

# TROOPS OUT



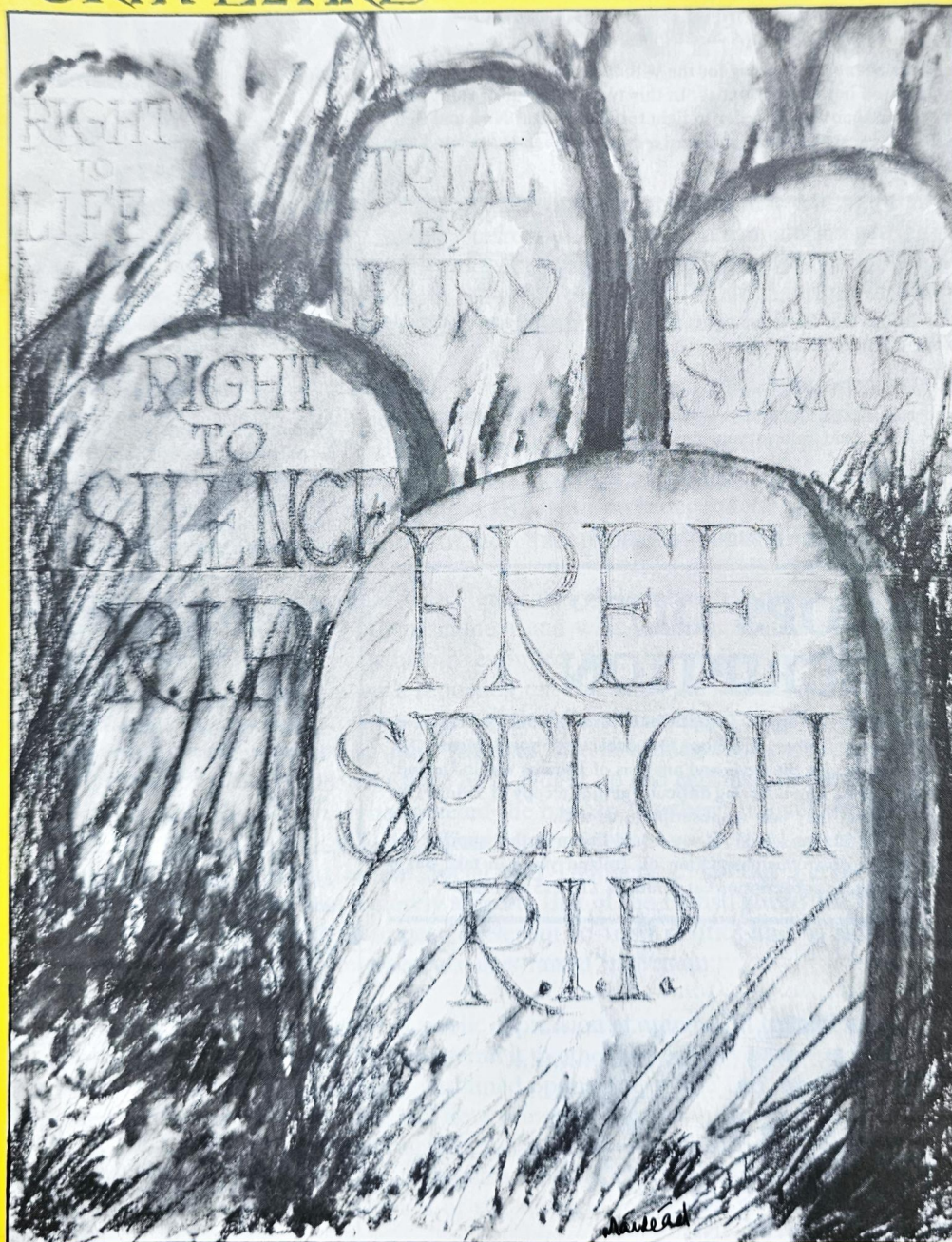
OF IRELAND

Vol. 13 No.1

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50P

## BRITAIN'S HUMAN RIGHTS GRAVEYARD



### *Inside:*

British death  
squads

Broadcasting ban  
20th anniversary  
demonstrations  
TOM delegation  
report

SELF - DETERMINATION FOR THE IRISH PEOPLE AS A WHOLE



# 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 peace keeping force, but in order to maintain British rule, and that their presence is the most serious obstacle to any progress towards peace. Ever since 1969 the troops have been occupying a part of Ireland, coercing and oppressing the nationalist people, maintaining the division of Ireland and ensuring that its people cannot unite to determine their own future.

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

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

## APPEAL

The Troops Out Movement has been campaigning for the withdrawal of troops for almost as long as they have been deployed in the six counties. In this twentieth year of troops on the streets we need support more than ever in order to fight for Troops Out Now and Self - Determination for Irish People as a Whole. Please send a donation to support our Year of Action to the address below.

## JOINING TROOPS OUT

If you would like to join the Troops Out Movement in campaigning for a British withdrawal from Ireland you can do so in a number of ways.

- ★ Join a local branch and get involved in activities in your area.
- ★ Become a national member of Troops Out and we will keep you posted of developments, send you our discussion bulletins and inform you about national events. You will also automatically get a sub to 'Troops Out'.
- ★ If there is no local branch near you we can help you form one. We can provide videos, speakers, leaflets and advice about booking rooms etc.

National membership is £12 (includes sub to paper) Unwaged £8

## 'TROOPS OUT' SUBSCRIPTION



Why worry where your next copy of Troops Out is coming from when you can have it delivered to your door. A Troops Out subscription will ensure that every month you receive the news and analysis of Britain's war in Ireland.

If you know anyone who is having difficulty getting a copy of Troops Out why not suggest they take a subscription as well.

The rate for 10 issues is £7. If you would like to further support the struggle against misinformation on Ireland you can take out a 'supporters subscription' at a rate of £10 £15 or £20.

**TROOPS OUT**  
**OF IRELAND**

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Troops Out is now available on tape for people with sight disabilities. For further details write to P.O. Box 817, Camp Hill, Birmingham B11 4AF. or telephone: 021 773 8683/021 551 3166

## Troops Out Paper

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

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

All correspondence for Troops Out (the paper) and for the Troops Out Movement should be sent to:  
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# TROOPS OUT

## OF IRELAND



### One year of censorship twenty years of lies

**"To beat off your enemy in a war you have to suspend some of your civil rights."**

This was Thatcher's defence of the broadcasting ban announced a year ago this month. In the name of "war" against "terrorism" British governments are getting away with violations of rights which would be condemned by international opinion if the war was recognised for what it really is - a refusal to admit the right of the Irish people to sovereignty over their own country.

It was police and army attacks, 20 years ago on peaceful street demonstrations for civil rights which finally led to demands for national self-determination and the re-formation of the IRA. But the government continues to describe the IRA as the cause of the violence in Northern Ireland. And so Sinn Fein, presented to the British public as identical to the IRA with no independent political role, becomes a legitimate target of further "suspensions" of civil rights.

Nationalists are all too familiar with "emergency" legislation, limited in scope, which gradually becomes both permanent and wide-ranging. British opinion is being force-fed without even being reminded that the feeding is done under government restrictions, as with reporting on - for example - South Africa. The wording of the ban is so ambiguous as to allow for a far wider interpretation than a strict legal reading could sustain. All over Britain human rights campaigners, songwriters, prisoners' relatives have been caught up and censored in the mixture of panic and approval which has greeted the ban. In Northern Ireland the media no longer bothers to approach Sinn Fein for comment even on local constituency issues, but goes straight to the Social and Democratic Labour Party whose perspective on nationalism is closely allied to that of the British government. The overall effect is to make SF appear irrelevant to Irish politics and to stifle the alternative nationalist voice wherever it is raised in Britain.

Once open government control of public expression of opinion on Ireland is firmly established, it will be child's play to extend it to other protest movements in Britain. Two things are urgently needed; sustained opposition to the ban, and increased independent contacts with the self-determination movement in Ireland. In this issue TOM reports on initiatives against the ban, and on our own annual Delegation to the North, which gives British people an increasingly rare opportunity to hear the uncensored nationalist version of the struggle in Ireland.



# Twentieth anniversary

## Belfast



Photo: Leicester TOM

Many thousands attended the march and rally in West Belfast on Sunday 13th August to commemorate the 18th anniversary of internment which coincided with the 20th anniversary of British Troops being deployed in the north of Ireland. Along the route thousands more stood to watch and applaud the marchers as they passed.

The march was led by stewards who linked arms to keep a distance between the people and the British Army and RUC vehicles which surrounded the front of the procession. Behind the stewards came the colour party and the 100 strong Troops Out Movement delegation. Following were more than 300 people carrying placards naming those Republican Volunteers who died during this phase of the struggle for Irish freedom. Included in the remainder of the march were many local people, joined by people from all over Ireland and supporters from Europe, America and Canada. Sinn Fein banners were present with ones from anti-extradition campaigns, prisoners campaigns and many others. A warm welcome was given to the Troops Out Movement, Noraid and Herri Batasuna (Basques) both along the route and at the rallying point. In fact the only people not welcome there that day were those in British security-forces uniform.

As the march reached Connolly House for the rally a tight cordon of armoured vehicles encircled the crowd leaving little room for the marchers. Sinn Fein councillor Dodie McGuinness, who was chairing the rally, repeatedly called for the RUC to move back, which they eventually did to great cheers as the marchers still crowded in.

Mary Pearson, of the Troops Out Movement, spoke of the increasing doubts British people had about their governments role in Ireland citing Sinn Fein's election success and the killing of the Gibraltar 3 as examples of British Government lies being exposed.

Bernadette McAliskey opened her speech in Irish, telling people they would have to learn more for next year as it would all be in the native tongue. She called on the world's press to listen and learn and they would see that the only thing which has changed in 20 years was that the people were stronger - "a risen people".

The rally was concluded by Gerry Adams who spoke of celebrating 20 years of resistance and 20 years of British failure: "they tried to break us in '69 but we stayed strong and we were not defeated. They tried to intern us in 1971 but we stayed strong and we beat them. They tried to criminalise us in 1976 but we stayed strong and the hunger strikers criminalised them. And they shot us to death in Derry on Bloody Sunday and in Gibraltar on that other Sunday, but we are here yet. And the situation exists here today from which we can advance to an independent Ireland. Thats where we're going."

A Birmingham delegate

## Dublin

The celebration of 20 years of resistance to British military occupation of the Six Counties culminated in Dublin on August 19th. Up to 15000 people marched to the British Embassy in the largest republican demonstration seen in Ireland since 1981 and the H-Block hunger strikes.

Organised by the Forum for a Democratic Alternative (FADA), it attracted a range of speakers from America, Ireland and Britain. The central theme of the platform was the call for Britain to withdraw from the north and for the re-unification of Ireland.

The size of the demonstration and the emergence of FADA marks a new development in the attempt to build an active, mass, all-Ireland anti-imperialist movement. FADA is striving to unite republicans, socialists, democrats, trades unionists and community groups into broad based 'forum' that can make the demand for British withdrawal an issue that the Irish government cannot ignore. The size of a 'rival ceremony' organised by Establishment figures in the Garden of Remembrance that attracted barely 100 people, suggests that they are on the right track.

Cathryn O'Reilly, a veteran of the historic anti-apartheid Dunnes Stores strike called for Irish Trades Unions to take industrial action against British interests. A suggestion that refuse collectors should boycott the British Embassy was warmly received by the crowd.

Gerry Adams voiced concern over the Dublin governments tendency to praise the British Army and re-iterated that 'There is a solution and the solution lies with us, the people of this island, free of British military occupation, free of partition and acting for ourselves.'

Other speakers included Fr. Patrick Ryan, Neil Blaney, a member of the Dail (Irish Parliament), a Scottish Labour MP, and a British MEP. Sinead O'Connor sang a moving version of "Irish ways and Irish laws" and the Irish Green Party sent solidarity greetings.

## London

Up to 5,000 people rallied to the call of the Time To Go organisation in London on Saturday August 12th. Time To Go had organised a demonstration and 'Carnival' in north London to commemorate the 20th anniversary of the re-introduction of British troops to the streets of Ireland.

The march began with a rally at Whittington Park in Islington, where speakers from the Guildford 4 campaign reminded the gathering crowd that while campaigning for a British withdrawal from Ireland we must not forget the victims of racist British justice over here.

The demonstration marched through the busy streets of Islington to Finsbury Park, with the Troops Out Movement leading a substantial contingent in support of the demand for the right of the Irish people as a whole to self-determination.

At the Park the marchers were welcomed by Ken Livingstone MP who declared that the British state was rapidly

running out of options in its attempt to defeat the IRA and marginalise Sinn Fein. The added attraction of live bands, stalls, a beer tent and the fine weather drew in more people to the Park where they heard speeches from an ex-soldier and Time To Go chairperson, Clare Short.

Music was provided by the folk/rock outfit, Roisin Dubh and the Hank Wangford Band. It seemed a pity that some of the more well known entertainers and public figures who had signed the 'Time To Go' Charter could not be present at the rally as they would surely have attracted a larger crowd than the relatively unknown ones on the platform.



# Thousands march for withdrawal Derry

Photo: AP/RM



Derry demonstration and 20/20 vision banner.

Twenty years to the day after they arrived on the streets of Derry on 14th August 1969, British soldiers were conspicuous by their absence as thousands of Derry people took to the streets to commemorate 20 years of resistance to the military invasion of 1969.

An Army helicopter hovering overhead was only visible military presence along the parade route from Creggan to Free Derry Corner in the Bogside. There was however a massive RUC presence throughout, reflecting the British state policy of trying to re-assert the primacy of the RUC in its attempts to quell nationalist resistance.

It is a 'primacy' the people of Derry are only too familiar with. At one point the Demonstration paused to lay a wreath at the spot where Sammy Devenney, the first Derryman to die in the present troubles, was beaten in his own home by members of the RUC. Mr Devenney's daughter Colette, stated that those responsible for her father's death were still being protected by the state and she claimed "the so-called forces of law and order are a law unto themselves, nothing has changed"

Among the many banners carried by the marchers was a striking 100 foot long creation that had been made by the locally based "Twenty Twenty Vision" group. The hand painted canvas, in ten sections, was made during a series of workshops involving young people in the city. The

workshops were part of the "Derry Festival for Democracy and Change". The festival was dedicated to "all political prisoners and people fighting for self-determination throughout the world" and consisted of discussion groups, meetings, workshops and video screenings.

At the rally following the demonstration Bernadette Devlin/McAliskey addressed the crowd and the issues head on; "over twenty years" she said "I have discovered that we should not have to ask the government or to pray to the Bishop, or raise a petition-we have to go out and organise our own class and our own people to end partition, abolish the northern state, abolish the southern state and build for ourselves an Ireland that we can live in."

Martin McGuinness of Sinn Féin paid tribute to all those who had struggled over the last twenty years. He ended by saying he wanted to pay particular tribute to the troops -not the troops of the British Army but the troops of the Irish Republican Army.

Brian Delware

## 20/20 Vision Manifesto

When children are more valued than bombs  
And we writ the books that they read;  
When women are more valued than work,-  
And our homes are no longer prisons;  
When justice no longer huddles in cells,  
Nor strangers crouch armed on our streets;  
When we own our own cities and fields,  
We will know the meaning of freedom.

Until such time, the cries of our cities and the groan of our land  
Will be our songs of wisdom, our poetry of anger and hope.  
Until such time, our watchful murals and graffitied thoughts  
Will be our street newspaper, our uncensored judgement and art.

But while you dance to our songs and marked our lives,  
Read our lips:  
We are the people of struggle.  
Ours is the culture of change.-

Nuair is luachmhaire paisti na buamai  
Is leann siad ar gcuid leabhar fein  
Nuair is luachmhaire an bhean na obair  
Is ni priosuín ata inar gcuid tithe  
Nuair nach guachfaidh an choir i gcillini  
No nach siulann coimhthigh arntha ar na sraideanna  
Nuair is linne na bailte is na goirt fein  
Tuigfidh muid ansin an brhi ata le saoirse.

Go dtige an uair sin beidh olagon is ochlan ar dtíre  
Ina n-amhran crionnachta duinn filiocht fheirge is dochais.  
Go gtige an la sin nochtaimis ar gcuid smaointe ar bhallai arda lethna  
Neamhchlaonta neamhchinseartha a bheas ar mbhreitheamh is ealain.

Ach eistigi, dean damhsa dar gceol diol ar gcuid beatha  
Tabhair aire:

Is sinne pobal na streachailte  
Claochlaionn an cultur s'againne.



## Gungangs

The sectarian assassination of Paddy McKenna, in which one of the loyalist assassins was subsequently gunned down by an undercover Army patrol prompted the following response from Eamon Mullen of the Irish Republican Socialist Party: "Our report from the area indicates that the motorcycle used in the attack was followed into the area by the plain clothes unit. The only conclusion that can be drawn from these events is that the 'security forces' chose to sacrifice two lives in an attempt to counter the adverse affect of the Ulster Freedom Fighters (UFF) admission of collusion is having on them. Rather than alleviate the pressure, these events frother prove the ability of the State forces to pre-determine who shall live and who shall die at the hands of loyalist gungangs."

## Marine Assault

A disabled man and his young son claim they were assaulted on the 7th August by a patrol of the Royal Marine Commandos in Belfast.

Mr. Thomas McCabe says that his son was beaten about the head with rifle butts and that he himself was knocked to the ground and beaten as he went to his sons aid.

Mr McCabe, who suffers from brittle bone disease and walks with the aid of a walking stick described his ordeal. "I went out about midnight to call my son, Gerard. A number of soldiers were trying to push him into an alley. When he resisted they hit him round the head with rifle butts. I hurried over and tried to pull them off him. One of the patrol- a radio operator- ran at me and head butted me with his steel helmet. I fell down and they pulled my stick off me. I don't remember much after that. Later I found that both my glasses and hearing aid had been pulled off and smashed."

MCCabe said that there was no doubt that the soldiers who assaulted him knew he was disabled. He called the attack "cowardly and unprovoked" and is worried that the same thing might happen again.

# "Seeing for ourselves"

**"It is a shock to see armed soldiers patrolling quiet cul-de-sacs, saracens rumbling through streets of shoppers, army forts nestling among terraced houses. There is no doubt when you visit West Belfast you are entering a war zone"** This is the view of one of the 100 delegates who went to Belfast on the Troops Out Movement delegation in August on the 20th anniversary of the deployment of British troops in the north of Ireland. Delegates came from all over England and Wales representing trade union, black and women's organisations.

The visit started on the day of the funeral of Seamus Duffy (15 yrs) who had been killed by an RUC plastic bullet two days earlier. The delegation paid it's respects to the family on their tragic loss.

Jim Gibney, national executive member of Sinn Fein, welcomed the delegation at a social event. He described how after 20 years of repression the nationalist people were still strong and would continue to be so - "We are proud to have lived through it and remained sane, and to be capable of feeling not just sympathy and sadness for the people of our own community who have died, but for the people of the protestant community and those people from across the water, the British soldiers who came here. As a people we have retained our humanity and in retaining that humanity that is where the resource and the strength for carrying on comes from"

The delegates stayed with families in Poleglass and Twinbrook, two council estates in West Belfast. Poleglass is the newest of estates and has been built up gradually over the last 10 years. The British Army was heavily involved from the beginning in drawing up the plans for the estate. It is made up of a series of small estates with only one entrance into each of these. In fact the army improved on the original plans produced by the council when they needed the roads wider for easy access for their vehicles.

The housing is also of deliberately poor quality to allow easy access for British raiding parties. Two delegates stayed with a family who had had a break in. A simple yale-type lock was

broken which resulted in the need for a whole new frame and door to be installed.

Poleglass was one of the first purpose built estates in the world designed by counter insurgency 'experts' to control the population.

Most delegates found staying with the families one of the most important aspects of their visit as it gave them opportunity to talk in more detail with people who have lived through the last 20 years and what their hopes and aspirations are. One delegate stayed with a young woman who had lived all her life with British soldiers patrolling the streets, raiding homes and imprisoning people. Her father was interned and she described how even very young children were treated with total contempt when visiting the prisons. One particular visit was at Christmas when she was taking her daddy a present she had made at school. The prison officer searching the family ripped it up.

A few delegates visited prisoners in the H-blocks. They were taken on the regular minibus organised by Sinn Fein. On arriving at the prison, which look like a concentration camp with soldiers guarding from watch towers, visitors are searched and everything taken away except money and cigarettes. Then a van takes them onto the blocks to be visited. As the van pulls up to the doors no-one sees the layout of the prison.

Prisoners talked of their self-education and commitment to the Irish language in the "University of Freedom-Long Kesh"

## World's Press

As it was the 20th anniversary of the deployment of British Troops, the world's press descended on West Belfast. In the Lower Falls area, there seemed to be a press crew on every street corner. It was as if they were wishing something to happen-so they reported rioting anyway.

On Monday 14th August BBC's Breakfastime said that there was rioting in the Springfield Rd and the whole area was sealed off, and they showed a film of a burning van. Taxi drivers taking delegates to Conway Mill said nothing much was happening, but there was alot of army road blocks. By the early evening news time the same burning van had moved to Derry.

One aspect of that weekend in Belfast the press totally ignored was the saturation of the area by British soldiers, and the number of roadblocks set up by them. One delegate had to go through six roadblocks between Lower Falls and Andersonstown, a distance of two miles.

Sinn Fein organised a press conference for the delegation, which was covered by Ulster Television, the BBC in the North of Ireland and the Irish News a Belfast paper. The BBC obviously thought the whole delegation were Sinn Fein members as they used the voice over technique to report it as they have been doing with Sinn Fein since the broadcasting ban.

The last day of the delegation was taken up with visits to the Divis Flats, the worst housing complex in western Europe, to Just Books, an independent bookshop collective, and to the Falls Road Women's Centre, together with a picket of the Springfield Road barracks.



Divis Flats, Belfast-a health warning





The T.O.M. Delegation banner on the demonstration in Belfast.

*West Belfast is an unforgettable place. The strength and optimism, the warmth and humanity of the people we met could teach us alot. All to often only the negative aspects of life in Belfast are portrayed, so it seems important to emphasize the positive.*

### Pickets

The picket was one of a series held at all the barracks in Belfast protesting at the British presence on the actual anniversary of the troops being put on the streets. One soldier 'baaed' at the crowd, just making the point that you need to be a sheep to join the British Army! During the final session of the delegation the relatives of those shot in Gibraltar asked for our support with their petition to the Irish Government calling on them to take the case to the European Court.

Finally a warm thanks was given to Sinn Fein and the workers at the Mill who had fed and watered everyone for the weekend. Everyone showed their appreciation for the lessons they had learned from the visit and committed themselves to work for British withdrawal from Ireland when they returned home.

The visit took place during the tailend of the Belfast Community Festival, a packed week of varied events for all sections of the community, including music, sport, art and drama. As it said in the programme "the festival is a celebration, a positive expression of the resilience and determination of our people over the years."

### Conway Mill

Most of the Saturday was spent in Conway Mill, a community education/arts centre, where delegates joined in workshops on Sinn Fein policy, 69-89, an Overview, culture and prison issues.

Jim Gibney and Sinn Fein councillors Lily Fitzsimmons ran the Sinn Fein workshop. Jim Gibney gave an outline of how Sinn Fein had developed but emphasised the need for organisations such as the TOM coming to the north of Ireland and witnessing first hand and then returning to Britain to give true and factual accounts. This being particularly important since the ban on Sinn Fein.

Tom Hartley, general secretary of Sinn Fein, gave an overview of the last 20 years, describing how the nationalist people had learned, developed and gained strength at every stage since 69, when the British were piling on the repression-internment, army/RUC raids, killings, plastic bullets, diplock courts, H-blocks.

Archie Livingstone and Brenda Downes told delegates about how their relatives had been killed by plastic bullets. Brenda has only just recieved a death

certificate for her husband who was shot dead 5 years ago on the-internment commemoration march. As the Saturday was the anniversary of John Downes' death, some TOM members attended the commemoration picket as representatives of the delegation. British soldiers jeered and laughed at the crowd. They also kept asking Brenda how John was!

On the Sunday morning the delegation joined a tour of Milltown cemetery organised by the National Graves Association. Delegates learned something of the history of the struggle for Irish freedom from partition and were also told of republican graves being desecrated by the British Army and RUC.

### Internment Rally

Sunday afternoon was the highlight of the visit. The internment commemoration march took place. The massive turnout and the totally celebratory atmosphere really demonstrated the strength and optimism of the nationalist people.

One delegate commented "I think what made the biggest impression on me during my visit was the spirit and level of resistance of the nationalist people. There is an amazing amount of positive energy despite 20 years of such obvious oppression."

*Birmingham delegate.*



## News from Ireland

### Local Paper threatened

Belfast City Councils decision to limit their advertising to papers that circulate in 75% of the city has been attacked by Sinn Fein and Social and Democratic Labour Party (SDLP) councillors.

The Unionist initiative is widely seen as a direct attack on the West Belfast paper, Andersonstown News, which regularly carries listings of events in Council centres.

For years the Unionists on Belfast City Council have campaigned to ban council advertising in the paper without success. The passing of the motion on the 8th September, which does not mention the Andersonstown News by name looks certain to succeed where other methods have failed.

SDLP concillor Alex Attwood said the move discriminated against genuine media and press initiatives, while Sinn Fein concillor Fra McCann accused Unionists of bigotry and of trying to close down the Andersonstown News. The motion was passed due to abstentions from the Workers Party and the Alliance Party.

A spokesperson for the Andersonstown News said "This move is clearly aimed at getting at this newspaper through the back door. The Andersonstown News reflects legitimate nationalist views which it will continue to espouse."

### Agent Orange

Democratic Unionist Party (DUP) councillor in Lisburn has called for the 'weeding out' of the 'men of evil' responsible for blowing up the High Court in Belfast. "With all the manpower supposedly on the ground around the Courts I was amazed at how easily the terrorists breached the security to get their bomb planted" said councillor Sammy Davis. He continued "It's time these evil men- many of whom are known to the security forces- were weeded out so that the rest of us can live together in peace. I would urge the forces to go into the ghettos, swoop on these men and put them behind bars where they belong."



# British sponsored Death Squads



Laughlin Maginn was shot dead by loyalist killers who smashed their way into his home in the quiet county Down town of Rathfriland on the 24th of August last. A catholic living in a mainly Protestant area, he had been subjected to a concerted campaign of harassment by the Royal Ulster Constabulary and the Ulster Defence Regiment for more than a year before his death. In November of last year, a member of the UDR told him *I will stiff you when I get the chance*. His solicitor kept a file of the threats and harassment that Maginn had suffered up to the time of his murder.

**T**his murder produced the kneejerk condemnations from all the usual sources. Even claims in the local press by the Ulster Freedom Fighters, cover name for the Ulster Defence Association death squads that they had killed Maginn because they had recieved documents from the 'security forces' alleging that he was a member of the IRA, failed to raise any serious level of comment about the affair.

The situation only changed when a BBC journalist was shown the leaked security documents, during a cloak and dagger escapade with masked members of the UFF. This proved an interesting enough stunt to attract some embarrassing coverage both in the British and in the international media.

## Round up the usual suspects

In the intervening weeks we have been flooded with 'security leaks'. Every day yet another file is discovered to have gone missing from a UDR or RUC cupboard, and to have found its way into the hands of some loyalist death squad.

As the political row about the 'leaks' gathered momentum it became necessary for the British Government to appear to be doing something. So several people were quickly rounded up and charged with the murder of

Laughlin Maginn. Two of those charged turned out to be members of the UDR. One of these UDR members has also been charged with the murder of another catholic, Liam McKee, killed at his home in Lisburn in June. His killing had been claimed by the UFF.

It seems that when they wanted to do it, the RUC had no difficulty in putting their finger on those they suspected of the murder of Laughlin Maginn. One is tempted to speculate, did these arrests happen because of the political row that had developed over the issue or was it that those who had blown the gaff by going to the press about UDR and RUC involvement with loyalist murder squads had to be removed?

## UDR collusion

Other damage limitation measures were also implemented. An inquiry was set up into 'security leaks'. The few rotten apples who had brought shame and disgrace to the UDR will be weeded out we are assured. Few if any of us are convinced.

Since their inception the UDR have become infamous for their collusion with and membership of various loyalist death squads. They have handed over guns and rifles by the hundred to loyalist paramilitary organisations during supposed raids on UDR

bases. They have been involved in countless armed robberies to raise money for loyalist paramilitary groups. They have carried out a multitude of attacks on catholics and catholic owned property, and have been involved in the brutal murders of many catholics.

In 1975 at least four members of the UDR were involved in the horrific Miami Showband massacre. Two UDR members were killed in the bomb explosion which they set off at the scene of the massacre, while two other UDR members were later jailed for 35 years for their part in the attack. All four were also members of the Ulster Volunteer Force.

Just over a year earlier a catholic man and woman were shot dead at what appeared to be an army road block. A UDR member was convicted for his part in that attack.

Four UDR members were found guilty of the murder of Adrian Carroll on the 8th of November 1983. A UDR soldier was jailed for life on nineteen charges including the murder of Peter Corrigan in Armagh in October 1982.

Five UDR members were among thirteen people convicted in March 1987 for a range of UVF offences. One of the UDR members was Cyril Rainey who pleaded guilty to the manslaughter of James Galway in 1982. Rainey was a member of the intelligence gathering unit of the UDR. He used the material from the UDR intelligence files and the training he recieved as a soldier in the UDR to assist him in his other role as a commanding officer and training officer in the UVF.

Rainey also supplied information from the UDR files to the leader of the notorious Shankill Butcher gang, Lenny Murphy. The



IMPROVED LINES  
of COMMUNICATION!"

Shankill Butchers were responsible for at least nineteen sectarian murders of Catholics in the mid seventies. Many of their victims were tortured mercilessly before having their throats slit with butcher's knives or being hacked to death with axes.

UDR man Rainey drove Lenny Murphy to the scene of at least one of his murders and afterwards helped him to bury the body. The list of examples of UDR collusion with and involvement in loyalist death squads could fill a book. But the UDR are not alone in this regard. Both the RUC and British Army have long records of collusion with loyalist paramilitaries and of murderous attacks on members of the nationalist community.

### RUC collusion

The recent reports of 'leaks' from RUC stations are no new phenomenon. Loyalist prisoner Albert 'Ginger' Baker who was sentenced to twentyfive years for his part in the sectarian killing of four Catholics sixteen years ago has stated that an RUC man was second in command of a UDA battalion in 1972-3. Baker says that RUC members frequently passed RUC files and photographs to the UDA. They hid weapons for the UDA and on occasions drove weapons through road blocks for them. He also says that RUC members tipped off loyalists of impending arms searches so that the arms could be moved. In a recent petition to the British Home Secretary, Baker has offered to name the RUC men involved. To date there does not appear to have been a positive response from the Home Secretary to this offer.

### British Army collusion

Similarly Fred Holroyd who was a former British army captain and worked with Special Military Intelligence in Armagh between 1973 and 1975 has written about collusion between loyalist terror groups and the British Army. He also tells of the involvement of SAS man Robert Niarac in the killing of Lurgan man John Francis Green and also of SAS involvement in the Miami Showband massacre.

At the trial of four men accused of the murder of prominent nationalist politician

John Turnley in June 1980 one of the accused named two SAS men who supplied them with the information and the weapons to carry out the Turnley murder. The SAS also supplied them with information on prominent H-Block activist Miriam Daly who was assassinated three weeks after John Turnley's murder. The SAS also gave them information on former Westminster MP and leading nationalist spokesperson, Bernadette MacAliskey who was shot and seriously wounded some months later.

All of the crown forces in Ireland, whether it be UDR, RUC or the British Army have had and continue to have links with loyalist death squads and actively collude with them. The recent spate of 'leaks' by 'security forces' is not even the tip of the iceberg. Nor is there any desire by the British Government that there should be any change in that situation. The recent visit by Thatcher to UDR bases to assure them of her support underlines this. In 1984 in the wake of earlier arrests of UDR members for serious crimes, Thatcher and the Duke of Edinburgh made

visits to Drommad UDR barracks in Armagh from where there were thirteen UDR members charged with various offences including five charges of murder.

The reason is very simple, The Ulster loyalists remain the last line of defence of British interests in Ireland. They are an integral part of Britain's plan to smash nationalist resistance and to maintain British rule here. So long as Britain remains in Ireland, then the forces of the British crown will work alongside, will collude with and conspire with groups in the loyalist community whether legal or illegal. That is the way it always has been and that is the way it always will be until we get British troops and British involvement out of Ireland once and for all.

Fergus O Hare

Fergus O Hare is an ex Belfast city councillor, civil rights movement and H-Block committee activist and a member of the '68 Committee'.

NOTES  
©CORMAC





# YOur **CENSORED** right to know

This month marks the first anniversary of ending the pretence of free speech and opinion in Britain. Exactly 20 years after the first TV shots of the Northern Ireland police force viciously attacking peaceful civil rights marches were flashed before the British and international world, Douglas Hurd issued a formal censorship directive to the BBC and IBA in Britain. It officially banned Sinn Fein, the democratically elected voice of 35% of the Nationalist community and the only party who speak of the self determination of the whole of Ireland free of British control. This official censorship is in direct contravention of Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights which reads as follows:

*"Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas though any media regardless of frontiers."*

Thus, for the Irish at any rate, on the 19th October 1988 the British State waved a fond farewell to, yet another, basic human right and imposed open censorship on the British peoples right to freedom of information. In terms of censorship Britain is now on a par with South Africa. And, in the words of the Wall Street Journal *"The Mother of Parliaments hardly peeped in protest"*.

Why not an outcry in Britain? For one very important reason - Self Censorship. When a government gets involved in a conflict, its population's understanding and conception of that conflict will be formed and moulded by the information it receives from the mass media; particularly TV. In the words of the Ministry of Defence: *"The press properly handled is potentially one of the governments strongest weapons"*. No one understood this better than Frank Kitson, Commander in Chief of the British Land Forces in the 1980s and one of the most influential British military theorist on wars of Counter-subversion and Counter-insurgency in todays world. He said *"wars of Counter-subversion and Counter-insurgency are fought, in the last resort, in the minds of people."*

On the issue of the war in Ireland, the media has been engaged in self-censorship for

the last 20 years such that, long before the official censorship of last year, the freedom of the press and of the airwaves had been radically compromised by the media's effective gagging of itself. Between 1971-72 the ground rules for media reportage of Britain's Colonial war in the North were laid down when Mr Christopher Chataway, the then Minister accountable to Parliament for broadcasting, made a significant speech. He said that the broadcasters were not required to strike an even balance between the IRA and the Stormont government or between the army and the terrorist. Lord Hill, the BBC Chairman, dutifully replied: *"as between the British Army and the gunman the BBC is not and cannot be impartial"*.

A new set of rules were drawn up, The Reference Upwards System, to effect only programmes made on Ireland. Under these rules the power to decide the subject, content and angle of all programmes on Ireland was taken out of the hands of programme makers and centralized in the hands of a few top executives. The IBA, the controlling body of commercial broadcasting stations, was also exercising increasingly tighter controls over its coverage of Ireland.

And this was only the beginning. In her book *"Ireland the Propaganda War"*, Liz Curtis documents the barrage of warnings,

directives and proscriptions laid down by the media bosses which have systematically eroded any semblence of impartial reportage on Ireland since 1971. The effect of these controls is that coverage on Ireland has been one sided and shallow. It has concentrated on 'violence' while choosing to ignore the historical roots of the conflict and Britain's role in it. Journalists have been cautious about covering controversial topics and there has been little investigative journalism carried out.

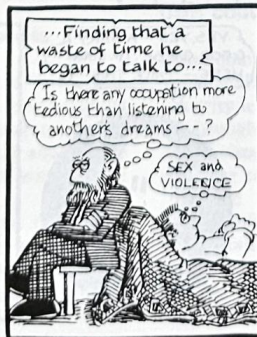


This self-censorship by the media has been responsible for two very significant attitudes:

Firstly; As a direct effect of self-censorship, the British public, for almost 20 years, have been surreptitiously fed on a diet of myths, distortions and down right lies about the nature and purpose of Britain's dirty war in Ireland. This secretive and unwholesome diet has created and fostered the dominant opinion in Britain that the 'troubles' in Ireland is a tribal one which is both irrational and incomprehensible; that the Irish are terrorist and the British Army the dominant peace-keepers. The British media has been the single most important agent responsible for such widespread ignorance and racist assumptions - making the public receptive to the government's censorships of the Irish. Secondly; it has weakened both the resolve and the ability of the National Union of Journalists itself to challenge the government in what is the most serious attack on its own very existence-State censorship. To be crued, the media in Britain, as a result of its practise of self censorship on Ireland over the last 20 years has effectively cut its own throat; the one significant protest planned by the NUJ in 1988, a twenty-four hour strike, was abandoned in favour of a lobby of the House of Commons.

In Thatcher's Britain T S Elliot was certainly prophetic:

*"this is the way the world ends not with a bang but a whimper."*





# One year of the broadcasting ban

The following is an extract from a new Troops Out Movement pamphlet - Your Right to

Know. The pamphlet looks at the censorship ban itself and also its implications over the

last year. Available from the TOM office. Price: 20p + post. Bulk orders welcome.

The Home Secretary's order was issued to the BBC under clause 13 (4) of the BBC licence and agreement and to the IBA, which supervises the commercial TV and radio under section 29 (3) of the Broadcasting Act 1981. The order "requires" the BBC and IBA "to refrain from broadcasting any matter which consist of or includes..words spoken..by a person where; a) the person represents an organisation specified b) the words support or solicit or invite support for such an organisation."

**G**uarantees provided by other legislation mean that the ban does not effect words spoken in parliament or during the course of elections. This wording deserves a closer look. It is both more limited in its application than the reaction to it would suggest, and more frightening in its implications than has been generally understood.

## A Closer Look-the Organisations

Three of the organisations covered by the ban are legal. Sinn Fein, Republican Sinn Fein and the Ulster Defence Association. The eight others, some of which are defunct, are already banned under the Emergency Provisions Act and the Prevention of Terrorism Act. They are: the IRA, INLA, Saor Eire (Free Ireland), Fianna Eireann (Youth Movement), Cumann na mBan (Womens Movement), the UVF, UFF and Red Hand Commandos.

The main target of the ban is Sinn Fein which is the only organisation affected which has a campaigning political role with a high profile and which stands candidates in elections. Sinn Fein has both local councillors and an MP.

## A Closer Look:'Inviting Support'

How is support to be defined and who defines it?

The special character of this measure is that although imposed by the government it is left to be interpreted by the media - the networks, producers and individual journalists. This is exactly what the government has done with other matters where ill-informed opinion is widespread. The legislation which forbade the 'promotion' of homosexuality left the meaning of the word to be interpreted by local authorities. A combination of panic about possible breaches of the new law and hostility to the issue resulted in a wider interpretation of the measure than a strictly legal one would sustain. People in the media have reacted to the broadcasting ban in the same way, and with the same effect.

## Confusion and Self-Censorship

Some hours before the ban was announced Tom Hartley, Sinn Fein general secretary, was waiting on the phone for a radio interview when it was abruptly cancelled. In the days

and weeks that followed interviews were cancelled with people who are not members of any of the specified organisations; Bernadette McAliskey, prisoners relatives, the United Campaign Against Plastic Bullets, Participants in phone -in and debating programmes were questioned about their political affiliations; the Pogues song 'Streets of Sorrow / Birmingham 6' was banned by the IBA, campaigners for the right to self-determination of Irish people such as the Troops Out Movement, not necessarily speaking in support of the specified organisations continue to have great difficulty in persuading broadcasters that they are not covered by the ban.

The ban has also been interpreted as extending to cover programmes made even before the ban. An internal Channel 4 briefing (24.10.88) states that the ban covers "any such material recorded at any time in the past - for example, newsreel footage shot before the creation of the Republic of Ireland" As part of its 21st anniversary celebrations, ITV re broadcast 'Creggan' a programme dealing with the experience of some families on a Derry Nationalist estate. The impact of this moving documentary was diminished when the sound of some interviews would inexplicably cease and their words appeared as subtitles on the screen. This was done to comply with the ban though the broadcasting company chose not to make any comment about it before or after the programme was transmitted. Yet the same programme was first transmitted in June 1980 and in its full form won the prestigious international television prize, the Prix Italia. There has always been covert censorship on the issue of the conflict in the North of Ireland (over 50 programmes have been banned or censored).

When nationalist are killed or harassed the media now go to often unelected representatives of other parties such as the Social and Democratic Labour Party (SDLP). Even when Sinn Fein has carried through some initiative on a local constituency issue, it will be the SDLP who are approached for comment. The perspective of the SDLP is more closely allied to that of the British government, and so the alternative nationalist voice has been squeezed out. The government's aim to make Sinn Fein

irrelevant in Irish politics is clear.

In England, Scotland and Wales the effect has been less direct on Sinn Fein since the party does not organise outside Ireland and had almost no media coverage outside the North even before the ban. Outside Ireland the effect bites particularly on the second set of people specified in the order, those who might be construed as 'inviting support' for Sinn Fein.

## Censorship Extends Beyond the Media

When SF councilors toured Britain on speaking engagements in the summer of 1989 they were denied the use of the Town Hall in Brent and all public buildings in Lewisham, Newham and Redditch - all Labour controlled - on the grounds of their alleged advocacy of violence. This allegation is not true but in any case censorship of speech is not covered by the ban. Evidently it will only be a matter of time before any utterance on Ireland at variance with the establishment view will be censored. Gerry Adams, Sinn Fein president and MP has remarked that 'much more serious than whether is cost us votes in Belfast, which is unlikely, is that the British public is being denied the right to information. There's been a war going on here for 20 years.'

## WHAT CAN YOU DO

1. Ask your local radio and TV stations what their policies are in relation to the ban. Ask them to cover Ireland as fully as they can.
2. Support journalists and networks who challenge the ban.
3. Support pickets of broadcasting stations.
4. Participate in phone -in and discussion programmes
5. Write letters to your local papers, MP, MEP and to the Home Office protesting about the ban.
6. Join the campaign for British withdrawal from Ireland and for the self-determination of the Irish people as a whole.

# IRELAND



your right to know

THE CENSORED STRUGGLE



# Building the Withdrawal

In August/September issue of *Troops Out*, Geoff Bell introduced the debate 'After August : What Now?'

It is important at this time that we critically assess what we have achieved and where we are going. The debate is important in and of itself - but also because a tradition of dogmatism and defensiveness in the withdrawal movement (and more generally in the British left) has not encouraged development. It is precisely that development of both organisation and ideas which we need to discuss.

One of the most significant features of the past year was the emergence of the Time to Go movement. Although originally set up as a co-ordinating body for the 20th anniversary it is now evident that TTG is planning to continue. It is therefore important that we are clear about what TTG is attempting to do.

## Breakaway

I do not believe that Time to Go's main aim was to 'broaden the movement' for withdrawal but rather was a breakaway from the established withdrawal movement - and essentially that part of it committed to broadbased work. It was established as a 'breakaway' in order to attempt to win a Troops Out Position with the present Labour Party leadership. A position which had to be based on a British solution to 'Northern Ireland' and therefore necessarily one which did not raise the arguments for Self Determination. The campaign was set up around a charter which raised the question of British withdrawal. The charter though was drawn up to appeal to a chauvinist sentiment: Twenty wasted years and 'yet we are no nearer a solution. Successive British policies have all failed.' The implication being that Britain's intent was to find a solution - but in whose interest? The rest of the charter centred around the argument that there will never be peace in Ireland while Britain remains.

The crux of the question though rests on whether Time to Go was able or intended to open up the debate, draw in new forces and encourage the central question of self determination to be raised within debate. In attempting to draw on populist appeal (over 50% of the British population have consistently stated in opinion polls that Britain should withdraw) Time to Go was focusing on two aspects of Britain's occupation: firstly the civil rights issues eg Stalker, Gibraltar. The current scandal over leaked documents from security forces to Loyalist paramilitary groups would be another example of appealing to liberal forces within the Labour Party where British democracy is necessarily embarrassed.

Secondly Time to Go was appealing to the popular currency of thought that this is an unwinnable war and Britain should no longer be in Ireland - it is time to go. In their view they then had to debunk the argument usually linked to popular statements for withdrawal - its giving into terrorism and by implication be silent on the Republican



movement including Sinn Fein. The central argument then ceased to rest on the right of Irish people to be free from British domination but became centred on whether Britain could find a way to withdraw and leave peace behind.

## British self interest

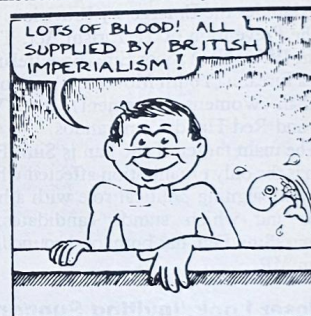
The tensions that existed during the year between Time to Go and the withdrawal movement as a whole were based on the fact that they were a breakaway group who didn't attempt effective campaigning unity and whose political direction necessitated that breakaway. For in order for TTG to achieve populist credibility it needed to undermine other withdrawal organisations. This was necessary so that they could shift the arguments away from the nature of the British state and the reasons for its involvement in Ireland. Its withdrawal position was based on British self interest rather than on Irish peoples right to self determination. A right which is central to TOM's position.

For Troops Out the importance of the prominence of the demand for Self Determination is that to argue for self determination raises the anti-imperialist struggle and poses questions about the role of the British state and the history of that role - all questions about the role of the British state and the history of that role - all questions which the present leadership of the Labour Party find unpalatable. Just this year Neil Kinnock in a radio interview chose to tell the story of his mother looking over his cradle and wishing that he would become the Viceroy of India. This was in response to a question about whether he expected to become the leader of the Labour Party!

Neither is Time To Go concerned with organisational structure around an alliance. Their operation during the year manifested that. For example, despite numerous requests a committee to organise the demonstration in August was not set up until last March and was then folded in June with no explanation.

Quite simply no further meetings were called and individuals from Time to Go took over although TOM had consistently turned up for meetings and worked at organising the demonstration. But more concretely, two local Time to Go branches have recently written to the Time to Go (TTG) leadership asking for clarification over the future of the organisation and its democratic structure. They were told that TTG was not a membership organisation but rather an enabling campaign and therefore it was not necessary to hold a members conference.

They are seeking to be an enabling campaign within specific context however. Not an enabling campaign around or inclusive of the arguments for self determination but rather one which avoids discussing the role of the British State in order to play to the present leadership of the labour party. The TOM would not see a problem with an organisation which acted as a facilitator indeed we would welcome such a move from an open organisation which encouraged debate around the issues and the arguments for self determination. There is also an inherent weakness in the Time to Go position, shown in their inability to translate the NALGO position (this year's conference voted in support of TTG) into a TUC position and indeed their lack of appearance in the mainstream Labour Party conference this



October. It is an inherent weakness because the motion that TTG proposes is "let's debate the issue" - but the populism of debate does not engage any fundamental or concrete support.

## Year of action

It is important to consider where TOM is going by drawing on our own experience not just the implications of TTG. During the past year we set our own programme for a Year of Action. We had a national focus on a series of events and campaigns and co-ordinated local action with a national profile. It was a positive move forward. We also worked locally with other groups to establish Year of Action committees. These committees were set up to organise local activity and win support for British withdrawal/self determination. The make up of these committees varied around the country but included IBRG, LCI and Women and Ireland. The groups locally organised pickets,



# Movement

large meetings (most areas held at least one meeting with well over 300 people), educational - videos, exhibitions, socials. This activity led to an increase in membership for the TOM and there was a significant increase in media coverage despite the problems caused by the broadcasting ban. Importantly people gained confidence in learning to work together and there was an increased recognition of the need to put self determination firmly on the agenda.

There are important lessons to be learnt from this experience - Year of Action Groups enabled good organisational links to develop between local activists with the result of the potential of broadening activity under that network. The positive experience of working together has created more potential for the future.

The difference in priorities that different groups bring are useful and to be respected. For example, in Harringey (London) members of TOM, LCI, IBRG, Women and Ireland, Campaign for a Free Ireland and trade unionists worked together and organised a major public rally on the 20th anniversary of the Civil Rights marches in October 1968.

We went on to organise a day school and also did work on the abuse of travellers in the area and held a public meeting followed by a ceili during the Sinn Fein tour. By working together we not only made valuable links with different groups but also represented the breadth of issues involved.

There are however criticisms to be made of the Year of Action groups. There was little co-ordination between the different groups so there was a poor sense of overall direction and an inability to translate local action onto the national stage.

Time to Go had some success in building their national profile. They managed to get a range of people to sign their charter from politicians to actors, writers, musicians etc. This was in part due to the fact that the charter did not obviously state a political position other than asking people to engage in a debate. The limitation was that those people couldn't be harnessed into activity - they did not attend the TTG show, join the August march or carnival or even engage in a serious letter writing campaign.

The debate over Time to Go has meant an increase in discussion over the past year but has also left the withdrawal movement totally disunited. Careful and long term work to build unity between groups has been

damaged and we now have the task of rebuilding this unity.

## Way forward for TOM

For TOM there are lessons to be drawn from the past year both from the experience of Time to Go and the Year of Action.

1. The experience of the past year prompted an articulation of the arguments for self determination. The demand for self determination is a basic democratic right enshrined by the imperialist powers after the first world war and then re-asserted by the United Nations in their charter in 1960: "All peoples have the right to self-determination; by virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social, and cultural development." UN Human Rights Instrument on Self-Determination 1960.

By not linking the demand for British withdrawal with the right of Irish people to national self-determination the whole politics of the withdrawal movement becomes distorted. The basic framework of the movement is shifted and clarity over arguments lost. In particular: a) That self determination means Britain has no right to control over the future of Ireland politically, militarily or economically. It is for the people of the Ireland to determine the future of Ireland. That support for this basic right should not be conditional on the form that the future of Ireland takes. b) The importance of the struggle against anti-Irish racism in Britain and seeing this linked to the struggle against colonialism. c) The distortion of the progressive working class struggle in Britain while the labour movement does not challenge British imperialism and colonialism.

2. The co-ordination of a strategy for campaigning over the year was positive and helped to give direction to local work. This has led to discussion around the need for a clearer strategy in all areas of our work. We need to focus more clearly on national campaigns but via local activity. To achieve this we need to strengthen our national organisation and ensure that our office is able to deal with an influx of work.

3. Working with other groups which is essential if we are to gain access to a national platform as well as to local groups/people. We need to build on the local networks that have been established and draw positively on the experience of difference. To do this it is

important not to diminish other groups priorities so that we can draw together the maximum number of people who support the building of a broad based movement calling for self determination and British withdrawal. This can though only work when there is a consensus of the need to work together to build a movement and not a single organisation. The campaign against the broadcasting ban is an example of how this can be done. The campaign has been able to work with journalists, trade unions, draw support from MP's and national figures and will hope be able to give a national profile to the arguments against the ban.

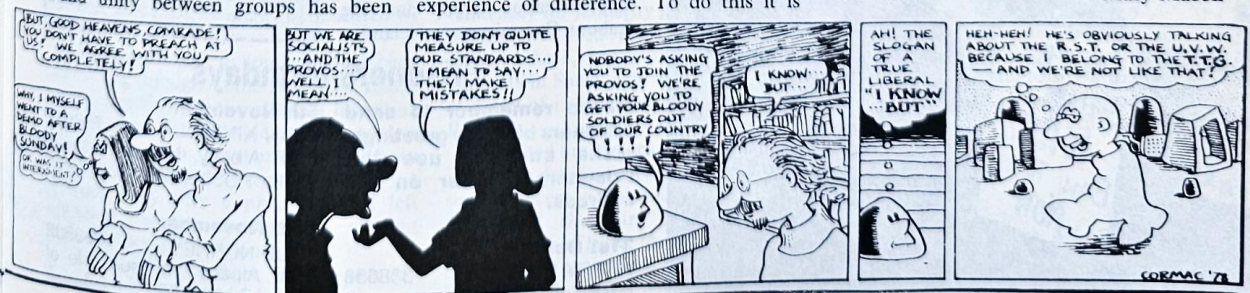
## Democratic demand, democratic organisation

Building a broad based movement is not only having an active membership - rather a willingness to accept difference. The obvious dangers are that activity becomes centred around the lowest common dominator which is why it is a harder option which needs greater clarity about boundaries. For Troops Out the democratic demand for self determination is a key position. But also that there is democratic base to any campaign and that we can achieve unity in action with other organisations. An example of broadbased action is the censorship campaign where the civil liberties issue draws in a spectrum of public opinion and support and where we are able to raise the issue of self determination and the role the British state plays in attempting to silence the voice of Sinn Fein - the one party calling for an end to British imperialism in Ireland.

The challenge to the role of the British state is exactly what Time to Go are not addressing. The question for us is how you translate the energy and support around issues such as censorship into a position around the British imperialist state. It is one of the issues that the movement as a whole needs to address.

The past year has seen disunity and a lack of debate between organisations calling for British withdrawal. It is precisely these problems which we need to overcome if we are to move forward. Open discussion and unity in action must be achieved if we are to continue to build an effective movement on the principle of the right of Irish people to self-determination and of immediate necessity the removal of British troops from Ireland.

Mary Mason





# Lethal Weapon

The Haringey branch of the Troops Out Movement called a picket of the offices of the *Daily Mirror* on August 31st to protest at an offensive photograph that appeared in the Six Counties edition of the *Mirror* on August 14th.

The sickening photograph showed a woman modelling with a plastic bullet gun, flanked on either side by leering squaddies. The picture was particularly offensive as it appeared only five days after the death of Seamus Duffy, who was shot by the RUC with a plastic bullet gun.

Seamus, aged 15 was the 17th person to be killed by plastic or rubber bullets and was the 8th child victim of these lethal weapons. Countless others have been injured and maimed.

The T.O.M also registered a complaint with the Press Council concerning the offensive nature of the photograph and the caption glamorising the plastic bullet.

The picket was supported by TOM branches from all over London and collected over 200 signatures to a petition condemning the use of the photograph. The petition also demanded an apology from the *Mirror's* millionaire owner, Robert Maxwell.

David Madden

# Lethal Weapon 2

On Friday 11th August, the day of Seamus Duffy's funeral, Brighton branch of the Troops Out Movement and the Women and Ireland Network organised



Troops Out Movement picket of the *Daily Mirror*.

Photo: Sarah Booker

## Obituary

**Jim Ennis / Seamus MacAonghusa**  
Died London Lighthouse, Aug 11th 1989

Jim was a familiar figure around Brixton, during the last ten years to all those involved with Irish issues both cultural and political. He was a regular attender of marches and benefits for *Troops Out* and Irish prisoners' groups. One of his unfinished projects was to paint a mural dedicated to Terence MacSwiney on a gable near Brixton Prison- a project hopefully his many friends can bring to fruition.

Jim was also a very accomplished and original performance artist, who, as 'Wendy Wattage' appeared in gay venues, community festivals and marches all over London.

He brought together all strands of his many talents and strong political commitment in his dance performance 'For Bobby Sands'. I was present at a performance of this in May 1982 at The Old White Horse, during an evening commemorating the

hunger strikers. Together with Chris playing on the keyboards and singing his song about Sands, Jim performed the most amazing mime and dance (on stilts), with endless, elegant changes of costume. The dance ended with a beautiful sequence of the dead Bobby Sands growing wings and then flying gracefully off the stage as 'The Spirit of Freedom'.

Jim will be greatly missed as an original different voice, and as quiet, strong, supportive friend.

There will be a Memorial Gathering and an exhibition of Jim Ennis' work (costumes, paintings, drawings, banners, designs and photographs) at The Oval House Theatre, Kennington Oval London SE11 (Oval Tube, Northern Line) Sunday Oct 22nd 6.00pm. This will also be a fund-raising event for Irish Action on Aids. Everyone is welcome. There will be food and drink and music.

Nina Hutchison

a picket of the Army Recruitment Office in the centre of Brighton.

Black flags of mourning were displayed and leaflets distributed explaining the circumstances of Duffy's death. "Seamus Duffy

was walking along a Belfast street with two friends There was no rioting. An officer in an RUC patrol, passing in an armoured vehicle, fired a plastic bullet at Seamus's chest. He died shortly afterwards"

The leaflet went on to point out why Britain is the source of violence in Ireland and urged people to join the T.O.M in helping to stop it.

Over twenty people took part in the picket, which was supported by the Irish in Britain Representation Group and the Labour Committee on Ireland.



## EVENTS

### Birmingham Broadcasting ban week of action.

Special screenings of the banned film "To Die for Ireland". The government even tried to get it banned in America- essential viewing. Tuesday 17th October- Shaheed Udham Singh Centre, 346 Soho Rd, Handsworth.

Wednesday 18th October- Zebedeas Cafe, 190 Alum Rock Road, Saltley B.8

Thursday 17th October- Sparkhill Social and Cultural Centre, Stratford Road. All screenings start at 7.30pm

### Protest Pickets supported by NUJ

Thursday 19th October 12-1pm at BRMB Studios, Radio House, Aston Rd North, 4-6pm at Central TV Studios, Broad St.

### Birmingham 6

Public Meeting with Chris Mullin MP, author of "An Error of Judgement" Monday 16th October-Library Exhibition Hall, Chamberlain Square, 7.30pm.

### LONDON

#### Lift the Ban march and rally

1pm, Rally, Dominion Theatre, Tottenham Court Rd

#### WOMEN & IRELAND GROUP Videos and discussion

2nd November- "Stop Strip Searches"

7th December- "Mother Ireland"

4th January- "Irish News British Stories."

7pm 52/54 Featherstone St.London EC1

### BRISTOL

#### T.O.M Public Meeting

Tues. 10th October 7-30pm Report from Delegation to Belfast and Dublin, plus the video "Off our knees" Shepherds Hall, Old Market, Bristol

## Prisoners birthdays

Please remember to send prisoners birthday greetings. Make sure to use the Prisoners number on the address.

### 31st October

HARRY DUGGAN 338638  
HMP Full Sutton, York YO4 1PS

### 5th November

SEAN KINSELLA 758661  
HMP Albany, Newport, Isle of Wight, PO30 5RS

### 11th November

PAUL NORNEY 863532  
HMP Albany, Newport, Isle of Wight, PO30 5RS



# IMPERIALISM IN SOUTH ASIA

On this page Troops Out offers space to Anti-racist/Anti-imperialist campaigns to publicise their views and activities. Campaigns wishing to use this facility should contact Troops Out at the address on page 2.

South Asia Solidarity Group (SASG) is an organisation with a broad anti-imperialist and socialist perspective. The purpose of the group is, on the one hand to support struggles against imperialism and its allies in South Asia, and on the other, to expose the racism and deliberate mystification in the dominant British analysis of South Asia. SASG works with people and organisations involved in democratic socialist struggles in South Asia; in Britain SASG is involved in fighting racism.

True information on South Asian politics is almost impossible to get from the British newspapers. The truth is hidden and distorted. Political conflict is guaranteed to be described in the same way; religious hatred, ethnic tension, caste prejudice and violence. Anyone who listens to the British media's coverage of the war in Ireland can see the similarities. The establishment will do anything it can to hide the facts of state repression.

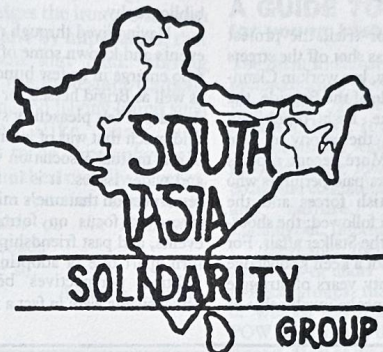
## THE BRITISH PERSPECTIVE

The creation of these perspectives can be traced back, into history. Up until 1947 the British colonial administration ruled over what is now India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka and Bangladesh. Just as the British economy was shaped by its control and use of imperial wealth to sustain the Industrial Revolution, so too was British society shaped by the empire. For the British ruling class, the creation of a racist ideology of British supremacy was essential to get the British people to play their required role within the empire.

The dominant attitudes to what happens in South Asia are in part a modern inheritance of these racist ideologies. The underlying establishment idea about any internal conflict in South Asia is that people once chained into the British empire can never succeed without it. They are not "advanced" enough—they do not have a true understanding of the British parliamentary ideal. The establishment view of political struggle, even to the level of national liberation struggles, is obscured by racism.

Political struggle in South Asia has been intensifying throughout the 1980's. Sri Lanka has been shaken by the national liberation struggle of the Tamil people; at the same time the Sri Lankan government has been challenged by the insurrectionary JVP—a political party with a programme of left sounding populist rhetoric and virulent Sinhalese/Buddhist nationalism.

In Bangladesh there is the recently founded left alliance which is strengthening



daily, unifying workers and peasants against the military government. India is by far the largest country in the region, and its size is reflected in the complex nature of political forces at work. In Punjab state in Northern India, central government is involved in a war against Sikh militants. In the states of Andhra Pradesh and Bihar, several marxist parties have, alongside the people of those areas, taken up arms to defend themselves against the police-landlord power bloc.

## SASG

SASG exists to publicise information on these and other issues.

To this end the group has held a series of public meetings, educational and videos. SASG has developed direct links with the people who are themselves involved SASG has organised many open meetings for speakers who hold a broad range of left positions in South Asia. Whereas there is a tendency for solidarity politics in Britain to become divorced from the real political situation here, SASG links the struggles it supports in South Asia with the experiences of many of its members as black people in Britain.

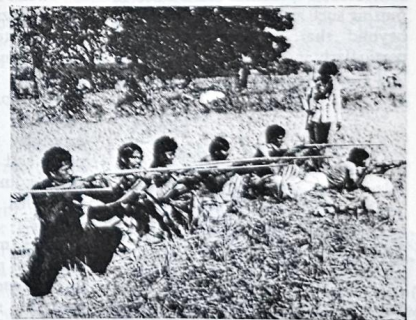
Limited here by space it is difficult to go into much detail on specific issues. SASG has several recent publications on Sri Lanka ('Beyond the Fire') and on India ('Battlefields of India: the Crisis of the Indian State') which are available. But by knowing something about the nature of the Indian

state, the politics of South Asia becomes far clearer. Contrary to what both Indian and British governments put out, Indian society is not ruled by "caste" or "ethnic" tensions. Since Independence, the ruling interests are easy to see: India has been controlled by a loose alliance of the big industrial and agricultural bosses, semi-feudal landlords and foreign capital.

## BRITISH RACISM

Racism is part of the lifeblood of the British state. The state's treatment of Asian culture in Britain is part of its general racist political strategy to depoliticise black culture in Britain: to remove the threat of resistance. If a community shows the ability to resist it, the British establishment, which includes the Labour councils, will do its best to destroy that resistance. The recent SASG pamphlet 'Asian Culture-Black Resistance' aims to show how this is attempted at a cultural level and how it is resisted. The pamphlet includes a critique of a favourite Labour policy, multiculturalism: the policy of encouraging any cultural activity as long as it is safe and offers no challenge.

In Ireland, the cultural department of Sinn Féin has pointed out the similarities of these policies to the way the Southern Irish Government is promoting Irish culture. On the one hand, Irish dancing is officially sponsored, on the other, various Irish establishment intellectuals have been carefully rewriting Irish history to play down the social and political importance (past and present) of Ireland's revolutionary struggles.



SASG's activities are currently directed in two ways: publicising information on socialist and progressive struggles in South Asia and challenging and fighting racism here. In Britain, we see these activities as interlinked.

Hal Maldermot  
South Asia Solidarity Group  
c/o 173 Archway Rd.  
London N6 5BL



## DAUGHTER OF DERRY:

The story of Brigid Sheils Makowski  
Makowski.

Margie Bernard

PLUTO PRESS LONDON £4.95

Brigid Sheils Makowski's father was Paddy Sheils, a recognised leader of the republican forces in Ireland prior to, and after, the Dublin Rising which occurred at Easter 1916. Paddy was an early recruit to the Irish Volunteers in 1913, was the first of the Mountjoy hunger-strikers in 1920 to be released, and is mentioned in several works including David Hogan's *The Four Glorious Years*. This book tells the story of one of his daughters who, in the years following his death in 1957, dedicated to follow the revolutionary footsteps of her rebel father, along a dangerous, sad and rocky road. In a literary sense we are taken along that road as if barefoot, and all the pain of her local Bogside community, the north and Ireland's struggles generally are well documented by Margie Bernard, a social historian and poet.

The book opens with an occupation of the British Consulate in Philadelphia in the summer of 1970 when Brigid and her children successfully seized the headlines in an attempt to expose the antics of the British Army of Occupation and the plight of northern nationalists. It covers many major events such as internment, the torture of those held

without charge or trial, the protest movement that was shot off the streets on Bloody Sunday, her work in Clann-na-Gael, the Battle of the Bogside, the splits within the Irish republican movement, and the agony of the hunger-strikes. More recent aspects cover the informers/paid perjurers who assisted the British forces and the show-trials which followed; the shoot-to-kill policy and the Stalker affair. For those who have not a keen knowledge of this past twenty years of struggle this work would prove invaluable as

an introduction to more detailed research, as it includes extensive notes, an index and a three page select bibliography.

Having lived through many of the events and known some of the people who emerge in its few hundred pages, as well as Brigid herself for some three decades, I felt pleasantly surprised to find much that was of interest, in spite of our mutual association with Derry and wider issues. It is in the pain of retrospection that one's mind is again forced to focus on former historic events, and past friendships that were torn apart due to adopting differing political perspectives because the actual events were in fact a mutual and

intense reality. This work is controversial for those reasons, and the detailed research by the author gives us something much more than a series of personal reflections of a northern Catholic, socialist and feminist.

Fionnbarra O'Dochartaigh,

## BURNING YOUR OWN Glenn Patterson

Abacus, £3.99

Recently issued in paperback, Glenn Patterson's first novel, *Burning Your Own* was published last year to favourable reviews and the award of the Rooney Prize for Irish Literature. It was also a co-recipient of the Betty Trask first novel award.

Such plaudits and prizes were well deserved and mark an exciting and timely debut.

Set in Belfast in the summer of 1969, on a mixed, though mainly Protestant housing estate, the novel centres upon the stumbling attempts of a young boy, Mal Martin, to locate himself in his world at a time when events beyond it - men landing on the moon, riots at the bottom of the Shankill - threaten to unhinge all he knows.

Crucial to his development is the compelling and dangerous figure of Francy Hagan, not only a Catholic but "a Rebel and a Taig" who inhabits the subterranean world of a council tip, in every respect beyond the pale. Hagan it is who sabotages the estate's Twelfth Night bonfire, on which is to burn an effigy not of the Pope but of "Gerry Fitt Agent of Rome" and it is, Hagan who lends fire to the novel's memorable and powerful climax.

That Patterson is able to refract the turmoil of these events through the consciousness of a young boy, and with no loss of impact or detail, is one of his most notable achievements. Strong on vernacular and the texture of working class lives, what emerges from the book is a wholly convincing and compassionate portrait of a community on the brink of rupture, tellingly told.

Andrew Cowan

## The Captive Voice/An Glor Gafa

A magazine "written and illustrated by Irish Republican Prisoners of War". I'm impressed and amazed in several different ways at once. In the first place, I assume there must have been considerable practical difficulties in putting such a magazine together. But beyond that, it seems to me a particularly inspiring act of resistance that as number one target in a British or Irish prison,

in a system of deliberate and maximised inhumanity, people can turn that extreme situation back against itself and, refusing to be mentally brutalised, can produce something like this; humorous or incisive or measured or moving, as these pieces of writing are.

What is also so impressive about the magazine is just how informed contributors are. Whereas imprisonment is supposed to mean being cut off from the world, *The Captive Voice/An Glor Gafa* shows the complete opposite, with articles, especially the political and cultural news and analysis, testifying to a sharper knowledge of current affairs than that of most people on the outside.

The magazine contains a great variety of material: as well as articles on news and politics, there are reviews, cartoons, short stories, poems and drawings. The mood is best summed up by the back page article, "Twenty Years of Learning" which discusses the long journey made by Republicanism over the last twenty years. Where there was once the view that imperialism for Ireland simply meant the presence of the British, the understanding of a mature struggle goes far deeper, as seen in this and other articles, to recognise cultural and economic imperialism as less brutal but more pervasive barriers to self-determination. It is this understanding which emerges in the article on the

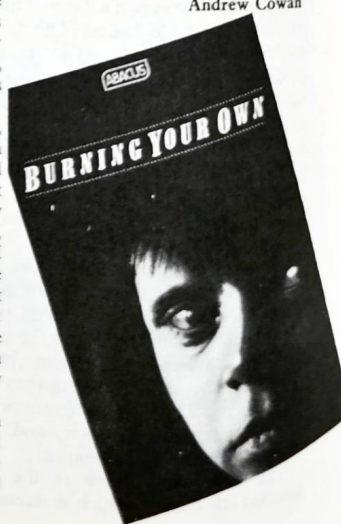
imperialist culture of lifestyle which imposes itself throughout Ireland; or in the article "Expanding Horizons" which points out that with 1992 approaching and continuing pressure from NATO, there are international forces which "may prove a greater threat than Britain itself".

The same movement towards a deeper and more complex politics is traced in the article on women and the national struggle. This sees a development by Republican women from the view of "the armed struggle as the one and only struggle" to the understanding that women's oppression will not magically disappear with the last British soldier, but must be fought now for as long as it takes.

Articles on pollution, extradition, the plight of lifers and Hillsborough make for an interesting range and balance of subject matter. We also get an idea of life on the inside, especially through an excellent short story, "Very Important Person". Finally, I want to mention the impressive sense of optimism that comes out throughout the magazine, measured but nevertheless confident perhaps because whilst the contributors may have seen British imperialism at its harshest, they also know themselves.

Katy Watson

*The Captive Voice/An Glor Gafa* will appear quarterly. Autumn issue available from the TOM office, £1.10 (incl. p. + p)





**Field Day Pamphlets**  
**numbers 13-15**  
**Nationalism, Colonialism**  
**and Literature:**  
 13. **Nationalism: Irony &**  
**Commitment, by Terry Eagleton.**  
 14. **Modernism and Imperialism,**  
**by Fredric Jameson.**  
 15. **Years and Decolonization, by**  
**Edward W. Said.**  
 £6 set of 3

Readers of the *Observer* in particular will be aware of a recent venture by Chatto & Windus to revive "the best tradition of pamphleteering." The *CounterBlasts* series, which includes Paul Foot's case for a British withdrawal from Ireland (Why Britain Must Get Out. Paul Foot. *CounterBlast* 2. £2.99) bills itself as "an important new step in British writing...investing an old form with new vigour." The essays, all by established writers, all English, are intended to provide a "forum for voices of dissent." They will challenge "familiar and accepted values" and will confront "the crucial issues of the day."

*Observer* readers, moreover, can exclusively subscribe to a limited edition boxed set of the first ten pamphlets, individually signed by the authors themselves.

A longer-running, and far less hyped series of pamphlets is that published by the Derry-based Field Day Theatre Company, whose directors include Seamus Heaney and Tom Paulin. Issued in groups of three, these are similarly intended to confront "established opinions, myths and stereotypes." And they are equally attractively packaged.

On the other hand, whilst the *CounterBlasts* series may make some impact amongst the chattering classes, it is doubtful indeed that numbers 13-15 in the Field Day series will interest any but a handful of readers. It is something of a puzzle that they should appear in pamphlet form at all: unless names such as Kreisteva and Bakhtin form part of your mental furniture, and unless you are preoccupied with questions of modernist literary style, then it is highly unlikely that any of these essays will engage with, let alone alter, your views and opinions.

Which is not to say that they have no value, or that there aren't incidental rewards for the lay-reader. Edward Said is particularly interesting on the history of imperialism and argues convincingly for a definition that accepts the importance of cultural

as well as economic and political processes. Fredric Jameson similarly presents a useful analysis of the concept of imperialism, and an almost intelligible definition of modernism, but is otherwise displayed at his most abstruse, examining E.M. Forster's *Howards End* for evidence of "linguistic peculiarity" and Joyce's *Ulysses* for the absence of it.

Terry Eagleton, as always, writes with verve and (relative) clarity. He describes exactly the "impossible irony" of nationalism (and of other forms of political resistance): that the identity of the oppressed is one given by the oppressor, and that it is necessary to embrace this identity in order to destroy it. In passing, he also acknowledges the irony of his own position, and by implication, that of Jameson and Said. Having dissected the Protestant/Catholic opposition, and having found such categories (like 'man' and 'woman') to be "metaphysically empty", he then ruefully remarks, "All that remains now is to explain this on the Falls and Shankill roads"

Quite so.

Andrew Cowan

## VIDEO

**Sentenced**, Transfer of Prisoners Video Project, 1989, 45 mins.

There are 40 Category A Irish Republican prisoners in English jails. Almost half are serving life sentences, the rest 15 to 20 years. Almost all have relatives in Ireland. Whilst members of the 'security forces' sentenced even for 'terrorist' type offences in the north of Ireland are routinely transferred to English prisons, and Loyalists convicted in Britain get back to Ireland with no problems, only five Republicans have been transferred since 1970, four after long hunger strikes, and two have died on hunger strike without their request being granted.

*Sentenced* examines the case for repatriation. Its central point is that the British government's refusal to transfer Republicans to prisons nearer home punishes not so much prisoners as their friends and families, and in practice this means above all women. It is women who are left to deal with visits which become immensely more stressful, expensive, difficult and infrequent, reduced to two or three a year. Many prisoners have elderly parents whose ill health prevents them making the long trip to England, and the effect on young children is also cruel: visits are both looked forward to and dreaded, and they meet imprisoned parents only in the most distressing circumstances. Mothers



## NEW DIRECTORY: 'IRISH IN BRITAIN' and A GUIDE TO LONDON for young Irish people

The Brent Irish Advisory Service have produced a new (1989) version of their very useful 'IRISH IN BRITAIN DIRECTORY'. It's 139 pages cover an impressively wide range of listings grouped under four main headings: Social and community, Education, arts and culture, Business and Commercial, Information and Advice.

Inevitably, there are omissions and errors-eg under 'Campaigning and political groups, there is no mention of Women and Ireland Groups, the POW Campaign or the Irish Prisoners' Appeal. Most of the descriptions of the groups included are accurate, but I must take issue with the following about Troops Out-(not all that's said!)-"supports the view that the British Army is the cause of the current situation in Ireland" We know

must then hold families together under this stress.

Add to this the fistful of anti-Irish legislation, police practice and embedded racism, and it is easy to see why even when a visit is actually achieved, it will occur in such a traumatic context as to make meaningful personal contact ridiculously difficult. Irish people visiting Britain must face the nightmare of the PTA, with possible questioning, detention or exclusion from Britain. One man travelling to visit his son in prison was arrested, charged, sentenced and subsequently died in an English jail. For women, arrest carries the added horror of strip-searching, and the video contains vivid personal accounts of the humiliation this imposes. Prison authorities have also developed the technique of 'ghosting'- of suddenly transferring prisoners without informing their visitors. And even without all this, visiting an alienating and racist country like England would still be unpleasant enough in itself.

Not surprisingly, this refusal to repatriate prisoners violates international law. The European Convention on the Transfer of

sometimes the Army does indeed act (and kill) autonomously, but this seriously oversimplifies their role and our political line

The information given on abortion caused a furore in Dublin last month. There was a launch at which government ministers gave the Irish Ambassador in London who wrote the 'welcome' preface, they obviously hadn't read the thing. All copies have been withdrawn in the South.

Another problem is that the only information on gay organisations here is listed under "Advice and counselling for women" and there is no information given on HIV or AIDS counselling/information.

The section on Health in the Action Group for Irish Youth's handbook 'A Guide to London' is much more informative on that score, and it's brief being wider, it includes some good information on coping with London in general-jobs, housing, social security. But I wasn't impressed with their advice on how to find out 'what's happening in London'... "The best information..." they claim, is available daily in the Evening Standard newspaper or in...Time Out or City-Limits! What's wrong with the three Irish papers available in London for starters?

Nina Hutchison

### Adresses-

Irish in Britain Directory, Brent Irish Advisory Service, Electric House, 296 Willesdae Lane, London NW2 5HW.

price £3.00 + p&p

Guide to London for Young Irish People, pub Action Group for Irish Youth, 5-15 Cromer Street, London WC1H 8LS.

price £1.50 to individuals (post free)

*Sentenced* Persons actively recommends transfer over international boundaries to a prison near home, near friends and family and in the prisoner's own cultural environment. Britain has signed and ratified this, but continues to violate it anyway.

The video covers a great deal of material, but it is very clear and well organised, using interviews with prisoners' relatives, campaign groups, lawyers, church figures and so on. Its coverage of strip-searching is excellent, but I would have liked to know more about women prisoners, who are barely mentioned. In addition to the factual accounts, visual footage of the journey progressing via boats and trains to England, intercut with shots of maps marked with routes, as well as some very atmospheric music, make the video not only informative but moving, too.

*Sentenced* is available for hire from the TOM office, and will be screened as part of the 'Right to Know' festival at 2.30pm, on Friday 20th October, at the Thomas Calton Centre, Alpha Steet, Peckham SE15 (women only)

Katy Watson



## Wrong Facts

### Dear Troops Out

I was recently looking at the latest edition of *Troops Out* Aug/Sep 1989. On page 19 is published a 'Fact File' - 'Children Killed by Security Forces since 1989'. Unfortunately, there are several errors and omissions in this Fact File.

I enclose my own list for your information. I have not included any information about children knocked down by British Army (BA) vehicles, just children that have been shot, which in itself is pretty damning of British strategy, and their contempt for human life in Ireland.

In addition, the following names on the Fact File list are not on mine for the reasons given:-

**William Warnock** (15) UDA member knocked down by BA vehicle during street disturbances Newtownards Rd, Belfast 16th Oct. 1972.

**Gerald McAuley** (15) shot by Loyalists, during Loyalist mob attack on nationalist district, Waterville St., Belfast 15th Aug 1969.

**Brenda McPoland** - no record of **Margaret Campbell**, I have **Martha Campbell** (13) shot by Loyalist whilst walking along Springhill Ave. Belfast 13th May 1972.

**Michael Magee** (15) Fianna Eireann (IRA Youth Section) accidentally shot, New Barnsley Parade, Belfast 13th May 1972.

**Stephen McCabe and Phillip Rafferty** - no record of

**Michael Scott** (10) killed by Loyalists, who blew up his home, Old Park Ave, Belfast 11th Feb. 1978. His grandmother, Mary Smyth, was also killed.

**David McCafferty**, I have **David McCaffrey** (14) but also **Margaret-Gargan** (13) and **John Dougal** (16) together with two adults who were killed at Ballymurphy, Belfast, on 9th July 1972. The BA kept quiet but it is strongly felt that they were involved in these killings. Could have been Loyalists but unlikely.

**Phillip Rafferty** (14) killed by Loyalists. Body found shortly after being abducted Grants Ring, Belfast 30th Jan. 1973.

Sadly, but not unexpectedly, the list needs to be added to with the killing of **Seamus Duffy** (15) on 9th August 1989.

Name & address supplied, Belfast

## Facts wrong

### Dear Troops Out

I must question the usefulness of the 'Fact File' in the last issue, showing a breakdown of statistics on the number of children killed by the 'security forces'. Firstly are the children's deaths somehow more 'tragic' than those of adults? Secondly, there was no reference to the number of children killed by the IRA. This kind of emotionalism and obvious partiality does no favours to anyone. Murder is wrong whether it is committed by the British Army or by the IRA. Whilst agreeing that British troops should be pulled out from Northern Ireland, I also happen to find it sad when, for example, a member of the RUC is shot dead in front of his wife and children.

James Neill  
Norwich

## Time To Go

### Dear Troops Out

I would like to contribute to the debate about building a withdrawal movement in this country.

Surely the demand "Troops out now" is an obstacle to that aim. Saying "out now" leads to many unnecessarily complicated arguments about the mechanism of withdrawal. This is hardly our over-riding concern as English people. Obviously the troops should never have gone in and it follows that they should come out immediately, but the concern of a sudden withdrawal leaving behind a bloodbath is not unfounded. In the interests of all parties concerned an orderly return of troops to barracks, combined with a ceasefire and negotiations (with no exclusions) would form the basis for a peaceful departure of troops. Certain questions about the UDR and RUC, as well as the 26 counties armed forces would have to be clarified; these all revolve around the role of the State in Ireland-north and south. But these matters can only be finally determined by the Irish people themselves.

This brings me to the other demand of the Troops Out Movement, "Self-determination for the Irish people as a whole" This slogan is a statement of the real basis of the T.O.M and is what any withdrawal movement should be built on.

In criticising the T.O.M for its emphasis on 'out now', I still believe that the movement, with its long term practical experience and record of consistent non-sectarian work over Ireland, can play a major role in forming a broadbased movement for withdrawal.

The 20th anniversary in August was a failure in terms of mobilisation. There were two separate marches, a 'carnival' with second rate bands (where were The Pogues, Christy Moore and Lou Reed all of whom were rumoured to be interested in playing?) The organisers of Time To Go, responsible for the demo and carnival, are the same political groupings (SWP and IMG) who took over the T.O.M steering committee at the annual conference prior to the Hunger Strikes and whose incompetence led to not a single demonstration in support of the strikers 5 demands, and left Hunger Strike Committees in the dark as regards propaganda material, information and co-ordination of activities. After the Hunger Strike these groups pulled out completely and went elsewhere to build their parties (not the withdrawal movement) These groups have been up to the same thing again.

Time To Go has put forward their Charter, Rallies and Conferences with 'star' speakers and signatories, as a way forward. They made some inroads into the Labour movement, such as the NALGO conference decision to adopt the Charter. However I would argue that their style of political activism is geared to 'revolutionary socialism', and aimed at big names, leadership and bureaucracies. This may well have some success in the short term by

popularising the issue, but a long term strategy must be built on a firm concrete base, which can prevent resolutions and 'leaders' from changing their minds. This means grass-roots organisation and should involve participation in the debate at every level. The T.O.M with local branches and a national office and a democratic structure as the potential to achieve this.

Yours in solidarity

Nestor Smith  
London

## Terrorist -says who?

### Dear Troops Out

In the Aug/Sep issue of *Troops Out* there appeared an article 'Justice, what Justice' by Bob Woffinden. It was obviously a well researched and informative article but I was dismayed to find the unqualified use of terms such as "terrorist" "Irish terrorist" etc. used throughout.

It was the British Empire which was built on terror, murder, torture and the exploitation of peoples all over the world. Resistance in Ireland, England's first colony, inspired countries world wide to gain their independence by the method understood by Britain -armed struggle.

It is not coincidence that the term 'terrorist' is normally applied to those in opposition to imperialist powers. The 'Contra rebels' of Central-America, for example, often seem to escape this category.

Those peoples who have achieved independence from Britain through armed struggle changed overnight from 'terrorist' to freedom fighters and recognised national leaders

The two main combatants in Britain's war on Ireland are the British Army and the Irish Republican Army. The British Army is an imperialist army of occupation, the Irish Republican Army is fighting for the democratic right of national self-determination. If we are going to take an anti-imperialist position on Ireland, we should be careful to avoid using terminology that is misleading and that lends itself to imperialist British propaganda.

Yours in solidarity.

A.J.O'Leary  
London

### Dear Troops Out

I am writing on behalf of the socialist film group whose previous productions have included 'The Cause of Ireland' and 'The People's Flag'

We are currently researching a film project on the British military. as part of this research we are trying to contact men and women who have left the services in recent years, and who may be willing to be interviewed about their experiences.

If you have a story to tell, or know of someone who does, please write with details to Chris Reeves, Platform Films, 13 Tankerton House, Tankerton Street, London WC1H 8HP, or ring: 01-278 8394

## Irish Children Killed by British Forces since 1969

	Date	Place	Killers
1. Patrick Rooney (9)	15th Aug. 1969	Belfast	RUC
2. Leo McGuigan (16)	9th Aug. 1971	Belfast	BA
3. Desmond Healey (14)	9th Aug. 1971	Belfast	BA
4. Annette McGavigan (14)	6th Sept. 1971	Derry	BA
5. Martin McShane (16)	14th Sept. 1971	Coalisland	BA
6. Kevin McIlhinney (16)	30th Jan. 1972	Derry	BA
7. Michael Connors (14)	1st Mar. 1972	Belfast	RUC
8. John Mahon (16)	" " "	"	"
9. Francis Rowntree (11)	22nd Apr. 1972	Belfast	BA (RB)
10. Manus Deery (15)	19th May 1972	Derry	BA
11. Daniel Hegarty (16)	31st July 1972	Derry	BA
12. Alexander Moorhead (16)	7th Oct. 1972	Newtownstewart	BA
13. Kevin Heatley (12)	28th Feb. 1973	Newry	BA
14. Anthony McDowell (12)	19th Apr. 1973	Belfast	BA
15. Charles Irvine (16)	13th July 1975	Belfast	BA
16. Stephen Geddis (10)	30th Aug. 1975	Belfast	BA (PB)
17. Majella O'Hare (12)	14th Aug. 1976	Whitecross	BA
18. Brian Stewart (13)	10th Oct. 1976	Belfast	BA (PB)
19. Michael Neill (16)	24th Oct. 1977	Belfast	BA
20. John Boyle (16)	11th July 1978	Dunloy	BA
21. Doreen McGuinness (16)	1st Jan. 1980	Belfast	BA
22. Paul Moan (15)	31st Mar. 1980	Belfast	BA
23. Michael McCartan (16)	24th July 1980	Belfast	RUC
24. Paul Whitters (15)	25th Apr. 1981	Derry	RUC(PB)
25. Julie Livingstone (14)	13th May 1981	Belfast	BA (PB)
26. Carol Anne Kelly (12)	22nd May 1981	Belfast	BA (PB)
27. Danny Barrett (15)	9th July 1981	Belfast	BA
28. Stephen McConomy (11)	19th Apr. 1982	Derry	BA (PB)
29. Seamus Duffy (15)	9th Aug. 1989	Belfast	BA (PB)



# One day at a time....

July

August

**18th**  
A civilian, John McNulty, is shot dead by the IRA in S Armagh. They say he was a police informer.

**20th**  
At the Court of Appeal in London, the appeal of the Guildford Four (victims of a frame-up) is postponed from October to January 1990. This is at the request of the Four's lawyers.

**21st**  
Also in the Court of Appeal, an ex-soldier from Birmingham has a 13 year sentence reduced to 9 years. He was convicted of manslaughter and attempted murder for stabbing two people in a pub because they allegedly "taunted" customers about the killing of two Army corporals by the IRA in Belfast.

**23rd**  
A civilian, John Devine, is shot dead by loyalists at his home in W Belfast.

**24th**  
Thatcher reshuffles her cabinet, transferring N.Ireland Secretary Tom King to the Ministry of Defence and replacing him with Peter Brooke, who had been Chairperson of the Conservative Party. Brooke was born into the British aristocracy and is distantly related to the N.Ireland Brookeborough dynasty, which provided the Stormont prime minister from 1943 to 1963 among other things. New junior ministers at the Northern Ireland Office are John Cope, Peter Bottomley and Lord Skelmersdale.

An RUC reservist dies from injuries caused by an IRA bomb near Cushendall, Co. Antrim, on 7th July.

**26th**  
In the House of Commons the Fair Employment Bill (N.Ireland) passes its final stage and becomes law on the 28th. The Bill is meant to outlaw discrimination in employment; during its gestation in the House of Commons it was strengthened, but then weakened as it passed through the House of Lords, emerging as a puny bill.

**27th**  
A civil servant at the Foreign Office, Patrick Haseldine, is sacked because of a letter he wrote to the *Guardian* in December criticising Thatcher for hypocrisy. The letter contrasted her extradition softness towards some white South African government agents (who had been allowed to leave Britain and return home, thus escaping trial) with the extradition hardness with which she attacked the Irish and Belgian governments about Father Patrick Ryan.

**29th**  
Figures released by the Northern Ireland Office show that £1.26 million has been paid in compensation to householders for damages caused by RUC/Army house searches in 1988/9. This is more than double the amount paid in 1987/8.

**31st**  
In Belfast the IRA breaches top level security to plant a bomb at the High Court, which causes great damage.

Five local authorities in the east of Ireland present objections to a proposed new nuclear reactor at Wylfa, N.Wales: they would be as much at risk as areas in Wales and England.

**2nd**

The EC Commission offers structural funds to the Republic of Ireland of £3 billion for 1989-93 (it had sought £3.7 billion under the new expanded funding for poorer EC countries).

**9th**

Seamus Duffy (aged 15) is killed by a plastic bullet fired by a member of the RUC from landrover. He was the 17th victim of plastic and rubber bullets, 8 of whom were children. Eye witnesses say there was no rioting at the time: the RUC attacks on bonfires commemorating the introduction of internment in 1971.

**10th**

The editorial of the *Daily Mirror* calls for a complete withdrawal of troops from N.Ireland. And a telephone poll on the 11th on TV-AM produces a 77% majority in favour of withdrawal.

**12th**

In Derry there is a huge loyalist march organised by the Apprentice Boys commemorating the ending of the siege of Derry in 1689. An IRA bomb in the city centre-not on the route of the march-explodes hours before the march. In Belfast a nationalist is seriously injured by a plastic bullet when the RUC open up on alleged rioters. There is also a withdrawal march in London organised by Time To Go.

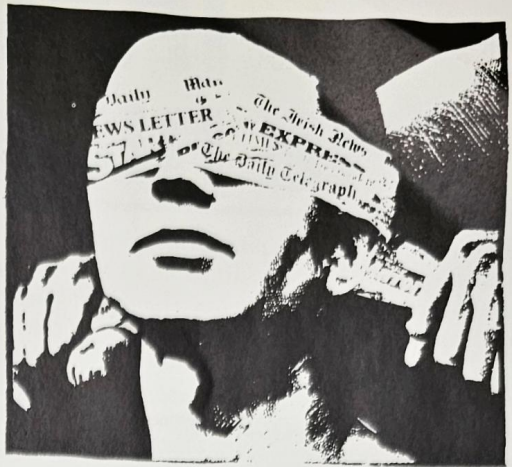
**13th**

In Belfast there is a huge nationalist march commemorating the introduction of internment in 1971 and the twentieth anniversary of the deployment of the British Army in the North. It includes the TOM delegation. There is an exorbitant RUC attendance, including a cameo role for the new RUC Chief, Hugh Annasley.

**14th**  
**THE TWENTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF BRITISH TROOPS ON THE STREETS OF NORTHERN IRELAND.** There is a large march in Derry, followed by riots, and riots in Belfast (which last through to the next day).

The new N.Ireland Secretary Peter Brooke meets the leaders of the two main unionist parties, James Molyneux and Ian Paisley. They restate the demand that the Anglo-Irish Agreement must go and present him with their alternative -and still unpublished- proposals for devolved government in N.Ireland.

In the Irish Republic, journalists and producers working for RTE (state TV and radio) apply to the European Court of Human Rights against Section 31. Section 31 of the Broadcasting Act prohibits interviews with or recordings of speeches of members of "subversive" organisations, including Sinn Féin; it is therefore a violation of freedom of expression. In Britain there is a petition against the similar broadcasting ban, organised by Information On Ireland and the Campaign for Press and Broadcasting Freedom.



In Birmingham the entire West Midlands Serious Crime Squad is disbanded amidst a flurry of allegations that they fabricated evidence to get convictions. Two detective constables are suspended and over 50 officers are transferred to non-operational duties; there will be a police investigation into the squad. In 1974 eight members of the squad took part in interrogating the Birmingham Six, who have always claimed that their 'confessions' were false and were beaten out of them by the police.

**15th**

The government of the Irish Republic issues a statement expressing its "deep concern about the Birmingham Six case" and instructs the Irish Embassy in London to draw up a report on the West Midland Serious Crime Squad affair and its implications. There are a number of calls for the investigation to include the Birmingham Six case, a pressure which builds up in the following days but which is resisted by the police authorities.

Peter Brooke puts an early foot in it (as they all seem to need to do) in a public statement about his talks with Molyneux and Paisley. He says that the official review of the Agreement states that "both governments would be prepared to look at alternative proposals". The review says no such thing.

In Derry Martin Galvin, the publicity director of Noraid (US solidarity organisation), is arrested and deported. He is banned from N. Ireland by an exclusion order under the Prevention of Terrorism Act.

**16th**

The family of a soldier killed by the IRA (a year ago, at Ballygawley) is offered £1,700 compensation, increased to £2,000 after protest. The family, the Bullocks, turns it down in disgust.

**17th**

Official unemployment figures for N.Ireland show an increase of 3,529 from the previous month, to a total of 107,765 or 15.6% of the workforce.

**19th**

A huge march -10-15,000 people- is held in Dublin calling for British withdrawal from N.Ireland. It is organised by a broad front, Forum for a Democratic Alternative, and is addressed by Gerry Adams, Father Patrick Ryan, British Labour MP George Galloway and British Labour MEP Michael Hindley, with music by Sinead O'Connor. A statement of support for withdrawal is sent by the Green Party of Ireland.

**23rd**

A report in the (British) *Independent* reveals that over £1 million has been paid in compensation for deaths and injuries caused by plastic bullets. There are intensified calls to have the weapon banned, and to stop the planned issue of plastic bullets to the Ulster Defence Regiment.

**25th**

A civilian, Loughlin Maginn, is shot dead by the loyalist Ulster Freedom Fighters (code name for Ulster Defence Association), at his home in Rathfriland, Co. Down. Maginn's solicitor later presents the RUC with a catalogue of harassment over the past three years: it includes a death threat by the UDR; the drawing of a plan of his home by the RUC during a house search; and RUC/Army intrusion into his life on an almost daily basis.

143 prisoners serving life sentences in N.Ireland are let out for the bank holiday; all return on the Monday as good as gold. They have served over 13 years and are under review for a possible release soon.

**29th**

The UFF claim access to police/military information, and to prove it they show a BBC journalist documents and photographs from official 'security force' files. The documents include one listing as an 'IRA suspect' the man they shot four days before, Loughlin Maginn. On 11th Sept, two UDR soldiers and another person are charged with his murder.

**31st**

Official but estimated statistics in the Irish Republic show an increase in emigration in 1988/9 of 14,000 from the previous 12 months to a total of 46,000 -the highest of the decade.

September

**1st**

Official figures in the Irish Republic show a rise in unemployment in August by 1,750 to a total of 231,374 or 17.7% of the workforce.

New powers come into force enabling the RUC and other police forces to freeze and seize funds used for 'terrorism' throughout the UK. This is in addition to powers under the Prevention of Terrorism Act to freeze and seize funds within each jurisdiction (i.e. N.Ireland, Scotland and England and Wales). The Home Office also announces a new 'safeguard' for suspects held under the PTA: a senior officer will have to review their detention at regular intervals during the first 48 hours.

In Munster, W.Germany, two British soldiers are shot and injured by the IRA outside their barracks.



# IRELAND — THE RIGHT TO KNOW

Ireland-The Right to Know is the title of a major art and film festival being held this month in Southwark, South London. The festival will coincide with the twentieth year of British troops going into Ireland and with the anniversary of Hurd's broadcasting ban.

The South London Art Gallery is the centre of this unique event, with an exhibition of paintings, posters, sculpture, photographs and work in other media, and a series of film and video screenings which will take place here and at three other venues in Southwark. The festival will cover aspects of imperialism, civil liberties, anti-Irish racism and censorship. Many of the films and videos have suffered censorship, whether under the broadcasting ban or before. During the course of the festival there will be workshops, discussions and special video screenings (contact gallery for details).

**Venue** The South London Art Gallery, 65 Peckham Road, London SE5.

**Date** 13th October-2nd November

**Opening Times** Tues-Sat- 10-1pm 2-6pm, Sun 3-6pm, admission free.

**Artists** Mark Bradley, Paul Donnelly, Anne Farnan, Sean Hillen, Aine King, Peter Maloney, Laoi Minto, Dave Minto, Patsy Mullan, Simon Norfolk, Joanne O'Brien, Laurence O'Hara, John Rogan, Duncan Smith.

## Film and Video Screenings

Thursday 19th October, 7.30pm

Thomas Calton Centre

**Suspect Community** Irish Video Project, 1986, 50 mins. + Speaker

Introduced in 1974, the Prevention of Terrorism Act (PTA) is still the greatest weapon of the British state against the Irish community in Britain. With powers of questioning, arrest, detention for up to seven days and exclusion (deportation) from Britain, this video demonstrates emphatically that the PTA has little to do with 'terrorism' and everything to do with massive intelligence gathering and intimidation from political activity of any sort.

interval

8.45 **Mother Ireland** Dir. Anne Crilly, 1988, 52 mins.

Ireland has traditionally been represented as a woman, whether 'Mother Ireland' or a suffering maiden. Here women discuss the relation between this imagery and the reality of women's role in the nationalist movement. Contains recently discovered vintage film of Irish women Republicans, and one of the last interviews given by Mairead Farrell. It was made for Channel Four, but as the first victim of the broadcasting ban was never screened.

Friday 20th October, 2.30pm

Thomas Calton Centre *Women Only*

**Sentenced**, Transfer of Prisoners Video Project, 1989, 45 mins. + Speaker

There are 40 Category A Irish Republican prisoners in English jails, serving sentences of between 15 years and life. Almost all have

relatives in Ireland, yet they are consistently denied transfer to prisons nearer home. Prisoners' friends and families, who make expensive and difficult visiting trips to England, are the ones really punished by this, and of course this means above all women. Using interviews and atmospheric footage of the journey, the film makes the case for repatriation in a way that is both informative and moving.

3.45 **If you didn't laugh you'd cry**, Lower Ormeau Women in Video, 52 mins.

The Lower Ormeau is a small nationalist enclave in South Belfast. Here local women recount their experiences of repression from encounters with the Army on the streets to house raids to arrest and detention...but what's surprising is that their stories are also very funny. They maintain a defiant humour in the face of what would otherwise be an intolerable situation.

Friday 20th October, 7.30pm

The South London Art Gallery

**The Vision Box** Belfast Independent Video, 1987, 10 mins.

Using Channel Four's 'Video Box' model, this gives Belfast people the chance to express their views about television representations.

**The Media Show** Channel Four, 1988, 20 mins.

A look at the dangerous absurdity of Hurd's broadcasting ban. *Mother Ireland* is banned and a Sinn Féin councillor is not allowed to discuss the closure of a local nursery.

Saturday 21st October, 2.30pm

The South London Art Gallery  
Short films and workshops with Irish filmmakers.

3.30 **Mau Mau** Dir. David Koff and Anthony Howarth, 1973, 50 mins.

Changing the focus to another of Britain's (former) colonies, Kenya, this is a classic examination of anti-colonial rebellion and in particular the role of the British media in the war of suppression. 'Mau Mau' was the name invented by the British for the armed nationalist movement, the Land Freedom Army, but Mau Mau as such never existed: it was propaganda at its most explicit.

Monday, 23rd October, 7.30pm

North Peckham Library Hall

**Gone for a Soldier**, BBC, 1981, 100 mins.

Speakers: Ex-soldier + Philip Donnellan, film-maker

Three young men from North Wales join the Welch Regiment and go through Army training. Their experience is dynamically intercut, through song and quotation, with the life and death of British soldiers before them from Waterloo in 1815 to the present day. Each stage is their progress to become trained soldiers is linked with imperialism and the role of the British Army in the world and particularly in Ireland. The same young soldiers end up patrolling the streets of Armagh.

A very rare chance to see this film, which caused a major row in Parliament and in the newspapers. The BBC Governors ruled that it was never to be transmitted again.

Tuesday 24th October, 7.30pm

Beormund Centre

**The Black Delegation**, 15 mins.

Brixton Black Group visits Derry.

**The Patriot Game** Dir. Arthur MacCraig, 1978, 93 mins.

Though now over a decade old, **The Patriot Game** (originally called 'Four Green Fields' to sound less 'political') is still one of the most powerful expressions of the experiences and views of the Nationalist people. Its account of the latest phase of the Irish war from 1968 onwards, taking in Loyalist pogroms, the Battle of the Bogside, Bloody Sunday and the peace movement, is the most refreshing break from British-media-overdose you could need.

### Venues

Thomas Calton Centre, Alpha Street, SE15.

The South London Art Gallery, 65 Peckham Road, SE5

North Peckham Library Hall, Old Kent Road/Peckham Park Road, SE15

Beormund Centre, Abbey Street, SE1

# A festival of art-exhibitions-films