

Troops *Out*



MAGAZINE OF THE TROOPS OUT MOVEMENT.

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Inside:

- Loyalist/fascist links
- Trade unions and discrimination
- SDLP peace proposals

EVERY MOTHER
A WILLING
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EVERY CHILD
A WANTED
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FREE
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NOT THE
CHURCH
NOT THE STATE

NATIONAL ABORTION
CAMPAIGN

Churches choice & the divided state



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It is with considerable regret that we have to report the demise of *Troops Out* printers, Blackrose Press. For several years Blackrose and its workers have lent skills and resources to the production of *Troops Out*. The T.O.M. is indebted to their commitment and professionalism, and the richer for it. The Magazine Group, as we are now known, extends, on behalf of the wider movement, our heartfelt thanks to the workers at Blackrose.

Correction: In the last issue we said that Seamus Duffy was killed by the Army. He was in fact killed by the RUC.

Troops Out is produced by a group drawn from branches of the *Troops Out* Movement.

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

NB New Box No.

All correspondence should be sent to: *Troops Out*, PO Box 2803 London N5 1TN, Tel 071-609-1743, Fax 071-607-4463

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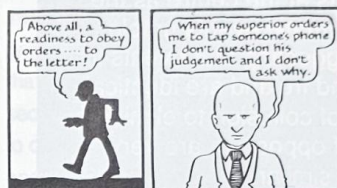


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Two political scandals involving state terrorism have been unfolding in the media. The horror of the Boipatong massacre reinforced Amnesty International's report on the South African military and political conspiracy with Inkatha, and government collusion in political killings remains at the centre as the country's traumatic events unfold. We are not suggesting that events in South Africa and Ireland are identical. But the tactics of collusion to eliminate the forces of opposition are very similar.

In Britain the continuing revelations of British military collaboration with loyalist death squads to assassinate political opponents have been little more than mildly embarrassing. No government 'spin doctor' seems to have been given the task of refuting the detailed allegations of jailed British army agent Brian Nelson. Indeed, that bastion of democracy the Great British Media, have taken months to disseminate information, and have packaged as "revelations" information which they knew from the beginning of the year. While some journalists have proffered (delayed) "shock" at Nelson's story, any serious observer of British tactics in Ireland will have been, like their South African counterparts, fully aware of this particular facet of low-intensity warfare for years.

The South African regime, which makes no pretence at democratic standards, is in the public dock for its dirty war. In Britain a regime claiming to be democratic succeeds in keeping its dirty war out of the public eye.

M15: The Enemy Within

The Home Office decision to switch responsibility for counter terrorism from the Special Branch to M15 has far-reaching implications argues **Mike Belbin**.

The Special Branch was formed in 1883 as the Special Irish Branch to deal with the perceived threat of the Irish republican organisation Clann naGael, based in the USA. The branch is concerned with criminal and political threats to domestic 'stability'. In theory it is accountable to parliament. M15 is part of the defence services dealing with 'defence of the realm', espionage and sabotage by foreign powers. It has also concerned itself with so-called enemies within like the trade union movement, CND and the IRA. M15 has no powers of arrest and is not subject to parliamentary scrutiny.

M15's new role can also be understood in a much wider context, as one more stage in the long growth of the counter-insurgent state.

Surveillance

Since 1966 the British police have run a system of 'collators' in every region whose job is to collect all

information reaching the police and feed it into the police national computer at Hendon. This includes details of vehicles and homes not only of convicted offenders but also of members of protest groups, those attending gay clubs, owners of cars parked near demonstrations, hunt saboteurs, etc.

In 1975 a national network of linked police computers was installed, so speeding up transfer and exchange of data on 'suspect' individuals. In 1979 a Home Office report on the Manchester police force's computer centre advised that *"the present political climate is not favourable to the retention of such data (collators' records) on police computers... (when it) may most be required it could be under conditions of the severest threat"*, and suggested installing the computer in 'hardened' facilities as proof against a popular uprising. M15 has its own computer, the Joint Computer Bureau, which has a storage

capacity to hold data on 20 million people. M15 is well known for its information gathering activities in all parts of England, Scotland and Wales. Much of this information is wrong, and a number of cases illustrate what might happen when M15 gets going on 'anti-terrorist' activities in Britain. In the 1980's CND chair Joan Ruddock appeared in M15 files as "a contact of a hostile intelligence service" because she happened to give an interview to a Soviet journalist. Cathy Ashton, a Christian CND executive member, was classified as a "communist sympathiser". M15 and Special Branch have also collaborated on surveillance affecting workers' job prospects. In September 1978 a film company employing Jan Martin was contracted to make PR films for Taylor Woodrow. Martin was told she would not be permitted on their premises as she was a "security risk". Her father, a former Scotland Yard officer, was able to discover that Special Branch and M15 both had files accusing her of "a connection with terrorists in Europe, Baader-Meinhof". In fact while she had been travelling in the Netherlands someone thought her husband resembled a photo of one of the group which was circulating at the time. The car number was noted and this, her name and

"while marxism has been called a philosophy of the 19th century, counter-insurgency is definitely a philosophy of the 20th"

National Insurance number ended up on file, to be unearthed later by Taylor Woodrow's vetting procedure.

In Northern Ireland of course virtually every member of the nationalist community is in the army computer system located at Lisburn HQ. Information that has since ended up in the possession of loyalist paramilitaries. Like the name of Declan McDaid supplied by British agent Brian Nelson in May 1988 which resulted in the killing of Terry McDaid, Declan's brother.

Counter-insurgency

In the early '70s M15's own view of who was behind the deteriorating situation in the six counties was revealed when army disinformation officer Colin Wallace released M15 material. This spoke of "Civil unrest, political violence and industrial disputes in Britain engineered by the Soviet Union through Labour activist and left-wing organisations". The material concluded that behind the Labour Party's lack "of moral courage in

dealing with the unrest" in Ireland must lie "deep rooted causes" - namely the desire to see a "red shamrock Irish workers' republic".

In the counter-insurgent imagination, subversives and terrorists are minorities that would cause large sections of the population to oppose the government and threaten social order.

British counter-insurgency expert Brigadier Frank Kitson foresaw in 1971 that "If a genuine and serious grievance arose, such as might result from a significant drop in standard of living, all those who now dissipate their protest over a wide variety of causes might concentrate their efforts and produce a situation which is beyond the capacity of the police to handle. Should this happen the army would be required to restore the position rapidly". (Low-Intensity Operations 1971).

Robert Moss outlined in *The Collapse of Democracy* (1975) another strategy: "Britain need not be governed in fear of strikes, with adequate preparations accumulation of stocks of coal and oil.... and with an

intelligent political education campaign, a determined government can survive even a general strike."; This of course came to pass in the Miners Strike of 1984/5.

While Marxism has recently been called a philosophy of the 19th century, counter-insurgency is definitely a philosophy of the 20th. It is a response in a time of continuing and worsening inequalities to rising expectations and challenge. Counter-insurgency is concerned not only with simple and brutal repression (the old 'barbaric' way) but also with the strategic processing of information.

Bringing the war home

With the extension of the M15 brief to include 'domestic' anti-IRA operations, it is time to stop thinking in terms of 'emergency powers' in Ireland and police powers in Britain. What differences exist between security policing there and here will lessen. The state has an arsenal of techniques and a strategic philosophy for dealing with rebellious parts of the population. The six counties are the forge in which these strategies are fashioned.

So much for the containment policy which ideologically observed the separation between the 'emergency over there' and 'routine policing' over here.

"Getting the Message Across"

"Against a background of grim political developments in both Ireland and Britain the past year is a record of real success for the Troops Out Movement."

With these words Troops Out Movement Chair, Richard Stanton, opened the Annual General Meeting in South London on the week-end of 12-13 June.

Outlining the political context in which we have been operating over the year, he went on to describe how the "war in Ireland has continued at a fierce pace, accompanied by the full gamut of repression including state assassinations, extradition, torture and a grim toll of loyalist sectarian murder... In British political terms, this year has seen the long retreat of the organised left, culminating in Major's electoral triumph. In the upper echelons of the official labour movement, the response to political weakness has been to line up still more closely with the establishment - not least, of course, on Ireland... And of course the establishment in both Britain and Ireland have - with supreme cynicism - been making maximum use of the ideology of European integration to try and rationalise the division of Ireland and Britain's violent colonial presence in the North."

Campaigning themes

In workshops and debate Troops Out Movement members spent two days reviewing the activities of the past year and planning campaigns for the coming year. Reflecting on the year's activity members were able to point to a high level of campaigning work both locally and centrally. Highlights included the annual delegation to Ireland, the launch of the War, Peace and Self Determination campaign with the pamphlet *In Whose Name*, a successful demonstration to mark the 20th anniversary of Bloody Sunday and a lively locally-based general election campaign. Hard and consistent work has led the Troops Out Movement to be recognised by large sections of the left and mainstream media as the main British-based campaign for withdrawal from Ireland. It is a responsibility that T.O.M. members took seriously in recognising the need to strengthen internal organisation and to prioritise expanding membership. Although the political situation clearly poses an enormous challenge, members and delegates enthusiastically endorsed a set of fresh campaigns for the coming period. Plans to develop the War Peace and Self-Determination campaign were prioritised with a development of the campaign under the theme 'Democracy and the Unionist Veto'. The

motivation for the campaign came from a recognition that sections of the labour movement and self-proclaimed 'pro-democracy' forces explain their continued support for a unionist block on the future of Ireland by giving the majority in the North a veto over future constitutional arrangements.

It was pointed out that the veto has led to an inevitable block to discussion and to tacit support for the continuation of partition within the labour and trade union movement as well as more widely. By challenging this false claim to democracy members agreed to work to break the consensus which continues to form a barrier to progress. Our aim during the campaign will be to promote a change of policy within other organisations in support of national self-determination for Ireland.

Looking to the future

The conference noted that August 1994 will mark the 25th anniversary of the redeployment of British troops on the streets of Northern Ireland. Unanimous support was given for a motion to instruct steering committee to formulate plans, in consultation with members and other interested organisations, for a major campaign to coincide with this anniversary year. Our campaigning work during the next 18 months will be built around working towards a major initiative in 1994.

The established work of

the Troops Out Movement was not forgotten though. The importance of branch organisation was re-emphasised and priority was given within the human rights campaign to work on plastic bullets and censorship. Conference also welcomed the re-formation of the Women in the Troops Out Movement group.

Mudiad Milwyr Ms

The AGM fully endorsed the launch this summer of a new, separate Wales Troops Out Movement, Mudiad Milwyr Ms, which will work to further the demand for British withdrawal from Ireland within Wales. The need for close contact and co-ordination of work between the Troops Out Movement and Mudiad Milwyr Ms was agreed by both organisations. A joint statement said: "Troops Out Movement members in Wales have for many years played an active part in building the campaign for an end to British rule in Ireland. Wales T.O.M. branches believe it is now time for that campaign to develop independently in Wales. As an autonomous movement, Mudiad Milwyr Ms (Wales Troops Out Movement) will, we believe, attract many people who see parallels between self-determination for their country and the demand for Irish self-determination."

This move can only strengthen both movements. We look forward to co-ordinating our campaigning efforts against Britain's destructive presence in Ireland and to working alongside each other for our shared goals: Troops Out Now, and Self-Determination for the Irish People as a Whole."

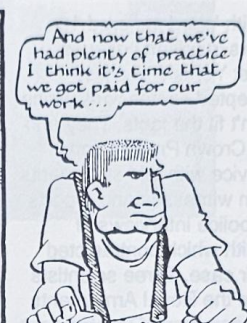
Mary Mason

Army picket

Film maker Ken Loach joined the Troops Out Movement picket of the London Army recruitment centre on 21 May. The picket was called to highlight cases of misconduct by soldiers in the six counties, in particular the assaults by members of the parachute regiment on the people of Coalisland. Later a dossier was handed in to 10 Downing St of press cuttings cataloguing the stepping-up of military repression since the general election.

A Troops Out Movement spokesperson commented: "In a period in which the government has sought to re-assure the public that it did its best to get the truth of the Gulf friendly fire incident, members of the public must wonder how the deaths we have highlighted have been given so little attention and the harassment and injuries inflicted on civilians so obscured. We call on the government to pursue peace, not war, in Ireland and to end this nightmare."

One of the victims of the Coalisland army riot, Fergal O'Donnell, later met three labour MPs in the House of Commons to brief them on the behaviour of soldiers in his area over recent months. On his return home Fergal was stopped and held under the PTA at Heathrow. He was later released.



Penal colony

Two soldiers from the First Battalion of the Welsh Guards were convicted of a "brutal" assault on a civilian in a street in Wales in late April. But the court recorder freed them for "valuable service to the community" - a two-and-a-half year tour of duty in Northern Ireland. A British Army spokesperson later confirmed that such 'sentences' were not unusual in British courts. Commenting on the case, Harry Fletcher, Assistant General Secretary of the National Association of Probation Officers (NAPO), told Troops Out the court's equation of army service in Northern Ireland with prison punishment in Britain "does seem a perverse reasoning and logic".

Richard Stanton, Chair of the Troops Out Movement,

commented: "some judges apparently think that being a convicted thug is quite compatible with a soldier going off to play his 'vital role' in Northern Ireland. So much for the myth of the British Army as peacekeeper. The Troops Out Movement has often pointed out that Northern Ireland is ruled as a colony. We are shocked to hear a judge openly admit that it's now seen as a penal colony. Could there be any clearer signal to soldiers that they can get away with any brutality provided they are due to serve Britain's security force in Northern Ireland?"

T.O.M in Mayfair

It's not often T.O.M. gets invited to speak by a body whose President is the Duke of Edinburgh. But on 6 May the English Speaking Union invited T.O.M. chair Richard Stanton to speak in a public debate in support of the motion that "there

can be no British solution in Northern Ireland".

Proposing was anti-imperialist historian Geoff Bell.

Founded in the 1920s to promote the English language (ie imperial culture) across the world, the ESU is based in a Mayfair mansion.

The main speaker against was unionist MP David Trimble - on the surface a calm lawyer but increasingly wild as the debate progressed, informing us for instance that since Britain left the 26 counties its protestant community had been 'liquidated'.

He was supported by the political secretary of the Monday Club, whose speech climaxed with a call for 'terrorists' to be hanged. But to the ESU's credit, it was an open debate, with a reasonably mixed audience. They seemed to listen seriously to what Geoff and I were saying."

The 'no British solution' was carried.

Strip Searches



"The most horrific sexual abuse is that which takes place in your own home and

unfortunately the women in Maghaberry have to live there. They have to face the perpetrators every day."

A meeting in North London last month were shocked by Veronica Martin's description of the strip-searching she suffered while in the prison. Her daughter was also strip-searched in the attacks on 21 women republicans in Maghaberry on 2 March. A psychologist who visited Maghaberry later found the women suffering from post-rape trauma.

"Strip-searching has nothing to do with security", pointed out Jeremy Corbyn MP, and no strip-search has ever found anything which breached security."

Veronica Martin said of the Maghaberry assaults: *"We had to fight them. Because if we didn't then it will be strip-searching in our own homes next during house raids. I am asking you now to support us, because it is your government that sanctions this."*

Women in Northern Ireland are collecting statements for a pamphlet on strip-searching, and asking for support from women's groups and trade unions. The meeting and press conference were jointly organised by Irish

Women's Defence Campaign, Box 68 - 59 Stoke Newington Church Street, London N16
Stop the Strip-Searching Campaign, PO Box 104, Sheffield 1;

Women in Troops Out Movement, PO Box 2803, London N5 1TN

Fycsene Shields

Conviction by ambush

"... A duty to ensure that all relevant evidence is either presented by the prosecution or made available to the defence."
Code of Conduct for the Bar, Attorney-General's Guidelines, 1981

Judith Ward suffered 18 years in prison because West Yorkshire police accepted confessions which didn't fit the facts. They and the Crown Prosecution Service withheld statements from witnesses and reports on police interviews of Judith which contradicted their case. Three scientists from the Royal Armaments Research and Development Establishment (RARDE) failed to reveal discrepancies in their test results and knowingly gave false evidence in court. So found the Court of Appeal which on 4 June overturned Judith Ward's conviction for causing explosions. Police, forensic scientists and the CPS were castigated for failure to disclose information. But were the judges right in asserting that "our law does not tolerate a conviction to be secured by ambush"?

Danny McNamee

In 1987 Danny McNamee was sentenced to 25 years' imprisonment for conspiracy to cause explosions. Lord Lane (the then Chief Justice) turned down his application for an appeal last year, banning the possibility of appeal to the House of Lords in the process (see Troops Out, April '91). The European Court of Human Rights also rejected his case.

The prosecution failed to tell the defence or the Court of Appeal that the fingerprints

on a circuit board were those of Dessie Ellis - serving a prison sentence in the South of Ireland at the time (see Troops Out, Nov-Dec 1991).

RARDE tried to prevent Danny's solicitors in his appeal application from knowing that they had recorded a fingerprint on a battery three days before the date of an explosion in Hyde Park in which the prosecution said the battery had been used. Forced in court to explain this, RARDE said it was an "administrative error" - and this was good enough for Lord Lane.

Fingerprints were the only evidence against Danny, whose employment in Dundalk involved handling batteries and other electrical and electronic goods.

In the wake of the ruling in Judith Ward's appeal, Danny McNamee's solicitor Jane Deighton has written to the new Director of Public Prosecutions Barbara Mills, demanding immediate access to all the prosecution files from her client's trial and appeal application. The Birmingham Six and Jeremy Corbyn MP have joined with many others urging that his case be re-opened.

For more information contact:

Danny McNamee Support Group
PO Box 447
London SW9 8BW

How many more?

Eight hundred cases of likely miscarriages of justice are currently being examined by Department

C3 of the Home Office, among them the Darvell brothers, one of whom was already known as a confessor to crimes he did not commit.

* Guildford solicitors have only recently been able to get hold of prison records which are crucial to their clients' compensation claims.

* Sir John May's enquiry into the Guildford Four convictions is yet to begin; it cannot open until the delayed trials of the police involved have been completed.

* Meanwhile the Royal Commission set up after the Birmingham Six were freed is likely to report early next year. That's probably before the May enquiry has got under way, so the Guildford Four case won't be considered by the Commission.

The Royal Commission will look into the matter of scientific evidence, and meanwhile all that is needed is to convey to government forensic scientists that they have a duty of neutrality, and to prosecutors that they should be fully aware of the Attorney-General's Guidelines.

But the guidelines on disclosure of information which they quoted were drawn up in 1981: how many more people have to suffer years of imprisonment because they are ignored? Can we expect to see the DPP bring charges of conspiracy to pervert the course of justice against those agents of the state castigated in the Ward appeal

Liz Deane



Terror act trial ordeal

Kate McGee has served over two months in Durham jail after detention under the Prevention of Terrorism Act on 13 April. Twenty-nine people were held in nationwide armed swoops following the killing of soldier Sergeant Newman in Derby. Twenty-seven were released without charge and one person was given a six-week sentence for wasting police time. Kate was charged with failure to disclose information and impeding the arrest or prosecution of person or persons unknown.

The second charge was dropped in the magistrate's court on 19 June. The prosecution said they would introduce evidence at her committal proceedings on 26 June that Kate "had knowledge" of who the three "perpetrators" of the killing are, and had failed to tell the police. They named the three (whom they haven't found - but assume guilty). So far not a shred of evidence has been presented to back the

charges against Kate.

During her detention Kate has lost two stone, suffering from shock and particular distress by being parted from her six-year-old son. She was allowed a phone call to a relative to explain her circumstance only on the ninth day, and on condition she did not reveal where she was being detained. Her small son is too disturbed by these events to go and visit his mother in prison. Bricks have been thrown through the windows of Kate's home.

In the hearing on 19 June it took the magistrates an hour to decide whether Kate should be allowed out on bail. They agreed - on condition that she reports to the police three times a day, and does not "interfere with witnesses" - ie talk with her neighbours.

But that didn't mean Kate left custody: at the behest of the prosecution two sureties which had been agreed at £5,000 each were doubled. And the prosecution grilled one of

the people willing to grant surety: What would her husband think of their home standing as security? Was she being a responsible wife and mother if she travelled from Nottingham to visit Kate when she got home to Derby?

Kate was returned to Durham jail pending the police carrying out checks on both her sureties.

In a bizarre scenario the police arranged for Kate's boyfriend to meet her in the police station on the morning of the hearing. The prosecution then objected to this: he is being called as a witness and so should have no contact with Kate.

The public gallery was packed at the hearing, and included representatives from Derby Trades Council and a travellers group. Kate is clearly being made a hostage to the Irish community and needs solidarity and support. Letters complaining about the abuse of police procedures should be

forwarded to:
Director of Public Prosecutions
4/12 Queen Anne's Gate
London SW1 9AZ
It will be very helpful if copies of correspondence are sent to Kate's solicitor:
Gareth Peirce
Birnberg and Co
14 Inverness Street
London NW1
Kate is not the only person receiving this sort of treatment.
For more information contact:
PTA Research & Welfare Association
PO Box 817
Camp Hill
Birmingham B11 4AF

Bernie Hynes
Leicester TOM

Rights Denied

The Population Crisis Committee, a monitoring group which advises the United Nations, reports that the British human rights record in Ireland is worse than almost every other country in Western Europe.

British/Irish Rights Watch has been formed to monitor the effects of the conflict in Ireland on human rights in England, Scotland and Wales. The Watch will send observers to trials, conferences etc, investigate miscarriages of justice, monitor existing and new legislation and provide other services. Sponsors include Helena Kennedy QC and Michael Mansfield QC.
British/Irish Rights Watch
95 Hillbrook Road,
London SW17 8SF
tel. 071-436 0964, fax 071-436 1318

Churches, Choices and Partition

The coalition government in Ireland has undertaken to carry out a referendum on the question of a woman's right to information on abortion. Obscured to many in England, Scotland and Wales is the fact that abortion is illegal throughout the whole island of Ireland. Partition created two states in which the position of respective churches predominated. *Troops Out* asked Andree Murphy, a freelance Irish writer, to examine the controversy from the perspective of Irish women.

They said it couldn't happen. It was a fiction, a nightmare scenario. When the so-called 'pro-life' amendment to the 26-county Constitution was put forward and ultimately passed in 1983, we were told that no woman would have an injunction placed on her to prevent her from travelling to Britain to have an abortion. The amendment would not lead to censorship of information surrounding the option of abortion.

In the years following the amendment prosecutions and threats of them have led to a situation where British magazines like *Cosmopolitan* print special editions for the 26 counties featuring a blank page instead of the advertisements for private abortion clinics which appear in the 'UK' and European editions. Students have been dragged through the courts and had injunctions placed on them for daring to distribute information on abortion to the members of their unions.

The now infamous "X" case made the nightmare scenario a reality and realised women's worst fears. This case involved the Attorney-General placing an injunction on a 14-year-old rape victim to prevent her travelling to England to terminate a pregnancy brought about by the rape. This injunction was quite legal under the terms of the amendment. The real problem is that since the passing of the amendment no government has had the moral courage to legislate provisions to enshrine the amendment in law.

Two weeks of outrage from most of the women of the country,

dithering silence from Reynold's government and paralysed silence from the 'pro-life' lobby followed the injunction. In the end, the establishment, in the name of the Supreme Court, wangled its way out of the mess by ruling that in fact the amendment allowed abortion when continuation of a pregnancy constituted a real threat to a woman's life.

This decision brought the regiments of reaction back to life. Their immediate response was to call for a new referendum outlawing abortion in any circumstances whatsoever. The bigots were enraged: no matter how horrific the circumstances, no woman should have the right to seek termination of her pregnancy. For the extreme right, their state must be a strictly abortion-free haven.

It then emerged that at the behest of its erstwhile 'pro-life' friends, the Fianna Fail government had secretly inserted a protocol into the Maastricht Treaty, protecting the amendment from interference by the EC ad infinitum. But the Supreme Court was now saying that referendum could allow abortion in certain circumstances. It suddenly dawned on the bigots that their planned master stroke had back-fired. The government then succeeded in alienating both the 'pro-life' and 'pro-choice' groups by insisting on holding the Maastricht referendum before bringing forward any legislation on abortion. Both groups called for a No vote in the referendum, and for a while the government's pro-Maastricht campaign looked like coming perilously close to the brink of failure.

The irony in all this is that abortion exists in Ireland, and every week many Irish women are having an abortion. Women who choose to terminate their pregnancy will continue to do so, regardless of the now inevitable further referendum on the issue. For many Irish women abortion is the only alternative open to them, despite the fact that they have to travel out of the country to obtain one. Each year over 4,000 women travel to Britain for abortions, giving addresses in the 26 counties. The real number is much higher: many give false addresses because of the climate of fear in their own country.

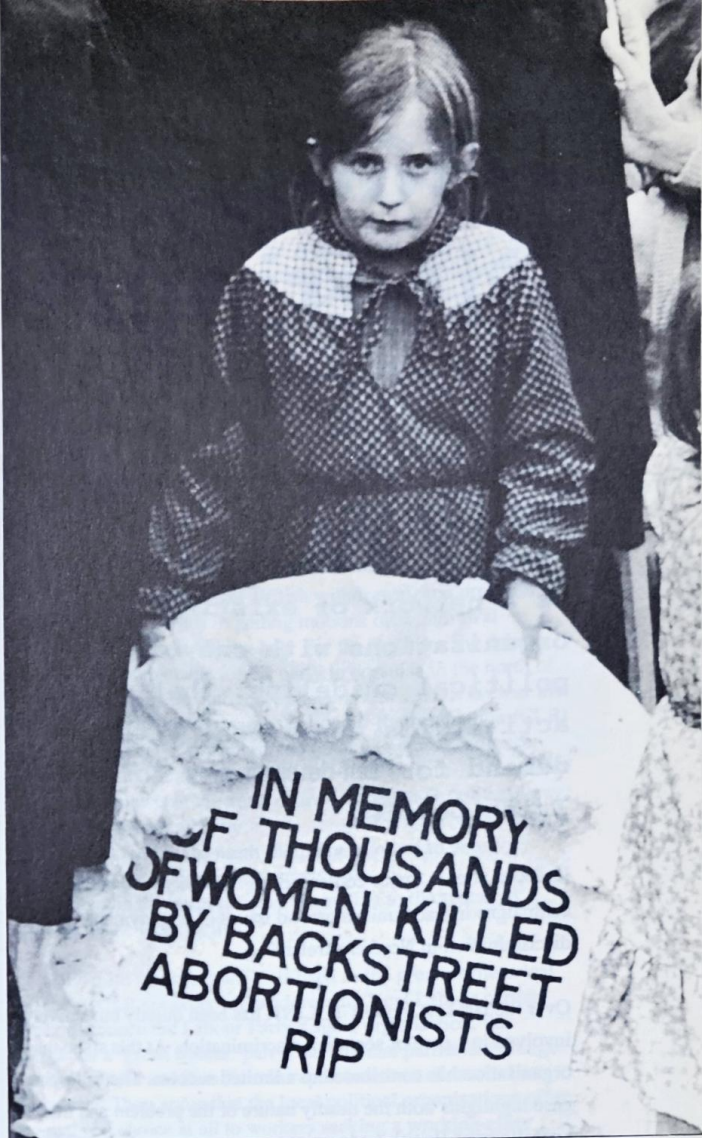
In the north of Ireland abortion is obtainable only in very limited medical circumstances, and while information is available, the controversy surrounding the establishment of Brook Advisory Clinics in the six counties shows that there is a climate of secrecy and denial there as well. Whilst limited abortion rights were legalised in the UK in 1967, local protestant presbyterian and catholic church hierarchies united to ensure that the act was never extended to northern Ireland. And again last year churches unionist parties and the Social Democratic and Labour Party combined to oppose the establishment of Brooke Advisory Clinics for women in northern Ireland.

Neither side of the border has faced its responsibilities on the implications of a woman's fertility or of sexuality itself. Both states lie in the shadow of powerful and pervasive churches. While there is no denying that such pressures are waning, the churches in both societies still wield powerful influence. Moral issues cannot be considered realistically and positively.

Last year, amid much debate on the AIDS virus, the Dublin government came under pressure to relax contraceptive laws after the Virgin group was told by the courts to discontinue the supply of condoms through its record stores. The government dithered, and while people young and old, male and female, were laying themselves and each other open to risk of catching the virus, the government decided to deny 16-year-olds the right to buy condoms. And it figured that the population just couldn't cope with rubbers in pub toilets.

Partition has brought about this situation. It has led to 'catholic/protestant states for catholic/protestant people'. Religious dogma has superseded care and respect for the individual. For women this is a matter of life and death. James Connolly predicted a "carnival of reaction" if partition was enforced, and he has been proved only too right. For Irish women as a whole, and not only for northern nationalists, the "carnival" goes on.

If one good thing has come from the sordid row about abortion,



it is that public opinion has been made to face the issue in a different way. The 'pro-life' groups no longer hold a monopoly on the debate. The full extent of sexual abuse of women and children has started to emerge in the last few years, and we have all had to confront the implications. The terrible "X" case showed one of the consequences of sexual abuse: unwanted pregnancy. With greater understanding, people can now see that abortion is not a simple right or wrong issue. The population as a whole has started to recognise that life is more than mere existence, that women are more than the means of facilitating the birth of another organism. Quality of life has started to enter the debate: do women have the right to a fulfilling life? While the 'pro-life' groups may shout loud, the debate has started in homes across Ireland, and we as women can only hope that as a people we have the courage and compassion to face the reality of life for women, rather than continue to pretend that life is simple, with no complex decisions to be made.

Andree Murphy

Deadly Discrimination

TULINK (Trade Union and Labour Ireland Network) was formed last year by labour movement activists as a network of existing organisations with one basic political guideline: that its activity is consistent with the demand for self-determination for the Irish people.

Its focus after a major conference in February is to build campaigns in trade unions around issues of employment discrimination in Northern Ireland.

Over the last few months TULINK has been quietly but actively involved in a case of sectarian discrimination. At this stage the organisation has contributed to a limited success. The following case highlights both the deadly nature of the problem and the complicity of British trade unions.

The case concerns a firm which has factories in Britain and Northern Ireland. News of it came through the Irish community in Britain and was confirmed by office workers in one of the British factories. A woman they did business with on the 'phone in a Northern Ireland plant had disappeared from her job. People there would not explain to office workers in Britain what had happened, and it was spoken of in hushed tones. The story finally became known within the company and TULINK was contacted.

A woman office worker, one of the few Catholics in the office, had been told that her husband, who worked in the plant, would be executed unless she gave up her job and made way for a Protestant. A notice had been posted on the factory wall giving their names, home addresses and car registration number and threatening that if she did not comply he would be shot.

The workforce is fully unionised, with four British unions - the TGWU, the AEU, MSF and the TGWU staff section.

However, senior union reps in the plant were known to take part in Orange Order marches, and did not lift a finger to help their members facing this most vicious discrimination and death threat. Local full-time officials were also informed of the situation but later denied they knew.

The order for discrimination allegedly came from senior members of the management, including the chief of plant security.

The couple then went sick (paid by the company) and were under police guard. They could trust this to some extent as they were known not to be in any way connected to the republican movement.

This sort of situation has happened time and time again and usually ends in people saving their lives by giving up their jobs and swelling the ranks of the Catholic unemployed.

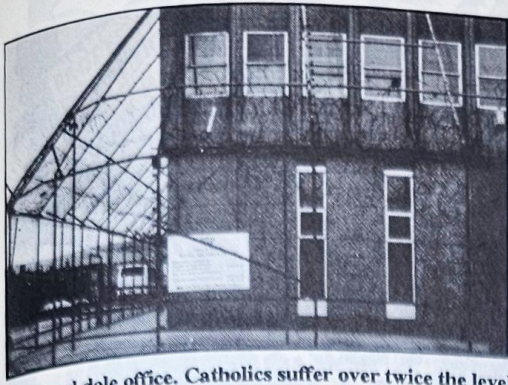
TULINK contacted the various union executives and equal opportunities officers (TU) in Britain. TULINK also wrote to the company and its equal opportunities manager. The convenor of the Irish plant was contacted and a number of MPs asked to help while observing the couple's wishes for no publicity.

After a few months of the pressure building up on the company, unions and Irish union reps, union people in the north with connections to the loyalist para-militaries managed to get the death threat lifted. The couple have moved home, changed their car and are now back at work. However, they still live and work in fear of assassination and all because they have a different religion from pro-British bigots.

It is high time that British unions faced up to the rampant discrimination, aided and abetted through their own organisations. The campaign by union activists to raise the question of economic apartheid in Northern Ireland is gaining force.

For further information

contact TULINK, PO Box 2803, London N5 1TN



Falls Road dole office. Catholics suffer over twice the levels of unemployment

Manufacturing and Science Federation (MSF) Conference report

The Associated Staffs for a United Ireland (ASUI) is a group of individual MSF members from all over the 'UK' who campaign for British withdrawal from the north of Ireland, and for union policy supporting Irish unity and independence. Their resolution on involving the union in combatting discrimination in Northern Ireland was resoundingly defeated. The Irish region and the NEC combined to oppose what ASUI supporters had seen as a soft motion. Last year's conference passed a resolution which sought to end Britain's role in Ireland. The 1991 resolution had an effect on the Northern Ireland membership and the Irish delegates, and this year they were in no mood to repeat the experience.

The Irish delegates claimed the resolution insulted their integrity and failed to recognise the hard work put in by northern Irish members to implement the union's equal opportunities policy. No indication was given of the actual work done or what had been achieved.

What can ASUI learn from this experience? Given the importance MSF has given to anti-discrimination policies, there is considerable scope for ASUI supporters to pursue the issue through questions and resolutions at any time. A well thought-out campaign over the next two years could build the base for a similar resolution to win next time. Active involvement is the best guarantee ASUI has of greater success.

ASUI is making progress. Northern Ireland, like South Africa, continues to be a subject of debate at conference. The more delegates are exposed to the nature of the Northern Ireland state, the better chance there is of them realising Britain's withdrawal as the only viable long-term political solution.

ASUI/MSF

Should the Labour party organise in the north of Ireland

An example of the effects of the general right-wing shift in the labour movement leadership is the attempt to extend Labour Party organisation to the north of Ireland. For example, in April this year the AEUU National Committee passed a resolution in support of organising the **Labour Party In Northern Ireland**. It came from loyalist sympathisers in the six counties. In the past this has been more-or-less defeated. This year was different: the executive did not firmly oppose the move, and the left was badly splintered. So there was some 'progressive' voting in support of the motion, using the 'elect Labour at all costs' argument.

" Last year's Labour Party conference was something of a watershed for supporters of British withdrawal, and progress made during the 1980s in getting motions on withdrawal debated came to a juddering halt. For the first time the debate was dominated by calls for the party to organise in the north of Ireland. Although this move was heavily defeated, it is clear that its supporters in the Campaign for Labour Representation (CLR) are becoming better organised and obtaining a new audience.

The main arguments put by CLR are:

1. Trade unionists in the north of Ireland pay their political levy to the British Labour Party
2. The electorate in the north should be allowed to vote for parties that may become the government
3. Workers in the north have no alternative to the sectarian politics of the local parties

It is this third argument which is used to the greatest rhetorical effect by CLR speakers when addressing local Labour parties. They denounce the Labour Party's sister organisation, the SDLP, as a 'green bosses' party, the unionist parties as 'orange bosses' parties and Sinn Féin as representatives of 'sectarian terrorists'. They argue that the local political organisations offer no real choice at all to workers seeking a working-class party, and what is needed is a real Labour Party just like the British one.

But what attitude should a supporter of British withdrawal in Britain take to the demand for labour representation? The answer must be no. The Labour Party could organise in the north of Ireland only because the British army is holding the region as a last fragment of the British empire. Of course there is a long tradition in the British labour movement that British is best, but this is little more than a reflection of imperial history.

The supporters of the CLR are adept at exploiting the near complete absence of an anti-imperialist current in either the Labour Party or the unions, and offer the benefits of British civilisation to the benighted Irish. With the present weakness of the Labour left and the absence of a strong voice calling for withdrawal inside the party, the CLR will be pushing on open doors in the immediate future. They are arguing for unionism through the back door in the party and in the trade unions and we must challenge them at every opportunity.

We must put the case that Ireland needs less British involvement of this type, not more and that the Irish are as capable as anyone else of creating their own political parties. "

Liam Mac Uaid

Loyalism and British fascists

In this second article **Mark Hayes** examines the links between fascists in England and loyalists in the north of Ireland.

In the last issue of *Troops Out* I contended that loyalism, having developed a dynamic of its own, represents a distinctly reactionary political ideology. Indeed militant loyalism clearly displays features prevalent in the more classical forms of fascism: abrasive and vulgar patriotism; arrogant cultural supremacism; persecution of outgroups; authoritarianism; intolerance; pseudo-democratic populist practices; anti-socialism/liberalism and so on. Given that extreme loyalism is characterised by such elements it is not surprising that British fascist groups have sought to establish and maintain close links with various loyalist organisations.

British fascists have played only a peripheral role in British politics. After brief prominence of the British Union of Fascists under Oswald Mosley in the inter-war years, the history is of abject failure. Each tiny group competes with the others for the fickle loyalties of racial bigots and football hooligans. Since the war, the most 'effective' fascist organisation has been the National Front, formed in 1967. From its inception the NF recognised that in the six counties it would have an opportunity to exert an influence in a much more favourable political atmosphere.

From the outset of the present period of 'troubles' the NF has been vigorous in its unconditional support for intransigent loyalism: for the NF the link with Britain had to be retained at all costs. In accordance with this objective the NF congratulated the paratroopers after the Bloody Sunday massacre in 1972; gave fulsome support to the Ulster Workers Council which wrecked the 'power sharing executive' in 1974; and established permanent offices in Belfast. Militant loyalists, for their part, gave the fascists an appropriately cordial reception. The arrival of the NF in Belfast was welcomed by the Ulster Volunteer Force in the pages of its magazine *Combat* which expressed the fervent hope that the NF would "go from strength to strength". Throughout the 1970s, although preoccupied with electoral strategies in Britain, the NF consolidated its contacts with loyalists in the six counties.

In 1979, after a disastrous general election performance, the NF split, with leader John Tyndall leaving to form his own group. Yet communications was maintained between loyalist and various fascist organisations. For example, prominent fascist Steve Brady had personal contact with Ulster Defence Association leader Andy Tyrie in the early 1980s. Brady, using his experience as overseas liaison officer for the fascist League of St George, sought to provide the UDA with useful contacts in Europe. In May 1980 Brady wrote a detailed letter suggesting a number of organisations with whom the UDA could fruitfully establish relations. These included the Italian fascist terrorist group Ordine Nuovo, Turkey's notorious 'Grey Wolves', and even a Waffen SS veterans' association!

Meanwhile the NF continued its steadfast support for the loyalist cause. Its 1983 manifesto called for the full integration of Northern Ireland into the 'UK'. In a 'Statement of Policy' in 1985 the NF maintained that "*Northern Ireland must remain part of the UK for all time, regardless of cost, population changes in the province, or any apparent shift in opinion there. There can be no compromise of this principle and no talk of power sharing.... We call for a war without restraint against the IRA and similar groups....*" Loyalists no doubt welcomed such unequivocal support.

After the signing of the Anglo-Irish agreement in 1985 the NF put extra effort and resources into its work on Northern Ireland. With loyalists believing that the Agreement was the first step on the road to wholesale capitulation by the British government, the NF saw an opportunity to play a more influential role by exploiting an extremely volatile situation.

However, by 1986 the NF was split once more as latent personal and ideological antagonism surfaced again. The NF was, in effect, taken over by self-proclaimed 'national revolutionaries' who adhered, broadly, to the so-called 'third position'. This 'theory' was adopted by the radical fascist Strasserites in opposition to Hitler, and was expounded as a supposedly 'radical' alternative to capitalism and communism. The new



WE'LL HAVE NO TRUCK WITH THE MEN OF VIOLENCE

leadership of Derek Holland, Nick Griffin and Patrick Harrington aimed to transform the NF into an elitist party of clandestine 'political soldiers'. Amidst great acrimony they expelled what they termed the 'reactionary tory' element led by Martin Wingfield and Ian Anderson. The ousted fascists went on to form 'The Flag' group. It is clear from the NF's Directorate Report in 1986 that disagreements over the future of 'Ulster' played a critical role in precipitating the split. The new self-styled 'political warriors' urged greater support for militant loyalism, attacked the unionist establishment and advocated UDI for 'Ulster'. As the Directorate put it: *"It was essential that the NF be seen firmly on the side of the nation in its struggle against the state"*. In the March 1986 edition of *Nationalism Today*, Nick Griffin had written that *"the situation in Ulster is fast becoming revolutionary. If things develop as they easily could and if we influence them as we easily should, then our British revolution will start in Ulster. The situation in Ulster represents the best opportunity for a genuine national revolution anywhere in Europe. History beckons us..."*. The NF, emphasising 'blood ties' with 'Ulstermen' looked forward to an unrestrained loyalist dictatorship as a staging-post on the way to fulfilling its grotesque racial nationalist fantasies. The NF did indeed make strenuous efforts to 'influence' events - full-time liaison officer John Fields made clear the NF's support for loyalist sectarianism, whilst British fascist thugs were transported over to join demonstrations against the Anglo-Irish Agreement.

Fortunately the expectations of the NF in the mid-1980s were not realised and events were soon to conspire against them. The adherence of the new leadership, superficially at least, to a more 'radical' philosophy led the NF into association with Qadafi's Libya. Copies of Qadafi's *Green Book* were distributed and

articles written in admiration of the Muslim fundamentalist regime in Iran! Such a stance was, naturally enough, difficult for loyalist groups to accept - the Qadafi connection sealed the NF's fate. In an extraordinarily perceptive and unusually articulate article in the UDA magazine *Ulster* (April 1989) entitled *'Qadafi's National Front: a lot of tossers'* the new 'radical' leaders were described as, among other things, 'loonies' and 'perverts'. The magazine made a point of distinguishing between the discredited leadership of the NF, and those conventional fascists who were ousted and formed 'The Flag'. This organisation, according to the same article, *"campaigns vociferously on Ulster's behalf"*. It would appear therefore that the UDA (among others) is still willing to accept fascist support and indeed in the recent past (according to anti-fascist magazine *Searchlight*) has made overtures toward Tyndall's British National Party.

That fascist groups are infatuated with loyalism should come as no shock, since there is an underlying similarity in their ideological outlooks. Fascist organisations have always received a sympathetic hearing in 'loyal Ulster'. Given the ideological proximity of loyalism to fascism the only real surprise is that organisational links are not more formal and extensive. The explanation for this lies perhaps in the excessive parochialism of loyalist organisations. What is disappointing is that the connection between loyalism and fascism has not been the subject of more sustained critical analysis.

As July progresses, any interested observer keen to understand the nature of politics in the six counties ought to take careful note, not only of loyalists on the march, but also of those who march beside them.

An agenda for peace

Continuing our series on how different political organisations seek a resolution to the conflict in the North of Ireland, we look at how the **Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP)** perceives the nature of the problem and its proposals for peace.

SDLP

For the SDLP it is because of the failure of unionists and nationalists to settle their ancient quarrel that decisions are now taken by others (direct rule from Westminster). In essence, the SDLP defines a conflict between two identities.

Any peace proposals must offer political structures which accommodate these differences and allow full and mutual expression of these two identities.

The SDLP also believes that the origins of the problem lie directly in the wider historical relationship between the two islands (Ireland and Britain) and that the ultimate resolution of the conflict can only come about within the framework of Anglo-Irish relations.

The SDLP sees the established political process and structures as the only legitimate course available to resolve the conflict: violence only creates division. The issue of the unionist veto is accepted and is seen as, "...a matter of fact, based

on numbers, geography and history...". Only a policy of dialogue and consensus can build on the achievements of the Anglo-Irish Agreement with its "formal recognition of the nationalist tradition."

The SDLP, quoting recent utterances made by Peter Brooke as evidence, believes Britain has adopted a neutral role and that it is now the responsibility of Irish

nationalists to persuade unionists to "...reach an accommodation with political nationalism on the island."

For the SDLP the problem must be addressed and resolved within the context of the three central relationships: within Northern Ireland, within the island of Ireland and between Britain and Ireland. The aspirations and loyalties of both

communities transcend the borders of northern Ireland. Thus Britain has a role to play in any subsequent political structure.

This is the core of the Social Democratic and Labour Party's proposals. Britain is seen as an ex-colonial neighbour ready to leave if only the unionists will adapt. The SDLP envisages more say for Dublin in an Executive Commission for the North, a diminished role for Westminster and a new European dimension to the settlement. Its proposals are seen as 'radical', Europe orientated, diametrically opposed to the unionists' internal settlement scenario. They see themselves as the most progressive force - their scenario for peace proposes political structures based on the Brussels' model and defines national borders as archaic, particularly economically. The SDLP 'identifies a need to "pool sovereignty" with regards to the European Parliament.

They point out that many officials working in Brussels are already referring to the whole of the island as the only viable economic entity. The SDLP believes that ultimately the political parties of the North of Ireland need to establish structures that recognise both 'traditions' and face the 'realities' of the European Community.

SDLP proposals Main points:

- 1: a. An Executive Commission that should..." reflect both the democratic preferences of the electorate in Northern Ireland and the key external relationships which must be catered for..."
b. 6 members: 3 elected from a 3-seat N.I. constituency, 1 member each, nominated separately by the British government, the Irish government and the European Community.
c. This Executive could lead the 6 departments of government to appoint ministers to handle the day to day running of them.
- 2: a. A Parliamentary Assembly based on the existing 17 N.I. constituencies and based on the model of the European Parliament.
b. It would have a consultative role, debate draft legislation, furnish opinions and exercise defined powers in relation to the budget.
- 3: a. There would also be, based on the European model and probably arising from Strand 2 of the talks, a North/South Council of Ministers aimed at the development of relationships between both parts of Ireland.
b. There would be a similar Council established between Ireland and Great Britain.

"Walk your talk" is a saying attributed to native North Americans, meaning action not words. 'People Against Rio Tinto Zinc' (Partizans) is all about walking your talk. The group was formed in 1978, at the request of Australian Aboriginal activists from Queensland, to campaign against the destructive actions of the world's largest mining company Rio Tinto Zinc (RTZ). Partizans monitors every aspect of the company's operations worldwide and reports on these in its quarterly magazine *Parting Company*. We also invite representatives from affected communities to put their case direct to the heads of RTZ. Partizans attend the company's AGMs as dissident shareholders - we hold one share each.

At these meetings questions about RTZ's environmental and human rights records are asked and the company challenged with regard to its ongoing projects. This is especially important as RTZ, like many companies, is changing its rhetoric, but not its practices, to cope with a more socially aware and 'green' public. At this year's AGM on 9 May there was a definite change in how chairman Derek Birkin dealt with occupying the hot seat. Gone was the more confrontational attitude of former chair

The Troops Out Movement offers a platform in *Troops Out* to anti-racist and anti-imperialist campaigns. Groups wishing to take advantage of this facility should contact *Troops Out* c/o Box 2803 London N5 1TN

Walk your talk

Alistair Frame, and a more placatory - some would say patronising - front was presented. Out with the fire and in with the flannel.

Our main task, however, is to see through this flannel into the truth of the matters brought up at the AGM. The main issue at this year's meeting was the Rossing uranium mine in Namibia.

RTZ manages Rossing, which has become synonymous with sanctions-busting, racism, poor environmental practices and questionable relationships between civil and military nuclear fuel suppliers. This year Greg Dropkin, author of the Partizans' jointly-published report *Rossing: Past Exposure*, took company documents on which the book was based to the meeting, but could not get Sir Derek to confirm whether they were authentic. This stone-walling meant Birkin would not

confirm whether the company had lied in public or not.

Whilst knowing the truth of the mine's health and safety record, Sir Derek covered up with bland statements on health and safety being "high priorities", and "any injury being one too many". He also asserted that there had been no known cases of radiation-related illnesses at Rossing. This has angered the Namibian Mineworkers Union, which has the names of injured workers.

Sir Derek certainly appeared to be worked up about the insults heaped upon his company and workers with regard to Rossing. He may simply be misinformed, but his blank refusal to confirm or deny the authenticity of the company documents makes one wonder. In fact,

his tacit confirmation of this, in stating that RTZ would be failing if it did not produce self-critical documents, not only adds to this speculation, but also begs the question of why these documents aren't made public. The workforce and the people living around Rossing have a right of access to documents that affect their lives, and maybe even their deaths, by the company and not only by publishers of books.

Rossing was only one issue of many brought up at the AGM, including local opposition to the Ladysmith mine in the US, the proposed Century lead/zinc mine in Australia and the failure to rehabilitate a closed tin mine in Canada. All these issues were dealt with through RTZ's more 'sophisticated' methods of deflecting criticism. It is scared by the growing popularity of such notions as the 'polluter pays' principle. Until the company prefers public debate to secrecy, we have to keep pressing hard to get them to walk their talk.

Contact us if you want to join in the worldwide struggle against RTZ. Partizans' meetings are open to all new members.

Partizans
218 Liverpool Road
London N1
tel: 071-609 1852

Dealing with hawks

Mitchel McLaughlin, Sinn Fein Ard Chomhairle (central committee) member and Derry councillor, gave the keynote address at the annual Wolfe Tone Society Bobby Sands/James Connolly commemoration in London. He spoke to *Troops Out* about Sinn Fein's perspectives in the aftermath of the general election.

TO: What is the Sinn Fein reaction to the loss of West Belfast?

MM: The symbolic importance of West Belfast has dominated the results and overshadowed an otherwise solid performance across the board. I'm more concerned about the organisational problems of keeping constituencies like Mid-Ulster and Fermanagh/South Tyrone in the long-term than West Belfast, where the results are explainable by an unusual alliance between unionism and SDLP voters. I'm more worried about the places where we have a good vote but poor organisation - I intend to do something about this.

TO: How does Sinn Fein break out of the talk's agenda set by the British?

MM: We will continue to point out that no British agenda, short of allowing the Irish people as a whole

to exercise their right to self-determination, can bring peace to Ireland. We will also point out that representatives of over 30% of the nationalist population in the six counties are not represented at these talks. The public perception will be that four parties are sitting down with the British and discussing the future of the North and that an essential ingredient is absent. The British can disengage in a manner that leaves behind a stable and democratic political structure if that structure includes all political viewpoints in Ireland, including Sinn Fein.

TO: Do you agree that the appointment of Mayhew and Mates represents a triumph for the 'hawks' over the 'doves' as far as policy making goes?

MM: Our experience is that we've always had to deal with the hawks. We haven't



encountered any doves in generations.

Mayhew and Mates, if they want to take the hard line, will get no further than their predecessors.

At the end of the day, they will come to the realisation that their policies haven't advanced the situation, in terms of the interests they have been elected for, or the interests of the people in Ireland.

Brooke sometimes has this image of being a softer form of British imperialism in Ireland, that somehow he had an understanding of the Irish situation - and represented a much more personable and sympathetic image. But on the ground, while promoting that image, he was actually toughening the Prevention of Terrorism Act. So I don't expect Mayhew to be any different and we'll defeat him as we've defeated the rest.

TO: What kind of international response is Sinn Fein hoping for to its peace proposal *Towards a lasting peace in Ireland*?

MM: We're going to put a major emphasis on marketing our peace programme internationally and already there's been a substantial launch in the USA.

A Monaghan District Councillor has just returned from a very extensive and successful tour in the States. He presented Sinn Fein's peace proposals and got a strong response from the political lobby and from the media. We have to back that up and follow it through.

In Europe, we've decided to establish a European office which will be the beginning of a major diplomatic offensive over the coming years.

Inquest fiasco

Media concern at the failure of American servicemen to give evidence in the Gulf war 'friendly fire' inquest contrasts sharply with the attention given to the reconvened inquest into the deaths of three unarmed IRA volunteers shot dead by an RUC unit in 1982. The inquest into the deaths of Gervais McKerr, Sean Burns and Eugene Toman is the most protracted in legal history. The controversy surrounding the killings, in which 109 bullets were fired into the victims' car, gave rise to the Stalker inquiry and the subsequent Samson report. The case became even more deeply



controversial when solicitor Pat Finucane won a judicial review of the coroner's handling of the inquest, and was shot dead after a statement from a government minister that *"some solicitors are unduly sympathetic to the IRA"*. Eleanor McKerr, wife of Gervais, has pursued a lengthy legal battle to force members of the RUC death squad to attend the inquest. In

1990 the House of Lords finally rejected Eleanor's case and the inquest is continuing without the attendance of the men who pulled the trigger. The inquest adjourned again at the beginning of June to consider further legal technicalities, but is expected to conclude soon. In the next issue of Troops Out Eleanor talks about her 10-year campaign to reveal the circumstances of her husband's death.

Prisoners' birthdays



Please remember to send birthday greetings to Irish political prisoners in British jails. Let them know they are not forgotten.

17th July
BRIAN KEENAN
B26380
HMP Full Sutton,
York YO4 1PS

28th July
TOMMY QUIGLEY
896204
HMP Full Sutton,
York YO4 1PS

2nd August
STEPHEN NORDONE
758663
HMP Gartree, Market
Harborough, Leicester
LE16 7RP

12th August
PAUL KAVANAGH
L31888
HMP Full Sutton,
York YO 1PS

3rd September
RONNIE MCCARTNEY
463799
HMP Gartree, Market
Harborough,
Leicester LE16 7RP

6th Sept
LIAM BAKER
464984
HMP Long Lartin, Lower
Evesham, Worcestershire

Torture and interrogation

At a public Video showing of his film *Behind the Walls of Castlereagh* film-maker Cahal McLaughlin outlined the censorship encountered during its making. It focuses on ill-treatment and torture in the RUC interrogation centre in Belfast. Produced in conjunction with the Committee on the Administration of Justice, the audience for its showing reached 600,000, the highest number of viewers ever for a community access programme



Letters

Different name

Dear Troops Out

I want to raise a question about what to call that country to the west of Britain, before you reach N. America, which is not colonised by Britain. You appear careful to avoid calling it the Republic of Ireland.

I know the reason why Sinn Féin does not call it the Republic of Ireland, namely that they are engaged in a struggle to achieve a complete republic involving both boundary changes and political changes within boundaries.

T.O.M. is engaged in a different struggle - to campaign in Britain to have the British state withdraw itself from a part of another country. The other part of that country is already an independent state; it fought a war against Britain to achieve liberation; it occupies a seat at the UN, is a member of the EC etc, etc. Why not acknowledge the existence of that state by using its name?

Indeed there is a compelling reason why we in Britain (whatever one's individual nationality, T.O.M. as an organisation addresses itself to the people and politics of Britain) must acknowledge it. We must build a knowledge of history and respect the achievements of all peoples who have defeated British imperialism. Especially so in the case of the Irish, against whom racism here takes the horrible form of stupidity and incompetence. To deny or belittle the state they have won in struggle seems to contribute to that racism. And calling it the 26 counties or the South is not clear. Readers might not know what you're talking about unless they are already in the know.

Sara Grimes
London

Different race

Dear Troops Out

Mark Hayes article on loyalism (*Troops Out* May/June) mentioned the 'hybrid race' of Picts as one way loyalists have

attempted to come to terms with their identity crisis. In his Desmond Greaves memorial lecture in 1989 Peter Berresford Ellis analysed the origins of this romantic myth in the context of the revisionist school of historians. He made the point that this theory did not appear until 1974, with the publication of Ian Adamson's *The Cruthin*, a book in which the Queen's University professor gave Ulster protestants a new nationality.

Cruthin, or more popularly Picts, were, according to Adamson, inhabitants of Ireland long before the Gaels, who came along and drove them to Scotland. The Cruthin returned during the 17th century plantations, to take up their rightful place! At a stroke this theory gives the unionists new justification for their presence in Ireland.

Berresford Ellis explained that in fact the Cruthin and the Gaels shared an inheritance. Many of Adamson's views came from revisions of certain translations of the terms used in Goidelic Celtic and Brythonic Celtic, and misuse of the terms used by the Romans to describe sections of the continental Celts....

It is interesting to note how far academics and politicians will go to justify the impossible. The resurgence of revisionist, or more accurately anti-nationalist, views should be challenged at every opportunity.

CF

Redditch T.O.M.

Difference theory

Dear Troops Out

Being on the left in these unstable new times is rather like being in prison during an earthquake. There are dangers as well as opportunities. You might get crushed with the governor but you might also get free. *Living Marxism's* 'Rethinking the future' conference asked: what are the prospects for the '90s like?

Speaker after speaker answered by cogently describing processes that can be appreciated all around us. Recession is increasing the fragmentation of an already

individualised and sectionalised world. Social vision of any kind is replaced by the pragmatism of short term selfishness (me and my family or group against the rest). Many people are anti-politics (i.e. central government), as shown by 'regional' movements like the Scots and revolts like the Danish vote against Maastricht or the LA riots.

Which brings us to Ireland. Was it mentioned? Yes, and in ways that show how these things could be done on the left. There were no 'Northern Ireland' workshops, with principled titles like 'Can the IRA win?', or 'What next for the working class after the Brooke initiative?'. But the situation was referred to a number of times, more than any other issue not covered by the agenda. For example, during a workshop on the philosophy of deconstruction, LM writer James Heartfield used the six counties in an argument against 'difference theory'. A brand of postmodernism, difference theory takes a metaphor from structural linguistics and applies it to society. In structural linguistics a language is a system of differences - that is, words can only have meaning because of not quite being other words. Eg 'cat' and 'mat' can only be meaningful separately because their 'ats' are distinguished by different consonants. Similarly, social identities only exist because of differences from others. You can never consider what things might have in common, that is, connections in a whole. You cannot generalise. A philosophy for a fragmented period indeed, though here's the trick, you can apparently generalise about not generalising.

Heartfield opposed to this the concept of specificity. Yes, things are different, individual, but they are specific forms of a general type. A totality links the differences, and that totality is the world capitalist system. His example was the colonial connection. Of course, Belfast is different in many ways from London (and may require different forms of local struggle) but they both share specific forms of a general problem: oppression.

Tony Benn and Mick Hulme, Editor of *Living Marxism* led a plenary debate. They were

divided by many issues, but there was evident agreement on one thing: Irish self-determination.

Benn saw the Labour Party and the House of Commons as media for a protest politics older than Wat Tyler, while Hulme set out LM's strategy of replacing outdated reformism and today's despairing pragmatism with a simple clear vision of a communist future. Both sounded like voices crying in the wilderness (or on Salisbury Plain), with Benn looking like a Digger preacher and Hulme a captain of young Roundheads. Both seem to think that one day the mass of people will suddenly turn to them. But between a world of fragmentation and a really cohesive society, there will probably be many stages and alliances. Change is not a straight road,

Mike Belbin
London

Common experience

Dear Troops Out

I read with interest your article on Kashmir contributed by South Asia Solidarity. There has been a history of solidarity and sympathy between those struggling for self-determination in Ireland and Asia due to their unhappy common experience of British colonialism. It is good then to see *Troops Out* make this link in the magazine.

I would like more information about these campaigns in Britain. Have South Asia Solidarity a magazine I could subscribe to?

Kevin Fisk
Nuneaton

South Asia Solidarity Group publishes a magazine called *Inqilab*. Its address is: BM box 3974, London WC1N 3XX.



Reviews

Legion of the Rearguard: the IRA and the Modern State

Conor Foley
Pluto Press 1992, £9.95

This absorbing book presents a detailed account of the development of the IRA's ideology and its relations with the 26-county state from 1921-41. It opens with the illegal execution at Mountjoy Prison in December 1922 of four of the most senior republicans in the Free State's custody. The story of these executions, in retaliation for the murder of a TD (MP), sets the scene for the deteriorating relationships between the IRA and the state over the next two decades.

Foley gives a clear account of the civil war and its bitter aftermath. He charts the development of the various sections of the republican movement in the 26 counties and the events behind the formation of Fianna Fail and Fine Gael. The reader is provided with a fascinating view of Ireland in the 1930s against the backdrop of the world slump and the rise of fascism in Europe.

The main part of the book ends with the IRA bombing campaign in Britain from 1939-41. A short conclusion discusses republicanism from 1942 to the present, but the hurried way that these events are presented sits ill with the careful analysis of the earlier chapters.

Christine Gare

IRIS

The republican magazine
£2

The latest copy of IRIS is now available from the Troops Out Movement office. The magazine contains the usual excellent blend of news, reviews, analysis and fiction. *Troops Out's* very own Fyccene Shields has an interesting article on Irish women and emigration, while Charlie Haughey's demise is reviewed by Micheal Mac Donncha. Repression in central America is also examined in an article on Guatemala.

Liz Deane

Getting the message across

At the 1992 AGM the Troops Out Movement launched a series of important initiatives. Plans are already being drawn up to consolidate on the successes of the past year and build towards further gains in the year to come. Regular campaigning events, such as the commemoration of Bloody Sunday are already in hand and new initiatives around democracy and the unionist veto are being planned.

The coordination of a growing movement and the ever present urgency of countering the media myths surrounding developments in the struggle place an increasing strain on meagre resources. The Troops Out Movement needs your support. If you can please consider supporting the movement financially by completing the form below. Every contribution, however small, counts.

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April

11th

Sir Patrick Mayhew is appointed as new Secretary of State for N.Ireland, taking over from Peter Brooke. He was formerly Attorney General and used that position to support Britain's war effort as regards shoot-to-kill and extradition. A few days later Michael Mates is appointed as his side-kick.

A third person dies as a result of the IRA bomb in the City of London on the 10th. Insurance companies estimate that damage claims will be £1.4-£1.8 billion.

13th

The Irish Minister for Foreign Affairs, David Andrews, visits closed-off border crossings - the first foreign minister ever to do so! Many border roads have been blocked off by the British army as collective punishment, justified as 'security'.

A British soldier is shot dead in Derby by the Irish National Liberation Army. In the following days at least 16 people are arrested; one is charged with wasting police time (and sentenced to 6 weeks in prison), one with helping suspects evade arrest; the others are all released without charge.

14th

Two people are arrested in London under the Prevention of Terrorism Act. Ethel Lamb and James Canning are later charged with conspiracy, possession of weapons and explosives and other charges.

15th

In the saga over abortion in the South of Ireland, the government proposes to hold a referendum in November on the right to travel to have an abortion abroad and the right to information about abortion services abroad. It also attempts to separate the issue from the Maastricht Treaty, unsuccessfully.

A member of the Ulster Defence Association, Ned McCreery, is shot dead by the UDA who says he was an informer.

Two British soldiers are charged with the murder of a civilian, Fergal Caragher, in December 1990 in S.Armagh.

16th

Official unemployment statistics for N.Ireland show an increase of 600 to a new total of 104,500 (14.3%).

18th

A civilian, Brendan McWilliams, is shot dead by the IRA in Armagh. He worked in the Ulster Defence Regiment base and the IRA says he was "an intelligence agent for the British forces".

20th

A Metropolitan Police document, leaked to the *Irish Times*, says that the IRA "threat remained high" and that it has little intelligence on the IRA in Britain. The document consists of minutes taken at a meeting of senior police officers in December.

22nd

British soldiers from the Parachute Regiment beat up a young man in Stewartstown, Co.Tyrone, fire a plastic bullet and also live rounds. It is the first of many complaints: 22 assaults are registered in the Stewartstown area alone in two weeks.

23rd

It emerges that two Presbyterian church leaders have had talks with Sinn Fein leaders in an attempt to broker an IRA ceasefire. Further talks take place on 29th May.

27th

There is a meeting of the Anglo-Irish Intergovernmental Conference in London, attended by Andrews and Mayhew. The main business is to adjourn the Conference for three months to enable the N.Ireland Constitutional talks to resume.

28th

Frame-up victim Nicky Kelly is granted a pardon by the government in the South, six years after being freed from prison and 16 years after being arrested and framed. However, the Minister for Justice says that there will be no investigation into the police or trial.

A civilian, Philomena Hanna, is shot dead at her work in a chemist shop in W.Belfast by the UDA.

In the Dail (lower house in Dublin) there is a three-day debate on the forthcoming referendum on the Maastricht Treaty, resulting in a consensus

of all parties except the Greens, Democratic Left and some independents.

In Belfast an inquest is held into the killing of a member of the Ulster Volunteer Force, Brian Robinson, who was shot dead by the SAS in September 1989. The jury finds that he was shot dead at close proximity and dismisses the army story that he was armed. It is the first inquest into shoot-to-kill incidents after some years of legal disputes. Robinson's family will take a civil action against the Ministry of Defence.

29th

A civilian, Conor Maguire, is shot dead by the UVF in N.Belfast; they say he was a member of the Irish People's Liberation Organisation (IPL). A few weeks previously he had been held by the RUC who threatened to pass on information about him to loyalists if he did not give them information.

In W.Belfast there is a vigil by local people outside the chemist where Philomena Hanna was shot, demanding closure of a road leading to the neighbouring loyalist area.

In London the appeal for Judith Ward begins. She was convicted in 1974 for three IRA bombings. The grounds for appeal are the unreliability of her 'confessions', the discredited forensic tests for explosives and the way the prosecution withheld information from the defence.

Channel Four faces contempt proceedings for refusing to give information about their sources of a documentary programme called *The Committee*, which dealt with collusion between the RUC and loyalist armed organisations.

The N.Ireland constitutional talks reopen. They involve the Ulster Unionist Party, Democratic Unionist Party, Social Democratic and Labour Party and Alliance Party (Sinn Fein is excluded). The talks are held in secret.

30th

In Belfast's Crumlin Road Prison, notorious for the authorities' attempts to impose desegregation between republican and loyalist prisoners, one prisoner attempts suicide. James McGuigan was

being visited by the RUC sometimes three times a week for seven months, pressurising him to change his statements; threats were also made against his solicitor.

May

1st

A 1,000lb IRA bomb kills a British soldier and injures others. It was planted on a railway line close to the border checkpoint at Newry.

2nd

A huge RUC presence disrupts the funeral of Conor Maguire (shot on 29th) and permits an attack on the cortege by a loyalist crowd.

The annual conference of the Progressive Democrats - junior partners in the coalition government - is held in Waterford. Little time is given to the North; the leader says that the problem will resolve itself with EC unity and meanwhile "Sinn Fein should renounce violence".

5th

A civilian, William Sergeant, is shot dead in a pub in N.Belfast - a random killing by the IPL in retaliation for the killing of Philomena Hanna.

The inquest opens into the deaths of three shoot-to-kill victims, one of the incidents which led to the Stalker Inquiry. Sean Burns, Gervaise McKerr and Eugene Toman were killed by the RUC in November 1982 near Lurgan, Co.Armagh. Most of the relatives boycott the inquest: "given the narrowness of its rules and powers...justice could not be done".

6th

Another crisis for the Catholic church in Ireland: Eamonn Casey, Bishop of Galway, resigns as it becomes known that he is the father of a 17-year-old boy now living in the USA. It also emerges that he used diocesan funds (£70,000) to pay maintenance. It all feeds into the public debate about abortion, women's rights and catholicism. Apart from all that, Casey had a good record on 'Third World' politics and was a founder of the charity Shelter.

The Court of Appeal in London orders the Home Office to reconsider the case of

republican prisoner Roy Walsh. He and two others have been in prison for 18 years and have consistently been denied parole, despite the fact that five co-defendants have long been released (they were moved to prisons in the North). A month later, the Home Office announces a release date for the three: March 1993.

The Queen's Speech opening the new session of parliament offers nothing new on N.Ireland. 250 women travel from Dublin en masse to Britain to acquire information on abortion clinics as a protest at the unresolved abortion legal tangle in the South.

8th
The Home Secretary announces in the House of Commons that MI5 will take over intelligence gathering against the IRA in Britain. Complaints concerning the violent behaviour of the Parachute Regiment and the Royal Marines in Tyrone and Fermanagh start to receive publicity. But the new security minister Michael Mates "pays tribute" to the soldiers and rejects the complaints.

10th
A huge shopping centre in Gateshead, Tyneside, is damaged by IRA incendiary bombs.

In Belfast thousands attend a march commemorating the 1981 hunger strike.

11th
Judith Ward is released on bail when the prosecution concede that her 'confessions' were false. The appeal continues on the other grounds. Her release is overdue by 18 years, 3 months and 5 days.

In Belfast the appeal starts of four UDR members convicted in 1986 for the murder of a civilian, Adrian Carroll, in Armagh. The appeal rests mainly on evidence of RUC mistreatment and rewriting of statements.

12th
The SDLP's proposals for the constitutional talks are leaked to the *Irish Times*. They include an elected parliamentary assembly for N.Ireland, above which would be a six-member commission; three members would be elected in N.Ireland, one would be nominated each by the British government, the EC and the government in the South.

Three Irish people are sentenced to two years in

France for possession of explosives and other charges. Pauline Drumm, Donagh O'Kane and Patrick Murray are also wanted in Germany on IRA-related charges and are due to be extradited there under the European Convention on Terrorism.

Members of the Parachute Regiment rampage through Coalisland, Co.Tyrone: they smash up a bar, damage several cars and assault a number of civilians.

14th
Other violence by the Parachute Regiment is reported in Co.Tyrone: fishing boats on Lough Neagh have their radios and nets damaged. Local and Dublin politicians protest to the Northern Ireland Office.

15th
The Council of Europe complains to the government in the South about its failure to decriminalise homosexuality. A ruling in the European Court of Human Rights was made in 1988 and since then the government has promised change but done nothing.

16th
The annual conference of Fine Gael (opposition party) is held in Dublin. The foreign affairs spokesperson says that he would support internment after a constitutional settlement. The party wants Articles 2 and 3 of the Constitution (which lay claim to the whole of Ireland) to be amended and sees the 'problem' of the North resolving itself in EC supranationalism.

17th
The Parachute Regiment assault and open fire on civilians in Coalisland, injuring seven. Earlier, another regiment had been involved in a fight after which they had abandoned their weapons. The incident leads to an official complaint by Andrews and a demand that the Parachute Regiment be withdrawn from N.Ireland.

Next day there is a demonstration in Coalisland with the same demand.

The British Foreign Secretary, Douglas Hurd, says that he is demanding from Libya information about their previous assistance to the IRA - part of the international ideological and economic assault on Libya.

19th
The Director of Public Prosecutions in Britain rules that there will be no prosecution of

members of the West Midlands Serious Crimes Squad (now disbanded) - despite the fact that they are known to have framed a large number of innocent people.

A report by the Fair Employment Commission of N.Ireland shows that public sector discrimination against Catholics is still rife in the higher grades, the civil service, district councils and electricity service.

20th
Princess Anne visits N.Ireland for various charitable purposes - like a fund for prison officers in Maghera (who strip search women prisoners, for example) - in Belfast and Cookstown. Cookstown is the HQ of the Parachute Regiment!

21st
The abortion issue: copies of the *Guardian* are withheld from distribution in the South because they carry an advert for clinics in Britain.

22nd
President Mary Robinson visits Derry where she meets a range of politicians (including Sinn Féin councillors), church leaders and real people (including those in a playgroup in a unionist area). DUP and UUP councillors boycott the visit.

25th
It is announced that Brigadier Tom Longland, in charge of the brigade deployed in Tyrone, has been transferred to other duties. The Minister of Defence assures us that this has nothing to do with the volume of complaints there. The Parachute Regiment is not transferred with him.

Meanwhile in Derry an army patrol injures four civilians, and a photograph refutes the army's story of self-defence.

29th
Three police officers involved in the frame-up of the Birmingham Six are committed to trial for perjury and conspiracy to pervert the course of justice. They include George Reade who led the investigation.

30th
Figures from the NIO show that £134,000 was paid out as compensation in 1991 to 58 people who had been ill-treated in Castlereagh interrogation centre. The NIO also says that it "may" appoint an independent commissioner to oversee questioning in all three interrogation centres. But the Committee on the Administration of Justice says that this would be inadequate and demands

video recordings, access to a lawyer at all times and restoration of the right to silence.

Aiming to improve its image no doubt, the British army plans to deploy the Irish Guards in the North. They are recruited in Ireland and have never served in the North. Or is it the cuts?

31st
In W.Belfast a large demonstration calls for the banning of plastic bullets, which have killed 17 people.

Prince Andrew visits the notorious UDR in Belfast.

June

1st
Derry City Council appoints its first ever DUP mayor. Nationalists are in a majority on the council and have a policy of power-sharing between nationalist and unionist.

3rd
Guess what? The four N.Ireland parties engaged in the constitutional talks with the British government have been unable to agree on any basis for self-rule. They are due to proceed to the next strand of talks - between North and South. A week's delay is granted.

4th
Judith Ward wins her appeal and is completely exonerated. The judges severely criticise the police, the DPP and the forensic scientists. One of the original prosecuting counsel is now the Lord Chief Justice, Peter Taylor.

An Irish person, Gerard Hanratty, is convicted in Germany of possession of weapons. He is given a shorter sentence than time already spent on remand but is held in prison pending a British extradition request. Two other Irish people are arrested in the USA and face extradition related to the mass escape from the H Blocks in 1983.



Women

in the Troops Out Movement

Relaunched to

- * encourage women's involvement in the Troops Out Movement

- * focus on issues of particular significance to women

- * work with other anti-imperialist women's groups

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