

- What a State!
- Concrete Nonviolence
- Training in the States
- Peace Forum closes
- Lignite Action 'Neagh'



Illustration adapted from O. Philippe, Uni. of Peace, 1980.



DEFENCE WITHOUT OFFENCE — ALTERNATIVE DEFENCE POSSIBILITIES FOR IRELAND

4-page broadsheet enclosed in this issue.



# Sean MacBride

Ireland's most respected and internationally known human rights activist and statesman died in Dublin in January 1988; he was Sean MacBride. In this short piece we wish to pay tribute to his memory.

A mark of the esteem which he was held in internationally was his holding of both the Lenin and Nobel peace prizes. At an age when most people would have been hanging up their boots and sitting by their firesides, he had become UN Commissioner for Namibia (1973-77), apart from many other international legal and human rights involvements.

His journey from being involved in the guerrilla war against Britain, and being a prominent IRA man following the Treaty between the Free State and Britain in 1921, to becoming a prominent lawyer and politician was a journey which enabled him to contribute fully to Irish life. He nevertheless remained committed strongly to the principle of an all-Ireland republic.

Becoming Minister for External Affairs in 1948, he resisted pressure to let the South join NATO, thus helping to preserve some measure of neutrality for the Republic down to today. It was at this time that his international involvements in other issues became important. He was involved in the formation of Amnesty International in 1961 and continued working with it.

He was in recent years very much involved in Irish CND, and some of us remember him speaking at the North Atlantic Network conference in Galway last September; a wizened and frail man but with a youthful twinkle in his eyes, unbeaten and unbowed.

We are not trying to say we agreed with all his views, or all his political actions. But he kept on moving — intellectually, politically, and geographically — right up until his death at the age of almost 84. May we also have the inspiration and the stamina to keep on moving while continuing a commitment to justice and to peace at home and abroad.

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**DAWN TRAIN No.7;** publication date June 1988.

This issue edited by Rob Fairmichael.

Letters, comments and material for possible publication welcome (desperately needed?)

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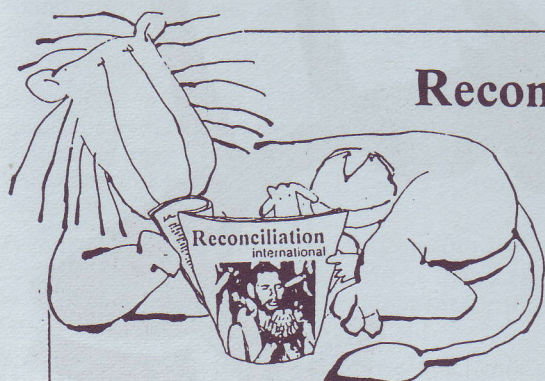
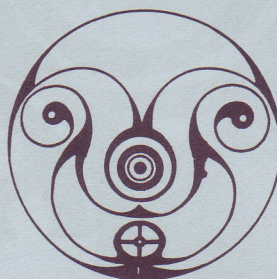
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# LIGNITE – NONVIOLENT – ACTION SAYS 'NEAGH' TO BP



*The drilling convoy at a halt a mile from the proposed site. The drilling workers are seen in the right background.*

Lignite Action in the Ardboe and Ballinderry areas of County Tyrone have entered on a new phase in their struggle to protect their community against the threat if lignite mining – which would literally undermine their close-knit and densely populated rural area.

This new situation has followed a confrontation between local people, including members of Lignite Action, and representatives of BP Coal (who hold the prospecting licences) in early February. The commitment of Lignite Action to working nonviolently has been an important factor in all this.

Now BP have committed themselves to consulting the local community before prospecting which is something they had refused to do before; they had refused to meet Lignite Action over a period of 18 months. Incredibly, the local community had had no legal right to even be consulted.

BP and the Department of Economic Development (DED) have agreed that there will be no prospecting until new licences are issued – the old ones ran out at the end of May 1988. Lignite Action in addition wanted the 'least damaging' site of the three possible lignite mining areas in Northern Ireland (Crumlin, Ballymoney, Ballinderry/Ardboe) to be developed before the people of Ardboe would have to choose, so they could see the effects of mining and a power station. Neither the DED nor BP have agreed to this, however.

What happened in early February? Lignite Action had their ears to the ground (pun intended!) and knew BP were likely to move on the prospecting front soon. On Sunday 7th February BP moved a large 4-wheel tractor into Mullan Moss under cover of darkness. The land chosen belonged to one of 14 landowners who had given BP permission to prospect; significantly the land chosen for this first venture in drilling belonged to an absentee landowner.

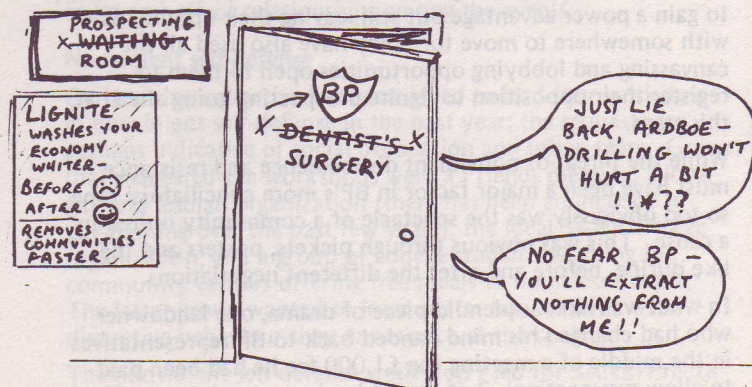
Anyhow, on Monday morning, 8th February, a mobile crane came to Mullan Moss but was intercepted by a one man picket mounted by a member of Lignite Action who lived nearby and saw it coming. The crane driver refused to pass this picket and withdrew. The convoy of drilling equipment came to rest on the side of the road about a mile away from the site.

Negotiations began. A BP representative gave a Lignite Action representative a letter saying they were willing to meet them! This was after refusing for 18 months. Workers on the drilling convoy were told that the quarrel was with BP and not with them, and that there would be no intimidation.

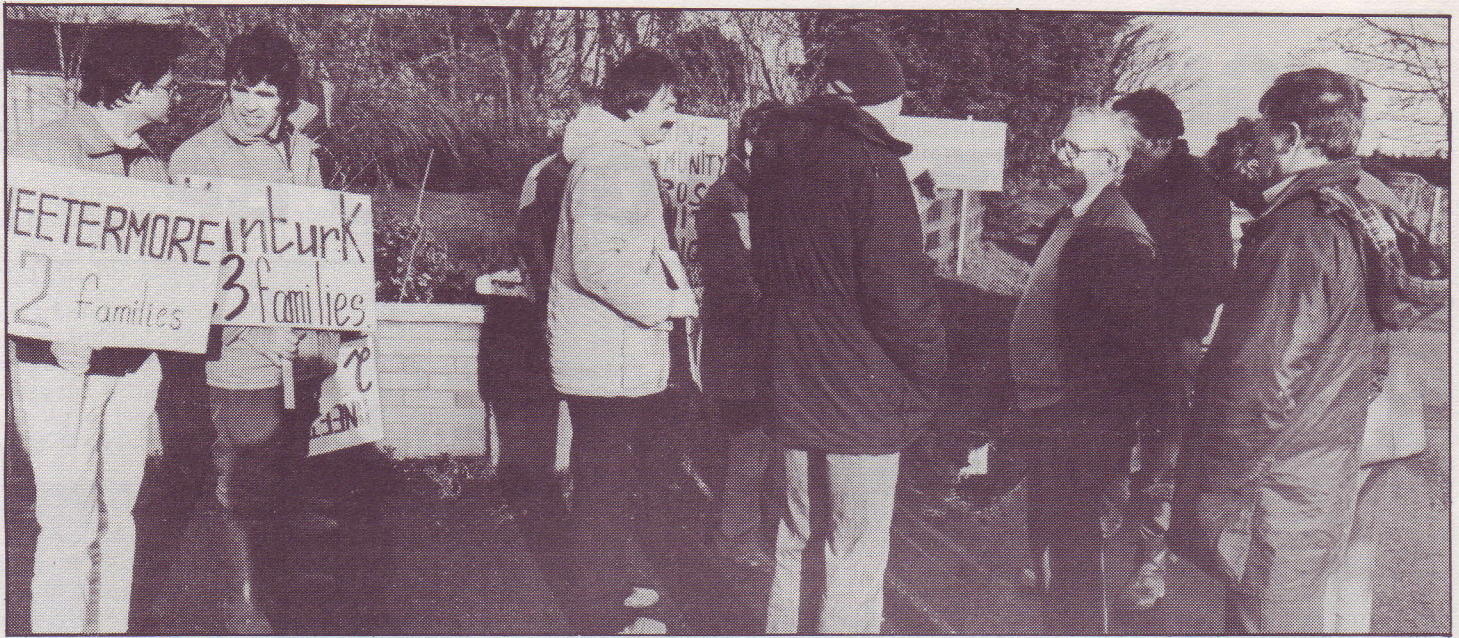
BP wanted to know from the 30 or so local people gathered whether they were going to obstruct; BP were told that they were coming in against the wishes of the local community and that they had previously refused to meet the farmers' group or the Lignite Action committee. In response to the question on obstruction, people said they were committed to nonviolence and that passive resistance to their coming in was a possibility (and there were people willing to lie down in front of machinery). A BP request to be able to offload the drilling equipment on the site was refused.

Negotiations continued during that week and later. Lignite Action told BP that they would cooperate in the carrying out of proper research and a survey of the local community carried out independently. This offer was declined by the DED and BP, though BP gave in on trying to prospect before consulting people locally in some way.

Given this commitment now to consult with local people, Lignite Action have the task of deciding how best that consultation might take place (they favour a plebiscite based on the electoral roll). And they are also trying to get safeguards on mining as well as prospecting before any prospecting is done. Lignite Action are adamant (and quite right) in seeing prospecting and mining as part and parcel of the same process, whereas BP and the DED see them as separate entities or at least purport to do so. But clearly one relates to the other and even prospecting would have a destabilising effect on the local community.



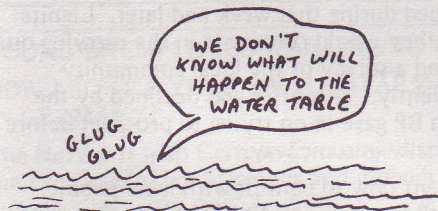




*Protesters talking to a BP Coal representative near the Mullan Moss site.*

In addition, Lignite Action want to see how the community could be consulted before mining if prospecting went ahead, and research done before either on environmental and other effects, as well as details on compensation. Incredibly, a BP geologist admitted at a meeting that they didn't know what would happen to the water table if mining went ahead! And this is immediately beside Lough Neagh, the biggest lake in Ireland with important fishing and recreational resources not to mention the dense population in the Ardboe area.

One important point here is that Lignite Action have avoided the possibility of being compromised, marginalised or bought by refusing to 'represent' the community in the sense of deciding for it whether prospecting and mining should go ahead. This is important both democratically and tactically. BP and the DED have to convince the whole local community that lignite development should go ahead; Lignite Action sees its role here as setting up the framework and safeguards for such consultation.



And if the criteria and safeguards are sorted out now that means that no sudden advantage can be taken, and there is less risk of BP being able to portray Lignite Action as cranks, or even if they did they still could not achieve their goal - mining - without convincing local people as a whole that lignite development should go ahead. There is the additional danger that if at some future date it became imperative to the government to mine the lignite - opposition or no opposition - it would be of great benefit to have safeguards in place.

Lignite Action made good use in the whole process of nonviolent tactics - using weaknesses in the opponents' side(s) to gain a power advantage but still leaving their opponents with somewhere to move to. They have also used all the canvassing and lobbying opportunities open to them to register their opposition to lignite prospecting going ahead at this stage.

While the threat of nonviolent disobedience and resistance must have been a major factor in BP's more conciliatory tone, so too obviously was the spectacle of a community united in a cause. This was obvious through pickets, posters and the like during, before and after the different negotiations.

In what was like a splendid piece of drama, one landowner who had changed his mind handed back to BP representatives in the middle of a meeting the £1,000 fee he had been paid to allow prospecting! 3 of the 14 landowners who gave BP

permission for prospecting have now changed their minds and handed back their money to BP. But in any case Lignite Action have deliberately chosen *not* to put pressure on those who gave permission, since this could lead to intimidation, but have instead concentrated on gaining rights for the community to be consulted. This they have achieved.

As in many other situations in Ireland and worldwide, the prospect of violence in response to unwelcome moves could not be ruled out. That is, if BP persisted in going ahead with prospecting when there was clearly almost unanimous local opposition then violence could have surfaced. Lignite Action's commitment to nonviolence has, however, certainly helped to keep tempers cool and provide a way of struggling in opposition to both prospecting and mining without having to resort to violence. Violence could easily work in favour of BP by marginalising the opposition. And in an area which is already heavily polarised into Catholic and Protestant this is doubly important.

But there are also other doubts about the efficacy of proceeding with lignite mining at this stage, and where developing Kilroot power station makes more sense. Dr J T McMullan's study of "*Energy options for Northern Ireland*" (published by the General Consumer Council for Northern Ireland) shows that lignite burnt in a conventional system to turn into electricity has an efficiency level of only 35%; 65% of the potential energy is wasted. A second option, using it for district heating and other applications involving large scale combustion equipment would achieve 70% potential energy turned into heat and 30% would be wasted. A third option, generating electricity in combined heat and power plants would give 25% electricity, 50% heat for district heating etc, and 25% waste.

It should be clear to anyone with a titter of wit that much more research is needed in this whole area, not only in relation to environmental factors but also in relation to the above. It should be totally unacceptable that a fossil fuel such as lignite should be squandered at half the possible efficiency that could be achieved. It is of course problematic *who* would undertake the necessary research - and who would pay for it.

Lignite Action have certainly not won the struggle yet. But they have moved up the steps a bit to a stage where both BP and the DED have had to recognise their power and the strength of feeling locally. Their commitment to, and use of, nonviolence is certainly a major factor in their success to date in what is a complex situation involving community, economic, environmental and other factors.

This report was written by Rob Fairmichael based on an interview with Niall Fitzduff and with additional information from the March issue of 'Loughshore News', edited by Pat Grimes. See also 'Rus v. Urbs' interview with Niall Fitzduff in Dawn Train 6.



# NONVIOLENCE TRAINING IN THE STATES

by Lynne Shivers

The roleplay continued. The older woman smiled nervously and shifted in her chair. She looked at me and the other observers. The young man leaned as far forward in his rickety chair as he could without falling and asked her questions.

*"Why are you collecting money? What will you use it for?"*

Without hesitation she patiently began, her voice clear and confident: *"We are using the money for the boys' and girls' clubs, to buy them clothing and sports equipment, so they can have a real sports center."*

The man answered, *"OK. I'll get my check book. How much do you want?"*

She said, *"25 dollars would be fine."*

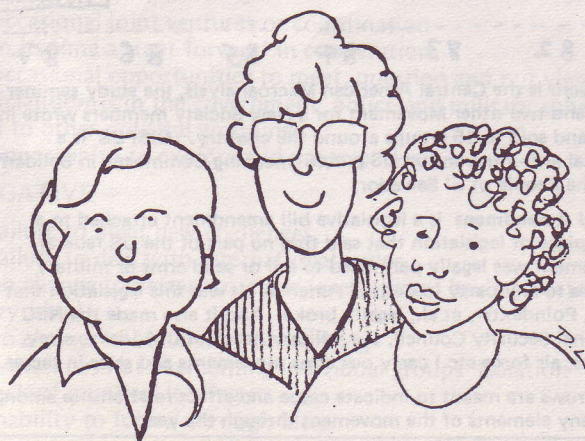
As the trainer, I stepped forward and said, *"Cut, that was good. Let's come back and evaluate."*

This roleplay, only part of which is represented here, was part of a training workshop in nonviolent self-defense for newly hired employees of the SANE/Freeze Philadelphia office. (SANE/Freeze is the national organization recently formed from A Committee for A Sane Nuclear Policy and The Nuclear Freeze). They wanted the workshop since they canvass city neighbourhoods after dark three or four nights a week, and their contract says the office will conduct self-defense workshops on a regular basis. The office coordinator was about to phone the Philadelphia police department for advice when she read our ad in the NOW (National Organization for Women) newsletter. It announced an identical workshop we led for gays and lesbians scheduled two nights before.

Over a year ago, I was one of seven people who organized the Philadelphia-based Nonviolence Training Collective of Delaware Valley. Since then we have carried out twenty workshops lasting from two hours to several weeks, and involving 447 participants. If you multiply the number of total hours of the workshops with the number of participants, you get the total participant-hours the collective has worked with: 2601. Quite an accomplishment for one modest collective over fifteen months!

Nonviolence training in the United States, as exemplified by one training group, offers a mixture of practical and immediate skills as well as general introductions, strategic skills and special workshops.

In this article, we have arranged the types of workshops according to the percentage of work time they represent for the collective. Group dynamics workshops represent 11% of people-hours; MAP (Movement Action Plan), 9%; self-defense, 8%; peace-keeping, 7%, introductions, 6%, preparation for action, 6%; and special workshops, 53%.



## Group dynamics

The most frequently asked-for workshop has been group dynamics. Sometimes this means uncontroversial sessions on task and maintenance roles people fill in groups, exploration of what we mean by leadership, and the like. At other times, a group might want to examine conflicts that members have had with each other and wish to solve.

One example was working with 20 members of the Bethesda Food Cooperative outside Washington, D.C. We met in a member's home for a whole day workshop. The agenda had been negotiated earlier by one of the two trainers and three staff people. The morning session focussed on understanding socialist feminism and collective decision-making. We did this through reading short articles and discussing them in small groups.

In the afternoon, we divided into two groups and used roleplaying to explore dynamics among staff at the store. One example had people standing at the check-out line and a customer called a woman staff worker a "girl". (In the American context, this is parallel to calling a black man a "boy".) During the evaluation, we explored how to change, diplomatically and nonviolently, this person's awareness of how oppressive that label is.

Later in the workshop small groups, with the help of facilitators, dealt with old, painful conflicts. At one high point, two women who had had bad times gave each other a long hug, signifying forgiveness and reconciliation. In the day's evaluation, participants said high points for them were, among others, high energy, a smooth agenda, the space and encouragement to participate, and a relaxed and patient atmosphere.

## Movement Action Plan

The Movement Action Plan, or MAP as it is more often called, is a way of analyzing nonviolent action campaigns so that organizers and activists see their effects and values on society rather than believing the negative-only criticism coming from the status quo supporters, governments and news media. Our training collective sponsored two workshops for Bill Moyer to explain the MAP analysis he has designed: an analysis of eight stages of successful social movements.

Through use of flip charts and guided discussions. Bill helped us to understand the stages and in what stages we as individuals most like to work. Participants represented a number of successful social movements, so the interplay of ideas was rich. The "Movement Life Line" as applied to the non-intervention movement regarding Central America was also exciting and showed the movement's vital energy and persistence. This exercise had us place plus and minus events on a time line regarding Central America. This exercise also showed some cause and effect relationships among the events.

## Nonviolent self-defense

Our training collective has been asked to lead four workshops in nonviolent self-defense in the past year; the requests are perhaps indicative of social dislocation and urban fears. Groups that requested the workshops were a Friends meeting, a local gay and lesbian organization (there has been an increase in gay-bashing over the past few years), the local SANE/Freeze organization, and a group of college students working in community centers offering free meals to homeless people. The latter group wanted to learn better how to cope with disruptive behaviour they experience at the centers.

The nonviolent self-defense workshop I led for SANE/Freeze began with introductions. We then listed our greatest fears



about being on the street; usually the list is exhaustive! For about 20 minutes, the facilitator lays out about ten basic points about street safety, such as paying attention, not playing the role of victim, and walking in lighted areas (so you can see around you). Roleplaying followed. Participants said in the final evaluation that they felt confirmed in their perspectives and actions.

### Peacekeeping

Peacekeeping (or marshalling or stewarding) is a standard kind of nonviolence training. Its agenda has been fairly standard since the 1969 Mobilization Against Death march and rally in Washington, D.C., during the Vietnam War period. The workshop agenda includes situation analysis (understanding overall plans and how various marshals would respond to a difficult crisis during a demonstration); roleplaying to understand how marshals can respond; and quick decision exercises, to help marshals learn how to respond quickly rather than freeze and do nothing. Marshal teams are formed during or after the workshop; they are always arranged in teams according to the crisis spots expected and the other needs of the action.

### Introductions to nonviolence

These introductions are the least important workshops in nonviolence that we do since people attending are usually just beginning to figure out their place in nonviolent action. Still, we cannot accurately measure how people find their way into

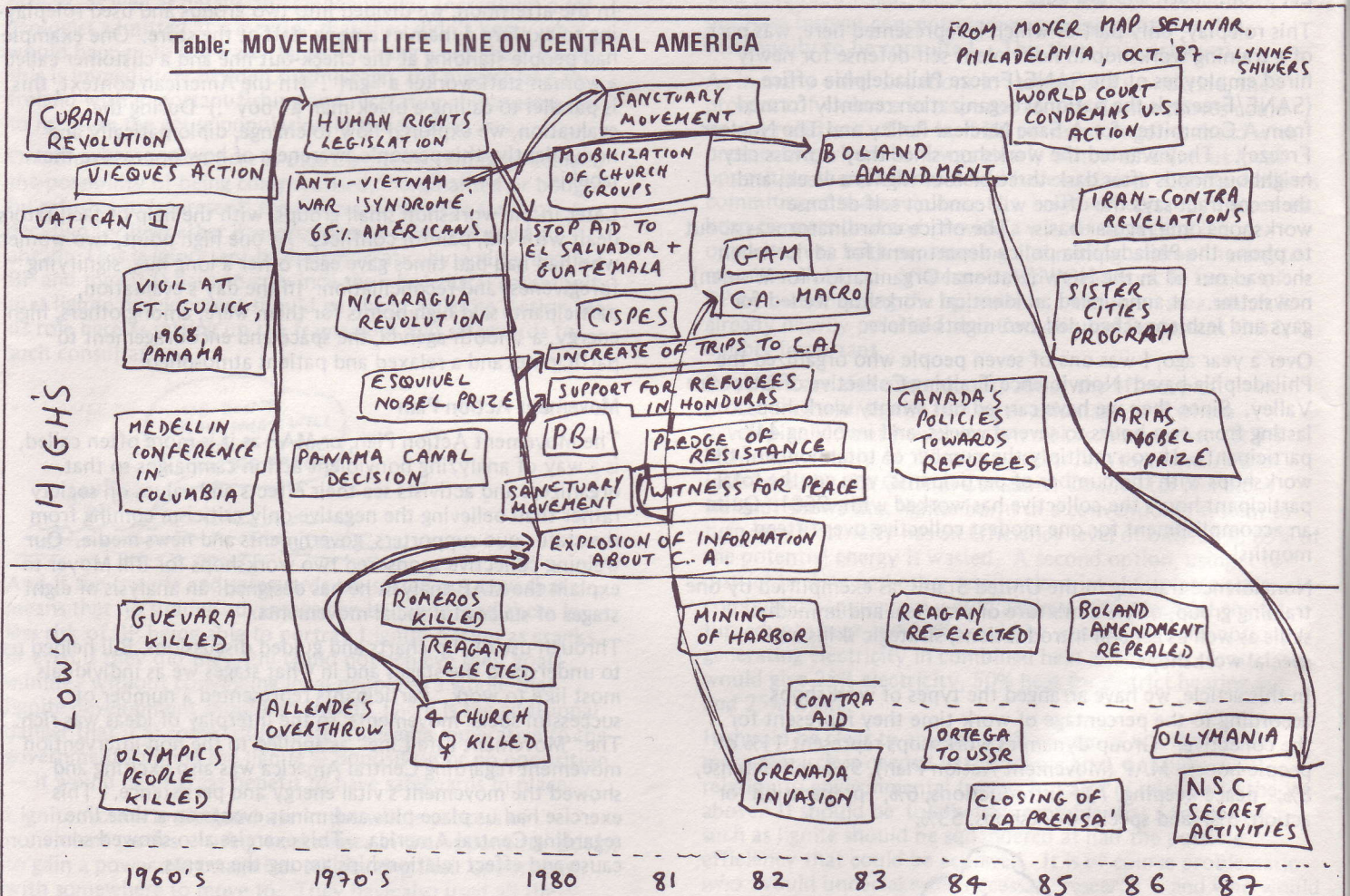
the social change movement, and we recognize that a workshop such as this may help people along.

Since Martin Luther King, Jr.'s Birthday has been made into a national holiday (January 18), many groups are finding ways to observe the holiday. One way is to hold a workshop introduction to nonviolence. Approaches are as varied as kinds of audiences: there are guided discussions, lectures, case studies, films, simulation games such as "Newspaper Game" (people in small groups are asked to make a structure out of newspaper and tape to be judged on the basis of height, aesthetics, and stability), "Elephant Game" (a group dynamics exercise that applies many principles of nonviolence), and "Star Power" (looking at world hunger and classism and our personal approaches to competition).

When I co-led a workshop at Princeton University for 20 people, my co-trainer and I did a combination of approaches: presentation of theory, a case study, and some roleplaying. We were impressed again at how well roleplaying brings the discussion down from intellectual heights (unrelated to just about everything) to rather immediate and practical issues, such as touching someone you do not know to calm them down (not a good idea) and tone of voice.

Even if introductions to nonviolence do not immediately activate people, they are usually lively enough so that participants go away thinking new thoughts about the process of social change.

Table; MOVEMENT LIFE LINE ON CENTRAL AMERICA



### NOTES

This Movement Life Line diagram is an adaptation by Dawn of an original by Lynne Shivers. Lynne has provided the following notes regarding details which may be obscure to Dawn Train readers;

**Ft. Gulick** is the US base in Panama where anti-revolutionary US training of South American military men goes on. Quakers sponsored a vigil there in 1968. **PBI** is Peace Brigades International, born in 1984, a modern update of Gandhi's idea of an international peace army. PBI has been working in El Salvador and Guatemala at the request of **GAM** (Group for Mutual Support, Spanish original language, of course) whose leaders were murdered in 1984. PBI volunteers have provided unarmed bodyguards to the leaders since then.

**CA Macro** is the Central American Macroanalysis, the study seminar that I and two other Movement for a New Society members wrote in 1982 and sold to 15 groups around the country. **CISPES** is a national anti-intervention US group, meaning Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador.

**Boland Amendment** is a legislative bill amendment attached to a larger piece of legislation that said that no part of the US federal government was legally permitted to sell or send arms or military supplies to any party in Central America. It was this legislation that North, Poindexter, et al., legally broke. And it also made the **NSC** (National Security Council, the military heads of CIA, navy, army, marines, air force etc.) carry out arms movements and sales in secret.

The arrows are meant to indicate cause and effect relationship among the many elements of the movement through the years.



## Preparation for action

This is the kind of training we prefer to do since it is intimately connected to social action. I led a three hour workshop for an animal rights group that was initially planned to be a preparation for a demonstration. For some time, the group had protested the use of animals in experiments at the University of Pennsylvania, only a few blocks from where I live. As members of the group talked, it eventually became clear that the leaders felt frustrated at the apparent lack of progress the group was making. They were so frustrated that they wanted to initiate civil disobedience before other members were ready.

Through discussion, the group realized it did not have unity and instead turned its attention to thinking how it could broaden its base of support and increase the group size. Although in the short term it was unfortunate that the members were not ready, in the long run the group was stronger for not taking such a radical action at the time.

## Special workshops

The collective also sponsored three special workshops. A small Michigan college invited one member and his wife to teach seminars on nonviolence and Central America for seven weeks. Being active in nonviolence training, George and Lillian took what might have been rather traditional lecturing and turned the seminars into more engaging learning experiences.

A second special workshop was led by Mary Link, American Secretary for Peace Brigades International. Mary led a day-long workshop in "Imaging the World Without Weapons". This workshop, designed by Elise Boulding (a prominent Quaker sociologist) and others, is based on the premise that we cannot design strategies for our future visions until our alternative visions are clearly in place in our minds. To that end, the workshop enables participants to "image" the world without

nuclear weapons or the threat of nuclear war. Participants often talk of how profound and moving the workshop experience is.

A third special workshop dealt with a local Philadelphia campaign/event. In April this year, a section of the city called Germantown marks the 300th anniversary of the first white protest of slavery in North America. In order to create a broad base of support and involvement, one organizing group decided to hold a training program for 100 teenagers from the area. They would take part in five workshops scheduled over two Saturdays, on the issues of goal-setting, community building, unlearning racism, nonviolence and conflict resolution, and marshalling. On the third Saturday, a major parade was scheduled to walk through Germantown, ending at a rally when the mayor and Jesse Jackson were scheduled to speak. A celebration dinner was scheduled for the final Saturday. I was asked to design the training program and train fifteen adult trainers to lead the workshops.

While the experience of one training group does not accurately represent all the trends and involvement of nonviolent training in the US, it does give some idea of the sorts of training that are being carried out now in the US.

David Dellinger, long-respected organizer and activist said at a conference recently that the American peace movement has never been stronger and more invisible. I, too, have been impressed at how many people are working hard in many areas of social change, yet the media and general public seem thoroughly unaware of all this activity.

By the way, right after the training workshop for the SANE/Freeze workers, they picked up their clip boards and umbrellas and left the office for another round of canvassing, more confident and relaxed than before the workshop.

Rob Fairmichael (Peace Forum secretary 1981-3) reports on the demise of the Northern Ireland Peace Forum —

As the Northern Ireland Peace Forum wraps up and decides to meet no longer, I felt it would be useful (and instructive?) to take a look at it and the possibilities for cooperation between peace groups which it at least theoretically embodied. While this is a bit of an obituary and post mortem it is *not* intended as a full analysis of the Peace Forum's work; this would have needed further work, research and detail.

Running from around 1974 until 1988 gives it a 14 year term of life. In the first couple of years it was very ad hoc, and in the last year or two it was looking to commit suicide (or be subsumed in something that might have emerged from a couple of proposals on the community/reconciliation front). It has had its successes, some of which I list below. It has certainly had its failings, which I perhaps give more detail on. Immediately here I would like to present, in general terms, the positive and the negative;

### POSITIVE +

- information exchange and input which it facilitated
- birds of a feather flocking off together (or should that be bees of a wing hiving off to sting?) and building up inter-group contacts
- occasional joint ventures or coordination
- in its time a step forward in cooperation
- occasional opportunities to meet, question and put views to official(dom)s in the government, police and military spheres and to other political groupings
- opportunity to explore and prepare ideas

### NEGATIVE —

- failure to meet new challenges
- failure to deal with international issues
- no change to better structure (every group having a veto on everything)
- no change to better way of working
- sometimes not overcoming individual groups' isolation
- lack of numbers leading to —
- inability to follow through ideas

# PEACE FORUM



This is just a personal viewpoint and there were many in the Peace Forum who saw it only as a place to exchange ideas and information and nothing more. By definition such people had no expectations of the Peace Forum doing *anything*. But even given the divisions which existed, and which I will shortly explore, I would have thought there was more room for cooperation. For example, a proposal which I made while secretary (1981-3) to produce a 'reconciliation map' of Northern Ireland, portraying all the places where there were local groups or contacts of the different peace and reconciliation groups, fell by the wayside.

I had felt this would have been a useful tool, particularly outside Belfast, to show where 'people' were, and the listing of



central addresses for groups would have enabled those interested to get in touch. This fell through when two allied groups objected that it would be misleading in not showing the numbers, and therefore the respective strength, of the differing local groups. This was a principled objection from the point of view of those making it but there was no attempt to say one group was equal with another, and there would have been the opportunity to list people locally under 'contact' or 'group' (the former not implying anything more necessarily than an interested individual). I felt it was a strange reason for such a piece of cooperation to founder on.

Another effort which I was involved in, along with several other people in the Forum, was to produce a broadsheet on nonviolence ("*Nonviolence — a short introduction*", 1987). This took 16 months of continual revamping and compromise to arrive at an acceptable conclusion which is indicative of the effort needed to get things done in such an umbrella group.

There was nevertheless the opportunity for the groups and individuals involved to get to know others. John Watson feels Pax Christi developed strong links with the Fellowship of Reconciliation, Quakers, and Corrymeela through the Peace Forum. And on occasions there were good, helpful discussions on the current political and sectarian situation in the North.

Now, what were the divisions? When I drew up a paper on 'possibilities for the Peace Forum' as secretary in 1982 I listed them as follows;

- Left/right politically
- Catholic/Protestant/Nationalist/Unionist
- Law and order/civil liberties
- Strong role for Forum/limited information role for Forum
- Peace People/ex-Peace People

Given that some of those involved in the reconciliation scene in Northern Ireland are centre or even right of centre on an international left-right scale, the Peace Forum was more conservative a body than other peace unbrellas would tend to be in other countries. The Unionist/Nationalist issue tended to come up obliquely but was usually assumed to be subsumed in the greater cause of reconciliation, at least in the Forum context.

The Peace Forum in the 'seventies and perhaps early 'eighties did have a limited civil liberties watch-dog role. But with the setting up of a body like the Committee on the Administration of Justice (including some people who had been active in the Peace Forum) there was less visible need for such a role. The genesis of the CAJ would have been discussed in the Forum. The Forum did make periodic expressions of concern regarding 'security force' actions and seek for political initiatives from the government through meetings with the responsible officials or ministers.

The Peace Forum already existed for a couple of years when the Peace People began in 1976. Relations were probably typical of those between the Peace People and other community and voluntary groups. Early on the Peace People probably saw the Peace Forum as an arena where it could get backing for its policies, and they were certainly discussed. The Peace People did at one period, along with some other groups during the decade and a half of the Forum, provide secretarial backing. While there might have occasionally been a tenseness because of fall-out from splits within the Peace People, I have no evidence that this prevented cooperation in the Forum, and the Forum probably played a positive role in bringing together people who had previously worked in the same organisation.

There was one even more strange division which existed until the early 1980s. This was that 'community groups' were not allowed, because of an early ruling, to be members of the Peace Forum. This really was bizarre because there was the Peace Forum, the majority of whose constituent member groups would have been involved in one form or another of 'community work', organising *meetings* for community workers — and yet excluding community groups per se from membership! Naturally a body like the East Belfast Community Council, which had reconciliation as a primary aim, felt discriminated against and made its feelings known. Common sense

eventually prevailed, the East Belfast Community Council was welcomed onto the Forum and gradually drifted out of involvement.

### International issues

One division in addition to those already mentioned was whether a particular group had a concern for international issues or not. The United Nations Association, which was latterly represented on the Forum, and CND, which was briefly represented in the early 1980s, were both primarily 'internationalist'. Some, including Pax Christi and the Fellowship of Reconciliation, were both international- and reconciliation oriented. Others, including Corrymeela, which were primarily reconciliation-oriented still had an international interest. Then finally there were those groups which were solely concerned with Northern Irish issues.

The Forum decided against taking up international issues in general. I felt this was a mistake. It could have been hived off to an international sub-section. People felt they had enough to do to try to get to grips with Northern Irish issues. I felt this was a failure to rise to a challenge — and allow people who were concerned to cooperate on international issues use the Forum as a place and aegis to work together. But people felt they would have been overwhelmed by work; I felt it could have brought in *other* people to work on such issues.

There was in fact an appalling ignorance about international issues sometimes manifested. An amazing grasp of the realities of international politics was expressed by one member in the quote "*They would never drop the bomb on Northern Ireland because that would infringe Irish neutrality*"!!!! They really believed the superpowers would respect the neutrality of the Republic and therefore avoid bombing the North. The reality is that both North and South are targetted, and seen as such in various war exercises.

That said, the Forum did provide an opportunity for 'birds of a feather' to flock together and one such notable occasion was over the Falklands/Malvinas war of 1982. It was out of the question for the Forum to back the small demonstrations and leafletting organised in Belfast's Cornmarket, but the Forum provided the place for the setting up of a small ad hoc group. A press conference provided some very reasoned arguments from Denis Barritt, Peter Emerson and Mairead Corrigan Maguire against the war (the last had signed a joint statement with Adolfo Perez Esquivel calling for an immediate end to hostilities and a process of direct negotiation). All such action could do was to stand up and be counted in not supporting a ludicrous militarist venture on both sides.

### Origins

Despite it being only a decade and a half ago, the origins of the Peace Forum are lost in the mists of time, and although I did some work to try to track it down precisely and unravel its beginnings, all I can do is surmise what happened.

In 1973 Action for Peace had begun. William Rutherford told me how Action for Peace had seen itself as a potential umbrella group but their basis was unacceptable to Corrymeela and PACE (Protestant and Catholic Encounter). Following this it would seem that there was an awareness among these groups of the need to draw the different groups together. Desmond Shaw organised a meeting at Corrymeela House, Belfast, on 1st May 1974 to discuss cooperation on the part of reconciling groups, and this was followed by a conference in September the same year. The 1st May meeting was attended by the Good Neighbour Campaign, PACE, Fellowship of Reconciliation, Women Together, Action for Peace, Corrymeela Community, plus a letter from Witness for Peace.

It would seem that the 'Northern Ireland Peace Forum' began from this starting point. For some time it existed on an ad hoc basis and various terms were used including 'Forum for Peace' and 'Peace and reconciliation forum'. After the September 1974 conference the groups concerned had expressed their concerns to the appropriate government minister following the axing of the Community Relations Commission, and gave their view of what was necessary.



An 'Information Sheet No.1', produced by Desmond Shaw as 'acting secretary' in January 1977, is headed 'Forum of Reconciliation and Peace bodies' and had information on; Women Together, Fellowship of Reconciliation, Corrymeela, People Together for Peace, Quaker Peace Committee, the Irish Association, Peace Point, Good Neighbour Campaign, Action for Peace, Witness for Peace, PACE and the Peace People.

By 1982 there were around 18 groups listed as members of the Peace Forum, though some never attended meetings, some did so intermittently, and the maximum number of groups attending any meeting would have been slightly over a dozen. Typically the representation would have been smaller while special meetings might have had more.

The end

What caused the end of the Forum? Certainly a variety of factors. Low attendance leading to low morale was one factor. A person who attended one meeting I know came away with a very negative feeling about the whole enterprise and never came back. The last proposed residential conference in 1982 had to be cancelled at late notice due to lack of bookings. Periodically people warned about the dangers of just being a cosy talking shop.

While the death of a few peace groups was perhaps a minor factor, more so would have been the provision of support for specific forms of endeavour — umbrella and support groups for concerns on integrated education, consensus politics etc. Any support that the Forum could have offered would thus have been increasingly irrelevant and it tended to be so general at times that it could wobble away and be totally ineffective because there was no way of focussing that concern — and usually no one present who had the time to devote to dealing with an issues raised.

It had already been decided in the early 'eighties not to bother in general trying to issues joint statements or press releases on political issues. One such document was signed by only

4 member groups; one group who would have signed an earlier draft refused when it was watered down to try to get more signatories! An exception was a "Let's live together" peace leaflet in 1984 which I personally felt was innocuous to the point of irrelevance.

Such experiences tended to reinforce the 'information exchange' role of the Forum. But even on this groups were often left ignorant of other groups' work; periodic efforts were made to keep people up to date with what individual groups were doing but these petered out after a while.

And then after the middle 'eighties there was the hope on some people's part that a government- or trust-funded initiative would be able to bring groups together as need be, and provide support and servicing for them. There were hopes that some new form of community relations agency might emerge, and there was also a group trying to set up a more limited resource centre. While the government set up a community relations agency at Stormont to monitor government efforts and policies for reconciliation there was no evidence that the money was going to follow the mouth. Some of those in the Forum wanted to keep things ticking over until such a new body emerged; when it became clear that the wait might be for ever and a day that reason for keeping the Forum ticking over disappeared.

I would have preferred a re-vamped Peace Forum anyway, and I did make renewed proposals for changing the work of the Forum, decentralising work to smaller groups whose membership would be determined by who turned up (exclusion by non-attendance) and open to individuals as well as groups representatives. These working groups could have been on issues like reconciliation, nonviolence or international affairs. The veto held by each group over what such cooperative efforts did or sought to achieve should be removed, I suggested.

There was no real interest in these proposals and even if there had been, the issue of removing the veto might have ruled them out. This would have left groups open to being vulnerable that others might do 'in their name' that which they did not want done. Anyhow, if the Forum was *not* going to be restructured in some way then I, personally, could see no particular reason for continuing its existence.

At the April meeting those present decided to wrap things up for good, unless members battered down doors demanding that the Forum continue. And the chances of that happening were more than remote. Curtains for the Peace Forum; the holes in the umbrella necessitated its being thrown away. It will be interesting to see how cooperation between groups gets on without the Peace Forum.

#### Table of office holders and groups involved

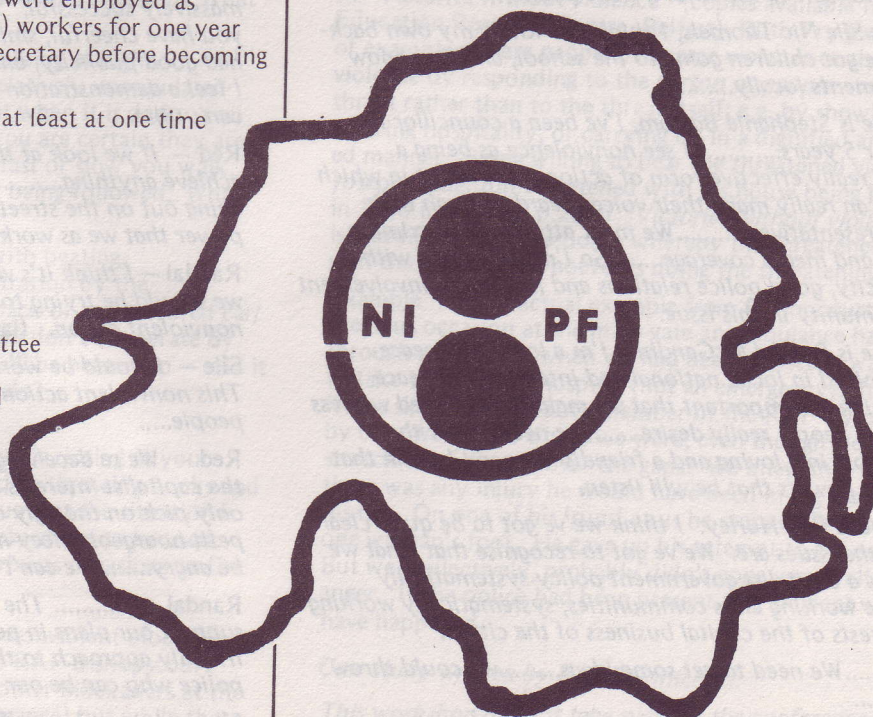
The following are the chairpersons and secretaries of the Peace Forum in chronological order —

Chair — Denis Barritt; Donald Fraser; Peter McLachlan; Eileen Carragher; John Morrow.

Secretaries — Desmond Shaw; John Watson; Rob Fairmichael; Pat Daly; Gerry Loughlin; Avril Gillott; Jens Wikinger. Those from Rob Fairmichael to Avril Gillott were employed as ACE (government-funded job creation) workers for one year though Rob Fairmichael was unpaid secretary before becoming an ACE worker.

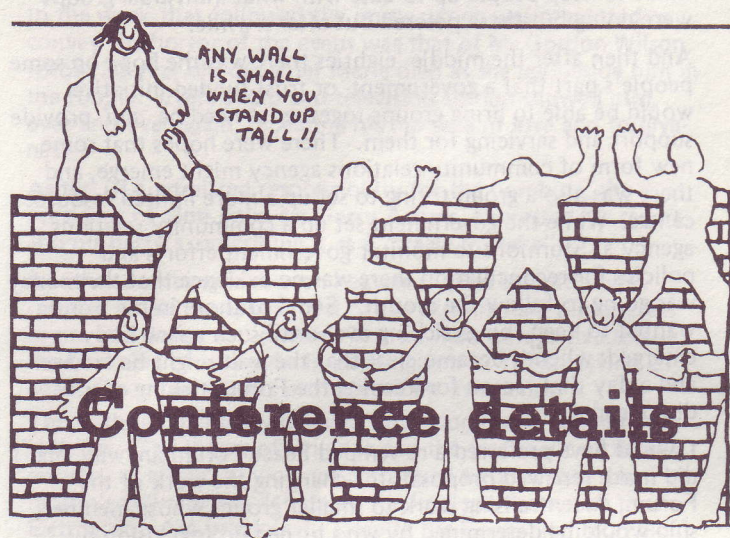
Groups involved — the following were at least at one time either members or involved;

Action for Peace  
All Children Together  
Commission on Justice and Peace  
Corrymeela Community  
Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament  
Dawn  
Dutch-Northern Irish Advisory Committee  
East Belfast Community Council  
Fellowship of Reconciliation in Ireland  
Glencree Belfast House  
Good Neighbour Campaign  
Lifeline  
Peace People  
Protestant and Catholic Encounter  
Pax Christi  
Peace and Reconciliation Group Derry  
Peacepoint  
People Together for Peace  
Sydenham Community Group  
Ulster Quaker Peace Committee  
United Nations Association  
Witness for Peace  
Women Together





# CONCRETE NONVIOLENCE



## A bit of drama.....

### PERILS BEFORE SWINE

Problems of organising encapsulated in the dramatic presentation of a meeting

This is a truncated version of the dramatic presentation given at the beginning of the INNATE conference –

– You remember that with the Belfast urban plan, the road is going to go right through the estate, which means the school will be knocked down.....and we're going to lose more houses. And it's not going to improve the bus service... We're here tonight to see what we can do.....

My name is Síle Nic Thomais, I think you know my own background, I've got children going to the school, and you know my involvements locally.....

– My name is Stephanie Bassom, I've been a councillor for this area for 5 years.....I see nonviolence as being a potentially really effective form of action and protest in which the voters can really make their voices heard through their elected representatives.....We must attract the maximum good press and media coverage.....So I'm concerned with good publicity, good police relations and maximum involvement of the community in this issue.

– My name is Randal McGandhi. I'm a long time peace activist involved in local, national and international peace issues. I think it's important that we make a principled witness here to what people really desire.....we need to get the message across in a loving and a friendly way and I think that if we do the powers that be will listen.

– My name is Red Hurley. I think we've got to be quite clear here what the issues are. We've got to recognise that what we have here is a capitalist government policy systematically dividing the working class communities, systematically working in the interests of the capital business of the city....

Síle – .....We need to get some ideas.....we could throw out ideas.....

Randal – You mean a structured brainstorm.....

The conference on 'Concrete Nonviolence' organised by INNATE (Irish Network for Nonviolent Action Training) in early March was a first event by this grouping. We decided to give it as full coverage of it as we can; an excerpt from the introductory drama, workshop case studies and reports, and some reflections from the organising group's assessment of it all.

We have published all 6 case studies written for the conference even though, as people voted with their feet according to which one they wished to attend, only 4 of the case studies were dealt with by workshops on them.

This is in many cases quite detailed but hopefully may repay some reading, and some of the material could be used again in other situations.

– Dawn.

Ideas from people in the brainstorm included;

Síle – rent strike

Stephanie – demonstration, letter writing, picket transport committee

Red – involve local trade unions, transport and school workers strike

Randal – 48-hour vigil, walk into town

Red – I think maybe we need to confront this one head on. If the constructors come in to build the road we need to sit in front on the road, isn't that what you nonviolent people do, sit in front of the construction vehicles, maybe smash the vehicles up if they come this way.

Voice from audience – That's violent. (laughter)

Stephanie – We haven't exhausted judicial and proper ways of confronting this..... I think we need to avoid mass arrests, it will alienate people.....

Red – I think you're very frightened of confronting the issues .....Yes, we may be arrested, there might be violent incidents, but surely isn't this just revealing the violent nature of the state.....

Randal – .....We have to have the right approach, if you look at Gandhi's salt marches.....

Red – .....We don't want more sacrifices, people sacrifice enough.....

Síle – .....I just can't afford to get arrested, most of the women I know can't leave their children at home .....I think demonstrations are OK but they can easily be ignored.

Stephanie – I think if you cast your minds back to the CND demonstrations of the last 5 or 10 years they have been massively successful. You have the numbers on the streets, you have cheerful, smiling faces in front of the cameras, you had good publicity, and that really helped the movement grow. I feel a demonstration would be a very useful, visible thing we can utilise.

Red – If we look at these demonstrations they didn't actually achieve anything.....They were relying solely on people being out on the streets and there's no power there. The only power that we as workers have is our economic power.....

Randal – I think it's very important to stress here that what we should be trying to get is principally based, morally sound, nonviolent action. (laughter)

Síle – I would be worried about empty symbolic gestures..... This nonviolent action should be fun and involve a lot of people.....

Red – We're deceiving ourselves, the newspapers are owned by the capitalist interests.....If we try to have cheerful faces they'll only pick on the ugly ones.....simply to put across a petit bourgeois nicey-nicey approach – we actually have to be angry.....We can't rely on the media for support.

Randal – ..... The police are individuals, they may actually support our plans in person, so it's important we adopt a friendly approach to them and don't in any way antagonise the police who can be our allies.

Síle – I don't know if the police are on our side but I certainly don't want any confrontation.

Stephanie – We entrust them to balance the conflicting views of our society..... The police should not be provoked.



Red — ..... *The police are clearly the enemy. They're clearly on the side of the state.....*

Sile — *Are we really happy about putting ourselves forward as leaders?*

Stephanie — .....*the press responds to leaders.....*

Red — ..... *Leaders are important. We need to clearly show what is going on here..... We need to be up in the front showing people the way.....*

Sile — *What does 'prepared' mean?*

Randal — *I think we need nonviolent action training workshops so that everyone can be prepared to take on these issues and deal with them in the right way.....*

Red — *Surely people will spontaneously know what the right action is.....*

Sile — *It sounds like an awful commitment to me. If I can make an attempt to summarise.....we need to meet again. We're agreed we want something the majority of people on this estate can identify with, something that's realistic, that's not going to put people off, that the women, the unemployed people, the men, the young people, can join.....Some of us are for this confrontation, some are not so happy.....A lot of talk about nonviolence training, maybe this man can help us.....If we come together this night week, maybe about half past seven.....*

# WORKSHOP PAPERS AND REPORTS

## 1. Violent incidents

Because considering one violent incident, which would often happen fairly suddenly, does not require too many background details in judging what to do, I have considered it best to give a few different examples which can be used to see how different approaches might be necessary.

Example 1; Individual mugging

You're out walking at night when someone overtakes you, points what looks like a gun at you, and asks for all your money. What do you do?

Example 2; Gunman hold you hostage at home

You're at home with your family when there is a ring at the doorbell. When you open the door two men with guns push their way in. You and your family are effectively held hostage while a) your car is hijacked for a 'job', or b) they set up an attack on the army/police through an upstairs window. What do you do?

Example 3; Threatened while engaged in political activity.

You are doing some door-to-door canvassing for a political cause you're involved in when you are seen by a local group of half a dozen young men who are obviously opposed to your political beliefs. There are three of you, two men and one woman. Initially there are verbal threats but as they follow you it looks like there may be a physical confrontation. What do you do?

Example 4; Threat to a lone woman walking at night.

You are a woman walking home in a relatively unpopulated part of an urban area quite late at night when it is dark. You are aware of someone following you; you are certain they are following you because no matter how fast or slow you walk, and in whatever direction, you are still being followed. What do you do?

Example 5; Arrested and threatened with beating.

You've just been arrested on a demonstration by the army/police and are bundled into the back of an armoured car/jeep when you are threatened that if you don't cooperate by giving the information they ask for you'll be beaten up — and it is obvious they mean it. What do you do?

Example 6; Rioting locally.

Following another violent incident, there is rioting in your locality which has as yet been restricted to throwing bricks and other missiles at police. But it is obvious that the situation is escalating and plastic bullets are probably about to be used. Such incidents have also been used nearby as occasions to fire on police. What do you do?

Example 7; Threat while engaged on a nonviolent blockade.

There is a blockade of two entrances to RAF Bishopscourt radar base. You are with a group of 7 other blockaders at the gate on the Strangford Road (a side entrance) but while there are members of the RAF Regiment present there are no police. You are lying down on the roadway, blocking the entrance. An

off-duty RAF member attempts to get out of the base by forcing you out of the way, running his car fast towards you. What do you do?

These seven examples (and other possible ones) could be used initially for a quick decision-making exercise (where participants have a short period of say a minute to decide how to react) and one or two of them could be taken subsequently to use for role play. Better still would be if anyone in the case study group had a particular incident they had been involved in or knew about which could be used for role play

Historical examples;

I don't have successful historical examples for all of these. Example 4 is dealt with in the Q-PAC pamphlet "*Speaking our peace*" (Dawn Belfast has copies for sale), where a successful response was doing something unexpected and seemingly mad. In this instance the woman being followed stopped at some dustbins, took the lid off one and started talking into the dustbin! Her follower went on and away.

The Peace People would, collectively, have some experience of example 3, as would presumably a variety of other political groups.

Early on in the recent troubles, women involved in Women Together went on the streets to try to prevent rioting, sometimes successfully (example 6). Will Warren in Derry was credited with having stopped opposing factions firing at each other by walking inbetween.

In "*Victories without violence*" (copies available from Peace Education Resource Centre, Belfast) Ruth Fry gives a number of examples where people overcame violence or threats of violence by responding to the *person* or *people* making the threat rather than to the threat itself; e.g. by showing concern, offering hospitality, or carrying on in a dignified and unfrightened manner. Being willing to bear the threatened violence (e.g. Joseph Haughton threatened with his house being burnt down in 1798 in Ireland, p.26 of "*Victories without violence*") is another possible response whereby the threatened party may gain the respect of whoever is doing the threatening.

Example 7 is an actual example from Bishopscourt. On a previous occasion at the main gate an ambulance had stormed through a blockade when we had been advised it was required to take someone to hospital (not an emergency). In this case it was simply an off duty member of the RAF trying to get out by car. We stayed where we were, even though we had to stretch out fully to cover the gaps! We knew that he knew if there was any injury he would have been in big trouble with his CO. On one of his 'runs' at us he stopped in contact with one woman's foot. He gave up his attempt to get out that gate. But we, collectively, probably didn't cope very well with our anger. If the police had been present this incident would not have happened.

*Case study written by Rob Fairmichael.*

*This workshop did not take place at the conference so there is no report from the participants!*



## 2. Structural violence

Nonviolence may be both the way of doing something and the thing being done, as when a group of people are drawn together by a kind of violence they want to end.

In a recent disturbance, crowds at an anti-internment rally fought with a group of loyalist onlookers. Police fired plastic bullets to break up what they saw as a riot. In the final tally, 2 policemen had been injured by rocks, 11 people (republican and loyalist participants) injured by fists or sticks, one parade participant wounded by a plastic bullet, and one passing child blinded by a plastic bullet.

The parents of a child killed several years earlier in a similar incident called a meeting of people prepared to work to end the use of plastic bullets. The meeting was well-attended by quite a variety of people. There were various suggestions of ways to campaign against plastic bullets whether by demonstrations, street theatre, letters to government or MPs, or whatever.

The participants at the meeting included the following:

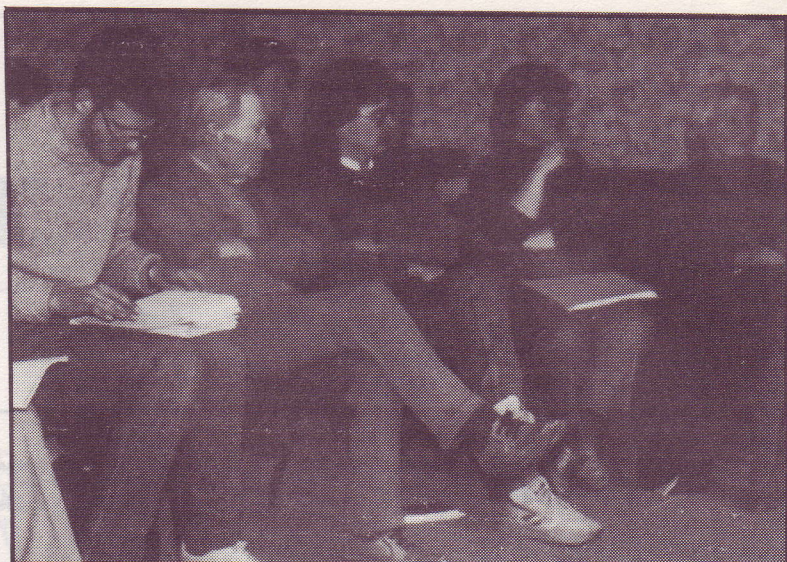
- the parents of two children killed by plastic bullets in earlier incidents
- the aunt of the child recently blinded
- a law student, member of CAJ (Committee on the Administration of Justice), whose main concern is with emergency legislation
- two republicans who participated in the rally and whose main concern is to promote disarming the RUC and UDR
- one spokeswoman for the Campaign for Equal Citizenship, who is focussed on getting British parties to organise here
- several representatives of churches
- two city councillors, each of whom thinks his party is the answer
- one idealist who aims to end all use of force everywhere.

How do you help this combination of energy and ideas get channelled into an effective campaign? Can this group work together, or will it divide further? Is there a way to keep such diverse people, with differing goals, focussed on their common end and shared activity, rather than turning destructively on each other? What suggestions would you have as to the group's first priorities (e.g. publicity, officers, by-laws and constitution, public demonstration)?

*This case study was written by Sue Williams; the following report is based on a wall chart feed-back to the conference, also by Sue Williams.*

### Report

1. The questions and observations prompted by doing the role-play were:
  - a. When we focussed on the issue, we began to come together. How to do it separated us. Moments of humanity — insight? progress?
  - b. Do we need leadership?
  - c. Tension between private and shared aims/goals.
  - d. Alliances; in opposing what I see as evil, how far am I willing to be allied with different people?
  - e. Feelings are a truer indicator of where injustice lies.
  - f. Not losing people along the way — quality vs quantity — how to decide on boundaries.
2. Looking at these in more depth, we reached these conclusions:
  - a. Leadership; Ideally, consensus and sharing of tasks would be more nonviolent.
  - b. Alliances; To be in alliance, I may have to be willing to be disowned by my 'group', and to have thought this out in advance.
  - c. Membership; Both variety and shared aims are important. Self-selection may achieve both of these.
3. We identified several areas where groups need help, and INNATE might help by offering training or skill-sharing:
  - a. consensus decision-making
  - b. leadership
  - c. delineating the risks, motivations, or courses of action under consideration
  - d. clarifying feelings as indicators of where injustice lies.



(left to right) David Moser, Peter Tennant, David Bloomfield, Sue Williams and Shelagh Livingstone at the INNATE conference.

## 3. A pattern of violence

### A demonstration

You go along to a peaceful demonstration protest about something you feel strongly about. However, on arrival you are wary of the people involved in the demonstration — they look like trouble makers! Are you stereotyping them? Should you not take part? There is a heavy police presence; they must be expecting trouble.

There appears to be little organisation, people say its better if it happens naturally; it also keeps the police confused. Is this good or bad? However, there is a sitdown on the road at a certain time. Due to crowds and confusion you are a couple of minutes late. You see your friends being arrested and the road is nearly clear. Should you still join them in solidarity and to make your point? After all, they can only arrest so many people (but they seem to have a limitless number of police vans to put arrested people into). Are you better saving your energy for something else?

You feel the police are harassing people, moving them on for no reason — "obstruction" when there is no obstruction. How can you respond?

You're moved on across the road (from where you have been moved a couple of minutes before) and the man walking beside you is grabbed by the police and put into a police van, no questions asked. A woman who appears to be a friend of his runs to try and pull him back. As a result she is arrested as well. You know it is a wrongful arrest. What can you do?

The police have now confined the demonstrators to a very small area. But after several hours people are getting impatient and tempers are rising on both sides. Groups are now charging police ranks to break out. Some of them escape. You want to get out too. Should you join them?

The police then decide to let everybody go. People are running through the streets and some pick up bricks beside a building under repair. They throw them through bank and shop windows. A friend says: "Now things are really happening. People will have to listen to this". You see people looking scared behind closed windows. Is this the best way to get people listening?

These events are based on a demonstration I took part in. The papers that night reported "an angry mob going wild" and a picture of a police woman valiantly fighting back hooligans. What happened to the conversations you saw between demonstrators and people of differing opinions? What happened to the leafletting? What happened to the sitdown? None of this was reported.

*Case study by Paul Barclay.*

*What follows is a report on the group by Frankie Bouchier;*



## Report

We started off by saying why we chose the group and sharing our personal experiences of demonstrations. Most of us felt disappointed, frustrated, confused by some of the demos we had participated in.

We made a list of the fears and problems we encountered. Some of us felt scared and wary of the angry feeling that came up for us and how we could get swept along by the crowd. Others often felt like we weren't communicating well in a demo - that what we wanted to say was being misrepresented, blunted, misunderstood.

Another problem was in not having clear and realistic goals if any at all. We talked of being powerless, relying on the media to cover it and communicate our message, our fellow protesters and their behaviour, people looking on and how they reacted.

One idea that was useful to me was to set a simple goal like using a demonstration as an opportunity to have some fun and build a sense of togetherness in a group. Then you're not reliant on outside factors and don't get disappointed if it doesn't change the world — immediately.

Next we did a decision making exercise. Paul gave us a number of difficult situations and we had a few minutes to come up with constructive reactions. One of us was chosen as an observer to monitor what was going on. At first it was difficult to come up with a creative response but with practice it gets easier and we ended up with a whole clatter of ideas.

We chose one of the situations to do a role play on. Someone is selling a political newspaper legally but the law comes along and tells them to stop. What do you do? In the end we gave the RUC person a hard time and I could see how they could get defensive and aggressive because of insecurity and confusion.

After lunch we read through Paul's scenario and examined the difficulties he had encountered. We then made a list, brainstorming all the actions we could take. There was quite a hand full. It would be useful to do this before embarking on any action. To finish we shared experiences of any conflicts we were in when we got stuck, unable to react effectively. We chose one, a neighbour battering his wife and she taking his part after the incident. We ran out of time but seemed to be getting a bit stuck in trying to resolve it.

In evaluating, some said that this was the first time they had ever got the opportunity to think about demos and that they benefitted greatly from it. I think we all felt more prepared to set goals, plan the action, and be more creative and flexible in carrying it out.

Training needs we didn't really discuss but..... I think we could gather a team of nonviolent direct action trainers for the South linking in with INNATE and using the resources there; run day and weekend seminars and provide a service for schools, peace groups, students, trade unions etc.; have much more emphasis on celebration, creativity, fun. 'If I can't dance I don't want to be in your revolution'; a group, flying squad of street musicians, troubadours, actors for street theatre; a carnival type steel band; time spent on visions of a peaceful world and looking at the despair and hopelessness of ourselves as peaceworkers.

## 4. A neighbourhood situation

Bridget is a 29-year old single parent with 3 young children. She has been living in the same estate for 10 years and had little or no bother, that is up until a few months ago when threatening graffiti appeared on her gable wall. She didn't think much about this as it was around the 12th July.

Unfortunately things didn't end there. One day her son John was pushed off his bicycle and severely kicked by older boys. He was told that Catholics were not welcome in the estate and that he would know all about it if he showed his face again.

John was absolutely terrified and wouldn't go out by himself for several weeks. Bridget phoned the police who came out and took a statement. They said that it was probably just a one-off incident and that Bridget should keep John inside for a few days and keep an eye out. There was little that they could do.

Bridget thought about moving but things quieted down a bit until the notes started to arrive and knocks on the door in the middle of the night awakened her. The children became nervous. Bridget didn't know what to do or who to turn to. She contacted the police again. They took the notes away and said they would keep an eye out in the area. She didn't know whether to mention anything to her neighbours.

Bridget was enemployed and didn't have a telephone. She felt very vulnerable. On the one hand she wanted to move but part of her said why should she. Her doctor said she would have to leave. She realised this herself when a few weeks later the bricks came through the window as she and the children were watching TV. The next time it might be a petrol bomb. Bridget called the police again. No one had seen anything. There was nothing they could do. They would give her a report which would speed up her application to move. If she wanted to stay she could try contacting the UDA.

The Housing Executive people said they would do their best to get them moved but there were others in a similar position. They would have to wait. What else could be done? What role might there have been for Bridget's neighbours or local community leaders/groups? Should Bridget contact the UDA? How did the police and Housing Executive respond? Can we devise a more creative response to attempt to address intimidation?

*Case study written by Martin O'Brien.*

*The following report is by Nick Austin;*

### Report

A mixed group — some committed and active in NVA (nonviolent action), others less active and very politically oriented.

Explored feelings about NVA and intimidation;

— A great deal of despair and frustration on how complex an issue intimidation is and how NVA often fails to deal with concrete issues.

— Yet also a sense that NV and political action were perhaps the only hope.

— The challenge is to make it relevant.

We looked at our case studies and moved to hear people's personal experience with intimidation. On analysing the case studies we identified different levels on which NVA could work;

— personal empowerment

— creating a community and environment of support

— creating body/group to provide support, information and practical support.

— concentrating on policy issues, policing and housing policy.

— looking at wider structural issues that women in single parent families would face in such a situation.

— We spent a time reflecting for ourselves how we fitted in with the issue, what action we could take.

— Finally we explored a role for a Nonviolent Action Training Network here.

One model was as an umbrella organisation being a resource for political and community action groups to help them plan and reflect on actions.

We felt there is a role for advocating NVA as an effective dynamic alternative to violence.

We could do educational work with young people and community groups.

A small group of committed people may wish to use NVDA against PTA or Section 31, showing its possibilities.

The dilemma always seems to be making NVA relevant to people.





The first two people on the left are two visitors from the disarmament movement in Britain, then Louise Artz, Frankie Bouchier and Paul Barclay.

## 5. Mixed/Complicated situations

### Characters;

Construction workers  
Catholic priest  
Unionist councillor  
Republican gang  
Loyalist gang  
Police

### Scenario;

A community centre is being built in North Belfast next to a Catholic church. The construction firm doing the work is also doing renovation work at a local police station. The priest from the church announces that the new centre will be open to people of any religion.

A gang of republican youths are harassing the workers who have been seen doing work at the police station as well. A local unionist councillor welcomes the prospect of a new community centre and is encouraging people from nearby Protestant areas to support the centre. A gang of loyalist youths vandalise this councillor's car and label him a traitor as well as vandalising the Catholic church. The priest asks for police to protect the church and the building site. The republican gang attacks the police with stones and petrol bombs injuring a Catholic woman coming out of the church. Police respond by firing plastic bullets into a crowd of young people, injuring two of them.

Think about this situation as a spiral of violence that could continue to escalate. What action could be taken to prevent the spiral from leading to more injury and possibly death? Think of yourself as one of the characters in this scenario (the priest, the unionist councillor, a young person with either loyalist or republican sympathies, a construction worker, a policeman or policewoman, a Catholic or Protestant from the neighbourhood).

What could you have done at various points in the scenario in order to prevent the violence from continuing? (When the workers were being harassed? When the councillor's car was vandalised? When the police were called in?)

How can you oppose the violence in the situation without necessarily supporting or condemning the political motivation of each side? Is it necessary or even possible to be politically neutral in taking nonviolent action? If you do nothing and avoid getting involved at all, are you being nonviolent?

*Role play written by Steve Williams, though illness on the day prevented him facilitating this group. The following report is written by Sylvia Thompson;*

### Report;

For some reason I chose to take part in the role play that was described as mixed/complicated! Was a simply a glutton for punishment or did I realise that somehow this was more akin to the reality of Northern Ireland?

The case study involved construction workers building a community centre in North Belfast next to a Catholic church — enter one Catholic priest who is anxious that the centre be used by 'both sides' of the community. However the workers have been doing the unforgiveable — also working on an RUC station — enter a gang of republican youths! Is the unionist councillor able to save the day as he also promotes intercommunity use of the centre? Alas and alack.....the loyalist gang gets to him, damages his car, calls him a traitor and vandalizes the RC church just for good measure.

So our friendly priest calls on the RUC to protect the church and building site and in the ensuing melee as the republican lads attack the police they also injure one of 'their own'..... the final finishing touch is from the RUC who fire two plastic bullets into a crowd of young people and injure two of them.

Thus one Saturday morning in the Friends Meeting House, Frederick Street, one equally motley collection of people rather nervously chose their roles and with the help of a 'screener' (American for a particular kind of observer) entered into the scene. In our case we decided that the role of the observer, Mari, was to help the situation be reality based, and she would therefore intervene as needed to help us think through our roles, and would later help us to reflect back on the experience.

In hindsight perhaps we tried to enter into our role play a little too quickly without enough 'warm-up' time. We seemed strained and ill at ease and perhaps all quite relieved when we had worked through it by lunchtime.

I chose to be a policeman so by lunchtime I had injured two people as I followed orders to fire two baton rounds. As we went on to share some of what we had experienced a few thoughts came across quite strongly especially my own — a feeling of detachment from the responsibility of injuring two young people, but rather an awareness that I had done what was required of me in my job.

The construction workers had simply felt 'outside it', innocent people caught up in a problem not of their own making; the 'priest' had found it a difficult and rather sad role and the unionist councillor freely admitted that he was in it simply for personal gain.

You can see why lunch was a welcome break. It was quite heavy stuff for a Saturday morning. In the afternoon we focussed on what could have prevented the spiral of violence.

On the reality aspect we believed that it would probably have been rather unlikely to have builders working on both a community centre and RUC station. The police felt themselves to have been lacking in imaginative action. Some interesting points emerged from the gangs, e.g. why hadn't local youth been employed to build the centre? The loyalist gang also thought that the councillor was promoting joint use of the centre simply as a 'PR' exercise, to boost his own image.

The priest felt himself to have been working very much alone and as the discussion later said — better use should/could have been made of youth and community workers in the area to keep the channels open. The unionist councillor was considered a bit naive in his understanding, and for not using his 'own clout'.

The futility in destroying a much needed community centre was a frustration felt by many. The absence of clear and imaginative thinking was very evident on all fronts.

It all seemed quite real despite all of this and the ensuing challenge to those involved in the struggle for peace and reconciliation came out 'loud and clear'.



## 6. Interpersonal violence

Mary and John are married with 2 children, both at school. John has got a job with reasonable pay. Mary used to work in a shop before their marriage.

Because Mary doesn't feel comfortable staying at home and just doing housework, she applied for a job with her former boss. As she was very good at her job, she is offered it and even gets a good payment for the work she wants to do — 30 hours a week. But Mary has never dared to tell John about her wish to work again for John always spoke badly about women who work.

One night Mary tries to explain to John about her new job. For John a wife has to do the housework and the husband earns the money. He argues heavily against it, but Mary is

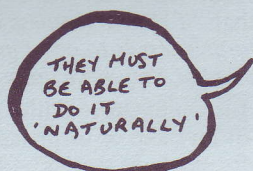
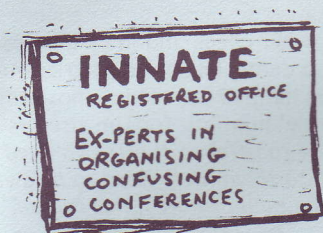
determined to start in the job to be independent from John's wages. The argument becomes louder and louder and escalates into him beating her, and her throwing things after him. Finally she locks herself in and stays in the room until he leaves the house for work the next day.

Mary stays home, watches TV, talks to nobody, being angry about John. When John comes home and sees that nothing is done, he starts shouting and beating his wife. She runs out of the house and kicks a bump into the side door of the car. The following days are similar and Mary starts drinking during the day. The neighbours are anxious not to interfere for they don't know the family too well.

Where would you say that violence starts? Do you see possible ways out of this dilemma? Is a third, neutral, person needed?

*Case study written by Jens Wikinger. There was no workshop took place on this case study at the conference.*

## Conference assessment



When the INNATE planning group got around to assessing the conference, with an invitation to some other participants to attend but with only one additional person able to make it, there were a number of points where we felt the conference fell down (and these are detailed in this report). There was satisfaction nevertheless that it had taken place and went relatively smoothly, providing some sort of context in which we could try and plan our work. It opened up many questions which need followed up. What follows is something like a summary of points made in the assessment.

The introductory drama posited some of the perils of organising, and was referred to by a number of people as a point of reference during the day. One comment was that some additional warm-up exercise was needed to get people functioning well. Or perhaps there could have been some work done at a one-to-one level early on as part of this warming up.

There were generally favourable comments about the case study/scenario aspect of the workshops. There was a feeling that in some instances the role plays actually deflected people from talking about the issues and experiences that were important to them, though one particular workshop concentrated very much on the experience of a particular action. Another possibility would have been to have taken actual rather than hypothetical case studies for the workshops to deal with from the start. Or role playing the case study could have been taken later on than it generally was in the workshops.

Perhaps the most serious failure that was raised was that we did not adequately use the experience of the people who were there — people who had much that could have been beneficially shared with others. Perhaps we tried to fit too much into one introductory day. And perhaps this sharing of people's experiences of nonviolence and organising skills in general could be something that we return to again.

There was also the feeling that for a conference on 'Concrete nonviolence' there was not that much 'concrete' came out of it! Here there were a mixture of factors. Some were a reflection of the mixture of people who came together — slightly over 30. Another factor was that we, the organising

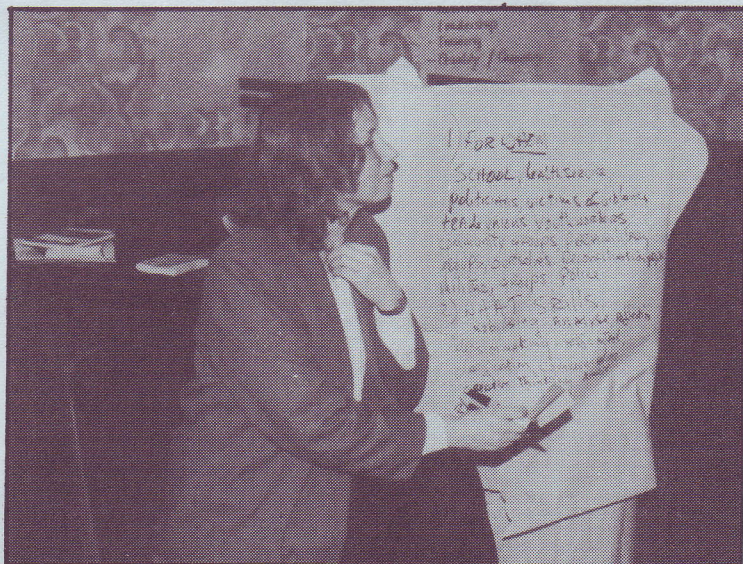
group, did not adequately make clear our expectations of the day, nor did we adequately define ourselves in relation to other people. This is now what we are trying to do — define ourselves — but it is perhaps something that should have been done beforehand. And perhaps part of the result was a feeling of 'us', the ordinary conference participants, and 'them', the conference organisers, and 'how can we help them' rather than 'how can we help each other?' Were people being given our own problems?

We were also a bit muddled in the expectations we had made known — or unknown perhaps — to Clem McCartney for the penultimate, plenary session. Perhaps we would have been better to have taken the example of one of the workshops on detail.

Anyhow, the Belfast INNATE group is now trying to define itself and plan its work. It looks like the definition will be something on the lines of a resource group trying to be part of a wider network for nonviolent action and training. And when we have that together we need to sell ourselves openly to people.

— Rob Fairmichael.

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Mari Fitzduff asks 'for whom' and 'what skills' at the final part of the plenary session.



# REVIEWS

## A good Day's work

"*Love is the measure — a biography of Dorothy Day*" by Jim Forest. Marshall Pickering, 1986, first published by Paulist Press in the USA. 226 pages. £6.95 UK.

"*Making enemies friends — reflections on the teachings of Jesus about the love of enemies.*" by Jim Forest. Marshall Pickering. 1987. 120 pages.

Reviewed by Sylvia Thompson

Love is the measure ('86) in making enemies friends ('87) may seem a rather trite way to open a review of two such different books by Jim Forest, outgoing general secretary of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation. But looking at the dates Jim must have been deeply influenced by his research into (and of course his own personal knowledge of) Dorothy Day as he wrote this second book of what he terms "*reflections on the teachings of Jesus about the love of enemies.*"

This biography of Dorothy Day was for me a most interesting and welcome insight into a woman for whom I have always held a deep respect. Years ago I had read Dorothy's own account, "*The long loneliness*", while travelling across the US in a Greyhound bus; but with this account many of her gaps were filled in, and in the later years of her life I frequently found myself trying to reflect on what I had been doing at that particular time. Maybe you will too?

Dorothy herself describes the three stages of life according to Buddhist teaching; the first for growing up and basic education, the second for marriage and family and work, and the third for detachment. This book leads us easily through these stages.

From her earliest years we meet a woman with a hunger for a community seeking justice. This leads her through a most interesting life search with many strange bedfellows to whom she maintained a very strong sense of loyalty. It also led her into a most conservative Catholic church, a fact that acts as a spur with the help of friends such as Peter Maurin to establish the now famous paper and community/movement "*The Catholic Worker*". Dorothy had a great belief in revolution based on self-transformation, another point gleaned along the way from Ammon Hennacy.

Is it any wonder then that we see a woman formed and moulded through her own long loneliness, always open to go deeper, and this along with an uncanny clarity of thought obviously resulting from a most incredible life of journalism, her own personal relationships, study and later prayer and an extremely ascetic lifestyle. Dorothy seems to have been a woman very much in touch as we read of her move from communism, to the challenge of the RC church, the folly of the Civil Defence programme and later the Chavez campaign. Somewhere in there was her conversion to nonviolence around 1956 and even a visit to Northern Ireland about the Simon Community and much much more.

Dorothy certainly earned her detachment stage and yet she found growing old and less able a real burden and a frustrating time. Her life had been truly lived to the full when she died on November 29th, 1980.

If you have an interest in the life of one of the world's most special peacemakers I would recommend this book as one that can be read slowly, each chapter being another quite unique part of Dorothy's life. It's not a particularly gripping book but rather a steady read.

It contrasts quite sharply with Jim Forest's book of reflections. That for me was more on an experience than a read — a most profound book and perhaps a requirement for those who would dare to call themselves Christian!

We see a Jesus who is a most disconcerting figure — not a zealot or nationalist but a healer. It seems we are called to love, something Jim believes is always possible with God's help.

DAWN TRAIN 7, page twenty-four.



Dorothy Day, left  
and Catholic Worker logo, above

He talks about us blocking that help "*with obstacles which commit us to enmity — pride, contempt, prejudice, racism, selfishness, the vice of our own plans and ambitions or entrapment in group ambition and nationalism which makes one part of the human race of more worth than another.*"

Incarnation — "*God sharing our own flesh*", weaves us into a web of human relationships — that in turn leads us out of fear; otherwise we are powerless to be disciples and to fulfill the double commandment of loving God and each other.

Jim Forest sees Dorothy Day as one who comes to epitomize this life, one who centres her life on the works of mercy and who succeeds therefore in leading many into more adventurous lives of faith.

Jim gives us the opportunity to put this call to love into practice in simple and practical ways, in prayer for enemies, in doing good, in turning the other cheek and in forgiveness — which he describes as giving up debts, letting go of grievances and pardoning those who have harmed us. This is not some vague self effacing and 'sloberly' humility for Jim stresses that "*if the forgiveness we seek to offer to those who need our forgiveness is to be of any use to them, they need to be aware of what they have done and the pain or hurt it has caused.*"

Jim points us to a life of recognising Jesus — a life full of life, of love and or surprises. This is a book worth reading if only for the 'wee stories' — the inspirational tales of personal courage, of conviction, of communal nonviolence — the surprises that come from a life lived close to the people yet with place and space for prayer, for reading, for beauty as quoted by Fr Zosima in Dostoyevsky's "*The Brothers Karamazov*" — "*The world will be saved through beauty.*" Fr Zosima was a dear 'friend' of Dorothy Day and so we have come full circle. Maybe therefore this is a pair of books worth reading together, an exciting pair with lots of hope and challenge.

I will need to read "*Making enemies friends*" again and again, and in time I will want to read "*Love is the measure*" again too. In the meantime I look forward to meeting some of the real people from the former book — Jean and Hildegard Goss-Mayr when they visit Northern Ireland in November.

## Skills and thrills

"*Community conflict skills — a handbook for anti-sectarian work in Northern Ireland*" by Mari Fitzduff. 176 pages 176 pages, 1988, Community Conflict Skills Project. £4.50, or £5.50 inc. post from the Community Conflict Skills Project, c/o 84 Drumaney Road, Cookstown, Co Tyrone.

This is an exciting book. It is not exciting in the sense of being able to say "Wow, just look at that!" but in it being a comprehensive selection of exercises which is exciting in the potential which it offers to many different groups. While oriented to the sectarian and Northern Irish political situation, most of the exercises are applicable to other situations and other problems. But it's great to have such a workbook which is addressed to some of the problems we face, and it's a book that will be getting a lot of usage in the years to come.

The only negative comment I'd make is that the layout, by emphasising headings and the different sections, could have made the book feel more accessible to people at first glance. But that's not a problem once you start to read and get to grips with the book which should be useful to people in the Republic and elsewhere as well as in the North. — RF.



# WHAT A STATE!

'88

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This issue of "What a State!" provides some background to the situation in Northern Ireland by focussing on British strategic interests there, gives a blow-by-blow account of 1987 in the political life of the Republic, and rounds off with a few facts and statistics about the North. A previous issue (February 1986) gave a detailed account of the Anglo-Irish agreement of November 1985 and loyalist reaction to it.

## HIDDEN INTERESTS

Britain's strategic interests in Ireland by Robin Percival

There has been conflict in Ireland, between its indigenous people and the British, for over 800 years. Since the year 1171 when an English king was summoned to aid an Irish chieftain, and decided to stay and conquer, so beginning the process of incorporating the non-English countries of the British isles into the emerging British state.

Yet today, centuries later, the conflict in the Northern part of Ireland does not appear to have the heroic or romantic quality which history has endowed previous struggles between Irish and British.

It appears to be an unending war, intractable, unsolvable. A squalid affair in which Irish kill Irish for no other apparent motive but religious affiliation; a war which has gained its own savage momentum and which, despite its ferocity, no one fully understands and no one knows how to stop. As academic Richard Rose put it: *"It is not that no one has come up with an acceptable solution to the problem of Ulster. It is that there is no solution."*

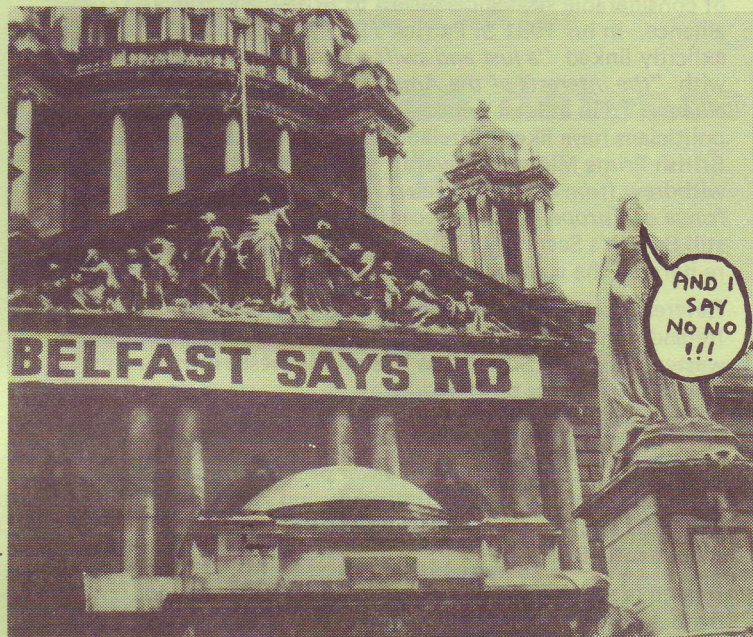
This carefully cultivated, head shaking pessimism, is most frequently found amongst the British themselves and is frequently used to mask any consideration as to why, after all these years, the British state still feels it needs to control the political destiny of so much of the island of Ireland. The view most commonly advanced by those most willing to 'explain' why Britain remains in the North of Ireland after so many years of bloodshed and strife is that she is trapped or locked into a problem which she cannot solve (as yet) and from which she cannot honourably extricate herself.

Furthermore, the argument goes, and it is usually advanced by the British themselves, the majority of people in Northern Ireland want to remain British, withdrawal would be a betrayal of that majority who have rights to 'self-determination' just like anybody else, and anyway if the British leave it would inevitably lead to a bloodbath and civil war.

The most extreme expression of this viewpoint is to be found in Britain's leading liberal newspaper, *"The Guardian"*, which described Britain's role in Ireland as an act of *"the highest altruism"*, asserting that the role which Britain undertakes in the North contains no benefit to Britain but is vital to the well-being of the people of Northern Ireland.

Such arguments are, of course, not new. Throughout the world, imperial Britain found minorities whose rights to 'self-determination' Britain used to justify its presence or its reluctance to leave and the 'blood-bath' argument has been used time and time again to justify why the British state needs to involve itself in the affairs of other people's countries. They are arguments which divert attention away from the concrete interests which Britain seeks to maintain and protect.

This is why in all the various attempts to 'resolve' or 'understand' the situation in the North of Ireland, little attention has been paid to why Britain remains. This is extraordinary in the light of the huge costs that the British presence imposes on Britain itself.



Queen Victoria might not have been amused at the Anglo-Irish agreement but she might have been even less amused at loyalist disloyalty in their opposition to it.

What, then, has Britain to gain from the prosecution of such a long, bitter and relatively costly war?

Historically the answer has been that a free Ireland could pose an important security and strategic threat to the United Kingdom, not in itself, but as a backdoor through which an enemy might launch an attack on Britain and its allies. This possibility is not based on fantasy but has some basis in historic fact. During the Napoleonic era, France gave limited material help to the United Irishmen and actually landed French troops on Irish soil in 1798. During World War I Germany attempted to give some aid to Irish Republicans during the Easter uprising.

Ireland's strategic importance to Britain was given clear recognition in the Treaty between Britain and the newly established Irish Free State following the War of Independence. The treaty, which gave only limited political independence to the 26 counties, sought to prevent the new state from establishing its own navy and confirmed Britain's continued control of key naval installations, such as docks and ports.

The six counties which made up Northern Ireland remained, of course, directly under British control and the decision as to which counties were incorporated into Northern Ireland was based on the principle of the largest geographical area consistent with a guaranteed permanent pro-British majority.

During World War II Britain seriously considered the invasion of the South in order to regain control of potentially vital naval facilities lost in the 'thirties. (This policy was urged on them with some vigour by Lord Craigavon, the Unionist Prime Minister in the North.) More recently, information has come to light which shows that Winston Churchill entered into negotiations with the Southern Irish administration in which he offered 'Irish unity' in return for the 26 counties entering the war on the side of the Allies.

British Cabinet and Government papers released under the 30 year rule have consistently identified national security as Britain's dominant concern in its relationship with Ireland, North and South. In one of them, the then Secretary to the British Cabinet, Norman Brooke, wrote a memorandum in which he agreed with startling candour that *"it has become a matter of*

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*first class strategic importance to this country that the North should continue to form part of His Majesty's dominions. So far as can be foreseen," he continued, "it will never be in Great Britain's advantage that Northern Ireland should become part of a territory outside His Majesty's jurisdiction. Indeed it seems unlikely that Great Britain will ever be able to agree to this even if the people of Northern Ireland desire it."*

More contemporary evidence suggests that Ireland remains still of considerable strategic concern to Britain and the NATO alliance. In his 1981 St Patrick's Day address, President Reagan explicitly linked *"a just and swift solution to the Irish problem"* with *"the interests of the American nation and the Western alliance."* On at least two separate occasions, senior British politicians have likened Ireland to Cuba. In 1975, former British Prime Minister Edward Heath argued that if Britain withdrew from Northern Ireland *"there could be a Cuba on the fringe of Europe."* More recently, James Prior, while he was still Britain's Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, again re-iterated the analogy with Cuba.

References to Cuba are important because they indicate why Ireland remains so strategically important to Britain and the western alliance. Situated as it is on the western fringes of Europe, Ireland is positioned close to important air and sea routes between North America and western Europe, the so-called 'Atlantic Bridge', through which would be ferried troops, weapons and other supplies in a war or near-war situation. Clearly the position of any part of Ireland during such a crisis situation would be vital for the successful defence and maintenance of the Atlantic Bridge.

Ireland is strategically important for other reasons too. The USA, Britain and the Soviet Union have many of their strategic nuclear weapons based in submarines, many of which are at any one time based in the eastern Atlantic. American and British nuclear submarines based in Holy Loch, Scotland, have to pass very close to Ireland as they leave or return to base. In a crisis situation, the position of Ireland could be critical in terms of anti-submarine warfare, its success or failure.

The importance of Ireland in modern warfare was underlined in a 1981 NATO exercise code-named "Dutch Treat". In this exercise it was assumed that if the Republic of Ireland remained neutral in a war situation between NATO and the USSR, both sides would seek to destroy quickly any potentially important facilities in the South, such as Shannon Airport, in order to prevent them being used by the other side.

The strategic importance of Ireland has, of course, been acknowledged by leading military figures over a number of years. Lt-General Carl O'Sullivan, former Chief of Staff of the Irish Army speaking recently said of the Republic of Ireland: *"we are crucial to the defence of the North Atlantic since it is most likely that any threat will come across the North Atlantic, through Ireland to Europe. We owe it to Europe to make sure that any weakness in our defence is not to their disadvantage."* He went on to say that co-operation in European defence would not necessarily mean joining NATO but could mean allowing them bases in Ireland and installations to monitor and track ships and aircraft, installations which did not exist in Southern Ireland at the moment.

General Sir John Hackett, the former Deputy Commander in Chief of the British Army and retired Commander of the Northern Army Group in NATO has confirmed this view in an interview he gave in 1982. In it he said that the *"dice would be loaded against the West"* if Ireland's airport, harbour, radar and telecommunications facilities were not available to NATO. He concluded by saying that *"we know that Shannon has been targetted by the Warsaw pact and I should not be surprised if Irish installations were not targetted by the US to deny them to the enemy."*

It is against such an historical and contemporary background that we should judge Britain's role in Ireland and its reluctance to consider British withdrawal as an option or recent claims by senior SDLP politicians that Britain is now 'neutral' as regards the ultimate future of the North of Ireland. Britain is not, and never has been, neutral. Rather it seeks to protect and defend its interests, whatever the cost that other people have to pay.

This article is based on a talk which was given to an evening meeting of the Council of the War Resisters International, held at the Glencree Centre, Co Wicklow, in July 1987. **'What a State!' '88 page ii)**

Normally our review article on politics in the Republic has given an overall analysis, picking out some major trends and happenings. Here, for an interesting change, MIKE GARDE gives a blow-by-blow, month-by-month, account of the politics and happenings in 1987.

# THE REPUBLIC IN '87

In Ireland we think we are at the centre of world news. I was in South Africa for the last quarter of '87 and saw how little Ireland figured in news reports. The result is that most people outside Ireland only see the country through a major bomb blast, terrorist attack or by meeting one of our record number of emigrants.

This situation calls for some response. One such I am working on is interesting the government in running a semi-commercial short wave radio station to all you out there. Do write to Brian Lenihan at the Department of Foreign Affairs calling for same!

**January** The new year began with a bang — a gas explosion killed two people in Dublin. It raised questions about the safety of the Dublin gas grid. The noise level was raised as thousands of holes appeared as gas workers looked for leaks.

At last the uneasy coalition between the Labour party and Fine Gael collapsed over the budget. An election was called for February 17th.

Mr Peter Robinson pleaded guilty to a charge of unlawful assembly in Dublin Special Criminal Court. He had been charged following a Loyalist incursion into the Co Monaghan town of Clontibret the previous August.

The Dunnes strikers but one went back to work after two and a half years on strike for the right not to handle South African goods.

**February** This month was dominated by the election. It also saw the continuation of the INLA (Irish National Liberation Army) feud with the shooting dead of Mrs Mary McGlinchy as she was bathing her two sons.

The real poll on the 17th resulted in Fianna Fail winning 81 seats, an increase of six on the previous election. Fine Gael lost 17, having won 70 in 1982. The main beneficiaries were the Progressive Democrats, who won 14 seats, pushing Labour into fourth place with 12. The Workers Party increased their representation from 2 to 4, and Tony Gregory and Neil Blaney kept their seats as independents. Jim Kemmy joined that select band.

The High Court judgement banning abortion referral came into effect, and the Well Woman clinic announced that it had refused 500 women counselling since that decision.

**March** Though right wing parties held the majority in the Dail, no one wanted to hand power to Charles Haughey. All attention centred on the independent Tony Gregory who held the balance of power. In the event Mr Gregory abstained, thereby ensuring Mr Haughey's election as Taoiseach, on the casting vote of the speaker, Mr Sean Tracy, and paving the way for a budget which was nearly identical to the one Fine Gael had failed to persuade either the Labour party or the electorate to accept. Dr Garret Fitzgerald resigned as Fine Gael party leader and was replaced by Alan Dukes.

St Patrick's Day assumed a political significance in the United States, with President Reagan signing a certificate authorising the payment of 50 million dollars in aid to both parts of Ireland as his contribution to the success of the Anglo-Irish Agreement. Mr Haughey seemed to now back the agreement he earlier said was unconstitutional.

The National Lottery got off to a flying start, selling IR£2.4 million worth of tickets in its first two days.

**April** The month began with the unveiling of the long delayed budget. The Minister for Finance, Mr MacSharry, proposed cutting IR£35 million more off current spending than was



proposed by Fine Gael in its rejected budget. Capital spending was reduced by IR£77 million more than proposed by Fine Gael, a total of IR£102 million more cuts than had been proposed earlier in the year.

These would hit every area, but the most painful cuts were felt in health, education and the building industry. The loudest initial outcry was heard over the IR£10 hospital charge and over the abolition of the house improvement grant, but the EEC rapped the government on the knuckles over the stipulation that visitors to the North had to spend 48 hours there to entitle them to import goods duty free.

Of more serious concern to the EC, and the government, was the news that there would have to be a referendum to change the Constitution to allow the implementation of the Single European Act, following the Supreme Court ruling in favour of Mr Raymond Crotty on the issue. Fianna Fail found themselves defending an act they regarded as highly suspect before taking office.

The date was set for May 26th and fears were expressed that we would be considered "bad Europeans" if the vote went against the amendment. Two campaigns which worked hand in hand tried to show the dangers inherent in the act for Irish neutrality, quoting the Supreme Court decision. We had the unusual situation of politicians attacking the decision of the court. The result in the end was acceptance by 70% of those who voted. The poll was low at 45% of the electorate voting.

**May** The full extent of the cuts began to sink in with the news that the health cut-backs would mean 2,000 job losses, the closure of certain hospitals and reduction of services in others, as well as payment for a range of services. Groups of nurses and other workers began to demonstrate against the cuts.

The first major industrial dispute of the year began with a strike in the electricity sector, ESB. It ended within days, leaving the government pay guidelines intact, but with the workers gaining a number of benefits in kind.

The issues of rape and child sexual abuse received increased attention.

**June** The month was dominated by the British general election with the ramifications for Ireland. In the event it was no change. It was a month of industrial disputes, with non-consultant hospital doctors going on strike for the first time against long hours and poor prospects.

The prospect of a general election loomed as Fine Gael threatened to vote against the government on the health estimates. In the event they abstained and the controversial cuts were adopted by the Dail!

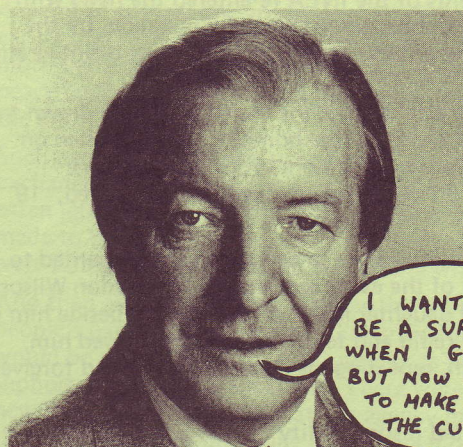
The nuclear reprocessing plant at Sellafield (Cumbria, England) came under scrutiny as the Irish government pressed hard for its closure at a European conference on marine pollution at Cardiff. Meanwhile the environmental organisation, Greenpeace, succeeded in temporarily blocking the pipeline bringing radioactive waste into the Irish Sea, provoking British Nuclear Fuels to demand the sequestration of their assets.

**July** The state of the economy and Anglo-Irish relations jostled for attention with sporting and cultural events in this holiday month, which ended with Stephen Roche winning the Tour de France.

As the cut backs continued, the Government announced the end of permanent jobs in the public service with the offer of voluntary redundancies there. But there was good news for mortgage holders with the announcement that the building societies were reducing mortgage rates by one percent. Nonetheless, the 'Black Hole' remained unplugged as the Central Bank reported that up to IR£259 million may have flowed out of the country during the second quarter of the year and as a result of movements of private funds.

**August** This was the month of river pollution. The first casualty was the Barrow and this was followed later in the month by the Liffey, Lee and Nore. More bad news for the environment came with the announcement that Britain planned to build a major nuclear power plant in North Wales, 80 miles from the Irish coast.

In Dublin a credit union official was shot dead during an attempted robbery of the funds of Ardlea Credit Co-Op. The Gardai had



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other problems, when it was discovered that an official document concerning the holiday plans in Co Kerry of the British Ambassador, Mr Nicholas Fenn, had been leaked.

The month brought news of the closure of two more hospitals, the North Infirmary in Cork and Dr Steven's Hospital in Dublin, one of the country's oldest hospitals. Another indication of the state of the economy at social study conference was that repossession of houses by building societies was now running at over 1,000 a year.

**September** Cuts gathered new momentum following the summer holidays. The list of state agencies abolished grew as the month progressed.

There were internal struggles in the Labour party, most of them won by the left. Mr Mervyn Taylor was elected chairman of the party and Mr Emmet Stagg vice-chairman, and Mr Dick Spring failed to win enthusiastic endorsement for his policies.

The leader of Fine Gael, Mr Alan Dukes, announced that his party would support the Fianna Fail government if certain basic requirements on public expenditure, employment and taxation were met, thereby ensuring a period of stability for its minority Government.

The Minister for Social Welfare announced that the self-employed would have to start paying PSRI (pay-related social insurance) from next April, while the Minister for the Environment, Mr Flynn, announced that the Government was considering the introduction of a "general property tax".

The receiver was sent into the H Williams supermarket chain, giving rise to fears for the jobs of its employees, while the management announced plans to lay off 700 employees.

Two young Irishmen and a young woman were charged in Britain with conspiracy to murder the Northern Ireland Secretary, Mr Tom King.

AIDS continued to give cause for concern, with the emphasis shifting to intravenous drug users.

**October** The beginnings of the month saw the unveiling of the National Plan, the agreement between Government, unions, farmers and employers on the measures needed by Fianna Fail to put the economy on its chosen path, while the end of it saw a stock market crisis.

The main points in the agreement were limited wage increases, continued cuts in public expenditure and a guarantee of no compulsory redundancies in the public service.

All these shifts were overshadowed by the stock market crash towards the end of the month. Sparked off by a sudden crisis of confidence in the US economy, Wall Street took the biggest plunge in its history, and in Dublin IR£500 million was wiped off the stock market in one day, the biggest one-day fall recorded.

Those involved in the world of finance were cheered up by the announcement of the awarding of the contract for the development of the Custom House Docks site, which will house Dublin's new financial centre, along with a range of shopping and cultural facilities for the rest of us.

The Government announced cuts of IR£485 million in public expenditure, the harshest reduction in 30 years. In an attempt to persuade their parliamentary colleagues to give a good belt-tightening example, the Progressive Democrats proposed a bill designed to abolish ministerial pensions for serving members of the Dail. It was defeated.



One of the fragments of the INLA re-entered the news with the kidnapping of Dublin dentist Mr John O'Grady, by the leader of one of the groupings to emerge from its disintegration, Dessie O'Hare.

**November** The attention of the world was again drawn to the violence in the North by the bombing in Enniskillen on Sunday 8th as people were gathered for the annual war commemoration. 11 people were killed and 63 injured, 19 of them seriously.

In the week that followed the image which was presented to convey the horror of the event was that of Mr Gordon Wilson, whose 20-year old daughter Marie died as she lay beside him in the rubble. Every radio and television station showed him, over and over again, repeating his message of love and forgiveness.

As the IRA admitted responsibility for the bombing, the president of Sinn Féin, Mr Gerry Adams, expressed his regret and his party's, describing it as a "tragic mistake".

Another bombing with even heavier civilian casualties was recalled when the appeal trial of the Birmingham Six opened in the Old Bailey in London. The six men were convicted of the bombing of two pubs in Birmingham in 1974, leaving 21 dead. They had always protested their innocence.

The Catholic hierarchy brought out a document condemning violence. The theme of violence and the treatment of those accused of crimes of violence continued to dominate the month's news, as the debate on the implementation of the Extradition Act continued. Despite the Enniskillen bombing, an 'Irish Times' poll showed a significant proportion of the population opposed to its implementation.

The fact that the Extradition Act has a European dimension was underlined by the charging of five Irishmen in Paris in connection with the capture of a coaster, the *Eskund*, containing a large quantity of arms and ammunition. This find, and a report that four more shiploads had been imported into Ireland earlier in the year, formed the basis for widespread house searches throughout the country. Of the 50,000 houses searched, 43,000 were reportedly searched without warrants, prompting protests from the Irish Council for Civil Liberties and other bodies.

Eventually the Gardai captured Dessie O'Hare, killing one of his associates.

Accusations and counter-accusations flew between the Gardai and the RUC about the incident, while Mrs Thatcher expressed her reservations about the safeguards the Government added to the Extradition Act before bringing it into operation.

Meanwhile the Irish Congress of Trade Unions endorsed the National Plan. The Dail, however, voted down an endorsement of the National Plan by 80 votes to 77, as parents and teachers demonstrated against increased class sizes.

The Government also announced the long-awaited Radio Bill, which will involve the issuing of franchises for national and local radio stations.

**December** The Government was defeated again in the Dail, this time on its decision to abolish the National Social Services Board. Other astringencies were proposed by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), which recommended the taxation and reduction of social welfare benefits and charges for health and education services.

The Agricultural Institute suggested that farmers escaped the worst of this year's stringencies, when it announced that their incomes rose by 19% during the year. The Central Statistics Office disagreed, saying the figure was only 13.4%. And Mr Joe Rea said any figure had to be taken in the context of the low average income of farmers. It was one of his last statements as president, as Mr Tom Clinton was elected to replace him on December 18th.

To everyone's surprise, the Birmingham Six appeal ran into its second month, finally coming to an end on December 9th after 28 days in court. Judgement went against the men in January '88. The result of the appeal brought Anglo-Irish relations to a low ebb and coloured attitudes to the Extradition Act, which was passed earlier in the month, following Fine Gael withdrawing its objections. Mrs Thatcher was vehement in her opposition to the safeguards introduced by the Government.

Faced with opposition on another issue and from another source, the Minister for education suspended the circular on class sizes which had aroused the anger of primary parents and teachers alike. The Irish National Teachers' Organisation said it would press on in its campaign until the circular was withdrawn.

## SNIPPETS

### The Anglo-Irish agreement

While unionists continued to be opposed to the Anglo-Irish agreement, strong opposition declined, a petition in early '87 asking for a referendum on it received only a modicum of unionist support, and the policy of boycotting local council business effectively collapsed amidst wrangling and legal actions.

Talks about talks between unionist leaders and the British government did not appear to be getting anywhere fast, or even slowly, and SDLP (the constitutional nationalist and majority Catholic-supported party) dialogue was hindered by the latter's objections to SDLP talks with Sinn Féin (who back the armed struggle of the IRA). Meanwhile Anglo-Irish relations were going through a tough time in early '88 over a variety of political and human rights issues.

### 1987 election

In the June '87 British general election, Enoch Powell (Official Unionist) lost his seat to Eddie McGrady of the SDLP, while the vote for the joint OUP/DUP unionist candidates dropped about 2% on 1983 — possibly due to lack of interest or condemnation following unionist abstentionist tactics in the Westminster parliament. Between the SDLP and Sinn Féin, the SDLP increased its (majority) share of the Catholic vote by 3%, and the Sinn Féin vote fell 2%. Gerry Adams of Sinn Féin retained his (only Sinn Féin) seat; there were 3 SDLP MPs, and 13 unionists (of different varieties) elected.

### Public opinion

A detailed Fortnight/UTV poll of public opinion taken in February '88 showed only 16% of Northern Catholics believed the Anglo-Irish agreement had benefitted the nationalist community (a higher proportion of Protestants, 25%, felt it had benefitted nationalists). Only 4% of Protestants felt it had benefitted the unionist community (9% of Catholics thought it had benefitted unionists). Asked what form of government would be their first choice for the North, 41% of Protestants chose complete integration with Britain, 4% direct rule, 17% devolution with power-sharing, and 14% devolution with majority rule.

31% of Catholics favoured devolution with power-sharing as first choice, 9% integration with Britain, 12% joint authority Dublin/London, 7% a federal Ireland, 25% a united Ireland (the respective Protestant figures for a federal or united Ireland were 1% and 1%).

An Irish Times/MRBI survey of people in the Republic in September '87 found that 49% believed Ireland would never be re-united, 11% thought it would take 100 years, 13% thought 50 years, and 16% thought 25 years. The aspiration of Irish unity was held by 67% with 19% against.

An opinion poll in Britain in February 1987 showed 52% of people there did not believe the Anglo-Irish agreement would improve the prospects of peace, compared to 24% who thought it might. 22% of the people of Britain wanted the British army withdrawn from Northern Ireland immediately and 39% wanted a phased pull-out, making a total of 61% favouring some form of British withdrawal.

### Casualties

The number of deaths in 'the troubles' increased following the Anglo-Irish agreement but it is still much less than numbers of people killed in road accidents (235 in 1986). The 'troubles' fatality figures for 1985 were 54, for 1986 they were 61, and in 1987 there were 93 killed; the 1987 figures included 66 civilians, 11 army or UDR members and 16 members of the RUC or RUC reserve.

Deaths since the start of 1987 have included; a dozen people killed in a feud within the INLA (Irish National Liberation Army) early in '87; judge Lord Justice Maurice Gibson and his wife Cicily, killed by the IRA on the border; William Marchant, a senior UVF man killed by the IRA; 8 IRA men, and one passer by, killed in an ambush as they attacked Loughgall RUC station; 11 people killed by the IRA as they attended a Remembrance Day ceremony in Enniskillen, November '87; loyalist politician George Seawright (infamous for a 'burn Catholics' remark); John McMichael, deputy leader of the UDA (the largest Protestant paramilitary organisation), possibly 'set up' by another loyalist; 3 unarmed members of the IRA shot dead in Gibraltar, 3 people killed by a loyalist gunman at their funeral, plus 2 British army personnel killed at the funeral of one of those killed at the previous funeral. This list does not include the British army and RUC personnel, and others, killed.

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*"At the pull of a trigger Luke Dowling says a lot in our defence."* — from an Irish Army advertisement of a few years ago.

The only thing that Luke Dowling would be saying at the pull of a trigger — as Warsaw Pact or NATO forces invade Ireland or even simulate the same — is how outdated and irrelevant the Irish Republic's military defence is against external aggression. It is unsuited to even a Second World War type defence let alone a realistic defence for the 1990's and into the 21st century.

The Republic does not have the money, and certainly not the will power to find the money, to devote the necessary resources to the type of sophisticated, military defence practised by neutral Sweden. So what is the answer?

Dawn believes in a nonviolent civilian defence for the people of Ireland. We published a pamphlet on this matter some few years ago (copies still available — see end of broadsheet). However there is a need for a debate on this whole matter which recognises how ludicrous is any pretension to have a military defence against external aggression. It is not only ludicrous but also dangerous; dangerous because NATO and the Warsaw Pact can consider Ireland an easy target in their war strategies.

It is to try to stimulate a debate that Dawn is publishing this broadsheet. **John Morgan** advocates a military guerrilla-type strategy which contains elements (scuttling of facilities etc) acceptable to nonviolentists. The **Independent Defence Research Group** piece, which is but an extract from a submission to the Council on Defence on 'A defence policy for Ireland', is similar to John Morgan's article in thrust but would differ to some extent in detail. Finally, **Rob Fair-michael** reviews a book by Gene Sharp on non-military defence and another on a de-aligned role for Britain.

The time is ripe for a complete re-think on the whole concept of defence for Ireland and the Republic. The Council of Defence's review of the military forces provides that opportunity. But for that opportunity to be fully grasped it needs public interest and pressure; a demand that Ireland has a defence against the threats which both Warsaw Pact and NATO make to Irish neutrality and to the development of a fearless and progressive role by Ireland on the international stage.

So it's over to you. — **DAWN.**

# DEFENCE WITHOUT OFFENCE

## Alternative defence possibilities for Ireland

4-page broadsheet

10 pence if sold apart from Dawn Train 7.

### Ireland and non-offensive defence

by John Morgan

Britain explains her presence in Northern Ireland as being necessary to separate the warring Irish tribes. The reality is somewhat different. Northern Ireland would be the launching pad for an invasion thrust back into the Republic, should the necessity arise. This is particularly applicable in the context of world conflict, wherein NATO would require Irish facilities to further her strategic objectives. Britain is thus NATO's surrogate in Ireland.

During the seventies, NATO's nuclear policy was that of Mutually Assured Destruction (MAD). This envisaged instant, wholesale nuclear warfare. Ireland's strategic position in this setting was of little import. (At this time, too, it is accepted that Britain contemplated a withdrawal from Ireland). The MAD policy was succeeded by Flexible Response, which envisaged a gradual build up in exchanges, from the conventional up through the gamut of the nuclear, with the hope of victory or an accommodation before the full range would be utilised. In this setting, Ireland's strategic importance was profound and Britain became recommitted to her occupation.

The Warsaw Pact has immense land, sea and air forces located in the Kola Peninsula. In the event of war, they would seek to make entry into the Norwegian Sea and the Atlantic. The Kola would also be the launching pad for assault upon the Scandinavian countries, whose annexation would increase the WP capability of influencing the course of events in the Atlantic, where a vital conflict would take place. The NATO gambit, Forward Defence, is to block this entry which must be made through the Icelandic Gap. Possession of the whole of Ireland would confer the following advantages:

1. Depth to NATO's defences and shelter for the British West flank.
2. Increased NATO's influence on the vital activity in the Atlantic.
3. A staging post and dispersal area for NATO forces. (Ireland being the European end of the Atlantic Bridge; those airways and seaways through which North America would reinforce Europe.)
4. Increased NATO ability to protect convoys from North America to mainland Europe, which would pass South of Ireland in order to stretch the WP Kola reaction capability.
5. Additional airports and seaports, with increased harbourage, repair, range and reaction facilities.
6. Improved radar system (UKADGE) with increased early warning and interceptor capability.



7. Greater security of the Irish Sea (The Safe Lake Concept), especially from WP submarine infiltration and additional protection for NATO submarine bases on the Scottish West Coast (Faslane and Holy Loch in the Clyde Estuary).
8. Deprive the WP of the use of Irish facilities.

This presents Ireland with three options:

**Option One:** Membership of NATO or treaty with a NATO state. This would make Ireland an automatic participant in an East/West confrontation. It would be a nuclear target for WP with its destruction assured. Its voice, meanwhile, in international forums would be of no consequence.

**Option Two:** Expediently Neutral. Should Ireland continue as it is with a military inability to defend itself it risks invasion by NATO or WP and becoming a nuclear target for the other, with its destruction the likely consequence. Its voice, meanwhile, in international forums is suspect in some quarters.

**Option Three:** Declaredly Neutral. With a declared neutrality and an ability to defend it, Ireland could avoid the nuclear holocaust, except for fall out radiation, against which some measure of protection can be attained. Its voice, meanwhile, in international forums would be an optimum one in striving to prevent war.

It is futile to contemplate a conventional defence of Ireland. A NATO thrust out of Northern Ireland supported by astute air drops and sea landings would, through its immensely superior Relative Combat Power, quickly overcome Irish resistance. It is necessary, therefore, to utilise Non Offensive Defence (NOD), in conjunction with massive Civil Disobedience and passive resistance; they are compatible and complementary.

The best NOD is that of Prepared Demolition of Facilities. Ireland's declaration of neutrality, formally registered, would be accompanied by the prepared demolition of those facilities (airports and seaports) a potential invader would desire, thus making his encroachment worthless. The Irish Defence Forces would be deployed, trained, equipped and organised in relation to the facilities. The implementation could be gradual and related to the fiscal situation.

In this scenario a great power, contemplating invasion, would realise he would be confronted by:

1. Stiff opposition on or close to the desired installations.
2. The installations destroyed, perhaps, if tactically feasible, as he makes entry.
3. The task of rebuilding the facilities under severe harassment from the Irish Defence Forces.
4. Severe bombardment from the opposing great power on the installations, when he is at his most vulnerable. (This is the trump card, wherein Ireland can use one as the ultimate in dissuasion against interference by the other).

This system of NOD is the only known method of dissuading an aggressor, avoiding the holocaust and striving, with complete impartiality, for peace. It gives the maximum opportunity with, by far, the best chances of success.

The British/NATO presence in Northern Ireland impinges. All Irishmen there remain at severe risk. Should NATO's nuclear philosophy change in the future, the British could withdraw and abandon the Loyalists. The same could ensue should the Republic, in seeking a United Ireland, participate in a politicised EEC with a homogeneous defence policy, in the years to come. In either scenario the Loyalists could be made pawns in the game.

It might behove them to reconsider their position now, with a view to participating, voluntarily, as equal to equal, Irishman to Irishman, in a 32 County Neutral Ireland, with an ability to defend all its territory and people with a NOD of Prepared Demolition of Facilities.

They could then, too, lend their weight and moral conviction to the noble endeavour of universal peace, as freemen and citizens of a neutral and non-aligned nation, whose sovereignty is indefeasible. A truly outward looking Ireland, generous and pluralist, with an unselfish and global view, would evolve. Perhaps the dialogue should commence.

# INDEPENDENT DEFENCE

What follows is some extracts from the 'A defence policy for Ireland' submission by the **Independent Defence Research Group**. The complete document is available for a minimum donation of £2 per copy to; Independent Defence Research Group, Centre for Peace Research, 29 Lower Baggot Street, Dublin 2.

## Threats to this country

1.2.1. Ireland lies in the path of the major transport lines between the two parts of the NATO alliance. The accepted scenario for armed conflict between East and West in Europe involves a massive exercise to bring reinforcements by air and sea from North America to the European continent, The Atlantic Airbridge (and also the Atlantic sea bridge) as they are termed, would bring troops and equipment from the US to reinforce those NATO forces already engaged. The recent NATO exercise in 1987, Operation Certain Strike, included the airlifting of 60,000 into Europe, in a simulation, albeit in a smaller scale, of this massive operation. The US fleet of commercial airliners would also be involved, and a report in 'Flight' magazine at the end of 1987 noted that the installation of an extra cargo door in Pan Am's existing 747s was done in order to make them suitable for use as part of the Atlantic Airbridge.

1.2.2. The Atlantic Airbridge is planned to terminate at points in the UK, France, Germany, the Netherlands and Belgium. However, the trade-off between range versus payload means that shorter trips across the Atlantic, using a staging post for refuelling, would make this operation more effective. Where less fuel is required at take-off, more troops and equipment can be carried instead. A staging post on the Western tip of Europe would therefore be an advantage to NATO. Shannon, which has a 10,500 feet runway and fast-flowing refuelling facilities, would be ideal for this. Dublin airport, with its new longer runway due to open at the end of 1988, would be an attractive option, as would Knock (Connaught Regional Airport), and possibly Cork Airport, which is also undergoing a runway extension.

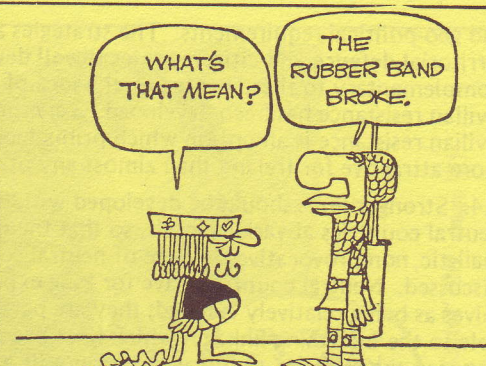
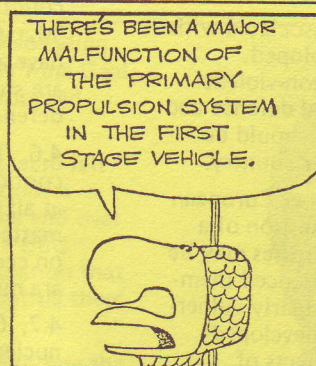
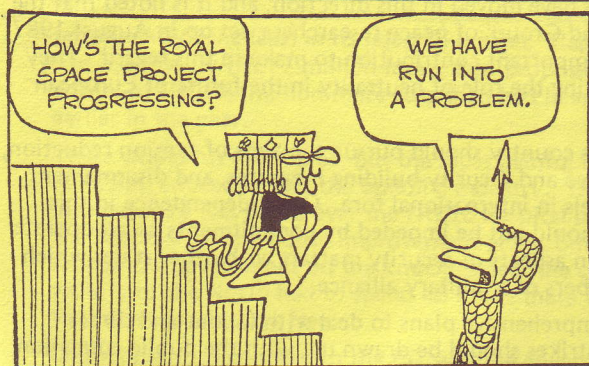
1.3.1. The North Atlantic would be a vital zone of conflict in the event of a conventional or limited nuclear war in Europe.....The location of British and US strategic nuclear submarine forces close to the Irish coast makes the area particularly sensitive. These are the US Poseidon fleet at Holy Loch and the British Polaris fleet at Faslane, both of which are on the Clyde estuary on Scotland's west coast.

1.3.2. This area is likely to become even more sensitive with the further deployments of both tactical and strategic nuclear weapons in the Atlantic. Already more than a quarter of the world's nuclear weapons are based at sea, on surface ships and submarines. It is widely expected that replacements for land-based missiles removed under the INF agreement will include further deployments at sea. Even before this decision is taken, four of the world's five official nuclear powers — all of them operating in the Atlantic — have major expansion programmes for their naval nuclear forces.....

1.3.3. Anti-submarine warfare, and naval capability in general, is therefore of vital importance to NATO and the Warsaw Pact, and will become even more so. Ireland would be an attractive base for these operations, in particular offering an extension to the range of operations of helicopter and fixed wing anti-submarine patrols. These would use, for example, the Nimrod or P-3 Orion aircraft, or the Sea King, Lynx, or EH.101 helicopters. These are all designed to deliver nuclear depth charges, making Ireland a base for nuclear strikes in the Atlantic.

1.3.4. Irish ports would also become significant and most NATO navies are already regular visitors to them.....This would give them a certain operational knowledge of Irish ports, in case they wished to use them for ASW (Anti-Submarine Warfare) or in other roles during hostilities.





Unfortunately the technology which the Republic has to combat from any possible invader is rather more advanced than that mentioned in this Wizard of Id cartoon (and two thirds of space research is for military purposes).

1.4.1. Radar cover of NATO's western flank could be enhanced by the absorption of Irish facilities into the UK or NATO radar system.....

1.4.1. The civilian Secondary Surveillance Radar (SSR) at Mount Gabriel, in Cork, is relayed to UK air traffic control at West Drayton, near London. This facility has the potential of being used by NATO military air traffic controllers.....

1.4.3. The advance warning radar at Bishopscourt, Co Down, is part of the UKADGE system, and its signals are relayed ultimately to RAF Strike Command at High Wycombe, in London.....An alternative routing however is via the Telecom Eireann microwave system, passing through Dundalk, Mount Oriel, and Dublin (Dame Court) or else the Three Rock Microwave station.....

1.4.4. A major gap exists in the UKADGE system, from Bishopscourt in Co Down to its equivalent in Cornwall. This gap in radar cover leaves Britain vulnerable to attack from the West, for example by the Soviet Tu-22M Backfire bomber flying down through Greenland-Iceland-UK gap. Air to surface stand off nuclear missiles could be fired at UK targets without the aircraft coming into British or even Irish airspace, and without being detected in time by NATO forces to respond as they would wish to. One way of countering this situation is to use the Martello mobile radar, which can be transported by road, or air lifted by helicopters with a heavy-lift capability. One of these radar units is to be based at Bishopscourt, and it would be advantageous to move this to the west coast of Ireland, where the extra cover over the Atlantic would fill the gap in the UKADGE system. Relaying the signals to a central command point may involve using Irish civilian telecommunications facilities.

#### Options for Irish security policy

2.1. Irish defence capability at present would not be able to offer effective resistance to an attack by either NATO or Warsaw Pact forces. The fact that a NATO country, namely Britain, could use Northern Ireland as a base from which to move into the South makes the country even more difficult to defend from outside aggression.

2.2. To upgrade the defence forces capability in order to offer more effective resistance would still not prevent a reasonably determined aggressor from taking whatever parts of the country he wishes to control. Furthermore it would prove extremely expensive to increase Ireland's military capability, given the current army, air corps and naval level of equipment, compared to that of any potential aggressor. Current military expenditure is at just over £250 million per year, including £8 million capital expenditure, and although this is less than the average for Western Europe, it is roughly in line with other European neutrals. In the present difficult financial circumstances, it would be extremely difficult to justify extra expenditure on an expanded security policy which would still fail to meet its basic objective of defending the country from outside aggression.

2.3. Joining a military alliance in order to defend the country would simply ensure that this country would be directly involved in any East-West armed conflict, rather than defend it from outside aggression. It would also heighten the strategic value of the country, and make it more likely that Ireland would be targeted by nuclear weapons. It would also require a large increase in military expenditure, which again would be difficult to justify.

2.4. Removing the motivation for attacking this country would be one effective way of deterring outside aggression.....

#### Elements of a dissuasion policy

3.1. The concept of dissuasion is that the destruction of strategically important facilities could mean that an aggressor would not gain any advantage by invading the country. In Ireland's case, this is particularly relevant as the sole reason for wishing to take control of the country would be for strategic purposes, rather than for any political or psychological advantage, or in order to move large numbers of ground forces or supplies by road through the country.

3.2. To have such a policy in operation, it is necessary to plan the details in advance. Any sites which could be of use to either power in a conventional East-West conflict in Europe and the North Atlantic should be identified, and the most effective and rapid way of destroying these, or making them useless to an invader, would have to be established. The particular group to be responsible for its destruction would have to be identified beforehand, and the relevant training and equipment would have to be provided. In some cases, alternative means of destroying or rendering useless the facilities would have to be drawn up. Lines of communication would have to be decided, including the response in the case of a decapitating strike against, or perhaps the surrender of, central government.

3.4. Longer term options would have to be drawn up to deal with the attempts to invade and rebuild the relevant facilities. Further sabotage of the sites, including guerrilla tactics, would have to be planned, as well as harassment of reconstruction activities. This could take place at a number of levels including traditional army units, guerrilla action, and civilian action, non-co-operation, and sabotage, depending on the circumstances. These would again need advance planning, as the events would be likely to occur over a short timescale, especially in the case of civilian non-co-operation and resistance.

3.5. Civilian resistance to occupation, which again could occur at a number of levels, would be an important element, if the existence of plans for its mobilization was made known to an aggressor. This would require greater preparation and training than certain military options, as the population would need to be educated in appropriate techniques of making occupation a difficult and unattractive option. Interim plans for this could be made while there is ongoing research into the most appropriate technique.

3.6. Contact with other neutral countries who have similar elements in their defence policies would be beneficial.....

#### Recommendations

4.1. Given the nature of the threat to this country, comprehensive plans should be drawn up for the destruction of any facilities which would invite attack.....

4.2. The policy of destroying strategically important facilities should be clearly outlined at home and abroad, subject to security considerations, so that it is well known that this country's defence policy means that an invasion or attack on the country is pointless.

4.3. A comparative study should be carried out of similar elements in other countries' defence policies, especially those of neutral countries. Each of the European neutrals have adopted their defence policy to suit their individual strategic



and geo-political requirements. The strategies associated with territorial defence and citizen armies is well developed. Complementary to these strategies, the idea of non-violent civilian resistance has been developed. Territorial defence and civilian resistance is an option which *prima facie* should be more attractive for Ireland than almost any other country.

4.4. Stronger links should be developed with other European neutral countries at various levels, so that the question of a realistic, non-provocative defence of neutral countries may be discussed. Neutral countries have for long experienced themselves as being relatively isolated; they are particularly vulnerable to the increasing linkages which have been developed between the military, political and economic aspects of security and international relations.

4.5. A percentage of the annual military budget should go to research into civilian-based defence and peace research. A research institute appropriate for a neutral country should be established, which could become a centre of expertise in alternative defence options, offering advice to other neutral and third world states in particular. A number of European

countries have moved in this direction, and it is noted that the 'Marstrand Group' of peace researchers, set up in August 1987, have an important contribution to make in this regard. They are studying the role of neutrality in the future of European defence.

4.6. This country should pursue the aims of tension reduction, confidence and security-building measures, and disarmament at all levels in international fora. Our independence in this matter should not be impeded by commitments to co-operate on certain aspects of security matters with other states which are members of a military alliance.

4.7. Comprehensive plans to deal with fallout and direct nuclear strikes should be drawn up, with the public education which is a necessary part of this.

4.8. Increasing the public awareness of the possibilities of social defence would be a first step in the educational process. Social defence by its very nature depends on the willingness and vitality of public opinion. Civilian defence, even if never used, would have very positive effects on maintaining Irish democracy and diffusing among the total population the ethos and practice of non-violence.

## Reviews

by Rob Fairmichael.

*"Making Europe Unconquerable — the potential of civilian-based deterrence and defence"* by Gene Sharp. Taylor and Francis, London, 1985, 252 pages.

*"The politics of alternative defence — a role for a non-nuclear Britain"* by the Alternative Defence Commission. Paladin, 1987, 399 pages, £5.95 UK.

*"Making Europe Unconquerable"* is a good statement of the possibilities of civilian based defence. It is not a stunning book, perhaps restating much information from elsewhere — but that elsewhere is not so accessible. And of course orienting it to Europe is useful for us Europeans!

Sharp's case studies are the classics of the Kapp attempted coup d'état in Germany in 1920, France and Algeria in 1961, Germany (the Ruhr) in 1923, Czechoslovakia 1968-69. He argues that as a minimum step Western European countries could improve their security by adding civilian based defence to their total defence package.

He then moves on to transarmament — *"the process of changing over from a military system to a civilian-based defence system"* (p.67). This envisages military capacity being downgraded or eliminated as confidence in civilian based defence grows. But there are a number of international policy options open on this road: a purely defensive role at one end of the spectrum, or a strong internationalist or even offensive (spreading the ideas, combatting tyranny) at the other. And of course the democratic, public resistance tools of social defence are, as he so rightly points out, appropriate for deterring internal usurpation.

Civilian defence does not attempt defence at the frontier, except perhaps symbolically; it is *"the direct defence of society as such."* Sharp then takes us through some of the possibilities, starting perhaps with "Nonviolent 'Blitzkrieg'" — near total noncooperation. This may be appropriate at an initial or other time but selective resistance is more useful generally, Sharp says.

The question of what the attackers main objectives are is obviously an important one. He points out that where the attackers only want small enclaves for a base or such, this is most difficult to resist by civilian defence (p.131). Unfortunately it is just this that an invader of Ireland might want — going for sea ports, airports, and importing radar facilities. But Sharp says the question of resistance to the seizing of such enclaves has not been seriously examined.

He teases out a number of questions in relation to the capacity of different aspects of the society to resist. He moves on then to consider implementation, making the comment very appropriate to Ireland that *"There have been compelling reasons for nonaligned and permanently neutral countries, dependent on their own resources, at least to add a minimal civil resistance component alongside their military capacities"* (p.163-4). Irish government please note! PS Minister for Finance please note that he estimates the costs of a totally transarmed

country to be no more than 10% of the previous military costs and possibly significantly less.

To conclude he says *"Civilian-based defence taps a crucial insight into the nature of power: all political power is rooted in and continually dependent upon the cooperation and obedience of the subjects and institutions of the society. That cooperation and obedience can be withdrawn.....With effort, risks, and costs, it is possible for Europeans — and all peoples — to make themselves politically indigestible to would-be tyrants."* (p.193)

Unfortunately the island of Ireland, let alone the Republic, is not a bastion of progressive, fearless, peace-loving neutrality. All of us in Ireland live on an island which contains part of a NATO state. And that is the North's being part of the UK. Whatever about the problems of transarming the Republic, you might throw up your hands in horror at the thought of transarming Britain. But do not despair. Plenty of thought has been going into that too.

*"The politics of alternative defence"* is from the people who brought you *"Defence without the bomb"*. It is addressed primarily at a 'non-nuclear' role rather than a 'non-violent' one but in the context that should not be seen as a draw-back from a nonviolent point of view.

This very detailed book is about de-alignment — *"the objective of this approach is to support and strengthen the forces that are tending to break up the bi-polar structure of global politics dominated by the two super-powers."* (p.14) This, and the mass of detail in the book, is highly relevant to little ol' neutral Ireland if she (he, it?) is worth its salt in working for peace internationally. And it is more relevant than ever after the Single European Act as EEC political convergence makes the possibility of progressive moves by the Republic less likely on the international stage.

The book includes detailed demands a non-nuclear Britain should make if it was to stay in NATO, consideration of Britain's role outside NATO (*"If it remained in the Economic Community it should support the efforts of Eire to prevent the Community becoming tied to NATO"* p.357). And there's also plenty of consideration of Britain's role in the world and relations with the third world. All in all there's plenty to get your teeth into; it's good wholesome stuff but you should take your time and digest it well.

Dawn's 8-page pamphlet *"An alternative defence for Ireland — some considerations and a model of defence without arms for the Irish people"* (with Dawn 95-96) is still available at 20 pence plus postage, or 5 copies for £1 post free, from the Dawn addresses below. It includes a detailed reading list.

Additional copies of this broadsheet *"Defence without offence"* are available from Dawn at 10 pence a copy plus postage, or 10 copies for £1 post free.

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