

TROOPS OUT OF IRELAND

**TROOPS OUT
NOW**

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

Paper of the Troops Out Movement 30p

Vol. 9, No. 10, Aug/Sept 1986

**Birmingham Six
Judith Ward**

RELEASE ALL THE FRAMED PRISONERS

INSIDE: STALKERGATE • LOYALIST TERROR • PHOTOS IN FOCUS • IRISH PRIDE
ARMING THE POLICE • LONDON IRISH FESTIVAL • DIVIDED UNIONISM

Guildford Four

Gagging the Irish in Britain Editorial

They remain a constant threat hanging over the Irish community in this country. The resulting fear has in no small way contributed to the relative silence of that community. They are hostages bolstering the anti-Irish attitudes which permeate our society. They are the victims of a wave of anti-Irish hysteria which swept the country in the early seventies.

The tide is changing. There is now mounting public awareness that a number of Irish people convicted in 1974/75 were innocent of all charges.

The cases involving the Maguire Family, the Birmingham Six and the Guildford Four have all received compelling TV coverage. The case of the Birmingham Six has been highlighted in a new poster/pamphlet and book (see page 14). The Guildford Four have been the subject of a *1st Tuesday* programme.

The pressure on the police at the time, to gain convictions at whatever cost was immense. The public had to be reassured of Britain's continued control. The resulting abuse of police powers and dropping of legal standards were aided by anti-Irish feeling, fuelled by an ignorance of the war in Ireland.

The first of these victims was Judith Ward. She admitted under intense interrogation to planting a bomb on board a coach carrying soldiers on the M62. She was also charged with planting a bomb at Euston station in August 1973. In court she retracted her 'confession' on the grounds that it had been extracted under duress. Despite contradictory police evidence and a witness to show that she was not near the scene at the time, she was convicted.

At the same time that Ward was on trial, police were using the newly passed Prevention of Terrorism Act to round up Irish people throughout the country. This Act had been rushed through Parliament in a mood of hysteria following the Birmingham pub bombings in November 1974. One of the first victims of the Terror Act was a young Irish man, Paul Hill. He was put under intense interrogation concerning two bombs which exploded in October 1974 in public houses in Guildford, used by soldiers. Five people were killed. He was also questioned about a pub bombing in Woolwich a month later. Hill made six different statements, naming just about everyone he knew.

The police charged 18 people with murder and conspiracy to murder. This number, on the advice of the Director of Public Prosecutions, was whittled down to 4 people. Paul Hill Patrick Armstrong, Carole Richardson and Gerard Conlon.

The police without a shred of forensic evidence relied entirely on their 'confessions', which were all refuted as having been obtained under duress. They were convicted and received savage sentences.

But perhaps the most important evidence in support of their innocence was that the Guildford and Woolwich bombings were two of a series carried out by the IRA which did not stop until December 1975, a year after the four had not been arrested. The bombings stopped after the arrest of four IRA members in Balcombe Street, London.

These four admitted the Guildford and Woolwich bombings, declaring the others innocent. A clear case for releasing the Guildford Four. But the appeal judges decided that the whole lot were involved together.

Alongside these cases, the continued use of the Prevention of Terrorism Act and conspiracy laws has brought the full weight of the British state to bear on the Irish community. Gag the Irish in Britain and the occupation of Ireland becomes easier to handle. Nullifying dissent at home is an essential part of that occupation.

The Frame-up victims remain a clear example of what the State with all its machinery can get away with. To expose the grave injustices done to these people opens that machinery to wider examination. The result must be the release of those who remain behind bars.

In a cynical move, the Home Office has used the publication of Chris Mullin's book *Error of Judgement* (reviewed on page 14) as a pretext for further delaying their long-promised review of the Birmingham Six convictions. Home Secretary Hurd announced that the review will now take a "matter of months rather than weeks" because of the need to examine new evidence researched by Mullin. Mullin himself, in press interviews, has accurately pinpointed the reason for the Home Office's difficulty — "the biggest mass perjury in history" will take some explaining away.

The only purpose of internal Home Office reviews, after such detailed media coverage of the frame-ups, is to deflect public concern. Solicitor Alistair Logan is convinced that nothing short of a full independent public inquiry will produce justice for the Guildford Four, three of whom he represents. Speakers from the Troops Out Movement, Irish in Britain Representation Group and Labour Committee on Ireland supported his call for a public inquiry at a public meeting in London on July 9th of the Guildford Four Campaign.

The Troops Out Movement

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

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

TROOPS OUT NOW

SELF-DETERMINATION FOR THE IRISH PEOPLE AS A WHOLE



TROOPS OUT

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

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

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Stalkergate

More muck continues to surface around the attempt to discredit John Stalker and his inquiries into shoot-to-kill incidents. The comic methods resorted to by those trying to smear Stalker expose the desperation to cover up the truth about the RUC's shoot-to-kill policy.

The problem with the Manchester Deputy Chief Constable has been that he presents in no way the image of a corrupt policeman. Stalker is alleged, so far, to have associated with persons with criminal records and to have received 'questionable hospitality'. But the criminal records refer to stealing a roll of sellotape and minor offences under wartime legislation over 40 years ago.

RUC MURDERS

A series of shoot-to-kill incidents in 1981 and 1982 culminated in the murder of five unarmed men at roadblocks in two separate incidents and the murder of 17 year old Michael Tighe and wounding of Martin McCauley in a Co. Armagh hayshed. In May 1984 Stalker was appointed chief of an inquiry team to investigate the incidents. The timing of the inquiry was in part due to the need to support the ailing SDLP's call for reforms in the RUC and in part a bargaining ploy in the drawing up of the Anglo/Irish Accord.

The desired outcome was, presumably, to trumpet the re-assertion of 'the rule of law' to Northern nationalists and the Irish Government, while keeping the wraps on RUC tactics. No problem with the five murders at the two roadblock incidents — Stalker let them past without too many awkward questions about cross-border surveillance or responsibility for giving orders.

But matters became rather messy around the hayshed. At his trial early in 1985, Martin McCauley said he and Tighe came upon the shed by chance and neither had any republican military connections. The RUC officers swore they fired into the shed after hearing the sound of rifles being cocked. McCauley was convicted of having three rusty unloaded guns in suspicious circumstances — the guns were over 50 years old and not in firing condition. Shortly after the trial ended, Stalker found out from RUC Special Branch



The cover-up gets star treatment: the media have jumped on the clumsy attempts to smear Stalker and suppress his inquiry.

chief Trevor Forbes that there were two tape-recordings existing of events in the hayshed.

MI5 TAPES

It has emerged that the RUC, in conjunction with MI5, were staking out the hayshed, waiting for someone to come to an alleged republican arms dump. MI5 had placed a listening device in the hayshed and the RUC elite killer squad HMSU (Headquarters Mobile Support Unit) was lying in wait. In order to verify the RUC account given at the trial, Stalker therefore asked for a copy of the tape.

At first it was suggested that the tape ran out just before the shooting started. Then after stalling from Forbes, Stalker asked RUC Chief Constable John Hermon for assistance. Hermon refused, and quoted the public interest as his defence even after a top-level secret meeting in London had decided that Stalkers should be given access. So Stalker submitted an interim report in August 1985, formally requesting N. Ireland Director of Public Prosecutions Barry Shaw to grant access to information about the tape.

Hermon finally sent Shaw a copy of the interim report six months later. Shaw wrote

to Hermon within days to authorise Stalker's access. Hermon told Stalker of Shaw's authorisation *one month later*. Stalker arranged to go to Belfast to continue but was twice persuaded to postpone by HM Inspector of Constabulary for Northern Ireland Philip Myers. Finally, Stalker set a firm date for 2nd June. Three days before going he was suspended on unspecified disciplinary charges, later said to be 'pending', and taken off the inquiry.

Meanwhile the political scene had changed. From being convenient to subject the RUC to an inquiry, it has become imperative for the British Government to support the RUC at all costs, for it is they who are in the front line against Loyalist reaction to the Anglo-Irish Accord. And from being useful to claim to nationalists to be reforming the RUC, the British Government does not now want to inflame Loyalists any further by appearing to 'go soft on terrorism'.

COVERT ACTION

The Stalker affair has exposed the fact of covert action in the North of Ireland. Covert action requiring a special chain of command from high in the RUC, avoiding the normal police hierarchy, and involving MI5, Special Branch and elite surveillance and assassination squads. This latest structure for covert action dates from after Thatcher's election in 1979, when she brought in Maurice Oldfield, succeeded by Brooks Richards, to co-ordinate counter-insurgency efforts in the North of Ireland.

Aside from the direct responsibility of senior RUC officers for the shoot-to-kill murders other questions remain. Who oversees the covert action from the political end? Who authorised Stalker's suspension, its timing and his removal from the inquiry before the substance of any allegations against him was known? The answer to these questions is in London, not Belfast.

UDR Murder

Four members of the Ulster Defence Regiment (UDR) have recently been convicted of the murder of Adrian Carroll on November 8th 1983. At the time the killing was claimed by the Protestant Action Force — a loyalist paramilitary group which has claimed a number of sectarian killings around Armagh and Co. Down.

This murder emphasises the deep sectarian nature of the UDR, a trait it has continued from its infamous predecessor the 'B' Specials. Adrian's brother, Tommy Carroll, a Sinn Féin councillor said, *"UDR privates and a lance corporal were the ones to find themselves charged, yet it would have been absolutely impossible for these men to have carried out the attack without the full knowledge — and possibly with the complicity — of senior officers"*.

This was borne out by the elaborate nature of the attack which suggested a higher level of involvement in the UDR. Three of the accused faked the arrest of the fourth who

had changed into civilian clothing. He was then taken in the back of a landrover and dropped at Carroll's place of work. He then followed Carroll home and shot him at close range. The killer was then picked up by his colleagues and changed back into his army clothes in the rear of the landrover.

During the trial it became evident that other members of the UDR who were called to give evidence were prepared to lie to protect others and help the accused. Despite Judge Kelly's acknowledgement of this he was not prepared to go deeper. He merely accepted that they had got together to *'distort the true events'*.

These latest convictions reinforce the call that the UDR must be disbanded. It is not merely enough to send a few to prison while the real instigators remain free to plan future operations. As the mother of Adrian said, *"Probably they are guilty but they are not the real guilty men. The real guilty men are on patrol still in Armagh"*.

The RUC, who arrested and charged the UDR members, had 11 months earlier killed Adrian's brother Roddy, together with Seamus Grew in a shoot-to-kill incident.

The Twelfth in Portadown

Portadown, at the northern end of County Armagh, looks on the surface like a Scottish market town, with its neat buildings and trim flowerbeds. But the reality is more sinister. The Orangemen of the Six Counties regard Portadown as their citadel, and the 4,000 or so nationalists — outnumbered by seven times as many loyalists — feel especially beleaguered.

In Portadown as elsewhere, loyalist areas are bedecked in union jack bunting for the Twelfth fortnight. Elaborate triumphal arches straddle working class streets. In the town centre, a painted pole proclaims 'Portadown Still Says No'. Just beyond the boundary of the nationalist Tunnel area is a giant stack of wood prepared for tonight's 'Eleventh Night' bonfire. At its peak is a gibbet with a noose dangling from it. Effigies of an RUC policeman and the Pope will burn here tonight.

In the Tunnel, as the area along Obins Street is known, everyone is tense. Some families have gone away, fearing for their children's safety. There are only some 200 homes here, and much of the district is derelict. Most of those who remain will not go to bed tonight, in case the loyalists break in.

NIGHT OF FEAR

As night falls, George Seawright, loyalist politician and 'burn-again Christian', lights the loyalist bonfire. (Seawright is notorious for recommending that money should not be spent on Catholic education, but rather on an incinerator to burn Catholics and their priests.) Flames and smoke bellow into the air. Soon petrol bombs, bricks and flares come flying over the fence into the Tunnel, hitting the roofs of the pensioners' houses and the flats that adjoin the boundary.

From the flats you can see the crowd of 5-6000 loyalists round the fire, roaring drunkenly, chanting anti-Catholic slogans and cheering every time a petrol bomb hits a nationalist house. Windows are smashed and a nationalist is hit on the head by a brick. A crowd of

loyalists tries to break down the fence that divides them from the Tunnel.

Two or three landrovers sit on the nationalist side, their lights turned on the nationalists as if to pick them out for targets. As the trouble hots up, they drive off. The local people are seriously worried that the loyalists will break through. Some youths prepare petrol bombs. A man says, "In the end we can only rely on the IRA to defend us."

After what seems like ages, the RUC reappear in force and start firing plastic bullets at the loyalists. Eventually the trouble cools down, but if the RUC had been in place from the start on the loyalist side of the fence, the attack on the Tunnel would have been prevented. It seems, however, that the RUC preferred to hold back until the loyalist attack was well under way and then present themselves to the willing media as 'keeping the two sides apart'.

ORANGE TRIUMPHALISM

The marching season in Portadown begins with an Orange parade on the first

Sunday in July. Then there is another Orange march on the 12th, and then on 13th July the 'Blackmen' or Royal Black preceptory, another masonic-style organisation, hold their march. (This year the 13th fell on the sabbath so the Blackmen marched on the next day.)

There are 32 Orange lodges around Portadown: 8 country lodges and 24 town lodges. Parades begin with the country lodges forming up at Corcrain Orange Hall at the northern tip of the town. From here there are three possible routes to the town centre. The first goes through loyalist territory. The others, Obins Street and Garvaghy Road, go through nationalist estates.

For generations the country lodges have marched down Obins Street, met the town lodges and gone on to Armagh city for a rally, returned and marched in force back up Obins Street, leaving the country lodges at the Orange Hall, whereupon the town lodges have marched back down Obins Street again. These displays of Orange triumphalism have repeatedly been accompanied by violence.

Fur coats and the hard men

The Unionist Parties

The united opposition by unionists to the Anglo-Irish Agreement is already tearing apart at the seams. Below, BILL ROLSTON looks at the differences between the two main unionist parties — James Molyneaux's Official Unionist Party, and Ian Paisley's Democratic Unionist Party.

In the last few decades the notion of the 'Unionist family' has been more often mythical than real. Paisley fought unionist leader O'Neill in the 1960s and Craig opposed Faulkner in the 1970s. In recent years, Paisley of the Democratic Unionist Party (DUP) has had many an unkind word to say about the tight-lipped, conservative and humourless head of the Official Unionist Party (OUP) Molyneaux. Molyneaux in turn has not been slow in attacking Paisley for his militancy.

The Unionist reaction to the Anglo-Irish Agreement seemed

to change all that. Suddenly there was a pact and a joint campaign of opposition which involved withdrawal from Westminster, thus causing a mini-general election, and the disruption of business in Unionist-controlled councils.

So what if a few timid OUP personnel broke ranks and met with ministers of the Northern Ireland Office, or if Enoch Powell and John Taylor crawled ignominiously back into the warmth of the mother of parliaments? What was this before the spectacle of joint press conferences hosted by both Molyneaux and Paisley, where the latter actually de-

ferred on occasions to the former? The Big Man was silenced, and willingly. Surely here was a pact that showed no signs of weakness!

TACTICAL DIFFERENCES

But it was inevitable that the thinly covered contradictions between the populist DUP and the more staid OUP should emerge as the campaign against the Agreement developed. The first real signs of weakness were with the 'Day of Action' in March when the street violence was enough to frighten Molyneaux and his likes in the OUP. After the one-day strike, Molyneaux vowed not to engage in another such strike. Paisley and the DUP were making no such promises, however.

The division was an apt one. Paisley, after all, had learned both his preaching and his poli-

tics on the streets and, though now gray haired and surrounded by younger lieutenants such as his Deputy Robinson and Belfast Lord Mayor Wilson, he has not lost the feel for such — literally — concrete action. For Molyneaux the streets are an alien place; the OUP is more used to the quiet conversation and rationality of large country farmhouses and golf courses.

So, by the time Secretary of State King closed down the moribund Assembly in June, the split was apparent. The OUP walked out without even a decent wake; Westminster had spoken and the Assembly was dead. The DUP grabbed the mace and proceeded to talk all night long, as if so much hot air would breathe some life back into the corpse. It was not until the RUC carried out the DUP Assemblymen in the wee hours of the morning that the death — or, in DUP terms,

Records from the last century onwards list Catholics killed and their homes destroyed during such marches.

LOYALISTS GET THEIR WAY

Last year in the run-up to the Anglo-Irish Agreement, the authorities tried to curb the most blatant manifestations of Orange sectarianism by re-routing such marches. The loyalist response has been furious.

At Easter of this year Paisley marched his cohorts through Garvaghy Road in the middle of the night. This July, he threatened to bring loyalists from all over the Six Counties to Portadown.

His bluster worked. First, the authorities allowed the 6th July parade to pass down Obins Street under the transparently false excuse that it was a 'religious procession'. They then agreed to allow the Twelfth march to go down Garvaghy Road, which passes through three nationalist estates which between them contain three times as many nationalists as Obins Street. While Northern Ireland Secretary Tom King tried to present this as a 'compromise route', everyone in the Six Counties, whether Orange or Green, saw it as a capitulation.



Protection for the march down Garvaghy Rd. Photo Network.

The victorious Paisley called off his battalions and the few hundred Orangemen of the country lodges triumphantly marched with their banners and bands past the homes of 3,000 nationalists. Hundreds of British soldiers and RUC men, conspicuously absent the night before when loyalists attacked Obins Street, lined Garvaghy Road to protect the Orangemen.

Liz Curtis

"The marches only happen three days of the year. For the other 362 days in Portadown, the nationalist people in the town are still as much under seige."

"For example, young people from this side of the town can't go into the town centre. If they do, they are harassed by the UDR and RUC, and they run the risk of attack from loyalists."

"Besides that you still have discrimination in employment. T. A. Shillington, one of the largest builders' merchants in Co. Armagh, does not employ a single Catholic. The main employer of Catholics is Henry Denny's, a pork processing factory in Obins Street, but the receiver has moved in and it could close at any time. Last year the tenants association in Hurson Park, one of the four nationalist estates, carried out a survey which found that 88% of heads of households were unemployed."

Brendan McKenna,

secretary of Obins Street Tenants Association

murder — of the Assembly was acknowledged.

Next day Paisley was in full flight. He predicted that civil war was imminent. But, humble as he is, he admitted a week later that he had not foreseen that God had a trick up his sleeve in the shape of the result of the divorce referendum in the South. His reasoning was that this attempt to bring about a more pluralist society was part of the Thatcher-FitzGerald deal, and that, as it had failed, the deal was weaker. Thanks to divine providence the threat of civil war had been averted, added Paisley.

God, it seems, had his work cut out for him in the following weeks, for, if civil war did not arrive, it was not for want of Paisley trying. When the RUC threatened to ban an Orange march in Portadown on the Twelfth, Paisley waxed messianic: 'Follow me or King', he cried to the Unionist masses. Four thousand of them took over the town of Hillsborough in the dead of night for a show

of strength, and there at the head of them was The Leader himself.

Where was Molyneux while all this was happening? His predecessor, Lord Brookeborough, head of the Unionist Party and longest-serving Prime Minister of N. Ireland, used to spend four months of every summer in Australia. One could be forgiven for believing that Molyneux had retired to the same place so silent has he been in the last few weeks. It is, after all, winter in Australia, and therefore presumably cooler than the streets of the North. Neither the style nor the militant antics of the DUP suits the respectable OUP. But their problem is what to offer the masses that Paisley cannot. Reason, patient suffering, rational debate — while these might be enough to placate the ratepayers and small businessmen, they are not very appealing to the Unionist working class. Moreover, Paisley is right to assert that such tactics

alone will do little to dismantle the Agreement, and the OUP know he is right.

WHITHER 'ULSTER'?

Such differences on this one issue are thus symbolic of the wider contradictions between the two branches of Unionism. For example, both parties have different answers to the question of where the North goes after the Agreement.

Some of Paisley's entourage, including his ex-Deputy Beattie, now argue that it is UDI — independence — or nothing. Paisley is hedging his bets — a devolved government with himself as Prime Minister would do nicely, thank you. But there is little chance of Thatcher warming to that suggestion.

For the OUP, talk of UDI is blasphemous, devolved government being a preferred option (but without Paisley as Prime Minister). But there is an integrationist wing in the OUP led by one of the two most highly paid barristers in the North, McCartney. King's cat-

egorical public assertion that 'the Government does not support and would not be prepared to put forward integration as a policy' was not enough to dissuade McCartney from launching his 'Campaign for Equal Citizenship' at the Ulster Hall recently.

If it were just a matter of charisma, Paisley would win the contest to choose the patriarch of Unionism. But it is more than that. Between the OUP and the DUP are major differences about strategy and tactics, political programmes and platforms and ultimately of ideology. Paisley can continue to lead — often from behind — the 'hard men', the working class 'Loyalists' who will gladly march illegally and call on the RUC to mutiny. Respectable middle class Unionists will have none of this, nor of the burning of RUC homes. For the present, at least, it would seem that all the DUP and OUP have in common is their fundamental rejection of the Thatcher-FitzGerald deal.

Photos in Focus British press photographs of

Newspapers remain the most influential medium through which people find out about events. Newspapers can influence their readers' perception of an event in a number of ways. One of these areas which is not always recognised is through the use of photographs. It is often the linking of photographs with captions and headlines which produce the ideological message. This linking has been used to considerable effect in relation to Britain's role in Ireland. Here Aéngus MacNeil looks at some examples using the *Mirror*, *Sun* and *Daily Mail*.

It is important to understand that photographs have their own language and meaning. However the meaning of a photograph can be dramatically changed, either subtly or blatantly, according to the needs of the paper and the angle it wishes to present.

To explain this — imagine that you were looking at a photograph of a Black person being struck by a policeman and that this picture had no explanatory text. You might think of police brutality against ethnic minorities.

Now imagine that this very same photograph was placed next to the headline 'Heroic police battle with vicious Black mob'. Then the impartial reader's interpretation of the photograph would be dramatically changed. One would now

view the Black person as the aggressor and not the policeman, even though the very evidence before one's eyes contradicts that reading.

There are several forces at work which makes us, the readers, accept that stories and photographs within the British press represent the truth:

- The level of checkable facts i.e. unless one is actually present at the event it is very difficult for direct confirmation of facts. Photographs are used by the press for this confirmation, e.g. 'we were there — so what we say is the truth'.
- The way stories and angles, backed up by photographs, appear to reflect the dominant attitudes and most frequently expressed opinions of our society.

- The style and presentation and circulation numbers of the papers gives the impression of absolute truth and rightness. The individual reader feels isolated if he or she dares to criticise or question the so-called facts.
- There are no mass alternative views expressed within the press. They take the same stance and only pick up on different angles.

There has been a consensus in the use of photographs, text and themes in relation to Ireland from 1916 up to the present day.

The following examples are taken from the *Sun*, *Daily Mail* and *Daily Mirror* and are taken from their coverage of the Easter Uprising 1916, Bloody Sunday 1972 and the Hyde Park bombings of 1982.

Using just these papers is not a comment that other papers such as *The Times* and *Guardian* have any major qualitative difference in their coverage of these events. Rather that the other three use photographs more extensively in their reporting.

THE DAILY MIRROR — MAY 3rd 1916

ARMY BILL TO-DAY FOR IMMEDIATE AND GENERAL COMPULSION

The Daily Mirror

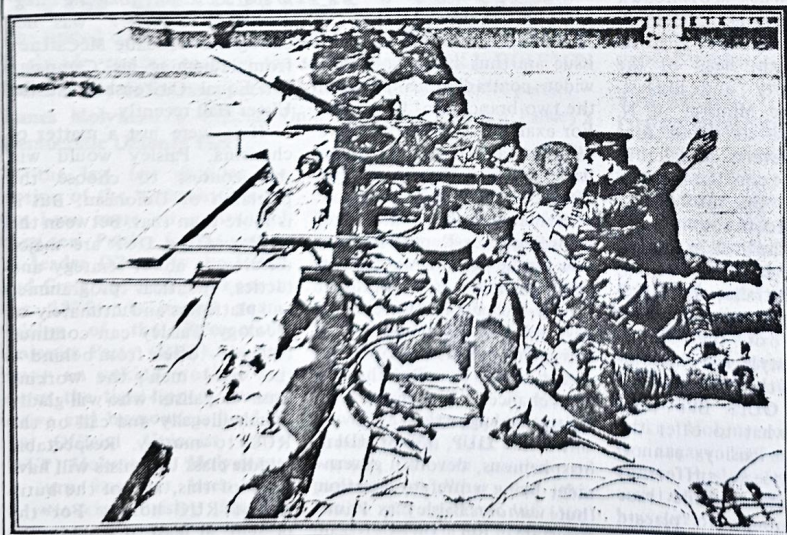
CERTIFIED CIRCULATION LARGER THAN THAT OF ANY OTHER DAILY PICTURE PAPER

No. 3341

WEDNESDAY, MAY 3, 1916

One Halfpenny.

BRITISH SOLDIERS FIRING ON THE REBELS IN DUBLIN; MACHINE GUNS IN ACTION IN THE STREETS.



This photograph would definitely not be used today without vivid stories, themes, headlines etc explaining that the army were shooting at the IRA

only after being bombed, shot at, killed and maimed themselves. Only then as a last resort.

THE DAILY MIRROR — MAY 6th 1916

THE REAL SUFFERERS FROM THE REBELLION.



Here we have the introduction of the children theme. This is commonly used today to justify the British Army's presence, in terms of fighting so innocent children don't have to suffer. These themes rely heavily on photographs for documentary evidence. The more pathetic the image, the better.

Ireland - A cause for concern

THE DAILY MIRROR - MAY 1st 1916

THE DAILY MIRROR, Monday, May 1, 1916.
COUNTESS AND 706 IRISH REBELS TAKEN PRISONERS

The Daily Mirror

CERTIFIED CIRCULATION LARGER THAN THAT OF ANY OTHER DAILY PICTURE PAPER

No. 3,906.

Registered at the G.P.O.
as a Newspaper.

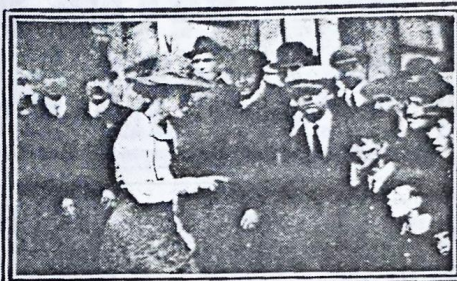
MONDAY, MAY 1, 1916

One Halfpenny.

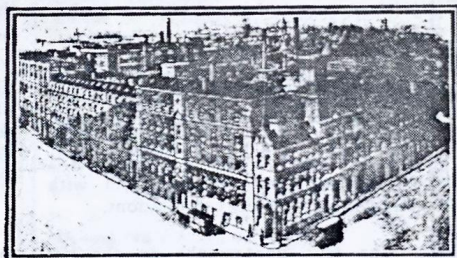
**DUBLIN REBELS SURRENDERING FREELY: "LARKINITE" COUNTESS,
A REBEL CHAUFFEUR, AMONG THE PRISONERS.**



Lieutenant Colonel C. Fane, D.S.O. (Sherwood Foresters), one of the wounded officers.



Countess Markievicz leaving Liberty Hall, the building so strangely named. She is an ardent "Larkinite."



Jacob's Biscuit Factory, which 1,200 rebels converted into a "fort."



Countess Markievicz. She is married to a Russian and is a well known suffragette.

Photographs were used much more widely and indeed with certain naivety in 1916. Mainly because pictures in newspapers were still relatively news.

Note the word 'Rebels' used in the headline, this would never be used today by the British tabloids to describe the IRA. However the word rebel probably had the same connotation then as the term terrorist does today.

What we do have on this page is a perfect example of how photographs and captions were beginning to be used together in order to give bias towards the British army in Ireland and Britain's role there.

On the top left of the page we have a photograph showing us a Lieutenant Colonel C. Fane - as the caption informs

us. The photograph is taken inside, probably a studio portrait, one that Fane's family might have on their sideboard.

The expression on Fane's face shows depth and a certain compassion, almost certainly a flattering photograph. The caption underneath offers no information about Fane other than his name, rank and regiment and that he was wounded in the fighting.

All this is in marked contrast to the portrait photograph on the top right hand of the page - a picture of the Countess Markievicz. Her photograph is seemingly an outside shot (i.e. hat and coat). Her features are unclear and her expression shows little of the softness or depth that Fane's did.

The caption underneath and the

adjacent headline are vital in understanding how we are meant to view Fane and Countess Markievicz. The caption reads 'Countess Markievicz. She is married to a Russian and is a well known suffragette'. The caption does not, as Fane's did, merely inform us of who she is, but more of the nature of her character.

Such information along with the headline leaves us in no doubt as to the radical nature of the Countess. No such comments on Fane's politics! Fane becomes the silent hero. The Countess thus becomes a figurepoint for emphasising the radical nature of the rebels.

It is also important to remember that at this time, fighting left-wing women would most certainly have been frowned upon by the British public. Indeed are they not still today.

Photos
in Focus

Bloody Sunday

By the time of Bloody Sunday in 1972 a highly organised British propaganda war machine had evolved. One that comes into operation using tried and tested methods whenever Britain is threatened, either from external or internal forces. That is why there is so much similarity between the reporting of Ireland and that of the race riots and the miners' strike.

What we have seen in the last 17 years is that whenever Northern Ireland is mentioned it seems as if the whole of the media networks suddenly befriend each other. Past differences are forgotten and a swift, highly sophisticated single machine starts to run.

The single most important message for all reporting on N. Ireland is clear. The Army's version takes preference over all others.

When hundreds witnessed British troops kill 14 people on a demonstration for civil rights in Derry in 1972, the full force of the British propaganda machine surfaces in its attempt to justify the Army's action. (13 were killed on the day, another died of his wounds later in hospital.)

THE SUN — JANUARY 31st 1972



The use of the word 'accused' in the headline does not suggest absolute guilt but instead that the Army may be innocent. The photograph shows a British soldier rounding up 'suspects', as the caption informs us. This simple word totally legitimises the aggressive stance taken by the soldier.

In the whole week following Bloody Sunday the *Sun* did not mention the names of the dead or show photographs of the victims. A remarkable omission. What was seen in that week was the *Sun* taking an entirely pro-Army stance in order to justify the killings.

Page 8 Troops Out, August/September 1986



THE SUN — FEBRUARY 1st 1972

The themes presented to us by this article, two days after Bloody Sunday would be almost laughable if the implications were not so serious. Instead it seems rather obscene.

Through this article we are meant to try to understand the pressures that the Army have to undergo in N. Ireland. The word 'lads' in the headline takes away all the threat and menace of a soldiers job and replaces them with harmless and friendly connotations.

The first photographs on the left has a caption 'Once it was smiles', which elaborates upon a constant media theme of soldiers in N. Ireland being cheerful friendly peacekeepers. The real theme being, 'would this soldier or any other kill innocent people'.

The second photograph is meant to show the threatening side of local people. Note the woman is from Derry. The soldier still plays a detached non-menacing role. The caption informs us that the woman is jeering at the soldier.

Does her expression really suggest this? The caption carries on to say that the woman has snatched the soldier's beret and that children are smirking and enjoying the spectacle. But there is not a shred of evidence to suggest this.

What is totally ludicrous is that a soldier who is supposedly having his beret snatched from his head and being

intimidated by children would look stolidly ahead. At the very least his attention would be directed towards the woman.

The real theme being presented to us by this second picture is 'Our boys undergo extreme provocation and it's really the Irish who are violent so our boys cannot have killed 14 innocent people'.

The quote on the left hand side of the article says more of the *Sun's* attitude towards Bloody Sunday than I ever could. 'The paratroopers involved in the Londonderry killings on Sunday do less routine work than other soldiers. They are reserve 'shock troops'. They are tough. They need to be. A soldier who is kept back for the worst troubles stands the biggest chance of being killed. So it is hardly surprising that when paratroopers are used, charges of brutality follow.'

If the *Sun* was unequivocal in the support of the Army in order to try and justify the killings then the *Mail* was equal in its anti-IRA and anti-Irish stance, in order to achieve the same end. Whereas the *Sun* tried to throw a blanket over the events, the *Mail* actually showed one of the dying victims. But they totally manipulated the reading of the photograph by implying IRA involvement and Republican terrorism.



Priests tell of Derry killings

SEVEN priests who were in Derry on the night of the Bloody Sunday massacre have told the BBC that they saw British soldiers shoot at unarmed civilians.

The priests, who are from the Derry area, told the BBC that they saw British soldiers shoot at unarmed civilians on the night of the massacre.

Ground

The priests said that they saw British soldiers shoot at unarmed civilians on the night of the massacre.

Rocking

The priests said that they saw British soldiers shoot at unarmed civilians on the night of the massacre.

Two soldiers hit by gunmen says the Army

Two soldiers were hit by gunmen on the night of the massacre, according to the Army.

Park bombings

If the papers were conspicuous in their inability to name and show victims of Bloody Sunday, they certainly made up for it in their over zealous emphasis of victims of IRA bombing campaigns. Victims are named and become personalised. Details of killings are graphically written and there is an abundance of photographs used as documentary evidence. A far cry from the Bloody Sunday reporting.

Unlike Bloody Sunday where the papers took different paths to come to the same door (*Mail*, Anti-IRA; *Sun*, Pro-Army) when it comes to IRA violence they put on a solid united front. It would almost be possible to switch the titles of each paper and not notice the difference.

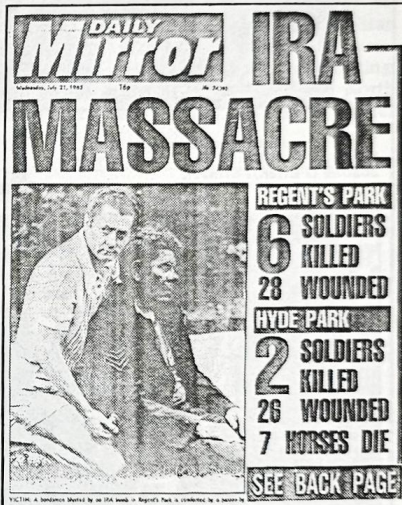
At the Hyde Park bombing we saw the emergence of the superhorse, Sefton. Not content with human victims they jumped on the obvious pathos that could be extracted from reporting on animal victims of the IRA.

Of the 3 papers featured here, the following number of pages and photographs were devoted to Bloody Sunday and Hyde Park respectively in the following week.

		Pages	Photos
<i>Sun</i>	Hyde Park	12	31
	Bloody Sunday	7	8
<i>Mail</i>	Hyde Park	11	34
	Bloody Sunday	5	8
<i>Mirror</i>	Hyde Park	11	18
	Bloody Sunday	10	14

These figures speak for themselves. The few examples used in this article indicate how photographs are manipulated by the British press, particularly where Ireland is concerned. Photographs are meant 'never to lie'. As shown here they can be used to show only one side's version of the truth.

DAILY MIRROR — JULY 21st 1982

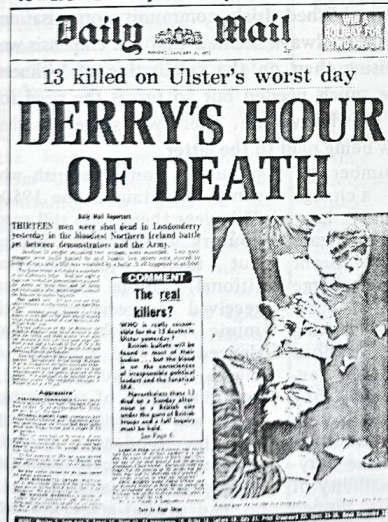


DAILY Mirror IRA MASSACRE

RECENT'S PARK
6 SOLDIERS KILLED
28 WOUNDED
HYDE PARK
2 SOLDIERS KILLED
26 WOUNDED
7 HORSES DIE
SEE BACK PAGE

DAILY MAIL — JANUARY 31st 1972

The *Mail* shows us our first picture of a victim, but notice they remain unnamed. The themes being presented by this front page are blatant. The *Comment* sums up the *Mail's* attitude towards Bloody Sunday and the victims.



Daily Mail

13 killed on Ulster's worst day

DERRY'S HOUR OF DEATH

COMMENT
The real killers?
WHO is really responsible for the 13 deaths in Derry? British soldiers will be blamed - but the blame is on the incompetence of irresponsible political leaders and the leadership of the IRA

Does the absence of photographs depicting Bloody Sunday mean that none were taken? Since the march for civil rights had international media coverage this cannot be true. The papers chose not to show photographs of what happened. Whether this was their own choice or pressure was exerted at a higher level is uncertain.



THE IRA BOMBERS ARE BACK

The Cavalry had blood up to their elbows. Some tried to console those in tears, others rushed about shooting horses

—AMERICAN TELLER DAVID STEVENET

Cowardly, barbarous



The Festival becomes a celebration; and below, a flourishing book trade (Photos Joanne O'Brien/Format).

London Irish Festival

A member of Camden TOM reports:

For a number of years now, upwards of 60,000 Irish people have flocked to Roundwood Park in North West London for the annual festival which doubles as a fundraiser for the welfare work of the more established Irish community organisations in London. To me it has always seemed that the emphasis was more on the fundraising than on the celebrating of Irishness. The funds raised are much needed but so too is the need for positive expressions of who we are. There was some sign that more attention is now being paid to the latter.

This year a number of things have changed — a change of attitude which may have been prefigured by the organisers' attempts to get Brent Council to drop the charge for the hire of the park. Despite the non-profit making nature of the day, previous Labour Councils always enforced a charge, but they were canvassed for their support. However, when the Brent Borough Council became Tory-run last year, the possibility of getting a free venue slipped from their grasp. So it was children and pensioners free (as always) and three quid a head for the rest.

In past years the main stage at the festival has featured country and western music which, although not specifically Irish, has been

popular among the Irish who came to Britain in the 1950s. This year there were still some country and western features, but there was also traditional music which was received appreciatively, ceili music to which the crowd danced and old favourites in which the crowd joined in — including a lot of rebel songs. This was a welcome change as the tendency to self-censorship in recent years has been painfully restrictive.

The smaller stages featured the usual dancers and traditional musicians. There were sports for the younger and the fitter and stalls from the county associations, Irish banks, travel companies, bookshops and the London Irish Women's Centre selling food, literature, badges, rosettes, tea-



Tooling up the police

towels etc. Books about and from Ireland — particularly on the national question — seemed to be in greater demand than ever. Symbols of Irish identity were everywhere in demand, with the younger of the Irish-born and the second generation particularly keen for some outward expression of their concerns.

The older people are much more cautious, but seemingly no less concerned. A man in his '50s caught sight of the new poster-pamphlet about the Birmingham Six case. In an undertone he told his friend *"Them men done nothing at all, innocent they were, and look what happened to them"*. The anger in his voice was unmistakable, but he didn't buy a poster. A woman of about 40 who also didn't buy a poster perhaps gave the explanation. *"I'd love to buy one. I agree with every word it says. But I have three children and if I was to carry that around all day in the park, I would surely get trouble later. Maybe I'll get one on my way home"*.

The fears are real and justified enough, yet there was an atmosphere of a greater self-assurance and freer expression of feeling than I've ever seen at previous festivals. Although this change of attitude is frequently attributed to the second generation and undoubtedly they are part of it, I wonder if it didn't also have something to do with the increase in emigration from both north and south generating an attitude of greater determination to be accepted on our own terms.

Having been forced out of one country for lack of work, we won't be driven on again so easily. Earlier generations of emigrants may have lived their lives feeling under a obligation to imperial Britain for providing a job when Ireland couldn't, but the current one is increasingly aware that the effects of colonialism are not so easily shaken off and know that anything which Britain gives us now has been paid for 100 times over in the past. That realisation, coupled with the political consciousness of those forced to leave northern Ireland in recent years, could yet make the Irish in London a force to be reckoned with.

Kenneth Newman's shopping list for a paramilitary police force, approved by Home Secretary Hurd, will come as no surprise to those who remember Newman from Ireland. In less than three years he re-armed and re-organised the Royal Ulster Constabulary into the paramilitary force it remains today.

Following the assaults by the B-Specials on Civil Rights marchers, the Hunt Committee in 1969 recommended their disbandment and the establishment of a wholly civilian and non-armed force. Accordingly the B-Specials changed uniforms and joined the new Ulster Defence Regiment of the British Army and the RUC was disarmed. But this action was soon negated by political requirements. In the 70s the new policy of 'Ulsterization' (also known as 'Primacy of the Police') required that the RUC be given the prime

role of 'beating the terrorists'.

In came Newman as Deputy Chief Constable on 11th September 1973 with a huge £120 million budget to *"secure the maintenance of an adequate and efficient police force"*. Examples of expenditure from an RUC Police Authority meeting at the time: *Special Photographic Equipment for covert surveillance work, £1,836.60; Camouflage suits for the RUC's counter-sniper unit, £2,850; Stand-by generators, £439,000.* Weaponry purchases included machine pistols, sterling sub-machine guns, M1 carbines, SLRs and plastic bullets.

By the time Newman became Chief Constable on 1st May 1976 he had re-organized the RUC by centralizing intelligence with the Army's Lisburn computer, by setting up shock troops in the form of four twenty-strong regional squads and finally by converting

Castlereagh Barracks into a full-time centralized, specialist interrogation centre. The scene was set for beating confessions out of detainees. Newman's secret directive SB 16/13 dated 26th July 1976 effectively suspended the Judge's Rules from interrogations. Complaints of assault rocketed from August onwards.

Now in London Newman has asked for 24 bullet-proof vehicles, 80 armoured personnel carriers and 1500 long truncheons in his Public Order Review of 2nd July, as well as resources to combat *"weaknesses in collating and assessing information"*.

Hurd will grant these requests to the Metropolitan Police as a matter of course. Newman's repressive policing, tried and tested in the North of Ireland, takes a tighter grip here.

But West Yorks votes against plastic bullets

Chief Constable Colin Sampson has been thwarted in his efforts to have West Yorkshire Police Force issued with plastic bullets. On 18th July the local Police Authority, which encompasses Leeds and Bradford, finally voted 15-9 against supplying plastic bullets. This came a week after a vote in Sheffield denied plastic bullets to the South Yorkshire force.

Leeds branch of the Troops Out Movement had picketed meetings of the Police Authority, showing councillors actual plastic bullets and photographs of the horrific injuries they have caused in the North of Ireland. They also circulated a written statement sent by Jim McCabe of Belfast, whose wife Nora was killed by a plastic bullet — one councillor described his statement as a *"humanitarian response to the issue"*.

Sampson can still obtain plastic bullets direct from the Home Office, but if he uses them he now knows it will be against the expressed wishes of elected members of the Police Authority. Sampson, of course, is a very busy man — he has taken over the shoot-to-kill inquiry and is 'investigating' Stalker.

Counter-insurgency - TUC implicated

Since the fundamental rethink in policing strategies in the '70s, multi-agency policing has been the norm in the North of Ireland. Social services, housing, local government and many spurious 'community' organisations have been recruited to the war effort. Meanwhile in a leafy corner that is for ever England. . . .

The agenda of a secret meeting organised by the Royal College of Defence Studies between senior military personnel and six members of the East Anglia TUC Regional Council has been made public by Cambridge & District Trades Council.

The meeting took place in Norwich on April 23rd. The military delegation was led by Brigadier J. P. Foley, recently retired as an SAS Commander and holder of an OBE for his command of the Royal Green Jackets in Derry. Others present were: Colonel R. K. Barnes, commander of the Caribbean troops during the 1983 Grenada invasion; A. J. H. Ward, head of the Ministry of Defence policy division responsible for US bases here; officers from the Royal Navy, RAF, Indian and French Air Forces.

The TUC representatives, mostly full-time trade union officials, were asked about the relationship of trades unions with the Labour Party and questioned on their attitudes to nuclear power, new technology, the EEC, nuclear disarmament, and the role of 'political extremists' in the unions.

When approached by the Trades Council, the TUC Regional Secretary revealed that these meetings had been going on for a number of years, and had included representatives of the CBI. He claimed that the union officials attended as individuals rather than as representatives of the TUC. Further investigation by the Trades Council established that these meetings took place two or three times a year.

The meeting in East Anglia Region and another in the South East TUC Region were part of a Spring tour. Cambridge & District Trades Council is now alerting other Trades Councils and asking them for support in having these meetings exposed.

Frank Kitson was Belfast Army Commander from 1970 to 1972 and is now C-in-C, UK Land Forces. In 1971 in his book *Low Intensity Operations* Kitson stressed the need for security forces to integrate themselves in as many organisations as possible, so as to counter possible subversion and amass intelligence. Counter-insurgency techniques developed in the North of Ireland are now being employed here. Kitson's advice has been well heeded.

NEWS AROUND BRITAIN

Prisoners' Birthdays

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

STEPHEN NORDONE 758663
HM Prison Parkhurst, Newport,
Isle of Wight PO30 5NX August 2nd

PAUL KAVANAGH 1888
HM Prison, Welford Road, Leicester
LE2 7AJ August 12th

RONNIE MCCARTNEY 463799
HM Prison Gartree, Market
Harborough, Leicestershire LE16
7RP September 3rd

RICHARD GLENHOLMES B32952
HM Prison Long Lartin, South
Littleton, Evesham, Worcestershire
WR11 5TZ September 19th

MARTIN BRADY 119087
HM Prison, Hedon Rd, Hull, North
Humberside HU9 5LS

VINCENT DONNELLY 274064
HM Prison, Albany, Newport, Isle of
Wight PO30 5RS September 25th

Prisoners' Rights

The National Council for Civil Liberties has produced a four-page briefing *Prisoners' Rights* in its series of Information Sheets. Clearly written and well set out, it is divided into three sections detailing the separate rights and entitlements for remand prisoners, convicted prisoners and youth custody inmates.

Irish political prisoners in British jails have been in the forefront of the fight for prisoners' rights. Nestling in amongst the detail of the NCCL's briefing are some of these. In 1983 Fr Fell won a ruling in the European Court that his rights had been infringed by prison authorities not allowing him to correspond freely with family, friends and lawyers. This was further strengthened recently by the same court's finding that the Home Office had acted unlawfully in reading correspondence between prisoners and their lawyers in a case brought by John McCoombe.

In 1984 Sean Campbell won a very important ruling, again in Europe, that prisoners had an absolute right to legal advice and representation at prison disciplinary hearings. His case arose from Board of Visitors' adjudications after prison protests. Both Campbell and Fell continued with their cases despite being released before the rulings were made. Needless to say, the Home Office fought tooth and nail all the way to Europe.

Copies of *Prisoners' Rights*, 40p + 25p p&p, may be ordered from NCCL, 21 Tabard Street, London SE1 4LA. Telephone 01-403 3888.



'The difference between revenue raised in Northern Ireland and total expenditure in Northern Ireland, excluding the extra cost of the army's task and certain receipts and refunds, is expected for 1985/86 to be around £1,533 million.'

Minister of State,
Rhodes Boyson, House of
Commons, 3rd July 1986

'Don't come crying to me if you homes are attacked. You will reap what you sow.'

Ian Paisley to the RUC, on being ejected from the shutdown Assembly, 24th June, 1986

'It is many years since attention was drawn to the papist steam-roller which was and is slowly and inexorably making its way through Protestant districts and leaving papist enclaves in its wake. The blame for this was allocated to spineless Protestant house owners and estate agents who were selling their property to papists for the sake of a little pecuniary gain. As one leading estate agent said "we can always get a bit extra from a papist customer".'

Protestant Telegraph,
15th January, 1977

'Argentina 2, Brits go home.'
Belfast graffiti, recent

It seems that security co-operation under the Anglo-Irish Accord extends beyond the border. In late June a team probably from MI5, were observed working with the Close Surveillance Unit of the Central Detective Unit in Dublin. Flown in through Ireland's only military airport, Baldonnel, with a mound of equipment, they were described as 'advisers'. They took a prominent part in an operation to try to track down someone who had stolen a large haul of valuable paintings, fearing that the proceeds of ransom demands might go to a 'subversive' organisation.

As is common in such situations, the operation was bungled.



Of the Conservative MPs in the 'Friends of the Union', several could be re-named the 'Friends of South Africa'. They include Julian Amery, Michael Morris and Trevor Skeet, all of whom have a financial stake in that country (as indeed does N. Ireland Secretary Tom King and his predecessor James Prior).



Photo Birmingham TOM

Sinn Féin West Belfast Councillor Lily Fitzsimmons (left) spent six days in the Midlands in July at the invitation of local Troops Out Movement branches. Speaking at public meetings organised by Birmingham and Coventry TOM, she urged people to go to Belfast to witness the British occupation of the North of Ireland for themselves.

Encouraging people to join delegations such as those organised by the Troops Out Movement, Fitzsimmons said: "We suffer similar problems to many in Birmingham—bad housing, unemployment, environmental illnesses and so on. The difference is that our problems are multiplied by a foreign army on our streets and a sectarian armed police force".

The only friends left

"Friends of the Union" is a group formed at the beginning of June to argue the unionist cause.

It is something of an Eminent Persons group, including 13 Conservative MPs led by Ian Gow, who voted against the Anglo-Irish Agreement. There are also seven lords and a line-up of establishment media characters: William Deedes, fresh with his new peerage and former editor of the

Daily Telegraph; Charles Moore, editor of the *Spectator*; Andrew Alexander of the *Daily Mail*; TV producer attached to *Week-end World*, Bruce Anderson; Sam Butler, editor of the *Belfast News Letter*; Captain Bill Henderson, proprietor of *Century Newspapers*; and David Burnside, chief information officer of British Airways. The former manager of Arsenal football team, Terry Neil, is also thrown in.

The function of the group is to provide a propaganda boost to the unionists. "Friends of the Union" objects to the Irish Republic having a say in the North. It supports an integrationist policy for the running of the North from Westminster. And it defends the union of N. Ireland with Britain on the grounds of Britain's defence and security needs — "If the whole of Ireland was in hostile hands it would have important implications for Britain," argued Sir Philip Goodhart a former N. Ireland minister.

Thanks, and the struggle goes on

In the recent Old Bailey show-trial, Patrick Magee, Gerard McDonnell, Peter Sherry, Martina Anderson and Ella O'Dwyer all received life sentences. Throughout their 11 months on remand and during the trial, the Irish Prisoners Appeal have highlighted the conditions under which they have been held and undertaken welfare work for the prisoners and their relatives. In addition frequent pickets of Brixton Prison during the remand period were followed by weekly pickets of the Old Bailey during the trial, resulting in mass detentions.

A major focus of the IPA's work has been the strip-searches. Prior to the trial the average rate was 23 strip-searches per defendant per month. During the trial this rose to 60 – three times on each court day, on Saturday visits and on Sunday. This form of torture has been taken up in the Courts and thousands of pounds are needed for legal costs.

Below *Troops Out* prints extracts of letters from Gerard McDonnell, Martina Anderson and Ella O'Dwyer to the Irish Prisoners Appeal. The IPA's work must continue. Read the letters and then send your donation to: Irish Prisoners Appeal, c/o Lambeth IBRG, 245a Coldharbour Lane, London SW9 8RR. Affiliation forms, model resolutions and publicity material are available from the same address.

A Chara,
This letter is to try to express the gratitude we feel towards all those who supported us throughout the past year. Every imaginable type of effort was put into our welfare, from pickets right down to parcels. We can't answer all those cards and solidarity greetings, and we'll never meet all those who stood by us in our attempt to highlight the facts regarding our imprisonment in Brixton.

Above anything else we thank all those who even took the trouble to consider what a strip-search can entail, not to mention the frequency with which we're abused in this way. In May we were each stripped over sixty times. The disgusting procedure of a strip-search in itself reflects the regime's attitude towards us. The policy to date has been to impose maximum suffering without physically assaulting us.

We've again experienced Britain's excuse for justice recently in the Old Bailey. Against this we've experienced the selfless backing of

you our friends in different parts of this island – you the ordinary public are the power behind our resistance. You've kept us strong, just as the concerned public in Ireland kept those in Armagh strong.

The attitude this year on the part of the authorities has been simply 'break them'. We'll never forget the staunch backing you gave us – we'll always need you people to fuel our power to resist. By helping us, you help our comrades imprisoned in Ireland who've suffered such degradation for so long.

We can't thank you as we'd like to, but we hope this attempt from Brixton prison will go some way towards expressing our feelings and responses to your generosity of spirit. We're asking you to keep helping our comrades and us and to bear in mind that though the so-called 'trial' is over, we're still being strip-searched.

Thank you all, very sincerely.

Ella O'Dwyer
Martina Anderson

MORE THAN A MERE SCRAP

Dear *Troops Out*,

In reply to the letter last month headed 'A Scrap of Paper'. S/he is right, we are in danger of forgetting that the Accord has changed nothing as far as the application of Britain's rule in N. Ireland is concerned. Repression goes on unabated. We can lose sight of that if we concentrate too much on its whys and wherefores.

But hold on – s/he admits that it has been forced on Britain through 15 years of resistance. That makes it significant in my eyes. The Accord is an integral part of Britain's continuing occupation of

N. Ireland. It should not be ignored.

If we do not assess each British initiative in Ireland, then we merely fall back on rhetoric which is neither helpful nor convincing. This latest initiative, perhaps more than all previous ones, exposes contradictions in Britain's occupation.

I accept that Britain's occupation of N. Ireland is based on its own interest rather than that of the loyalists. But we still need to assess current loyalist reaction rather than degenerate to 'told you so'.

Paul Higgs (London)



Photo Joanne O'Brien/Format

Dear Friends,

May I pen you some few lines of thanks to all the comrades in the IPA and the Women in TOM for all you've done and continue to do to highlight the injustices perpetrated against us. It's hard to express to a group of people sentiments in such a cold way on paper. The warmth of solidarity has left its lasting mark on each of us I'm sure.

The meals, the use of a home while over for a visit, the marches, demos, pickets, vigils, songs, letters, cards, the friendly faces in the gallery at court, the things each and all are so important. The generosity shall live in our memories while life's flame burns within us. If it was a thought, a prayer, a tear, a shout of defiant support – I thank you most sincerely.

The fact that the state has sought to arrest those of you who look to exercise the right of peaceful demonstration is in itself a reflection of the fine work undertaken by each of you. The risks and personal pressures of such protest is no mean thing. It can't be shrugged off as nothing – it's an act of

political confrontation with the powers that be and so is both quite serious and quite brave of you.

Your outlook of protest is in the tradition of those comrades who have changed society this much to date. Now our trial is over, remember your role is not. Keep confronting injustice no matter if it's Conservative, Alliance or Labour in power. Kinnock said only the other day he would extradite Gerry Kelly and Bic McFarlane from Holland. Remember it's not those who call themselves socialists you should heed but those who act as such.

The warmth of the people protects you from the cold of a system so very much oppressive, breaks down any sense of isolation. There's an inner flame of course which supplies that essential spirit – but every small aid is so positive. Onward to justice, onward to freedom for all Irish political prisoners.

Through you, to each and all, thanks.

Gearóid Mac Domhnaill

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.

THE CASE OF THE BIRMINGHAM 6



THE CASE OF THE BIRMINGHAM SIX

Produced by The Troops Out Movement, Published by Information on Ireland, 60p.

A lot of people made their reputations out of the convictions of the Birmingham Six. Policemen were promoted, the prosecutor Michael Havers is now Attorney-General, the trial judge is now Lord Bridge. Their appeals were refused by some of the top judges in the country at the time, Lords Diplock and Denning. Not only did these people aid and abet in the wrongful detention of the six men but in doing so allowed the people they were supposed to be looking for remain free. They will not easily admit they were wrong. It will take an upsurge of public support to ensure the freedom of the six men.

It is to encourage and help such a campaign that the Troops Out Movement and Information on Ireland have produced this poster/pamphlet. It tells succinctly the history of their case from the time of their arrest to the growing campaign for their release. The pamphlet opens out into a striking poster based on the 1933 photomontage of Justice by the anti-fascist artist John Heartfield.

Help the campaign by making sure as many people as possible read these two publications. Get your library to order *Error of Judgement*. Take ten copies of the poster pamphlet and sell them to your friends.

ERROR OF JUDGEMENT

the truth about the Birmingham bombings

Chris Mullin, Chatto & Windus £10.95

A book that is financially beyond most people, and is based on the court transcripts of a trial which took place over eleven years ago, should be a hard book to promote. But in *Error of Judgement*, Chris Mullin tells in a lucid and detailed manner how six Irish men living in Birmingham were convicted for something they had nothing to do

with. It makes riveting and revealing reading.

The trial of the six men Paddy Hill, John Walker, Richard McKelkeny, Bill Power, Gerry Hunter and Hugh Callaghan on charges of causing the Birmingham pub bombings was one of the biggest show trials in British history.

With painstaking attention to detail Mullin takes us through the horror each of these six men and their families endured. He exposes how the confessions were beaten out of them and the inaccuracy of the forensic evidence – the two cornerstones of the prosecution evidence against the Six. He interviews many of the people involved in the case – witnesses, policemen, defendants – and uses their recollections to support the case for the men's release. Finally he interviews some people who were involved in planting the bombs. All are adamant that the six convicted men had nothing in any way to do with the bombings.

Both available from TOM, Box 353, London NWS 4NH:

Error of Judgement £10.95 (including p&p).

The Case of the Birmingham Six, 60p + 20p p&p, ten copies £4 + 80p p&p.

STRIP SEARCHING: An inquiry into the strip searching of women remand prisoners at Armagh Prison between 1982 and 1985.

NCCL, £1.95.

To start with the conclusions. The NCCL recommends that strip-searching in Armagh jail be reduced to levels pertaining before its introduction in November 1982, that is, only on admission to and discharge from prison. They conclude that the practice offends basic human dignity and that there should be ways and means whereby necessary prison security can be combined with respect for civil rights. Fine. Many of us campaigning around the issue reached the same conclusions as far back as 1983 but it does no harm for such a well-respected body to concur and their audiences may include people who have not hitherto addressed the question seriously.

However, the report in itself is rather bland and smacks of a certain naivety which perhaps shouldn't surprise or depress me as much as it does. Starting with a rather questionable roundup of political events leading to strip-searching being introduced, they then detail the practice and describe their visit to the jail and meetings with the Northern Ireland Office, prison officers, prisoners and campaigners.

It is interesting to see just how tied up the Northern Ireland Office gets itself with explanations to justify the practice. Security is given as the prime excuse, which we know just doesn't stand up. Although the NCCL says it is not convinced by this argument, they let far too much said by the NIO (and others) go unchallenged. Did security suddenly become a problem in '82 when it hadn't been down through the years? Why do they go on about the very serious nature of offences the prisoners have been convicted of, when for the most part it is unconvicted, therefore innocent, remand prisoners the practice was introduced for? Prison officers are quoted as saying that strip-searching makes other prisoners feel safer (!) – quite absurd when the prisoners it is being carried out among know each other and would have no reason for mistrust.

from the usual procedure. It is to be hoped that they are not really this gullible.

It is unclear why the report took so long to produce – 19 months since the visit to the jail in February '85. One would have liked the commission of inquiry to have felt a moral responsibility to produce it sooner. NCCL are quite capable of speedy turn-rounds on reports when it suits. Indeed, if it had appeared last summer or autumn it may have added weight to the campaign around Martina Anderson and Ella O'Dwyer. Their case is only mentioned in passing. Hopefully the NCCL will now take up their case going to the court of appeal in October.

For all the quibbles, it is worth shelling out for and for use as a reference resource in the continuing campaign to have strip-searching stopped in Ireland and here.

Helen Dady



MARIA TOLLY – VOICES

Cassette and record

"Don't ask me if he's guilty, Rather must you ask Who was it stole our voices? Who was it made us poor? Who robbed us of our living, Forcing families apart? That's where to look, If it's guilt you're looking for."

So Maria Tolly both expresses the anger and anguish of a community whose children are spending their 'natural lives' in prison hundreds of miles from home, and places the responsibility for that anger and that anguish firmly where it belongs.

'Torn in Two' is one of four songs on her new recording VOICES which speak specifically about Northern Ireland, the other three focussing on the horrors of plastic bullets – in a musically daring and difficult song – on the indignities and strength of the strip search victims, and coming back again to the British responsibility with 'Get the Troops Out'. In all these tracks Maria keeps the difficult balance

Although they claim that metal detectors feature often in rub-down searches (a point which has been contradicted in questions in the House), the NIO is now quoted, in a classic quote, as saying: "The standard of security accepted by airlines is not acceptable in a maximum security prison... we have looked at all the technology available and we are not confident about what is available." Great. So what have all the millions been spent on in equipping Maghaberry, which we are now assured is the most secure prison in Europe.

The NCCL quotes the prison governor as asserting that the occasions for strip-searching are decided by his senior staff, that he monitors the figures weekly to ensure no woman is being unfairly picked on, and says he would start asking questions if there was more than one extra search per week. Surely a far too sympathetic portrayal of a person not known by others for his sensitivity in such matters. The NCCL also say that they believe the strip-search they witnessed was no different

between sympathising with the Irish struggle and speaking from her own place in that as a non-Irish woman in Britain.

For in none of her songs does she attempt to speak as if she were a member of the struggling groups about whom she sings - except of course where they do come partly from her own experience. Instead she keeps clear and separate her own identity and politics whilst working with the people concerned and words with their active help and in their voices, even where she uses the first person. In this way she is a grassroots singer and writer of a kind which industrial Britain has almost destroyed with the commercialisation of culture.

Maria brings to her work years of experience in alternative theatre and music, and this album is not confined to the struggle in Ireland: collaboration with disabled people produced the energetic and assertive track called 'Right of Way'; the zappy hand-clapped vocal 'Hey Brothers' first performed at the TU Conference by the women for and with whom it was written addresses male power in that area with vigorous pointedness: -

*"You always make the meetings
Where the children can't go
At a time we can't make,
Then you complain we say 'No'.
You say we're being divisive
If we meet on our own
When in fact we were divided
A long time ago."*

Underlying all these songs and emerging explicitly in some of them is a woman's perspective and musical influences from the women's movement.

Manufacture of the record, on the 'Stroppy Cow' label, was interrupted by the last minute cold-feet of the company - the full story was in last month's *Troops Out* - but 'Stroppy Cow' found an alternative and both album and cassette are now available in any good music shop. Maria co-produced the cassette with Islington Music Workshop raising all the money for that herself, so rather than copying your friend's record go out and buy one, or order record or cassette through the *Troops Out* office, addressed 'VOICES', c/o PO Box 353, NWS 4NH, £5 (inc. p+p). Failing that, go to see Maria Tolly at one of the following venues:

July 31st - ASTMS Summer School, Bishop Stortford;
August 3rd - Benefit at the Red Rose (near Nag's Head, London N7);
August 30th - Festival of 100 Years of Women's Banners - Oriel Theatre, Mold, North Wales;
November - Tour of Midlands and North;
September 28th - West London Trades Union Club;
October - 'Liedertournee' (Song-Journey), a tour of East Germany;
November 1st - Eastern Regional Women's Weekend School.

**Sal Jenkinson
Haregey TOM**



JUNE

14th

The loyalist marching season opens. There are riots in Ballymena, Co. Antrim, directed at the RUC and at Catholic businesses and homes.

16th

Protests about conditions in Magilligan Prison: two loyalist prisoners start a hunger strike, and loyalist bomb hoaxes disrupt rush-hour traffic. The IRA plant a car bomb in a prison officers' estate in Limavady on 13th, with no injuries.

The IRA shoot dead an electrical engineering contractor in Armagh. He had been doing work on Army and RUC stations and barracks.

17th

Sixth meeting of the Anglo-Irish Intergovernmental Conference, held in Belfast with Peter Barry (Foreign Affairs Minister) and Alan Dukes (Justice Minister) and Tom King and Nicholas Scott, plus the two police chiefs in attendance. The communique reports: RUC/Garda cross-border cooperation work in progress; strengthening the 'security' forces; the right of Republic-born voters in the North to vote in local govts and Assembly elections; support for Irish language usage in the North; enhancement of 'confidence' in the administration of justice and policy aspects of extradition; and improved roads between North and South. In public report-backs there were differences of emphasis: the British side stressed the increased repression; the Irish side announced a forthcoming package of reforms which include the end of the supergrass system, having three judges instead of one in the Diplock Courts, supervision of the UDR by the RUC, and repeal of the Flags and Emblems Act.

18th

The RUC station at Cloughmills, Co. Antrim, is destroyed by a 500lb van bomb placed by the IRA, who later reiterate their warning to builders and construction firms not to take on work at security force bases in the 6 Counties.

Five Catholic children are injured when a school bus is stoned by loyalists in Portadown, Co. Armagh.

Loyalist demonstrators throw stones at Catholic homes and the RUC during an Orange parade in the nationalist village of Dunloy, Co. Antrim.

19th

It emerges that John Stalker, the suspended Assistant Chief Constable of Manchester, planned to ask of John Hermon, the head of the RUC, 'very searching questions' concerning an alleged 'cover-up' of shoot-to-kill incidents.

The dissolution of the NI Assembly is approved without a vote in the House of Commons.

22nd

About 5,000 people take part in Sinn Féin's annual Wolfe Tone commemoration at Bodinstown. In his speech, Martin McGuinness calls for more discussion within the Republican Movement.

23rd

Patrick Magee is given 8 life sentences for his alleged part in the Brighton bombing and the 'seaside bomb plot'. Martina Anderson, Gerard McDonnell, Ella O'Dwyer and Peter Sherry all receive life sentences for conspiracy to cause explosions.

The NI Assembly is officially dissolved, but most loyalist members refuse to leave. The RUC baton charge demonstrators outside Stormont and later physically drag the Rev. Paisley and others from the building. Paisley says that Northern Ireland is on the brink of civil war and tells the RUC not to 'come crying to me if your homes are attacked'.

25th

John Hume calls for a 'yes' vote in the divorce referendum in the Republic.

26th

The constitutional amendment allowing divorce in the Irish Republic is rejected by a majority of 27%.

27th

British Home Secretary Douglas Hurd orders a police inquiry into allegations made in a book soon to be published that those convicted of the 1974 Birmingham pub bombings are innocent.

29th

Nationalist and loyalist youth clash in street fights in the Short Strand area of Belfast.

30th

Brigadier Michael Gray is appointed as the new commander of the Ulster Defence Regiment. Gray has been in the British Army for nearly 30 years and has served in Aden and Cyprus, as well as previous tours of duty in Ireland.

Two more prisoners join the loyalist hunger strike at Magilligan prison, Co. Derry.

JULY

1st

A part-time member of the UDR is killed by the IRA in a car-bomb attack at Drumaness, Co. Down.

Four UDR soldiers are given life sentences after being convicted of the murder of Adrian Carroll, a Catholic, in Armagh on November 8th, 1982.

The Dutch Supreme Court overturns an earlier judgement forbidding the extradition of Brendan MacFarlane and Gerard Kelly to N. Ireland on charges connected with the mass escape from Long Kesh in 1982.

2nd

£80,000 seized by the Gardai (Irish police) in 1982 is returned to Sinn Féin members Joe Cahill and Edward Howell by a court in Dublin.

3rd

Two British soldiers appear in court in Wiltshire accused of stealing nine rocket launchers. Police have alleged that they were intended for use by terrorists.

6th

27 RUC officers and 3 civilians are injured during an Orange Order parade in Portadown.

The head of the Orange Order, Martin Smyth MP, says that George Seawright is in good standing with the Order. Last year Seawright proposed that all Catholics be incinerated.

Sinn Féin President Gerry Adams MP is refused permission to enter Canada by immigration officials. Adams had been invited to Canada by several organisations, and his visit would have coincided with one by Prime Minister Thatcher.

Two more loyalists join the hunger strike at Magilligan prison.

8th

An RUC officer is killed by the IRA in Rosslea, Co. Fermanagh.

UVF informer William 'Budgie' Allen is released from prison after serving only 2 years 3 months of a 14 year sentence. Allen gave evidence last year against 28 people on paramilitary charges.

9th

An IRA bomb kills two British soldiers and injures two others near Crossmaglen, Co. Armagh.

Rev. Paisley urges RUC officers to resign rather than block the path the path of loyalists marching in Portadown this Saturday.

More than a hundred prisoners begin a three day fast at Magilligan in support of the loyalist hunger strike.

10th

A Catholic man, George Leonard, is shot in the head by loyalist paramilitaries on the Shankill Road. He dies two days later.

12th

Violence over the 12th July weekend results in injuries to 128 RUC officers and an unknown number of civilians. The RUC fire 281 plastic bullets and receive reports of 79 cases of intimidation, mainly from Catholic families. The Orange Order is prevented from marching through the 'Tunnel' in Portadown but is allowed to parade instead through the Garvaghy district, where many more nationalists live (see article).

Two RUC officers are suspended as a result of the 'shoot-to-kill' investigations commenced by Stalker.

13th

The British Army defuse a 150lb bomb in Aghnacloy, Co. Tyrone, after being ambushed by the IRA. One soldier is injured.

At midnight 50 hooded men armed with cudgels and hatchets attack over 20 homes on a predominantly Catholic housing estate in Rasharkin, Co. Antrim.

14th

A loyalist car bomb explodes outside a Catholic owned restaurant in Castlewells, Co. Down. One person is slightly injured. No warning was given.

COMING EVENTS & RESOURCES

LONDON

GOING BEHIND THE BARRICADES

Benefit/Social to sponsor those going on the TOM Delegation to Belfast. Featuring Hairy Marys, The Striking Printworkers, Maria Tolly, The Hackney String Band. Sunday 3rd August 8pm. £3/£1.50
Red Rose Labour Club, 129 Seven Sisters Road, N4

GREEN CROSS ARTS AND BOOKS SHOP

Historical and political publications about Ireland

T-shirts, badges, posters, crafts

51/53 Falls Road, Belfast 12

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*.

Videos for hire

from TOM, PO Box 353, London NW5 4NH. Tel. 01-609 1743

SAME AS IT EVER WAS

Blade Productions, Ireland 1985, colour, 30 mins
A satirical attack on the 'supergrass' system, using actors performing a 'This Is Your Life' show about a republican prisoner.

WE OURSELVES SPEAK

London Media Research Group, 1981, 110 mins
Interviews with republicans who give their views on the hunger strikers' campaign for political status, the British army presence, the UDA, the media and other issues. Stylistically experimental and very long; perhaps best to select extracts for showing.

PRISONERS' DEPENDANTS' FUND (PDF)

PDF Video Group, Derry/London 1983, about 20 mins
A short video by an amateur group about fundraising for regular coach trips for the relatives of prisoners, and the petty harassment they have to put up with on their visits.

IRELAND'S HUNGER STRIKE

30 mins

INFORMERS

THE BLACK AND THE GREEN

St Clair Bourne, USA, 1983, colour, 40 mins
An account of the visit to the North of Ireland by a delegation of Afro-American activists who aimed to explore the similarities between the Irish republican and Afro-American struggles.

THE LAST HUNGER STRIKE

Tami Gold-Ahem, USA, 1981, colour, 60 mins
An American video outlining the North's history since the civil rights campaign, showing why nationalists took up arms, based on the life of Michael Devine, the last of the 1981 hunger strikers to die.

PLASTIC BULLETS — THE DEADLY TRUTH

United Campaign Against Plastic Bullets, Ireland 1985, colour, 45 mins
A look at the history of the use of plastic bullets, with accounts of the 15 deaths, plus interviews with relatives of 13 of the dead and with some of the many who have been injured.

REAL LIVES

BBC 1985
The banned documentary, demonstrating that even the BBC's ideas of 'balanced' broadcasting (contrasting the life and politics of Derry Sinn Fein's Martin McGuinness with an 'equivalent' loyalist politician) is no longer enough to satisfy those who wish to control the media.

THE CASE OF THE BIRMINGHAM 6

1985, colour, about 50 mins
TV frame-up documentary.

REGINA vs ANNIE MAGUIRE AND OTHERS

1985, colour, about 50 mins
TV frame-up documentary.

CREGGAN

PLANNING

Derry Film and Video, 1986, about 20 mins
A recently released political prisoner looks at the changes in his home town of Derry that have occurred during his 10 year imprisonment. The video explores people's rights in housing policy as well as questioning the military influence in town planning.
(NEW VIDEO: Hire fee £10/£15)

SHOOT TO KILL

45 mins, BBC, colour
This Panorama programme looks at the shoot-to-kill policy in operation in the North of Ireland. It concentrates on the murders of three unarmed IRA members and in another incident two unarmed INLA members. The five men were killed by members of the Headquarters Mobile Support Units (HMSU). These are specialist killer squads each containing 25 members of the RUC and are trained by the SAS. A follow-up to this programme was banned by the BBC. The investigations by John Staker of the Manchester police into these murders and the HMSUs led to his removal as Deputy Chief Constable.

THE SHOOTING OF NORA McCABE

30 mins, black and white
33 year old Nora McCabe was the eleventh person to be killed by plastic bullets. The film tells of her death and the subsequent cover-up by the RUC. *The Shooting of Nora McCabe* is a strong indictment of the argument for the use of plastic bullets as a minimum force weapon.

TAKING LIBERTIES

60 mins, colour
An Open Space programme made with Sheffield Police Watch, this video vividly tells of the police state which existed around mining communities during the miners' strike. Using interviews with miners, people of the mining villages and solicitors, as well as footage of the dispute, the film shows how the overwhelming presence of the police was used to try and undermine the strike.

STRIKE AGAINST APARTHEID

21 mins, colour
On 18/7/84, Mary Manning, an employee in Dunnes Stores, Dublin, refused to check out two South African grapefruit, in accordance with her trade union (IDATU)'s policy. She was suspended and since that day 11 workers have been on official strike in what has become known as the 'Strike Against Apartheid'. The video tells the strikers' story — how it began, the steady rise of support, the meeting with Bishop Tutu, the bizarre visit to Johannesburg airport, the 24 hour pickets, all against a backdrop of the racist violence of the South African regime. The strike is still continuing, though picketing has been suspended.

HIRE FEES:

Except for new videos, as marked in the list, all videos cost:
£10 per showing to funded or grant-aided organisations, student unions, etc.
£5 per showing to other groups, plus postage and packing (£1.50).