now, we don't believe that the Free State is Republican, but there are huge sections of that population who believe it is a republic.

So the call to arms, if it was made, wouldn't affect that section of the population.

Historically, the Republican movement has looked to the South for support, for the struggle in the North. But the population in the South was hypnotised by events in the north.

The attitude that the political struggle can wait until the issues in the North are resolved is actually politically wrong.

The result of that policy was that, for a number of years, the issues that faced people on a day-to-day basis in the South were not seen as the business of the Republican movement or Sinn Fein.

In terms of how people perceived their lives in the South, Sinn Fein became irrelevant, the business of Sinn Fein was seen as an issue that affected the North and didn't affect them.

So we weren't involved in any resistance in the South to that whole social, economic conspiracy we spoke of earlier as inherent in Capitalism.

We are involved now and

we have made limited breakthroughs.

We will obviously need to combat it and to develop it as the situation develops.

But I don't think that we can look at Ireland and say there is a strategy which was successful somewhere else.

We have to develop a strategy which takes into account our limitations, which takes into account the political, geographical, cultural, social and economic realities that exist.

The strategy that can win must be pitched at that level.

To go back to your reference to Vietnam. The nature of imperialism has obviously changed.

100 years ago imperialism was almost totally an economic imperialism. In Ireland what we have today is a political imperialism.

If you listen to what people like Prior say in terms of Ireland and what they say to justify their presence in Ireland, it isn't overtly that there is an economic need to be here, but it is on the basis that they need to stop revolutionary development on their doorstep.

What makes it more complicated is that geographically the larger section of Ireland, to a casual observer, is free.

Now we both know that it's not free, but that complicates that issue. Again that takes us to a step which is actually of great importance to the Republican movement and that's our attitude towards abstentionism.

There is a realisation that, however bad or incompetent or uncaring or conspiratorial the Government or the administration in the South may be, the vast majority of people see it as their Government.

That complicates what we are trying to do because

The Accord is a blue-
print for victory, it's a blue-
print to maintain their in-
terests and it's a blueprint to
defeat the strength that we
pose.

Dressed up of course to

day-to-day life, in any sec-
tion of the community, but
certainly in the oppressed
sections of the nationalist
community, is that they're
totally irrelevant.

The smaller Trotskyist
parties don't really have

groupings, we don't sub-
scribe to Trotskyism: there's an economical, cultu-
ral, political difference be-
tween our own political
theory and theirs — and that
difference is what makes us
Republicans and them Trots-
kyists.

Having said that we are
politically in conflict with
them, there are issues where
there is at least some degree
of common ground.

Now I think we shouldn't
take things out of proportion
in terms of numerical
strength, in terms of parties
and in terms of popular sup-
port for political parties, it's
a Goliath and David situa-
tion.

That doesn't mean to say
that we don't see that they
have the right to exist, we
obviously do think they have
the right to exist.

But they don't contribute
in any meaningful fashion to
bringing about either revolu-
tionary change, or revolu-
tionary assistance to the eco-
nomic situation that prevails
in the South.

The cultural conditions
that exist in the South, the
political realities in the
South are the struggle in the
North.

**WHAT ARE your theoretic-
al differences with Trots-
kyism?**

We're not Trotskyists, that's
our theoretical differences.
In terms of how they per-
ceive the struggle in Ireland
and the end result of that
struggle in Ireland.

We believe that the strug-
gle in Ireland is a struggle
for national liberation. So-
cial and democratic social
structures and institutions
will govern, based on, of
course, working class needs.

We believe that our role in
terms of the international
struggle is of support as well
as of conscious concern and
as one of politicisation in
terms of what is happening
around the world.

*'I think the left must take on board
Ireland, not only as a problem for the
Irish but as a problem for the left in
England.'*

make it acceptable is the
facade of limited changes,
the facade of the Accord
being in the defence of the
nationalist interest.

We are now told the
Accord is going to be suc-
cessful because it allows the
nationalist population to fly
their national flag.

You've been here a num-
ber of days — we don't need
an Accord to fly the national
flag.

We don't need legislation
that allows us to speak our
language. We don't need leg-
islation that allows us to
oppose British occupation
but that puts the sugar on a
very bitter pill.

I think that the Accord's
failing, I think it's failing for
a number of reasons, but
primarily because the
nationalist population have
been brought down this road
before and seen it's a cul-
desac.

I think that we have a task
of course, a formidable task,
to work against this latest
blueprint but I'm confident
of the fact that that's what
we'll do.

**WHAT IS the relationship
of Sinn Fein to Communist
parties in Ireland?**

AGAIN I think the situation
is, in terms of those forces
that are in the business of

either the personnel or are
not in a position where they
contribute in a meaningful
way to bring about change.

This isn't to be derogatory
and it isn't to dismiss them.

We politically disagree
with them of course, but I
mean they aren't that rel-
evant to the current situa-
tion.

**WHAT ARE your political
disagreements with them?**

WELL, THERE are a num-
ber of disagreements with
them.

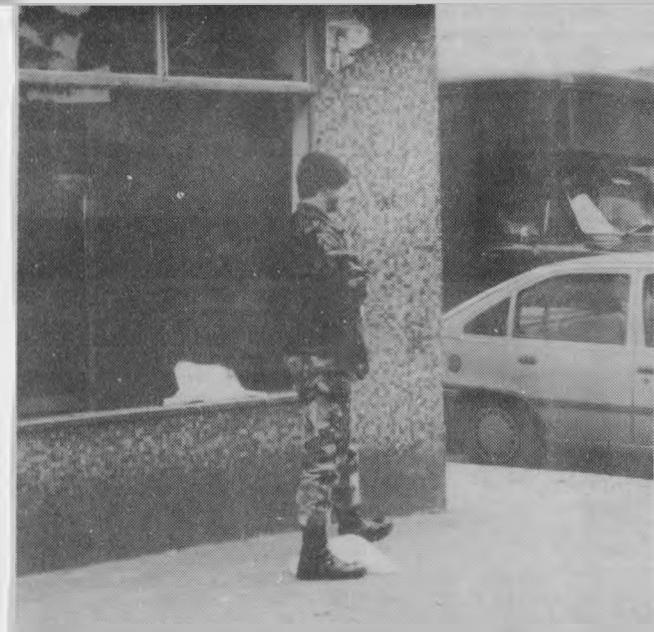
For instance, in terms of
the Communist Party of Ire-
land, while opposing British
occupation, it opposes it
from an armchair position.

They, for instance, are
opposed to armed struggle.
We have policy and support
the armed struggle, see the
armed struggle as a legiti-
mate means to resist British
occupation.

They would disagree with
that, they fundamentally dis-
agree with our position.

We don't believe that the
working class can be united
under British imperialism
and we don't believe that
they can be united while the
country is geographically di-
vided; we believe that that's
the reason for the division.

They would disagree, I
would imagine, with how we



The British army presence, who infringe on every part of daily life, are a constant reminder to the nationalist communities in the six counties that they are an occupied people.

We don't believe our primary concern, our primary responsibility is to fight the Palestinian struggle in Ireland, but to make our people aware of the legitimacy of the Palestinian struggle.

We also believe in, and we're very conscious of, the need for armed struggle. They don't.

In terms of our economic and social direction it is primarily one of needs for the Irish people.

Their's tends to be one of a hypnotic look at what was happening in the 1913 or 1914 period in Moscow in Russia and trying to carbon copy that onto Ireland.

We don't believe that that works.

We also are very detached from the incessant, internal struggles of the left. We don't have those problems.

We don't particularly want those problems and while we do on occasions understand them the continual divisions

stock-piling of plastic bullets, the various shades of legislation are only the tip of the iceberg.

What has happened, of course, is that the British state is learning all of the lessons of repression in Ireland and they're prepared and in fact have already begun the process of using them in England.

But the left should look upon it, the same way the oppressive forces look upon it, as a massive training ground of alternative political views.

Whether it's in terms of how they deal with Greenham Common, or how they deal with the Miners strike, or Wapping or whatever, its very conscious and those lessons are being learned and they're being implemented.

The second thing is that, Connolly said that a country that enslaves another country cannot in itself be free. That has to be understood



The British miners strike made it clear to the British as well as the Irish working class that there is one common enemy, the British state. The Irish Miners Strike and has been defaced by British troops carries the same

don't either help the left in general or help those whom the left purports to defend — and that's the working class.

So its a major problem, major difficulties, major differences.

The place to fight the revolutionary struggle is not in five-hour sessions, it's in the street is where that struggle is going to be won or lost.

That's not what happens with the left now.

What happens is the never ending argument about whether the bottle is half-full or is the bottle half-empty.

That perpetuation of internal discussion doesn't match what is required.

We are very much in the business of attempting to do what is required.

What is required in the street is not being the 'vanguard of the revolution' but being part of the revolution and trying to maximize and spread that.

That only happens, and life only happens, on the street and I think that's a major problem with the very microscopic left that we have in Ireland.

Having said that, we don't pretend that we have all the answers nor do we pretend that we are the bastion of the revolution, we are not.

If others can make a conscious and realistic input into it they're welcome.

That's it, and that isn't to say they have to substitute their identity to do it within the revolutionary movement.

There is a role and they have to find that role.

FINALLY, what would you ask of British revolutionaries to help forward your struggle?

I THINK that what has to happen is, number one, that the lessons of Ireland have got to be transmitted in the most practical fashion to what's happened in England.

The manifestations of police using riot shields that were initially used here, the

You mentioned, earlier on, the discussions that the international communist communities have on Ireland. I don't believe those discussions take place as a conscious decision.

I think there are certainly comrades who are very concerned about what happens in Ireland and are very supportive and very fraternal.

But I think that the left must take on board Ireland, not only as a problem for the Irish but as a problem for the left in England. All of those lessons have to be learnt.

But primarily we have to establish a normality of relationships with progressive forces. That has to be done as a matter of instant importance.

And that doesn't entail blind allegiance to what we do, in fact that would be counterproductive to what we were seeking.

We're not looking for that, we're looking for critical understanding of what happens in Ireland.

We're looking for advice. We're looking for discussion.

We're looking for all of those things that are the normality of progressive forces.

I don't mean that you leave your Trotskyism behind on the boat when you come here, or that we leave our Republicanism at home when we come there.

But it means that that relationship has got to be developed.

message.

Jonathan Swift, when talking about what the Irish should do about the English, said we should burn everything English but their coal.

I think that we have to some extent inherited that concept and that has damaged us as much as it has damaged the left.

We have constantly and consciously tried to move away from that. In terms of the number of Sinn Fein speakers going to England, there is no comparison to what it was a number of years ago, two years ago.

You spoke earlier about the effects of the miners' strike. I think for the first time it should have demonstrated to the left what the opposition was capable of doing.

But it also demonstrated to the more politicised sections of the Irish people that it isn't the English who are at war with the Irish, it is the English ruling classes who are at war with the Irish and who are also at war with the English working class.

Now that's not to say that us 'politicos' discovered that the day the strike began.

But in realistic terms and in visual terms, it demonstrated to the Irish people that there is a common enemy and there is a common front and that front, at whatever level, has got to be found.

Announcement for WRP members WRP Irish Commission

WEEKEND SCHOOL

**Saturday-Sunday September 27th-28th
College of Marxist Education, Derbyshire**

**DISCUSSIONS ON:
IRISH SOLIDARITY WORK
THE IRISH WORKING CLASS AND THE NATIONAL STRUGGLE
PROSPECTS FOR TROTSKYISM IN IRELAND TODAY**

Cost £12 plus fares from areas. Please make bookings with WRP Irish Commission, 21b Old Town, London SW4 0JT.

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EDDIE O'NEILL: 20-year sentence, 135722.

LEICESTER

HM Prison Welford Rd, Leicester, LE2 7AJ

PAUL KAVANAGH: Life sentence, l888.
BRIAN KEENAN: 21-year sentence, B26380.
GERRY McDONNELL: Life sentence, B75882.
PATRICK McGEE: Life sentence, B75881.

HULL

HM Prison Hedon Rd, Hull, Humberside

ROY WALSH: Life sentence, 119083.

DURHAM

HM Prison Durham, Old Elvert Street, Durham.

MARTINA ANDERSON: Life sentence, D25134.
ELLA O'DWYER: Life sentence, D25135.

INNOCENT MEN AND WOMEN FRAMED BY THE BRITISH POLICE:

CAROLE RICHARDSON: 290719, HM Prison Styal, Wilmslow, Cheshire
PATRICK ARMSTRONG: HM Prison Gartree.
PAUL HILL: 462778. HM Prison Wormwood Scrubs.
GERARD CONLON: 462779, HM Prison Long Lartin.
JUDITH WARD, HM Prison Durham.
HUGH CALLAGHAN, 509499, HM Prison Gartree.
JOHN WALKER, 509494, HM Prison, Long Lartin.
BILLY POWER, 509498, HM Prison Wormwood Scrubs.
GERARD HUNTER, 509495, HM Prison Frankland.
RICHARD McILKENNY, 509498, HM Prison Wormwood Scrubs
PADDY HILL, 509496, HM Prison Gartree.

They are all serving life and in the case of Carole Richardson, indefinite detention.

The information on this list is supplied and updated by An Cumann Cabhrach, British section, for which we thank them.

LETTERS

INHUMANE BY ANY STANDARDS

DESPITE a ruling by the European Convention for Human Rights that prisoners should be incarcerated as close to their homes and families as possible, the British government has a policy to hold all Irish Republican prisoners who have been tried in Britain in British jails instead of sending them to Long Kesh, in the north of Ireland.

This policy flies in the face of the European convention which they have endorsed. The Convention is very clear in its intent.

It is only humane to imprison those convicted in a prison close to their families. Otherwise, the families, who have nothing to do with the events which have led to imprisonment, are punished along with the 'offender'.

When a person is convicted by a court of law that court decides, in its so-called wisdom, what appropriate sentence should be handed out for the crime committed.

When this involves imprisonment, it is the number of years of imprisonment which determine the greater or lesser punishment the court considers appropriate.

In the terms of this penal system, that is considered appropriate and adequate punishment. Once the convicted serves the awarded number of years, it is considered they have 'paid their price'.

The geographical location of a prison is not relevant. Nowhere does the penal system of Britain recognise that the question of the location of a prison is a factor which can be used to increase or decrease the amount of punishment required.

However, when it comes to Republican prisoners, the British Government takes it upon itself to increase the punishment handed out by the court by denying prisoners the right to be imprisoned close to their families and also extends the punishment to the unconvicted, and therefore innocent, families



MARCHERS carry the names of all the Irish POWs held in British jails in this years Anti-Internment rally in Belfast as part of a campaign to have them repatriated.

THE TORTURE of the families of Irish political prisoners held in British jails is so severe that they have formed an organisation, the Irish Political Prisoners in English Jails Relatives Committee.

The main aim of the committee is to fight for the repatriation of prisoners to Long Kesh so that, while sentences are being served, families and relatives will not

nationalist communities in the north of Ireland.

It is consistent with the strip searching and torture of prisoners, and the use of plastic and rubber bullets against innocent civilians. It is part of a reign of terror which seeks to intimidate, repress and deny a whole community their right to determine their own future.

It is part of maintaining the geographical division of Ireland and the sectarian divisions of the six counties to render the Irish working class vulnerable to the exploitation of British imperialism.

The other factor to be considered is that all of the prisoners are only in jail in any case because they have fought against their oppressors for the freedom of their people.

These are the same oppressors who are presently attacking the British working class with anti-union legislation, increased police powers and decreased social services.

WORKERS PRESS recently spoke in Belfast to a number of people who are fighting for the repatriation of Irish Republican prisoners held in British jails.



The British government is using the families of POWs to try and break the resistance of Irish prisoners in the same way they used the families to break the Hunger Strikes in 1981.

Fein's representative on the committee, told Workers Press:

'We believe that all Irish political prisoners in British jails and in jail in the six counties are innocent because they were tried on the pages of the Sun and the Telegraph, so it's impossible to find a jury that won't have read those articles.

'People are suffering because Irish political prisoners are being held and they're being held in Britain as political hostages as a guarantee for Irish good behaviour.

'But this is not a factor, the bombs continue in England.

'We believe that the pris-

soners because the families are suffering.

'Any British soldiers found guilty of offences in this country for rape, murder or petty theft are transferred to England to serve their sentences.

'That highlights the hypocritical attitude of the British government to the relatives of Irish prisoners and is typical of the hypocrisy of the British government in its dealings with Ireland.

'Most of the prisoners have made the point in their letters that they ask for nothing for themselves, they are prepared to do their time, they don't want to push for better facilities for themselves.

For the 'sins' of their fathers...

ANN-MARIE KENNAN, the Secretary of the Irish Political Prisoners in English Jails Relatives Committee, is the daughter of Brian Keenan who has been incarcerated in Britain since 1978.

When Ann-Marie was a young girl, her father was arrested in Britain and charged with conspiracy to cause an explosion.

She told Workers Press: 'We were all little, it left my Mummy with six children, which was very hard for her because we were all so young'.

In 1979 Mrs. Keenan went to Britain to visit her husband in Brixton prison.

After the visit she was arrested, charged with conspiracy to plan an escape, held in Brixton jail for seven months and then acquitted.

In the meantime her six children were left in Belfast without either of their parents to provide for or nur-

ture them.

Ann-Marie said: 'Mummy was given bail, but her bail conditions were that she was not allowed to live here.

So we could only see her on visits to England, even though she wasn't in jail.

'There were six of us in the house. I was seventeen and pregnant at the time so my Mummy was going out of her mind.

'We were old enough to look after the house ourselves, but someone had to come over and check that everything was OK and we had to have home help.

'Every few months one of my aunts or somebody would have to take us over to England to visit our parents.

'When my baby was three weeks old, I brought him over for my Mummy to see him. They used to pay for a plane then, but now you have to go on the boat.

'It affected my Mummy's health, it effected our family life, it effected everything.'

made is that they recognise the torture their families are put through.'

Because the prisoners are moved around jails in England so frequently, families often arrive, after a long journey, to find that their relative has been moved.

It is not always easy to find out where they have been moved to because it is always supposed to be done in the interests of security.

Even when they do find out, they have then to travel further.

All this takes time which infringes on the visiting time and puts pressure on which increases the stress involved in such visits.

Relatives often face harassment from security forces when they are in Britain away from their homes and friends, as in the case of Geraldine Quigley.

After visiting her husband, Geraldine Quigley was standing on her own, waiting for a train at Paddington Station in London when she was surrounded by plain clothes police.

They forced her into a car and took her to Paddington Station where they proceeded to question her about her husband and about her family.

She was strip searched and examined by a man who claimed to be a doctor but who refused to give his name and insisted on examining her front and back passages and the soles of her feet.

After six hours she was released.

Jim McMullin said: 'She was deliberately held so she would miss her flight home.

'As it happened there had been a late plane put on that night, but normally she wouldn't have been able to get home that night and would have had to find somewhere to stay without money.

'This is typical of what happens to relatives.'



THE IRISH Political Prisoners in English Jails Relatives Committee made a strong plea at this years Anti-internment in Belfast.

Another problem for the relatives is the cost of visits. An indication of the hypocrisy of the situation is that the Northern Ireland Office pays for the trip.

It therefore increases the costs to the British government to keep these prisoners in Britain.

However, Ann-Marie Keenan, secretary of the Relatives Committee said:

'They don't give you enough money. It costs about £100 or more than what they give you.

'You don't get the money until you come back with the tickets and receipts, so you have to raise it yourself.

— they will serve their sentences no matter where they are — but it's the plight of the families themselves, travelling and bringing kids over, the expense involved and the mental torture involved especially if somebody's moved before a visit.

'The relatives themselves have to give three days notice to the prison authorities that they are coming.

'On the day of your visit, you're waiting, you're all tensed up to see how they're going to arrive, or is anything going to happen, is anything going to prevent them arriving.

'Then you worry about whether you'll be moved, be-

political issue for the British government.

'We're thinking more in terms of the effect it has on the families. It doesn't really matter if you support the armed struggle, the problems are about people having to travel to see their fathers, their sons, their husbands.

'There's nothing in the present rules in Britain or the European rules that say you can't be repatriated.

'And it's in the British prison rules that they will be accommodated in a prison near their families, but this is just not happening in the case of Irish prisoners.

'Year ago, Billy Whitelaw

Hunger Strikes and again they got at the prisoners families.

'They used the church to do it, who intervened to end the Hunger Strike.

'It was proven to the whole world that we were political prisoners and the British Government could have released it years before.

'But they believed that they could break the resistance of the prisoners by torturing their relatives quite deliberately.'

The relatives committee is preparing a case to take to Strasburg, based on Britain's signing of the convention and asking why it is not being extended to Ireland.

want a support base in Britain, Scotland and Wales. We believe that British public opinion can be a vital factor in winning this issue.

'Irish public opinion doesn't account for anything as far as the British government is concerned — it's a foregone conclusion.

'If there was a census in the thirty-two counties asking if these prisoners should be released in the morning, they would be released. The support is already here.

'At the end of the day we get 100,000 people marching in the streets and the government just doesn't acknowledge it.

ter and it still doesn't account for anything, so we believe that British public opinion can, to a certain extent influence British policy on Ireland.

'We cannot achieve socialism in this country, neither can it be achieved in Britain without using force.

'But we also must not just employ violence, it must be a revolutionary violence, it must not be indiscriminate, it must be part of a broad strategy applied as a lever, because there is no such thing as democracy, not in Ireland and certainly not in Britain.

'The repatriation issue is an important part of our

to travel on the bus, the boat and the train with my two young children who are going over to see their grandad.

'There's no guarantee that when we arrive he will even still be in Leicester.

'And we aren't sure how much time we'll have to spend with him. He has accumulated visits but they only allow one prisoner at a time to have visitors.

'So if someone else has visitors we will have to share the time with them.'

Gerry Young, who was in prison in England for ten years, talked about the penal system and the way Irish prisoners are constantly moved from one jail to another.

He said: 'It's more about families than anything. The prisoners are strong people

they do arrive. One prisoner was moved in the middle of a visit.

'They just cancelled the visit and moved him.

'Then when they arrive, you breath a sigh of relief. You're having maybe three or four visits.

'Relatives come over maybe twice a year if there's lucky.

'Then on the day they're going to leave you're all tensed up again. Waiting to hear if they got home alright, if the kids are alright.'

Gerry went on to talk about the hypocrisy of the British Government in refusing to repatriate Irish political prisoners. He said:

'Repatriation is a political issue, our people in England are political hostages, it a

would go home as heroes.

'That is a joke, if it's a question of heroes, there's plenty in Long Kesh.

Prisoners were told that if they renounced their Republicanism any application for repatriation would be looked on favourably.

'Well there's no way that any Irish Republican POW is going to sever his links with the Republican movement, because it's not just a question of joining a group and leaving a group, it's a commitment to build a democratic socialist republic in Ireland.

If the British government thinks that they're going to change Republican POWs' principles, they can think again.

'There's no way that they will sever any links. In fact they said themselves to the Internment March on August 8 that they would work harder to ensure the freedom of the Irish people while they're in England.

'We're talking about repatriation for the families.'

There are many precedents for repatriation.

● Eighty-two British soldiers convicted for civil offences including murder in Northern Ireland have all been repatriated to English jails.

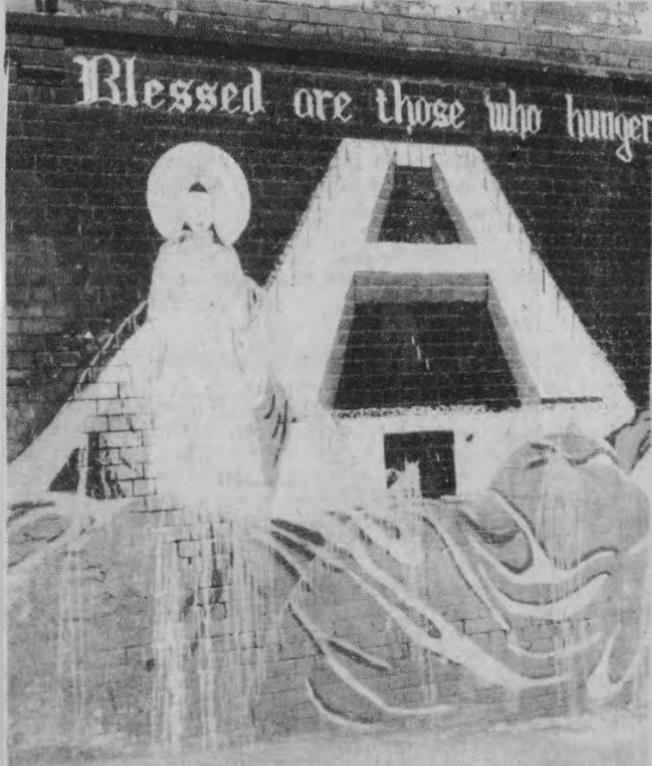
● In 1973/74 the Price sisters were repatriated after a hunger strike.

● Shane-Paul O'Dohery was repatriated after he renounced his Republican ties.

● Last year, a Loyalist in prison for political activity in Britain was repatriated.

Jim McMullin said: 'The British government have a very cynical attitude, they believe that they can break the resistance of the prisoners by getting at their families and that if they can break the resistance of the prisoners they will break the resistance outside the prisons.

'This is the reason they took such a hard line on the



EVERYWHERE in Belfast are reminders of the Hunger Strikes.

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HM Prison Welford Rd, Leicester, LE2 7AJ

PAUL KAVANAGH: Life sentence, 1888.
BRIAN KEENAN: 21-year sentence, B26380.
GERRY McDONNELL: Life sentence, B75882.
PATRICK McGEE: Life sentence, B75881.

HULL

HM Prison Hedon Rd, Hull, Humberside

ROY WALSH: Life sentence, 119083.

DURHAM

HM Prison Durham, Old Elvert Street, Durham.

MARTINA ANDERSON: Life sentence, D25134.
ELLA O'DWYER: Life sentence, D25135.

INNOCENT MEN AND WOMEN FRAMED BY THE BRITISH POLICE:

CAROLE RICHARDSON: 290719, HM Prison Styal, Wilmslow, Cheshire
PATRICK ARMSTRONG: HM Prison Gartree.
PAUL HILL: 462778 HM Prison Wormwood Scrubs
GERARD CONLON: 462779, HM Prison Long Lartin.
JUDITH WARD, HM Prison Durham.
HUGH CALLAGHAN, 509499, HM Prison Gartree.
JOHN WALKER, 509494, HM Prison, Long Lartin.
BILLY POWER, 509498, HM Prison Wormwood Scrubs.
GERARD HUNTER, 509495, HM Prison Frankland.
RICHARD McILKENNY, 509498, HM Prison Wormwood Scrubs
PADDY HILL, 509496, HM Prison Gartree.

They are all serving life and in the case of Carole Richardson, indefinite detention.

THE SHOOTING of Paddy McAllister is a predictable consequence and a tragic result of the Hillsborough Agreement.

This treaty has led to an orchestrated Loyalist campaign against ordinary Catholics in north Belfast, Lisburn and other parts of the six counties.

Such a campaign has been endorsed

by Ian Paisley, Peter Robinson and their cohorts, and is directed by the leadership of the UDA and the UVF.

Such actions fit with British counter-terror ideology.

It is a blatantly sectarian campaign and Paddy McAllister became a victim because he was a Catholic who happened to be a black-taxi driver and who lived in

an area convenient for a Loyalist murder gang.

If the Loyalists were attacking republican activists the logic of their actions could be understood.

The vast majority of those killed by the Loyalist terror gangs especially the UDA are ordinary Catholics, targets solely because of their religious persuasion.

LOYALIST THUGS KILL AGAIN

INNOCENT MAN SHOT IN COLD BLOOD

LAST NIGHT (Tuesday August 26) I witnessed at first hand some of the horror, heartache and torture that a Catholic living in northern Ireland endures.

As I sat watching television, I heard a series of bangs. I quickly dismissed the thought that they were gunshots.

There has been a lot of building work around this district. The thought that the noises were wood being unloaded, or hammering, was so much more comfortable that I settled back to the

fantasy drama in front of me.

Last night, two men sitting in a car were seen by residents at the time of the shooting. This was the get-away car. It was chased by a

neighbour, but with no result.

A little later I heard a woman screaming and the words 'They've shot him' penetrated through the screams.

Still my mind refused to accept what it was hearing.

Alone, in a strange house, in a strange and very frightening city, the familiarity of a celluloid murder stole my attention once again.

But a little later, blue lights flashed through the window and threatened my manufactured calm once again. These lights would not go away, like the earlier

was a brutal reminder of the danger in which they all live.

Their grief at the loss of a well-loved neighbour was made bitter because his murderers had planned this attack. Everyone knew it could have been them, or might next time be them.

Last night's murder was the third in this street.

Some years ago a 45-year-old woman, Sadie Lamour, sat watching television and eating her dinner with her mother, at 6 o'clock at night

Mother

Two gunmen walked in the front door. Sadie threw herself on top of mother and the gunmen shot her.

The two had been seen arriving in the area on a motor cycle, but they got

Protestant group, the Ulster Freedom Fighters, who are known to have links with the UDA.

Two weeks ago the UVF issued a statement that they would kill black-taxi drivers and their passengers.

This includes the whole of the Catholic community as the black-taxis are their main form of transport in the city.

Directly after the warning was issued, a shot from a passing car hit a black-taxi driver, injuring him in the arm.

Last night they succeeded. Paddy McAllister is dead.

Paddy was acclaimed by all as one of the most inoffensive and harmless men you could hope to meet. He was known for his bright

lives of everybody in Belfast'.

It is not the IRA who endanger the lives of the people of Belfast.

It is the Loyalist paramilitary gangs which walk into the houses of innocent taxi drivers and murder them, who try to drive the few Catholics employed at Shorts or in the Department of Social Security from their jobs.

Bullets

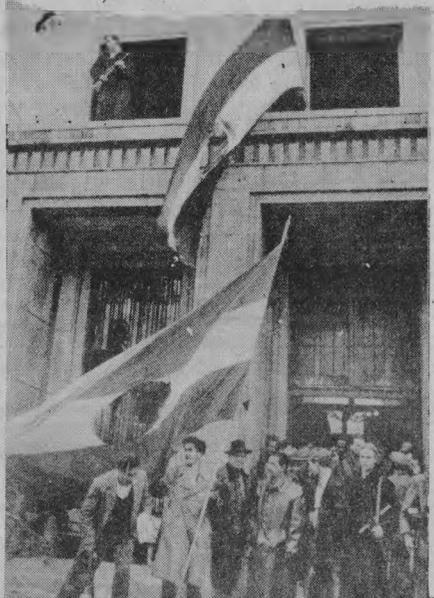
It is the British army of occupation and the RUC who murder innocent civilians on the streets with plastic, rubber and lead bullets.

It is the courts who refuse to take the murder of any Catholic here seriously.

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HUNGARIAN

**PETER
FRYER**



The Hungarian revolution of 1956 and its brutal suppression by Russian tanks was a watershed in the history of socialism.

In October 1956 Peter Fryer was sent to cover these events for the Daily Worker. He reported what he saw — only to have his despatches suppressed and to be suspended and then expelled from the Communist Party.

He saw people in arms demolish a regime of fear and poverty and take power in their own hands. He saw security police atrocities — and the people's terrible revenge. Then he watched appalled as a nation's new-born freedom was relentlessly crushed.

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groups of people. Some huddled together, others busily walked from one house to another, from one group of people to another.

Attention was focussed on the house directly opposite this one. An ambulance waited, its back doors wide open.

Police began to arrive and I watched them go into the house and cordon off the street.

Then there were more cries, tortured screams of horror which sent shivers of shocked reality and produced tears of compassion in everyone.

Police began to swarm, then half a dozen Saracens arrived and the army joined the swarm of uniformed intruders.

Assassins

Paddy McAllister, one of Belfast's black-taxi cab drivers was murdered by Loyalist assassins as he sat watching television in his home.

His wife and children were all out of the house when a gunman walked in and shot him.

Paddy's young son was playing on the street and rushed into the house when he heard the shots.

With incredible presence of mind he phoned for an ambulance then called to a neighbour who was talking to friends in the street.

When she went into the house and saw the body of her friend and neighbour disfigured by bullet wounds, she ran out of the house screaming.

This woman had a brother murdered in his bed in the same street five years ago. Her pain was too great, tied with her horrible memories. She went into severe shock.

For this community, the murder of Paddy McAllister

killed by gunmen as he lay in his bed.

The gunmen entered the house from a back laneway and cut a hole in the back door to let themselves into

Last night many people told me, 'He always had a joke for everybody'.

The UFF statement claimed that Paddy was a Republican activist, but his

ist assassins.

The murderers of Sadie Lamour were caught. There were five men involved in the killing.

The court claimed it could not prove which one had actually fired the gun, so the stiffest sentence was seven years. The others involved received sentences of five and four years.

Last night, my own frustration and anger at what had happened led me to ask one of the men why they just don't go back and shoot in retaliation.

Sectarian

He carefully explained that Republicans abhor sectarian killings, that they will achieve nothing except a lot of heartache and misery.

The Republican movement will engage in armed struggle, but as a disciplined part of a protracted campaign to gain a united democratic socialist Ireland.

Killings like that of Paddy McAllister are always dismissed as part of the lunatic actions that come from both sides.

This is completely untrue, the intimidation and discrimination in this city is all against the Catholics — all Catholics — whether they are Republican supporters or not.

● *Workers Press would like to extend its deepest sympathies to Paddy McAllister's family and I would like to thank the community of St James who, despite their own grief, made sure I was not left to deal with my shock alone and extended understanding and support.*

For this community, the murder of Paddy McAllister was a brutal reminder of the danger in which they all live.

the house. They also made their escape.

This district is bordered on one side by a Loyalist area, known as The Village. Separating the two districts is a motorway with an entrance a short distance up the road from here.

This makes the area very vulnerable.

An army observation post is positioned nearby on top of a high-rise nurses' home. It was supposed to be set up for the sole purpose of watching for action between the two districts.

Motorway

Barrier gates to block the motorway entrance to the district were installed some years ago by the security forces, but for some time they have been left open.

Residents here have no protection from murderous Loyalist thugs by the security forces, which are used to harass and intimidate them. The sense of outrage at the injustice is strong.

Last night's killing was today claimed by the outlawed

friends and neighbours deny it. So does Sinn Fein and the 'We-won't-take-sides' SDLP.

The black-taxi drivers' association issued a statement that they have no connection whatsoever with any paramilitary organisation.

Paddy will be sorely missed by this community, but last night, grief at his loss was mixed with the fear that no-one's life is safe in this district.

Hidden

The warning issued by the UFF received very little press coverage. In fact it would not be an exaggeration to say that, where it did, it was hidden away so as to be unnoticeable.

In contrast, the threat issued a few days earlier by the IRA that they would add to their target list any worker who serviced the security forces, was blown out of all proportion, made headline news and was used to stir up hatred of the Republican movement in Ireland.

I remember clearly the BBC 9 O'Clock News saying something like 'This insister threat will endanger the

Loyalists' victim buried

THE FUNERAL of Paddy McAllister, the black-taxi driver who was murdered by Loyalist assassins in Belfast ten days ago, was attended by over 500 family, relatives, friends and workmates.

The cortege, led by six taxis, was followed by all 300 black-taxi drivers who mourned the loss of their colleague.

The black taxis are an integral, important part of life in Belfast.

Introduced by the nationalist community to replace buses which had been burnt out in the early seventies, they cruise up and down the main streets, picking up and dropping passengers as they go, providing a cheap and efficient transport service.



Their existence is a tribute to the resourcefulness of a community in struggle.

The day of the funeral, it was reported in a nationalist paper in Belfast that the RUC had been alerted to the existence of a loyalist murder gang in the Village area (which borders St. James, where Paddy McAllister was murdered), a fortnight before the shooting.

A local lorry-driver told the Andersontown News that he had halted all deliveries to the Village area after receiving reports that a loyalist gang in the Donegal Road/Village area had been inquiring about the religion of his delivery men.

This information was passed on to the RUC a full fortnight before the assass-



sination of Paddy McAlister.

The lorry driver stated: 'It is quite obvious that the loyalist paramilitaries were looking for an assassination victim in the Village. When this plan was thwarted it appears they then decided to strike in the vulnerable St. James area.'

Many of the nationalist community feel that this

shows a lack of determination by the RUC to prevent the sectarian murders of Catholics.

These fears were strengthened when, after the police had left the house where Paddy was shot, a cartridge was found.

There is strong feeling that the RUC were just going through the motions.