

# TROOPS OUT OF IRELAND

**TROOPS OUT  
NOW**

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

Paper of the Troops Out Movement 30p

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photo: AP/RN

## *INSIDE:*

- ADAMS SPEAKS IN LONDON
- BRITAIN'S IMPERIALIST PROBLEM
- INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY AT MAGHABERRY AND DURHAM
- ARMY ACROSS THE BORDER
- BRITAIN'S RADIOACTIVE EXPORTS
- REPRESSION IN THE REPUBLIC
- PUBLIC ORDER ACT
- ARMY OFFICERS ADMIT DIRTY TRICKS
- REVIEWS AND LETTERS







# EDITORIAL

## Sinn Fein and British withdrawal



The standing ovation given to Gerry Adams, the President of Sinn Fein and West Belfast MP, at the beginning and end of his speech at a public meeting in London recently was a measure of the audience's recognition of the Republican Movement's struggle against the British occupation of N. Ireland. His visit, the first for several years, was a welcome one.

For those campaigning here for a British withdrawal from N. Ireland such a trip was timely with a General Election on the horizon. Adams was clear in his message: Don't allow your vote to be taken for granted. Ensure Ireland is a public issue at the next General Election.

In the centre pages of this month's issue of *Troops Out* we print an edited version of his speech. This visit shows a new determination by Sinn Fein to ensure its voice is heard not only in the whole of Ireland but also in Britain. Last year's successful tour by eight Sinn Fein councillors was part of that strategy. It is our duty to ensure every encouragement is given to enable future trips will take place.

Sinn Fein represents the most cohesive political force in Ireland which seeks to end the British occupation. In N. Ireland, where the effects of that occupation are at their most stark, it commands wide support. We therefore must listen to what people like Gerry Adams tell us about how Britain continues to rule N. Ireland. And just as important, what kind of campaigns they see as being most effective over here in their fight for self-determination.

While the Republican Movement will in the final analysis be the force which removes Britain from Ireland, a strong message from people here to the British government will greatly help their cause.

One way is to raise the issue with MPs in particular when they are asking for your vote. Speaking at Hornsey Town Hall Adams urged those of Irish descent to use their vote effectively: *"I would appeal to you not to vote for any candidate unless they give a public commitment to work for and support the decolonisation of the Six Counties... The Labour Party's record on Ireland is - like other parties' - disgraceful, and no party which is capable of bringing an end to the tragedy and suffering in the Six Counties should be allowed to take the Irish vote for granted."*

Whether you are Irish or British it is a message we should all take on board.

## Troops Out Movement

The Troops Out Movement is a movement in England, Scotland and Wales made up of people who believe that the cause of the 'troubles' in the north of Ireland is the continuing British presence there, both military and political. We believe that British troops are in Ireland not as a peacekeeping force, but in order to maintain British rule, and that their presence is the most serious obstacle to any progress towards peace. Ever since 1969 the troops have been occupying a part of Ireland, coercing and oppressing the nationalist people, maintaining the division of Ireland and ensuring that its people cannot unite to determine their own future.

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

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

## Troops Out Paper

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

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

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# British army and the border

You would have thought that since Britain is responsible for dividing up Ireland and giving it a border where none previously existed, it would at least respect that border.

Far from it. Much of the time, Britain's armed forces carry on as if they still lorded it over the whole of Ireland. In a written House of Commons reply on 13th March, N Ireland Secretary Tom King stated that the Republic's Government had alleged 19 incidents in the last three months of British armed forces crossing the border. The British side admitted twelve of these, King stated, denied five and was investigating two.

Of the twelve admitted border incursions, King claimed that eleven were accidental — the result of "navigation or map reading errors"! One was deliberate and an apology had been made to the Republic for it.

This last incident happened in December when council workmen in County Monaghan (in the Republic) stumbled across a bugging device which had been illegally planted a few weeks before by British soldiers. It was recording human movements in the area and sending radio signals back to the British base across the border.

Accidental 'navigation errors' would apparently include British spotter planes flying at least one mile into County Louth and swooping down on houses as low as 50 feet. Or British helicopters hovering over farmlands disturbing livestock with their noise.

## Strengthening the border

While British gunmen wander at will into and over the Republic's territory, they are also busy barricading their side of the border. Last year the British Army took out compulsory purchase orders on farming land in South Armagh to erect a series of spy posts along the border area.

The spy posts are massive erections of steel, concrete and corrugated iron, visible from

ten miles away. Trip wires around them are a hazard to people and animals. In one area near Crossmaglen the Army also set up powerful lamps which light up the whole area at night.

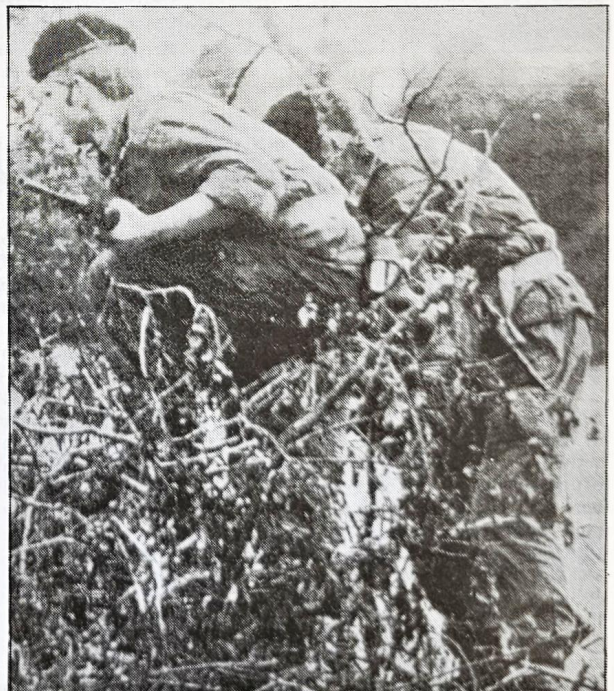
There are now about 20 of these spy posts. The way in which they were built shows that talk about 'an army of occupation' is no false rhetoric. For example, last June the Royal Anglian Regiment arrived without warning at Drumuckavall in South Armagh with lorry-loads of building equipment. They seized 300 acres of land, blocked off roads, destroyed fences and hedgerows, cut down trees and sealed off the area. Residents were trapped in their homes and abused if they complained.

"It is a sad day" said one, "when our land can be vandalised and occupied in this manner, with no regard whatsoever for the feelings of our families or the consequences for our livelihood."

Even with these spy posts built and operational, the British Army still use their apparently limitless powers of commandeering land. At the end of last February, a farming area in Fermanagh was taken over for four days by the British Army.

They arrived without warning, tore down fencing and denied local people access to the area. The exercise was carried out to provide cover for a convoy of Army building equipment passing through to a nearby barracks.

The British army patrolling the Irish Republic's side of the border at an official checkpoint in Co. Monaghan; while below soldiers take part in another "map reading error". (Photo: AP/RN)





## NEWS FROM IRELAND

# Public Order Act

An extension of Britain's new Public Order Act to the North of Ireland was passed in the House of Commons on 10th March. It became operational on 1st April.

The Public Order Act made a deep dent in British rights to demonstrate, but in N Ireland these rights were so battered and bruised by years of emergency legislation as to make little or no difference. In fact, the application of the Act there was heralded as an

advancement of civil liberties!

The new law for the North has two main powers. One is that seven days notice has to be given to the RUC (police) for all marches and parades. The other repeals the Flags and Emblems Act which was passed in 1954 to forbid interference with the flying of the Union Jack and to forbid the flying of any other flag or emblem considered likely to cause a breach of the peace (i.e., the Irish tricolour).

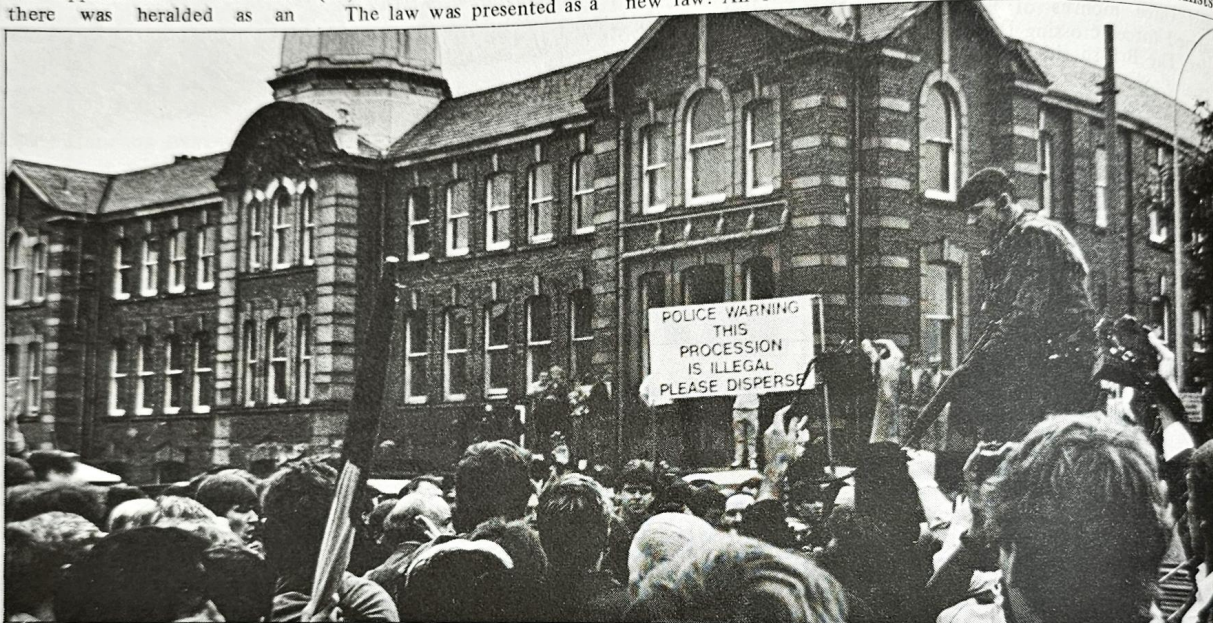
The law was presented as a

progressive step on the grounds that it will limit the triumphalist sectarian character of loyalist marches. These marches go on from Easter to August and are routed to go through or close to nationalist communities. They are accompanied by offensive songs and slogans and, usually, do not pass without damage to nationalist people and property.

The unionist side certainly took it this way, and immediately promised to defy the new law. All 14 unionist MPs

turned up at Westminster to vote against the Order — with Paisley tearing up his copy and throwing the scraps at the Tory benches.

However, the experience of last year's loyalist marching season showed that the Army and RUC were not willing to curb loyalist triumphalism, except in token ways. Sinn Féin president Gerry Adams warned that the new Public Order law will be most vigorously exercised against nationalists.



The new Public Order Act will make little difference in N. Ireland where marches proceed regardless (photo: TOM).

## Dirty tricks resurface

Links between the British Intelligence Service, loyalist murder gangs and members of the Gardai (Irish Republic police) have been detailed by two former British army officers.

Colin Wallace and Fred Holroyd who were both active in British counter-insurgency activities in the 70s outlined official involvement in a number of murders in a recent radio interview. These included the Miami Showband massacre and the murder of IRA member John Green in Co Monaghan in 1975. Details were also given of several murder attempts along the border with the Republic the same year.

Both men are expected to give evidence to a House of Commons select committee investigating MI5 operations in N Ireland.

According to both men loyalist murder gangs were recruited specifically for covert actions, often working under the direct supervision of British army officers. Co-operation was also gained from several senior Gardai, recruited by British Intelligence to provide information on Republican activists living in the Republic, and to ensure areas were 'clear' for cross-border incursions.

Holroyd has specifically made allegations that a man

who was jailed in 1975 for the murder of a Catholic man, Anthony Duffy, was innocent. He claims that Thomas Clarke took the rap to protect members of an Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF) gang who if tried would have led to disclosure in court of politically sensitive material. This gang was also

responsible for the Dublin car bombings in 1974 which killed 27 people.

Although both men have made similar allegations in the past their combined efforts this time have given further weight to the lobby demanding an enquiry into MI5 activities during this period.

*"My local brigade would arrange for soldiers to be waiting, for example, on our side of the border, and a team would go across, sometimes Ulster Volunteer Force people or Ulster Freedom Fighters who were being used by the army and by the police, the Special Branch in the North, and they would try to kidnap the chap and bring him across to the North. In other cases there were murders carried out".*  
Former British Intelligence Captain Fred Holroyd.



# Repression in the Republic

Legislation in the Republic of Ireland brought in to counter Republicanism is now being used to repress other political activity. Students protesting against fee rises have been arrested under the Offences Against the State Act.

Fees in Irish third level colleges are high, around £1000 per year. Unlike in Britain, students who obtain a college place in Ireland are not automatically entitled to a grant. An academic standard much higher than that required for university entry must be achieved and then the applicant is means-tested.

Now, with exceptionally heavy taxation and a worsening economy, the middle classes are under extreme financial pressure. For those who work by day and study by night, fees are not even tax deductible.

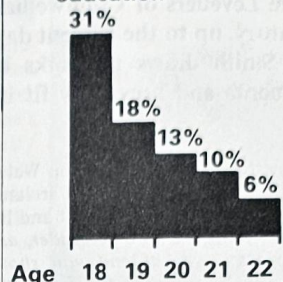
The situation for middle-class would-be students and those who trip at the academic fence is shown by the effect of a new EEC ruling. This allows any EEC citizen to attend a college in any EEC country for the same fee as students in

that country. Irish applications to British colleges jumped from 261 in 1983 to an expected 2000 in 1987 — fees are lower in Britain.

So the brain-drain from Ireland continues, with the associated individual problems of adjustment in a foreign country. Meanwhile good courses will be lost in Irish colleges for lack of students and courses in Britain which otherwise might have been discontinued will be revived by the influx.

Not surprisingly, a proposed fee rise of 6% for students at Irish third level Regional Technical colleges met with protest. Demanding a fees freeze, a grant increase and improved library facilities, students attempted to occupy the offices of the Department of Education. Such occupations are common enough and do not usually

Percentage of Population within age group in education



The percentage of the population between 19 and 22 years of age who are in full-time third level education is less than 12%. In other words, roughly one eighth of the population between these ages are benefiting from a third level education system. (Who Owns Ireland: Attic Press)

result in any damage to property or people.

Four people were arrested under Section 30 of the Offences Against the State Act (OASA), which allows for 48 hour detention without charge

and the fingerprinting, searching and photographing of detainees without consent.

The OASA was first passed during the last world war. It was re-enacted, ostensibly in relation to the war in the North of Ireland to 'make provision in relation to actions and conduct calculated to undermine public order and the authority of the state' and to set up special criminal courts. Its main target has been Republicans.

Like all repressive legislation which goes unopposed because it pertains to a particular unpopular group in society, the OASA is now available for use against all protesters in the 26 counties. Although the state of the economy in the South may divert attention from the war in the North, the national struggle will continue to have serious implications for all political activity, however minor and self-interested, in the 26 counties.

## Britain's radioactive exports

The British Government's frightening decision to go ahead with a new nuclear reactor at Sizewell has implications not just for British people at risk. As Chernobyl showed, radioactivity does not wait around for a passport and visa before crossing frontiers.

In Ireland the response to Sizewell B was immediate. The Republic's new Minister for Energy made a formal protest to the British Government and expressed dismay at the decision. There are now plans in Ireland to work with Scandinavian countries to oppose Britain's nuclear threat — the threat from its power stations, not its weapons. Sizewell B's site in East Anglia will waft its deadly pollution across to Scandinavia in the same way that Sellafield's waste has polluted the Irish Sea and the Eastern counties of Ireland.

An unusually high incidence of leukaemia in those countries has been linked to specific discharges from Sellafield. This link has not been 'proven'.

A medical conference in Southport, held in March, also listed higher than average levels of leukaemia and cancer clustered in areas around nuclear power stations in Britain. Yet according to the chief medical officer of British Nuclear Fuels Limited, the link here is also 'not proven'.

Last year there were five reported accidents at Sellafield which caused radioactive discharges. Sizewell B, the new power station, is of the same design as the Three Mile Island reactor in the USA, where an accident had near catastrophic results. That reactor has been shut down ever since.

The incoming Government in the Irish Republic has stated its determination to have Sellafield shut down. The previous Government had worked, mainly through EEC agencies, to have stringent monitoring and safety checks carried out, in which work it was partially successful. The Republic's Government is also setting up a National Radiological Protec-

tion Institute to monitor radiation levels and to research means of protecting the country from other countries' nuclear destruction.

### SUBMERGED PERILS

US and British submarines, nuclear powered and nuclear armed, also present a threat as an Irish trawler found to its cost last February.

The trawler was fishing in the Irish Sea near the Isle of Man. It is an area used both as a through-route to and from the submarine base at Holy Loch in Scotland, and also as an exercise area for their arcane war games. In this case the submarine became entangled in the trawler's net and dragged it along for three hours before the crew were able to cut the net cables and escape at least with their lives and ship.

There have been seven similar incidents since 1982,

causing 14 deaths and in some cases the sinking of fishing boats.





# Britain's imperialist problem

Britain has a long history of being a major imperialist force in the world. There has, however, also been a long tradition of anti-imperialist movements within Britain, from the Levellers of Cromwellian England, to the Chartists of the nineteenth century, up to the present day.

In this article Graham Smith draws the links between past and present anti-imperialist movements and how they fit into the decline of British imperialism.

*"I was in the East End of London yesterday and attended a meeting of the unemployed. I listened to the wild speeches, which were just a cry for 'bread', 'bread', 'bread', and on my way home I pondered over the scene and I became more than ever convinced of the importance of Imperialism. . . . My cherished idea is a solution to the social problem, i.e. in order to save the 40 million inhabitants of the United Kingdom from a bloody civil war, we, colonial statesmen, must acquire new lands to settle the surplus population, to provide new markets for the goods produced by them in the factories and mines. The Empire, as I have always said, is a bread and butter question. If you want to avoid civil war, you must become imperialists."* (Cecil Rhodes, 1895)

With the political leaders of the European working class about to embark on their campaigns to establish working class power, the ruling class in Britain were reflecting on the lessons of a century of industrial capitalism. Imperialism, however, was not the result of conscious decisions by the likes of Cecil Rhodes; as a world system of exploitation it was the logical outcome of capitalist development. In fact, the colonial plunder of other lands is a long-established element of Britain's economy. The Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland, piracy, the slave trade, the wholesale destruction of the Indian textile industry, the Opium Wars, the carve-up of Africa, and the widespread penetration of British finance capital, all contribute to Britain's history.

## The Anti-Imperialist Tradition

A less noted aspect of Britain's history is the anti-imperialist traditions of popular movements in England, Scotland and Wales.

Two mass movements have figured prominently in the history of the modern British state: the Levellers during Parliament's struggle to overthrow the rule of monarchs in the mid-seventeenth century and the working class Chartist Movement in the mid-nineteenth century. Significantly, both of these organisations were opposed to the colonial intentions of the ruling class.

Many Leveller pamphlets were written against the Cromwellian Conquest of Ireland. In *The English Soldier's Standard*

(1647) William Walwyn called on soldiers not to go to Ireland but to advance the cause of 'right and liberty' in England:

*"For consider, as things now stand, to what end you should hazard your lives against the Irish. Will you go on still to kill, slay and murder in order to make them [the Officers] as absolute lords and masters over Ireland, as you have made them over England. Or is it your ambition to reduce the Irish to the happiness of tithes upon treble damages, to excise, customs and monopolies in trade?"*

Two hundred years later, the mid-nineteenth century was a period of hectic British colonial expansion – Aden annexed in 1839, New Zealand in 1840, Natal and Sind in 1843, the Punjab by 1848, Burma in 1852 and the Cape in 1853. In Britain during this period the Chartist Movement emerged as the first mass working class organisation in history. In 1846 the 'Fraternal Democrats' declared in the *Northern Star*, a Chartist newspaper:

*"There is no foot of land, either in Britain or the colonies that you, the working class, can call your own. . . . They, your masters, will take the land – they will fill all the higher situations, civil and military, of the new colonies – your share will be the slaughter of the combat and the cost of winning and retaining the conquest. The actual settlers on and cultivators of the soil, these are the rightful sovereigns of the soil, and should be at perfect liberty to choose their own form of government and their own institutions."*

And then, in 1864, the International Workingmen's Association (the First International) was set up in London. But soon Marx was warning the British working class of the consequences if they were to fail to take up the question of Ireland's self-determination:

*"[The British working class] can never do anything decisive here in England until it separates its policy with regard to Ireland most definitely from the policies of the ruling classes. . . . And this must be done, not as a matter of sympathy with Ireland but as a demand made in the interests of the English proletariat. If not, the English people will remain tied to the leading strings of the ruling classes, because [they] will have to join them in a common front against Ireland."*

A quarter of a century later Rhodes was to arrive at similar conclusions when describing the opportunity for the British ruling class to avert social unrest.

With few notable exceptions – support for Irish workers in the Dublin lock-out, the "Hands Off Russia" Campaign, volunteers for the International Brigades in Spain – the anti-imperialist tradition of the British people faded into history.

## Decline of British Imperialism

In the past decade there have been signs that an anti-imperialist awareness is again taking hold among the British people. CND, Anti-Apartheid, Nicaraguan solidarity, growing support for a withdrawal from Ireland, and opposition to the bombing of Libya, all express varying degrees of anti-imperialist sentiment.

This revival of anti-imperialist sentiments and international solidarity movements has coincided with growing political tension in an increasingly divided Britain. Surely, if Rhodes could describe Imperialism as the solution to social unrest in Britain at the turn of the century, we can conclude that the decline of British Imperialism is the cause of conflict in Britain today. British Imperialism is now paying the price for prioritising its foreign interests, against massive international opposition, while other imperialist powers spent some energy in re-establishing their domestic economies in the post-war period. For over a century, since the economic crisis of 1870, industry has played second fiddle to the needs of international finance in Britain's political economy.

For the British economy Thatcherism has attempted a belated re-structuring programme based on anti-popular measures, and it hasn't worked. Between 1978 and 1982 bankruptcies increased from 3,902 to 5,700. In the same period company liquidations leapt from 5,086 to 12,067. Import penetration (reflecting the weakness of British manufacturing) rose from 24.8% in 1978 to 30.8% in 1983. Unemployment has doubled from 1.8 million to somewhere between 3.5 and 4 million.

The positive figures are just as revealing in demonstrating who benefits from Thatcherism. Output per worker increased at an annual rate of 3.1% between 1981 and 1984, with total output up by 2.7% per annum. Industrial and commercial profits (excluding N. Sea oil profits) for the first half of 1984 were up by 17% for 1983 figures. Private industrial investment increased by approximately 13% in 1985, and inflation has stayed consistently under 5%. (From Krieger, *Reagan, Thatcher and the Politics of Decline*).

Any investigation of the political economy of Britain demonstrates divi-



sions of a deep rooted imperialist nature. The Thatcherist right represents imperialist interests (the multinational companies and international financiers) while, on the other hand, the dispossessed – Black people, Irish people, the unemployed, women's organisations, lesbians and gay men, trade unionists, etc – are being disenfranchised through a systematic combination of legislation and repression.

### Anti-Imperialist Britain

Today, Imperialism describes a world system of economic, political and social control against a background of super-power confrontation. With decline, British Imperialism entered into an alliance firstly with US Imperialism, and more lately with the states of the EEC. It is the NATO alliance which provides western Imperialism with its military might, and it is NATO policies, especially with regard to nuclear weapons, which have become a focus of concern in Britain.

The notion that Imperialism is an issue of concern only to people beyond Britain's shores flies in the face of economic and political reality. Not only is the wealth and political power of this country concentrated in the hands of Imperialists, to the extent of excluding representatives of British industry (for example Westlands, Leyland and Nimrod), but there is an increased willingness of the State to resort to Imperialist methods of repression against the British people.

Racism was a tool of Imperialism before it was a tool of Fascism. Whereas the racism of Empire claimed the 'supremacy' of the Anglo-Saxon race as ideological justification for colonisation, the racism of Imperial decline threatens a 'swamping' of the British 'way of life' by the 'alien cultures of immigrants'. Anti-racist struggles are, in themselves, anti-Imperialist struggles, struggles for political and cultural self-determination.

And, by resorting to repressive measures against the oppressed, the state is creating the conditions for an anti-Imperialist unity among the dispossessed people of Britain.

The emergence of an anti-Imperialist awareness, and the depth of the growing international solidarity campaigns in Britain, are a consequence of Imperialist oppression in this country. Such anti-Imperialist sentiments are based on a unity of interest between oppressed people in Britain and the oppressed people of other countries.

The unity of interest between the oppressed people of Britain and the Irish people's demand for national self-determination transcends all expressions of humanitarian concern. State harassment and repression of Irish people living in Britain and Irish solidarity activists is ample evidence of this situation. Our unity lies in one simple truth: the fact that the British Imperialist State is the direct cause of oppression in partitioned Ireland and a divided Britain.

Graham Smith

## International Women's Day

### Focus on the women prisoners in Ireland

Photo: AP/RN

400 women and men picketed Maghaberry Jail on Sunday 8th March, including 100 women from England, Wales and Scotland. Though it is Europe's newest and highest security prison, Irish republican women prisoners there are regularly subjected to the state sexual violence of strip-searching.

In their statement to the picket, the 15 Maghaberry prisoners condemned the strip-searching policy as "a grossly demoralising and demeaning practice", which is "nothing short of legalised rape of mind and body. Young and old are compelled to strip naked entering and leaving the prison for any reason. Refusal to strip is met with the forcible stripping of the women."



Photo: AP/RN

Maghaberry Jail is about 13 miles outside Belfast, isolated in bleak bare country in a landscape of barbed wire, watchtowers, roll-top concrete walls, steel mesh fencing and surveillance cameras.

Visitors must walk the half-mile from the car park and endure cages, tunnels, waiting huts, sirens, security searches, windowless vans and a total of 13 locked gates to reach the prisoners.



# Adams speaks in L

Publicity surrounding the recent visit to England of Gerry Adams, the President of Sinn Féin and West Belfast MP, was predictable. His acceptance of an invitation to speak at the Oxford University debate resulted in two other expected participants withdrawing. Jane Ewart-Biggs, wife of the British Ambassador to Dublin who was killed by the IRA, and Paul Wilkinson, an "expert on international terrorism" from Aberdeen University, both refused to take part in the debate.

Prior to the Oxford debate Mr Adams spoke to a large audience at Hornsey Town Hall in London. The meeting was organised by the Troops Out Movement, Labour Committee on Ireland and the Irish in Britain Representation Group. Here we print part of his speech. Next month's issue of *Troops Out* will include his arguments put to the Oxford debate in support of IRA violence.

I would like to thank the IBRG, the LCI and the TOM for organising tonight's meeting. I would like to record my pleasure at seeing such a large crowd of people here to hear what we have to say. I think it's worth noting, perhaps, that the Prime Minister of this country could not come to my country and address a meeting like this, north or south, Loyalist or Nationalist.

## BRITISH PEOPLE SUPPORT WITHDRAWAL

Despite a very obvious public desire of the British for a British withdrawal from Ireland, which surfaces so often in opinion polls, none of the main political parties here have a policy on Ireland which is aimed at the de-colonisation of the six counties, and no party has a policy of relinquishing the British claim to sovereignty over that part of our country. In fact, since the Partition of Ireland was imposed by the British government's 'Government of Ireland Act' (1921), successive British governments have defended the status quo there and have adopted a partisan colonial attitude on the issue. The partition of Ireland was undertaken by the British in order to entrench the six counties against Nationalist Ireland, in order to halt and to divert the struggle for national independence; to maintain a direct British influence over

the six counties and an indirect influence over the rest of the country. And that is one of the reasons why there are so many Irish people here in Britain, Australia and the USA. Economic exiles from our own country. We cannot have the peace to live there because we do not have the political or economic sovereignty to allow us to make our own country a united and prosperous nation.

## THE ANGLO-IRISH TREATY

The Hillsborough Treaty seeks merely, and only, to camouflage the reality of British rule in Ireland. Hillsborough does not mark any new departure, Peter Barry may trot over here every so often and tell you that things are much better – but they're not. Hillsborough reinforces the Union and attempts to whitewash the partition of Ireland. And Hillsborough, like all its predecessors, like Sunningdale and Darlington, and convention this and convention that, and rolling devolution, are all reactions to the continued depth of support, to the tenacity, and the unprecedented and protracted nature of Republican resistance.

Hillsborough appears to play down some of the more obvious signs of colonial rule. Despite this, and despite Loyalist protestations, there have been no fundamental or significant improve-

ment in the lifestyles and the quality of life for Nationalists in the six counties. On the contrary, apart from the dubious benefit (and perhaps some temporary satisfaction), which arises from the way in which the fascist nature of Loyalism has been exposed, the Hillsborough Treaty cannot, and will not, create conditions which will lead to any permanent ceasing of hostilities, which would end the very long war that we endure, and which would bring about conditions for the development of a peaceful, and united, and independent Irish society. And it cannot do these things because it was not established with these objectives in mind.

Now, how can these objectives – normal, ordinary and reasonable objectives – to live in peace, to live your life with your neighbour, to live life as best you can, how can these be achieved? Seventeen, maybe eighteen years of struggle on, and centuries of years of conquest on, the answer remains as simple and as straightforward as it has always been. And that is for a British withdrawal from Ireland. That is the only answer...

It means a British government adopting a strategy for decolonisation. Such a strategy must have as its central tenet the abandonment of the 'Government of Ireland Act'. They talk to us about constitutionalism, well here is the way to do it in a constitutional manner. The abandonment of the 'Government of Ireland Act' means simply a British government and its parliament in an irreversible and public way declaring that Northern Ireland is no longer a part of the United Kingdom. And, that the British military and political establishment will remain there only for as long as it takes to arrange their permanent withdrawal. In my view, and in the view of most Nationalists in Ireland, this would need to be accomplished in the shortest practical period. A definite date within the lifetime of a parliament would need to be set for the completion of this withdrawal.

That is a simple, straightforward strategy for those who preach to us about constitutionalism, for those who preach to us about the merits of democracy. And when those people suggest to us that they respond to such a simple and straightforward step by step rearrangement of the relationship between Ireland and Britain, they then say to us – what about the Loyalists? As if they care one twopenny damn about the Loyalists. If you want any proof of that, watch the past fifteen months and watch Mr Paisley banging his head against Mrs Thatcher's Hillsborough gate. The British government cares not a wit for any person in Ireland, whether they be Loyalist or Nationalist. And the scenario, the often

*"I am told there are almost 3 million Irish people, or people of Irish descent, living in Britain; that the majority of them live in large centres of population like London, Luton, Glasgow and Birmingham. I'm also told that about 60% of you vote Labour – why, is beyond me! The Labour Party leadership's record of Ireland is a disgraceful one; it's as colonial as any pursued by Margaret Thatcher. How can it happen that a party that projects itself as a socialist party can have a partisan attitude with the Tory Party? That two parties, supposed to be totally ideologically opposed, can have a common attitude on the question of Ireland?"*



# London

threatened bloody civil war scenario, need not happen.

The British government have the responsibility, and more importantly, the power to ensure an orderly transition to Irish political unity and independence. In other addresses I have spelt out, and other people have spelt out, how this can be accomplished. We do not have to go into it tonight. And anyway, we do not need to advise the British government on how to withdraw from Ireland. For the past 70 years they have been withdrawing from places all over the world; they've had plenty of practice. It's my view it's no business of the British government what happens afterwards.

In order perhaps to win the public argument, I'd like to point out that in the new circumstances created in Ireland by such a democratic measure, it would be a matter of the representatives of all the Irish people coming together, and in a business like way, negotiating and working out, and setting out the constitutional, economic, social and political arrangements for a new Irish society, and a new Irish State. And, for those who fear the civil rights or civil liberties of religious minorities or even, at the moment, of a national political minority, I would like to re-iterate the Republicans have consistently asserted that the Protestant people, the Loyalist people, must be given, in common with other citizens, firm guarantees for their religious and civil liberties. I have talked with Loyalists, I have been imprisoned with Loyalists, I represent a constituency, the Shankhill Road as well as the Falls Road, where I do not ask people whether they are Protestant or Catholic when they come for assistance. I believe that faced with a British withdrawal, faced with a removal of partition, that a very considerable body of Loyalist opinion would accept the wisdom of negotiating for the type of society which would reflect our needs, as opposed to some sort of futile struggle for some sort of two county state somewhere around the periphery of Belfast Lough. An All Ireland Constitutional Conference, consisting of elected representatives of the Irish people, to discuss these arrangements, to draw up a new constitution, and to organise a new system of government, should be open to all significant organisations of political opinion in Ireland, including those without electoral mandates at this time. And though this conference could have no influence on the decision by Britain to withdraw, it would play an important role in organising the transition to a new governmental system.

So what I have tried to do, in my own imperfect way, is spell out, to some degree, the step by step process needed for peace. Every opinion maker of the establishment who I meet, including



Photo: Joanne O'Brien/Format

many journalists, ask me about peace. Well there is, if anybody's listening out there, outside this hall, a step by step common sense and logical process which will bring about peace in the country in which I live. And after so many years of bloodshed, torture and the enormous tragedy on a wild human level, it is obvious, if it never was before, that only measures such as this can bring an end to the long Irish war.

## THE BRITISH GENERAL ELECTION

I have no doubt that the vast majority of British people, despite their jingoism, despite all of their faults, and probably for reasons other than ones which we would share would, given the opportunity, seize that opportunity to take their government, and their administration, and their soldiers out of Ireland. The only question is – how long is it going to take? And at what cost to the people at home is it going to take to be accomplished?

And that brings me to the central point of this address. What can the people of Britain do about this issue? I do not

want to digress into a detailed breakdown of all the very varied and wide ranging work that is needed. But I would like to make an appeal on a specific area of work. A general appeal to all of those in this country who have an interest, regardless of their motivation, in seeing their government and their troops withdrawing from Ireland. It's also an appeal to Irish people living in Britain.

Sometime soon you will be asked to vote for a range of parliamentary candidates in a British General Election. And I appeal to you to make a commitment tonight not to vote, and to persuade your neighbours, your friends, the people you work with, if you're lucky enough to work, not to vote for any candidate, unless he or she gives a public commitment to work for the de-colonisation strategy I have outlined here tonight.

It's time for the Labour Party to be told that they cannot take the Irish vote for granted. It's time that they are told, if they want the votes of Irish people they only have them on the terms that Irish people demand. And of course, that

*continued on next page*



# Adams speaks in London

continued from previous page

goes for the SDP and Liberals, and any Irish person who votes Tory. Ireland should be, and must be made, an issue in this election. It must be made a public issue. It might take time, we cannot expect any major breakthroughs, but when Mrs Thatcher calls her election, and someone knocks on your door and says — I'm from such and such a party I want you to vote for us, or, you voted for us in the last election, or, we can depend on your vote, you say, — "Oh no you can't, hold on, what's your position on Ireland?"

## THE GUILDFORD 4 AND THE BIRMINGHAM 6

We, as I have said previously, from Ireland, who live here, are forced to live here, the vast majority of us. You have a natural affinity with brothers and sisters at home, especially those in the six counties, because you suffer not just in being exiled from your own home, not just from the PTA, but you run the risk, like the Guildford 4 or the Birmingham 6, of ending up in prison simply because you're Irish. The world and his brother knows those people are totally innocent. They are guilty of only one thing, the same thing we are all guilty of: they're Irish.

## SECTARIANISM IN THE SIX COUNTIES

I could go on and on with the long litany of the effects of daily repression visited on the six counties by the British government. The responsibility of all of this rests with the politicians of this country. And I ask, why should anyone of Irish descent elect these politicians to repress us? Why should any progressive, anti-Imperialist person elect a politician in this country? Why should anyone forced from Ireland by the conditions there come to this country and then elect politicians to do exactly the same and to visit the same deprivations upon those who have stayed behind?

Discrimination against Catholic employment in the six counties is structural, it is structured into the system. It is inbuilt in the patterns and the practices of hiring. The types of occupation, the promotions and the redundancies, are all built and weighed against Catholics. It manifests itself among the unemployed and the employed. Catholics in the six counties, who form about 40% of the population, are two and a half times more likely to be unemployed than Protestants, and have the greater experience of long term unemployment. Catholics are over represented in semi-skilled and non-skilled occupations, they are under represented in skilled occupations and managerial positions. Now, is that Republican propaganda? That's almost verbatim from a recent report of a British government agency, the Department of Econ-

## Strip searching

*"Since November 1982, to give an example of an issue which should be raised, women prisoners in Maghaberry, and before that in Armagh, have suffered over 3,500 strip searches. The mind boggles at this number. That does not mean your normal, easy, low, degrading, body search. It means being forcibly stripped naked. It means having sanitary towels removed. It has meant, in the case of a pregnant woman, while her breasts were leaking milk and she was still bleeding, being forcibly searched. It meant a strip search for a child, unfortunate enough to be born in Armagh women's prison. It isn't happening in Central America or South Africa, it is happening across the Irish Sea. It is also happening here, with Ella O'Dwyer and Martina Anderson. Are these issues in your constituency? Is the person who is seeking your vote going to do something about it?"*

omic Development. The 23% overall unemployment figures in the six counties are a whitewash of the reality of the situation. For example, in Ballymurphy we have 82% unemployment. 82% unemployment, 86%, 67% and 53% for generations of people on the basis of their religion.

Once again, if it was happening in South Africa, Central America or Afghanistan, there would be widespread condemnation of the government responsible, quite correctly. But the government responsible in this case is the British government. Not just the Thatcher government, the Wilson government and

other successive Labour governments have presided over that system of inbuilt discrimination, and it is getting worse.

My message tonight is a simple one, it is very straightforward. It is to make your vote count. The struggle for national self-determination in Ireland is going to continue. You here have a part to play in that struggle. Making the question of Ireland a public issue in the next election is just one way of playing your part. If the politicians who are seeking your vote will not make a commitment on Ireland, then do not give them your vote. There can be nothing simpler nor more straightforward than that.



(Photo: Joanne O'Brien/Format)



## The Labour Party defends itself

EMPLOY 320,000 SERVICEMEN WITH 55,000 SOLDIERS AND 10,000 AIRMEN IN GERMANY KEEP TROOPS IN ULSTER, FALKLANDS CYPRUS ETC.



### HOW LABOUR WILL DEFEND BRITAIN

The Labour Party's defence strategy for a modern Britain

Maintaining British troops in the North of Ireland is part of the Labour Party's election strategy to launch "A modern Britain in a modern world". The party's newly launched magazine *Labour Party News* describes how they will defend Britain.

Such principled slogans as "Britain can be a power for good in the world" and "Good will come from Britain taking a leading role in advancing human rights throughout the world" quoted on page 3 are dashed by page 8.

Page 8 describes in graphic form how the Labour Party will defend Britain. This includes keeping troops in N. Ireland as well as the Falklands and Cyprus etc, wherever ETC may be. And presumably any other place where the Labour Party feels it can "advance human rights".

## Adams held under Terror Act

President of Sinn Fein, Gerry Adams, along with Peter Hartley and Eamonn McCaughley, were detained under the PTA when arriving at Heathrow on Wednesday 4th March.

This deliberate act of harassment by the Special Branch was on the flimsy grounds of questioning Hartley and McCaughley's identities. When Adams vouched for the two men, he was detained also.

Speaking at a packed public meeting in London later in the evening Adams said of PTA harassment: "The Irish people coming off the plane were herded like cattle, given forms to fill in. Then they had to present themselves one at a time at desks where officers took copious notes."

## Policing the Irish community

On July 9 1981 Mrs Nora McCabe left her home in Belfast to buy cigarettes. By the following day she had become a statistic: one of 16 people killed by plastic bullets in Northern Ireland during the present emergency.

Mrs McCabe had three children. She was not taking part in a demonstration. She just happened to be in the wrong place at the wrong time when she was shot at point blank range from an RUC jeep. She was 30 years old. Seven other victims have been under 15.

This was one of the disturbing stories behind the statistics, that brought more than 70 people to Deptford's Albany Centre in London on Saturday, February 28, to take part in a conference on policing the Irish Community.

The conference was jointly organised by Greenwich and Lewisham Councils, in association with the Irish in Greenwich project and the Lewisham Irish in Britain Representation group. Among the speakers was Nora's husband, Jim McCabe.

### PIGS FOR LONDON

Pigs, the name given to armoured personnel carriers used by the army and RUC in N. Ireland, have been loaned to the Metropolitan Police for use in the event of severe rioting. Towards the end of the Broadwater Farm trial at the Old Bailey, some of these vehicles were sighted in Tottenham. Scotland Yard also have 20 armoured landrovers on order from the Ministry of Defence but these will not be ready until May.

The conference called upon local authorities to provide resources for the research and dissemination of accurate information to the public, on the implementation of the Prevention of Terrorism Act, and on the surveillance of Irish people by the Police. In 1985 alone, the Act was used to stop and question 55,382 people. Only 15 of these were subsequently charged with any offence and this could have been done under previously existing legislation.

Other resolutions called for

a complete ban on the use of plastic bullets and for a boycott of other products made by the firms which manufacture them.

Local councils were urged to help highlight the practice of strip searching and to support community groups in opposing its use.

They were also invited to express concern at the hardships imposed upon the families of prisoners serving sentences in Britain, and to join in representations to the Government to exercise its powers under Section 26 of the Criminal Justice Act 1961. This Act enables the Government to repatriate Irish prisoners on request so that they can serve their sentences near their families.

The Councils were also asked to help publicise the plight of prisoners, like the Guildford Four and the Birmingham Six, who have been convicted despite allegedly contradictory and inconclusive evidence.

A full report on the conference is available from the Greenwich Council Police Unit, Town Hall, Wellington Street, London SE18 6PW.





International Women's Day vigil outside Durham Gaol (photo: Irish POW Campaign).

## Vigil at Durham prison

A group of Irish women braved a night of heavy snow and freezing temperatures to mount an all night vigil at Durham Prison, from early evening on the eve of International Women's Day until the morning of Sunday March 8th. The women were expressing solidarity and sisterhood with two Irish women POWs, Martina Nic Andreasa and Ella Ni Dhuibhir. Both have been serving life sentences there since July last year.

Last year a similar demonstration took place outside Brixton Prison on International Women's Day. At that time, Martina and Ella were remand prisoners, suffering an appalling degree of torture, including sleep deprivation, constant body searches, cell searches and cell changes and a staggering 691 strip searches between detention on 1st July 1985 and the end of their trial on June 8th 1986. Their courage both then and now is an inspiration to all women and men in struggle.

Those present received greetings from Martina and Ella in

a letter which thanked all who have demonstrated support for them since being arrested. Martina and Ella wrote of their current conditions of imprisonment. The reduced number of strip searches, four per month, make it no less a form of psychological rape which cannot be justified on security grounds within the high surveillance regime of H-Wing. In addition Ella and Martina each endure, on average, 128 body searches per month. There are no toilet facilities in their cells, and no natural light enters their part of the wing. Exercise is restricted to a mere half hour per day on weekdays, in a small yard. The wing, having been closed some years ago as unfit for men was reopened to accommodate 'high security' women prisoners. The only alterations were the addition of surveillance equipment.

Ella and Martina concluded their message by discussing the changing and central role of women in struggle: "Without women there can be no Revolution."

Messages of solidarity were relayed, with a megaphone, to Martina and Ella inside. A salutation from those assembled was followed by greetings, including those from the Irish POW Campaign, Birmingham Women and Ireland, The Irish Hunger Strike Commemoration Committee (Birmingham), Birmingham Women and Ireland, The Irish Hunger Strike Commemoration Committee (Birmingham), Birmingham Black Sisters, Pakistani Workers Association, Britain, and Birmingham Centre for the Unemployed.

Ella Ni Dhuibhir and Martina Nic Andreasa are the only two Irish women POWs held in gaol in England. It is only fitting that Irish women and other women living in England who support the cause of Irish freedom dedicate International Women's Day to these two heroic sisters.

Letters and cards can be sent to: Ella O'Dwyer D25135, Martina Anderson D25134, HMP Durham, Old Elvet, Durham DH1 3HU.

## Prisoners' Birthdays

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

MARTINA ANDERSON	D25134
HM Prison Durham, Old Elvet,	
Durham, DH1 3HU	16 April
EDDIE BUTLER	338637
HM Prison Long Lartin,	
South Littleton, Evesham, Worcs,	
WR11 5TZ	17 April
PATRICK HACKETT	342603
HM Prison Parkhurst, Newport,	
Isle of Wight,	
PO30 5NX	28 April





We welcome contributions and feedback from our readers.  
Please send your letters to this address:

**Troops Out, c/o Box 10, 2a St Paul's Road, London N1 2QN.**

## Boy Soldier

Dear *Troops Out*,

As a film for English people about Ireland *Boy Soldier* may be a disastrous failure. But to complain that a film does not succeed in what it never attempted to do is a failing on the part of the reviewer (*Troops Out*, March 1987). It is a failing only possible if the assumption is made that the Welsh have nothing to say, either to each other, or to the world about their own situation. This is not only inaccurate, it is also insulting.

That English history has refused to record the struggles of the Welsh against their colonisation by the English, that the English media even to this day ignores the Welsh-speakers, all too often incarcerated in jails, fighting for their right to speak their own language, is no excuse. For this is based upon the assumption that until the natives are in armed revolt there is nothing wrong.

In fact there is something very wrong. For after a quarter of a century when hundreds of Welsh speakers have been jailed as members of Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymreig (The Welsh Language Society) your reviewer can ask why a Welsh speaker is shown adopting the tactics of the Irish freedom fighters, by a refusal to speak English.

Last year, Welsh people commemorated the 60th anniversary of the jailing of three men, Saunders Lewis, D. J. Williams and Lewis Valentine, who broke the law in defence of the Welsh language. At their trial at the Old Bailey in London all refused to speak English.

*Boy Soldier* is not about the oppression of the Irish. It is about the oppression of the Welsh. It is about how one young man learns that to be British without being English is to be no more, no less and nothing different from a second-class English citizen. And second-class citizens are ripe for victimisation. But slowly he refuses to be a victim.

In refusing to speak English he says "I am Welsh. I have my own language, my own culture, my own people." In this he also begins to question why he, a member of an oppressed minority group within the British State, is in the British Army. Why is he, on behalf of the English, by whom he is oppressed, in Ireland oppressing others. Why indeed?

After all, he could have stayed in Wales and fought against the British State. He could have fought for the continuation of his own language and the separate identity of his own people. At least that way he would have been jailed for fighting against oppression. And, if living within Britain without being English, sometimes that is the only positive choice one can make.

Lesley McCarthy (Cardiff)

P.S.: I would ask all TOM supporters to contact their MPs asking that they support "The New Welsh Language Bill" as proposed by Dafydd Wigley, Plaid Cymru MP for Caernarfon.

## Abortion

A chara,

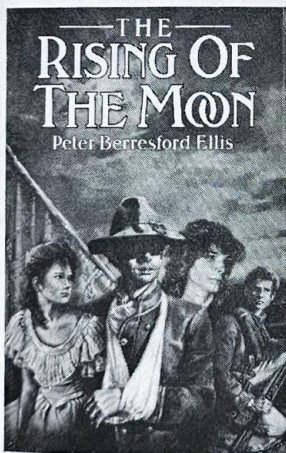
What on earth has abortion got to do with the withdrawal of British forces, or self-determination? Since the majority of the Irish people made it abundantly clear a few years ago that they don't want abortion in their country, by what right can WE interfere? We want not only *Troops Out*, but all British influence and interference out of the whole country. We have done Ireland more than enough harm over the centuries without now trying to help kill Irish babies.

From our own point of view, to add abortion to our programme could only result in diffusion of our efforts and a reduction in our influence.

It always astonishes me that so many people who are opposed to the legalised killing of those guilty of murder (as I have been for over 40 years and as I suppose you and most of your readers are) should be in favour of the legalised killing of totally innocent babies.

Mise, le meas,  
Helena Brown

## REVIEW



### THE RISING OF THE MOON

by Peter Berresford Ellis  
Methuen 640pp £10.95p

Peter Berresford Ellis is best known for *The History of the Irish Working Class*, a much respected work, and for studies concentrating on the 'primitive communism' of ancient Celtic society. His latest book is a historical drama following the fortunes of two Irish-American brothers through war and rebellion across two continents in the 1860s.

In 1864 the American Civil War came to an end. Irish regiments had fought on both sides with distinction. Most had only emigrated to

America since the Great Famine in the 1840s. They knew personally the hardships that had forced them to emigrate and the suffering they had encountered both on their journey and when they arrived. Under the leadership of the Irish Brotherhood most of the demobilised soldiers were now willing to strike against Britain wherever they could.

The landless peasants of Ireland were on the point of insurrection and the Irish Brotherhood in America, desperate to strike some blow in support, adopted the bold plan of invading British territory in Canada. Their hope was to create an 'Irish Republic in Exile' which could then be used as a bargaining counter in negotiation with the British Empire over Ireland itself. Tentative support for the plan was received from the American President himself, who hoped to use the Fenians to persuade the British to offer reparations to the US for their support for the Confederate states during the Civil War.

Thus it was that in the spring of 1866 over 50,000 armed and trained soldiers of the 'Irish Republic' massed on the northern borders of the US. Of course such a mobilisation could not go unnoticed and the support of President Johnson proved less than half-hearted. While he was busy bargaining with the British Ambassador, the US Army took steps to firmly seal the border

soon after the first regiments had crossed into Canada. Moreover the British authorities, aware of the potential threat, immediately trained gunships on the slums of urban Quebec, where the Fenians hoped that the large Irish population along with the rebellious French would rise against the mutually hated British occupiers. The invasion was thus doomed to failure.

The social nature of the struggle for Irish freedom is emphasised throughout the book, partly through the differing experiences of the two brothers. The eldest, Gavin, appalled by the horrors of war, at first cannot understand the struggle for freedom in a far-off land when there are so many glaring social injustices in America itself. By rediscovering his own past he learns to appreciate the unity of the two struggles. In contrast his younger brother John-Joe starts off in love with the romantic dream of freeing the motherland. His adventures teach him that the struggle for such freedom is for many their only remedy against starvation and no romantic notion.

The horror of war itself is another recurring theme, and one equally relevant today. The author emphasises the tragedy and seemingly needless waste of life that occurs when people take up arms, even in a cause self-evidently just. Yet through the eloquence of many

of the protagonists, Berresford Ellis argues that wars sometimes must be fought to end a greater evil. And as one of the Irish Army says, "People who have always been free will never begin to understand the terrible passion that the dream of freedom arouses in those that are not free".

The research that has obviously gone into the book is considerable. All the events are based on historical fact and these in themselves provide fascinating food for thought. Moreover much information is given concerning the suffering of the Irish in exile, not least on the journey itself, where many thousands died. Gavin is taken by his father to the Ile aux Grues near Montreal, a quarantine station where between 20,000 and 100,000 Irish died of typhus and dysentery before ever making it to a new world.

As an attempt to combine a romantic soap opera with historical fact of relevance to the struggle today, this book is a success. With the right marketing it will certainly reach a readership unfamiliar with the author's other works. The story suffers occasionally from stereotyped characterisation and awkward style, but this is to a degree inevitable in a work in this genre. That said, I found it a most enjoyable read, although I do advise waiting for the paperback.

Ned Mallin



# REVIEWS

## SOUTH AFRICA/ IRELAND — ONE STRUGGLE

This series of photographs, presented on 20 panels, is a perfect answer to the statement that is heard so often from people on the 'political left' of: "Well I support the ANC and anti-apartheid movements but I could never support what Irish Republicans do." (A view that is often caused by years of misinformation about the Irish struggle). AP/RN said of the exhibition: "The comparison (between the struggles) is graphically illustrated by powerful photographs of the apartheid regime juxtaposed with familiar pictures of Loyalist rule in the six counties. Each photograph seems a mirror image of the other." Through the series of photographs and text the viewer is taken on a history lesson that deals with the repression, discrimination, imprisonment, torture and killings that the people of South Africa and Ireland have to incur on a daily basis — there is a strong sense, from both the text and pictures, of the uncompromising struggle waged by the ANC and IRA against the racist and sectarian regimes that Black South Africans and Irish Catholics in the six counties have to live under.

Comparisons between the prison struggles and writings of Bobby Sands and Nelson Mandela are made, as are comparisons of the importance of the role that women play within the two struggles.

The overwhelming message received from the exhibition is — "if you support one of these struggles then you should support the other", for never before has it been made so graphically clear that it really is SOUTH AFRICA/IRELAND — ONE STRUGGLE.

Photos: Derry Camerawork



The exhibition can be booked through the TOM office and would serve as a valuable centrepiece for any event that various branches or organisations may set up.

The exhibition and its message can be summed up by the powerful slogans of self-determination that are used within the display — "Tíocfaidh ar la" — "Tokoloho Ka mako ya rona".

Aengus MacNeil



## SOUL OF FIRE A biography of Mary MacSwiney Charlotte H. Fallon Mercier Press, £7.95

Mary MacSwiney was one of the leading figures in Sinn Féin in the first half of this century. This biography is therefore very welcome if somewhat marred by the author's glib analysis of the present situation at the end of the book.

Mary's early political involvement was around the suffrage movement. As events in Ireland became more unsettled she began to devote more of her time to the growing Nationalist movement and in May 1914 was one of the founding members of the Cumann na mBan branch in Cork. The organisation grew rapidly and was in the forefront of the campaign around political prisoners after 1916, as well as doing considerable welfare

work for them and their families.

At the same time Mary began her own school to educate boys and girls in an Irish context in "the most modern manner". Ironically the school was started with the blessing of the Bishop of Cork. For the rest of her life Mary was to be in continuous conflict with the Catholic hierarchy over Republican politics.

Her part in the campaign to have her brother released from Brixton prison gave her an international profile. However the campaign failed to dent the intransigence of the British Government and the death of Terence MacSwiney, then Lord Mayor of Cork, on hunger strike in 1920 left her heartbroken but even more determined to achieve Irish freedom.

Within months of his death she left for the United States and commenced a nine-month speaking tour. The tour was an overwhelm-

ing success, greatly raising the level of awareness about what was happening in Ireland. This awareness soon grew into practical support and greatly worried the British Government, which sent their ambassador traipsing in her wake to counter her description of events.

Her success was somewhat marred in her eyes by her increasing anxiety at the discussions between the leaders of the Irish rebellion and the Lloyd George government. She warned against being outmanoeuvred and took the Republican side in the civil war which ensued after the British Government persuaded some of the Irish leaders to accept the Treaty which partitioned Ireland.

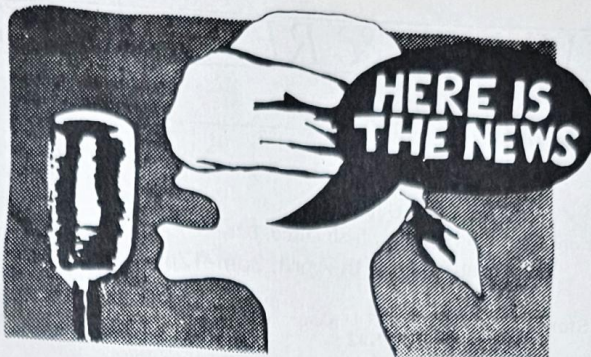
Even after the defeat in the civil war and the subsequent breaking away of De Valera and his followers to form Fianna Fáil, Mary continued to campaign vigorously for

Sinn Féin policies. It was a particularly difficult and depressing time. The people were war-weary and large numbers of Republican activists were forced to emigrate. Sinn Féin was finding it very difficult to make itself relevant to the political situation and was being further weakened by the split between those who wanted to follow a republican socialist path and those who wanted to campaign only on the national issue. Mary MacSwiney herself maintained a public profile and her continuous challenge to successive governments to recognise the Republic of 1916, was influential in making sure those in power continued to pursue a more independent Ireland.

This book is unfortunately grossly over priced at nearly £8.00 so if you can't afford it, why not order it through your local library?

Frank O'Neill





**8th**  
The Ulster Freedom Fighters, a military wing of the Ulster Defence Association, admit planting incendiary devices which caused fires in a cinema and two department stores in Dublin. In addition damage was caused to shops in Ballybofey and Letterkenney, Co. Donegal estimated at £2 million. Donegal estimated at the BBC in a statement phoned to the BBC in Belfast the UFF said they carried out their actions in protest against Dublin's support for the Anglo-Irish Agreement.

**9th**  
Fianna Fail announce they will send an observer to the Birmingham Six appeal court hearing.

**10th**  
A Human Rights Commission in the North of Ireland which was set up by the British Government criticises the administration of justice and civil rights. The commission recommends that all 'terrorist trials' should be heard by three, rather than one, judges.

**13th**  
The Greater Manchester police force is accused of being private and secretive in the wake of Stalker during a public meeting in Manchester called to discuss the issue. Chief Constable Anderton is attacked over his refusal to answer questions from his police authority. The leader of Manchester City Council, Graham Stringer, told the meeting that Mr Stalker, the force's Deputy Chief Constable, had been the victim of a conspiracy to defend or keep secret a shoot-to-kill policy in Northern Ireland. Labour group leader, Tony McCardell said, "Mr Stalker had gone over to Ireland to do a job for the government. When it went wrong they had to get rid of him".

Sinn Fein member Tommy Maguire is detained under the Prevention of Terrorism Act at Liverpool. He was on his way to take part in a cultural tour of Wales.

Radio Sinn Fein, a pirate station in Dublin City, broadcasts for most of the day.

**15th**  
120 people attend the annual commemoration outside Wakefield Prison, West Yorkshire to honour Frank Stagg who died on hunger strike there 11 years ago.

**16th**  
Lady Jane Biggs, widow of the former British ambassador to Dublin who was killed in 1976, withdraws from an Oxford Union debate planned for March on learning that Gerry Adams, MP for West Belfast and President of Sinn Fein, had accepted an invitation to speak.

A member of the Ulster Defence Regiment is wounded in Derry when shots were fired at him as he was driving his motorcycle in the Springtown area.

The inquest begins in Belfast into the deaths of 3 members of the IRA over 2 years ago. Michael Devine and his brother David together with Charles Breslin were all killed by a British army patrol in Strabane.

**17th**  
A former Irish soldier is questioned by the Irish police (Gardai) in connection with the murder of 2

leading members of the Irish National Liberation Army in Drogheda last month.

**19th**  
Fianna Fail wins the most seats in the Irish general election. The final result was Fianna Fail 81 seats, Fine Gael 51, Labour Party 12, Progressive Democrats 14, others 8.

The British Government stands firm against moves to reduce the number of non-jury Diplock courts in N. Ireland. Sir Patrick Mayhew, the Solicitor General, told MPs that the government wished to see jury trials used as widely as possible but he defended the use of Diplock courts in terrorist cases.

**20th**  
A member of the RUC guarding the home of a Catholic Northern Ireland high court judge, Mr Justice Higgins, is shot and injured during an attack on the house in the Antrim Road area of N. Belfast. A number of rockets were fired at the house. The IRA claim responsibility.

Two Belfast men arrested in Manchester under the Prevention of Terrorism Act are charged in London with possession of arms and explosives and conspiracy to cause explosions.

Mr George Seawright, loyalist bigot, hits out at the present Unionist campaign against the Anglo-Irish Agreement. He proposes that the political and paramilitary opposition to the Agreement should be directed across the border at the Irish economy. He accuses the Democratic Unionist Party deputy leader Mr Peter Robinson of 'cowardice' in not allowing himself to be imprisoned over the Clontibret affair.

**22nd**  
A number of loyalists are questioned by the RUC in Coleraine, Co Derry following a raid on the local Ulster Defence Regiment HQ in which more than 100 weapons and a substantial quantity of ammunition were stolen.

**23rd**  
Newtown Stewart, Co Tyrone RUC police station comes under attack from IRA mortar bombs.

**24th**  
US Police Foundation cancels its invitation to the Chief Constable of the RUC, Sir John Hermon, to take part in a symposium on March 5th. This follows numerous objections from Irish/American groups. The mayor of Boston stated that the RUC is a sectarian anti-nationalist force which covers up its crimes against the Catholic population of the Six Counties.

Rev. William McCrea, member of the DUP, calls for a British army SAS unit to fight the IRA in the Republic.

**25th**

A solicitor challenges what he calls the seriousness of RUC investigations into the circumstances surrounding the killing of three IRA men by British soldiers, in Strabane, two years ago. Mr John Fahey, solicitor for the next of kin of Charles Breslin who was shot dead along with brothers Michael and David Devine on Feb 23rd 1985, told the inquest that the failure of the RUC to trace a civilian motorist, who accidentally drove into the triple killings, indicates the measure of the seriousness of the police investigations into the incident.

The controversy over the British Army's planting of a listening device in Co. Monaghan provoked renewed Unionist attacks on the Anglo-Irish agreement and the Northern Ireland secretary Tom King. Harold McCusker, the Official Unionist Party deputy leader, attacked what he described as the "grovelling attitude of King". Peter Robinson, deputy leader of the DUP, accused Mr King and the minister for foreign affairs of attempting to "get the matter swept under the carpet", because it was politically embarrassing for them.

Unionist leaders launch a new book, *The Anglo-Irish Agreement - A Legacy of Violence* since the agreement was signed twelve months ago.

A young man shot by the British Army outside a house, at Creagh Toomebridge, Co. Antrim, on the night of Feb 18 1986 appeared to have been struck by eight bullets. Deputy pathologist Dr Derek Carson told an inquest jury in Magherafelt that the man, Francis Bradley, aged 20, of Castle Dawson, Co. Derry, may have been lying on his back on the ground when three of the bullets were fired. Dr Carson said that it was likely that these three bullets came from the same gun. Dr Carson said under cross examination, from Liam McNally (solicitor representing the family), that if Francis Bradley had been given prompt medical attention in hospital he could have survived some of the other five bullet wounds - depending on when the three shots (which would have directly caused his death) were fired.

**26th**

Former Northern Ireland Secretary Merlyn Rees tells the House of Commons that he is "extremely worried" about the allegations being made by two former British Army officers concerning undercover work in N. Ireland. The two men, Fred Holroyd and Colin Wallace, have written to MPs, the media and Mrs Thatcher alleging that an undercover "death squad" was behind the assassination of

"terrorist suspects". Mr Rees calls on the government to make a statement (see article).

## MARCH

**1st**

The population of the Irish Republic increased by 94,000 or 2.7 per cent in the period 1981-86 according to the latest census figures.

**3rd**

Mr Gerry Adams, President of Sinn Fein, is detained briefly by Special Branch at Heathrow Airport on his way to address meetings in London and Oxford.

**5th**

Lord Brookeborough, son of the former Northern Ireland Prime Minister Basil Brooke, dies in Belfast.

**8th**

Ulster Clubs leader Alan Wright accuses the Unionist leadership of losing its direction in the campaign of opposition to the Anglo-Irish Agreement. Wright says "the Unionist leaders have taken a step backwards in the campaign and expect others to do more than they do themselves".



March 8th: International Women's Day.

**9th**

West Belfast man Eamonn McQuillan, brother of IRSP chair Kevin McQuillan, is seriously wounded after being shot by INLA gunmen as part of the continuing feud. Kevin McQuillan was slightly wounded in the attack.

The Hon. Edward Carson, son of the founding figure of Unionism Lord Edward Carson, dies aged 67.

**10th**

Charles Haughey is elected Taoiseach (Prime Minister) on the casting vote of Ceann Comhairle (speaker of the Dail).





# COMING EVENTS & RESOURCES

## LONDON

### HARINGEY DAY SCHOOL ON IRELAND

Brabant Road T.U. Centre, off Station Road, Wood Green, N22

Videos: Plastic bullets; Dunnes Stores strikers; supergrasses; hunger strikes; strip-searches

Speakers: Sinn Fein; Irish community in Britain

Workshops: Trade unions; women; culture; anti-racist and anti-imperialist struggles.

Plus exhibitions, films, food, creche.

Saturday 11th April, 10.30am-4pm  
Organisations £5, waged individuals £1, unwaged 50p.  
Followed by social.

Organised by Haringey Irish Working Group, c/o Reading Matters, 10 Lymington Avenue, Wood Green, N22.

## JOIN THE TROOPS OUT MOVEMENT

Below is a list of towns and districts in England, Scotland and Wales where we have TOM branches or contacts. If you want to join through a branch or as an individual, please fill in the coupon provided, and send it to PO Box 353, London NW5 4NH.

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

Tyneside  
York

**LONDON AREA**  
Camden  
East London  
Haringey  
Hillingdon  
Islington  
Lambeth  
West London

**SCOTLAND**  
Glasgow

**WALES**  
Newport

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

Name .....

Address .....

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

## LONDON

### SOCIAL

After the Day School  
Hairy Marys, Irish Disco, Bar.

Saturday 11th April, 8pm-12pm  
£2/£1

Brabant Road T.U. Centre, off Station Road, Wood Green, N22

## NEW TOM BRANCH

### REDDITCH

A new TOM branch has been formed in Redditch.

New members are welcome.  
Anyone interested should contact Redditch 41830.

## BELFAST DELEGATION 7th/10th AUGUST 1987

Irish people have been struggling against British occupation and for self determination for 800 years. Since 1969 British armed forces have been fighting to maintain Britain's control in Ireland. The result of British occupation has been thousands of deaths and injuries.

We see the delegation as a way of building a wider movement of people demanding an end to British oppression in Ireland. We also see it as a basis for developing a better understanding of anti-Irish racism and the way it prevents an understanding of Britain's role in Ireland.

The delegation is open to all who want to see the situation in Ireland for themselves and so learn how best to campaign effectively to change the distorted view many people have about Britain's occupation.

Many common experiences and interests link the struggle in Ireland with those in Britain struggling against the British State. The delegation provides the opportunity for recognising those connections, exchanging ideas and experiences with the nationalist people of the North of Ireland and building the links between these struggles.

For these reasons we will give priority to delegates from trades unions, Irish organisations, black organisations, women's groups and lesbian and gay groups.

We hope that members of the delegation will use the delegation as a basis for demanding Britain's withdrawal from Ireland.

- See the role of the British Army and RUC.
- Participate in the anti-internment demonstration and picketing of the RUC forts.
- Attend workshops on, for example, treatment of prisoners, women's role in the struggle, Sinn Fein.

People on the delegation will stay in Nationalist people's homes and will have an opportunity to visit local Sinn Fein Advice Centres and meet a variety of different groups.

Travel will be organised from several main areas by Troops Out branches. You will travel by train or mini-bus to Stranraer and then by boat and bus to Belfast. There will be reductions for unwaged people and it might be possible to get sponsored, eg. by your trade union branch.

Further information from the Delegation Organizing Committee, PO Box 353, London NW5 4NH. Donations welcomed towards sponsored places.