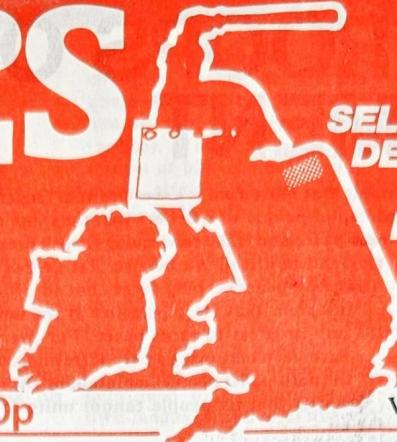


TROOPS OUT OF IRELAND

TROOPS OUT NOW



SELF DETERMINATION FOR THE IRISH PEOPLE AS A WHOLE

Paper of the Troops Out Movement 30p

Vol. 7, No. 9, July 1984

The New Hitler-Backed by British Constitution



“FENIAN SCUM... TAXPAYERS' MONEY WOULD BE BETTER SPENT ON AN INCINERATOR AND BURNING THE LOT OF THEM...”

George Seawright, self-confessed, “honest bigot”

**Horrific Court Verdict Acquits Murderers
European Election Results
Police State In Britain**

**Newspaper Bias
The Arms Trade**

August Delegation & Demonstration

TROOPS OUT

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

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

Copy should reach us by the third Wednesday of the month.

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Send to Box 10, 2a St Paul's Road, London N1.

THE TROOPS OUT MOVEMENT

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



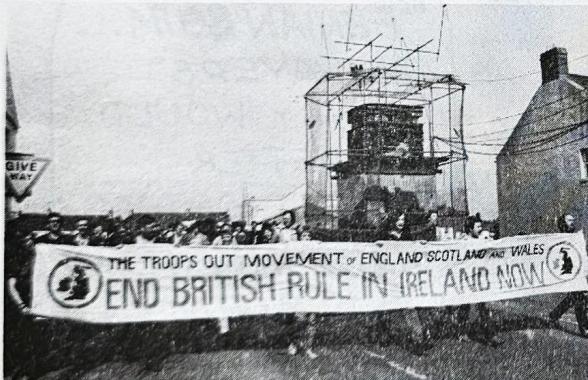
We have been working as an organisation for immediate British withdrawal since the early 1970s. We have a number of branches in England, Scotland and Wales. These branches, working locally in whatever ways circumstances allow, are the backbone of the TOM. Membership, or affiliation is open to any individual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

TROOPS OUT NOW

SELF-DETERMINATION FOR THE IRISH PEOPLE AS A WHOLE

Join the Troops Out Delegation to Ireland

Photo: Nick Oakes



The weekend of August 10-12th marks the 15th anniversary of the sending of British Troops onto the streets of Northern Ireland. It also marks the 14th anniversary of the introduction of internment without trial, when hundreds of people were rounded up in the early hours of the morning and

imprisoned in an attempt to crush the resistance of the nationalist people. The main effect of internment was to develop the struggle from the demand for civil rights to the demand for a united and independent Ireland.

As in previous years, the Troops Out Movement will be sending over a delegation to the North of Ireland to mark these events. Its purpose: to learn more precisely about the impact of British occupation on the nationalist people and to express our determination to help bring these injustices to an end. We will be meeting activists involved in a wide area of campaigning, around housing, trade unions, women's issues and youth. We will be focussing on how the current strategy of using informers has followed on from internment and criminalisation as the latest weapon in the British arsenal of repression, and how Ireland figures in NATO's war plans.

The delegation will be leaving Britain on the evening of Thursday 9th August, arriving back in Britain on the following Monday morning. Other travel arrangements are of course possible. The total cost per person will be approximately £42, although it is hoped to have sponsored places for unemployed people.

I am interested in joining the August delegation, could you send me some more information?

Name

Address

Organisation

I am unable to join the delegation, but enclose £ to help cover the costs.

Name

Address

Organisation

Please send a self-addressed, stamped envelope if you want a reply.

A Crime To Speak Irish

Brendan O'Fiaich, a member of Conradh na Gaeilge, an organisation which sets out to preserve the Irish language and culture, has been charged with withholding information and obstruction.

He was walking through security barriers in Belfast when he was stopped and asked his name by a member of the Ulster Defence Regiment. He answered in Irish, saying that he wanted to speak his own language.

As a result he was searched and even though he had adequate identification, the UDR handed him over to the RUC (police). They proceeded to scream at him and beat him up in an attempt to get him to speak in English. As he later said *'I'd only spoken my own language. What they wanted was for me to lie down and let them walk all over me, to make me lose my dignity by not speaking my own language.'*

At the court hearing he demanded to be heard in his own language, and legal history

was made when he insisted on, and won the right to have, an interpreter. The Belfast magistrate hoped to avoid further controversy, by adjourning the case.

Despite the adjournment the matter is obviously not going to be quietly forgotten. Whilst his case was being heard a strong picket of Irish language associations demonstrated outside the court. And as a mark of solidarity, other republican organisations have decided to answer any questions by the security forces in Irish.

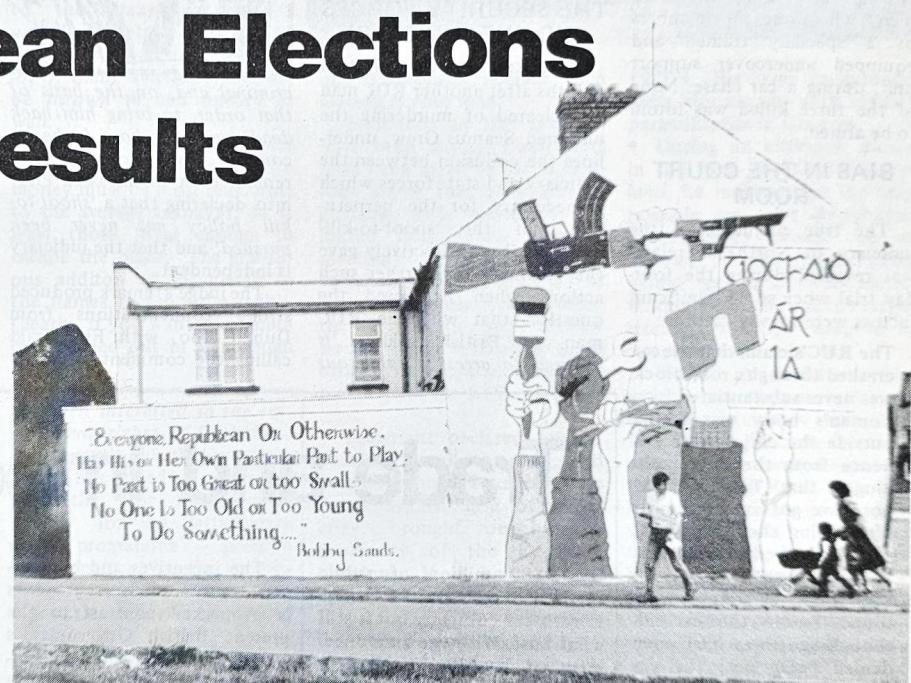
European Elections Irish Results

On Thursday June 14th, elections were held throughout Ireland for the European Parliament. For the first time since 1918, a Sinn Fein candidate stood in every seat. Sinn Fein's manifesto called unambiguously for a united democratic socialist Ireland. It stressed neutrality in foreign affairs, and a 'negotiated withdrawal' from the EEC.

Most attention has been focussed on the result in the north. For the purposes of these elections, the six counties is one constituency which elects three Euro MPs under a system of proportional representation. All the sitting MEPs held their seats. The first preference votes were cast as follows:

Ian Paisley (DUP)	230,251
J. Hume (SDLP)	151,399
J. Taylor (OUP)	147,169
D. Morrison (SINN FEIN)	91,476
D. Cook (Alliance)	34,046
J. Kilkenny (Assembly Speaker)	20,092
S. Lynch (Workers Party)	8,712
C. McGuigan (Ecology)	2,172

There is no doubt that the result reflects personal victories for both Ian Paisley and John Hume. Ian Paisley polled higher than in 1979, when he also won. His victory speech made clear that he still represents the same bigotry and intransigence that rejects any practical alternative to the continuing violence. The size of his support is therefore profoundly depressing.



'Our day will come' reads this mural in Derry (Photo: Camerawork Derry)

John Hume benefitted from his personal popularity and a 5% swing from the Alliance Party. The report of the New Ireland Forum has perhaps had an impact, enhancing his image as a statesman to moderates, both nationalists and unionists. Hume, along with most of the media, was quick to represent the result as a halting of Sinn Fein's electoral momentum.

But any talk of a collapse in the Sinn Fein vote may be dismissed as British propaganda. Danny Morrison's share of the total vote was 13.4%, exactly what Sinn Fein candidates achieved in last year's general elections. Their strong involvement in community politics should see them substantially

increase this percentage in next year's council elections.

In the south of Ireland, Sinn Fein campaigned under the handicap of Section 31, a repressive law that denies Sinn Fein any exposure on Irish television or radio. They are not even allowed to register their party, so to get their party's name on the ballot paper, candidates were forced to change their name by deadpoll. Thus, the candidate in Dublin appeared on the ballot paper as Noonan Sinn Fein, John. Despite these handicaps, he polled nearly 15,000 votes around 5% of the poll. Sinn Fein maintained this share across the 26 counties. For an illegal party contesting its first nationwide election, this is a very impressive performance,

and will have seriously worried the constitutional politicians in Dublin of all parties.

The Republican Movement and its supporters have no illusions about the ultimate value of contesting elections. Bobby Sands was elected as an MP in 1981, but the British Government refused his just demands all the same and let him die only one month later. Elections are used to build support around other issues such as unemployment and housing, and to then link these issues to the national question. The results not only raise the confidence of the nationalist people, but also show the British Government, and others more willing to listen, that they will no longer tolerate their oppression.

The Final Court Of Justice

The acquittal on 6th June of three RUC men accused of the murder of Eugene Toman has again re-affirmed the British government's intention to continue with its 'shoot-to-kill' policy in Northern Ireland.

Eugene Toman, together with Sean Burns and Gervase McKerr, were gunned down in November 1982 by the RUC men, who were all members of a specially trained and equipped undercover support unit, during a car chase. None of the three killed was found to be armed.

BIAS IN THE COURT ROOM

The true prejudice of the judiciary in Northern Ireland was revealed during the four-day trial when some significant factors were totally ignored:

- The RUC's claim that the car crashed through a road block was never substantiated.
- Toman's body was found outside the car, despite evidence from the state pathologist that Toman could not have got out of the car after being shot. The RUC stated that he had been shot in the car.
- Six spent cartridges were found beside the car, although the three RUC men denied being near the car when they fired their 109 rounds into it.
- The RUC claimed they were fired on from the car, yet all the occupants were unarmed.

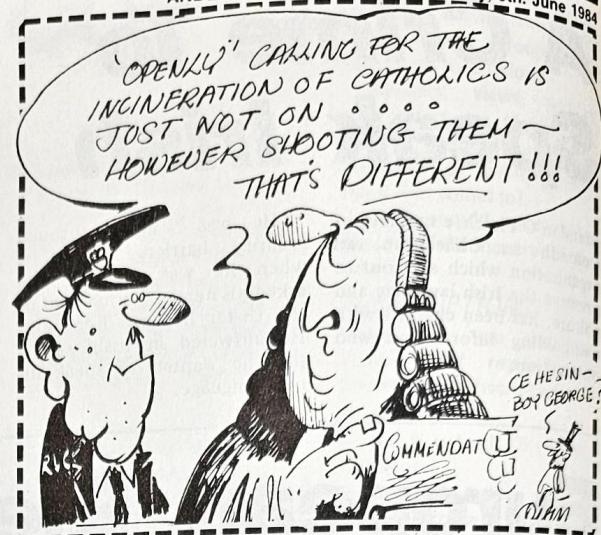
However, in acquitting the three men, Justice Gibson underlined his bigotry by ignoring these evidential omissions and taking the unusual step of explaining his decision. He praised the RUC men for their 'courage and determination in bringing the three deceased men to justice, in this case the final court of justice', and ordered that his commendation should go on their RUC files. He lambasted the Director of Prosecutions for bringing the three men to court on 'tenuous evidence'.

In Gibson's view, the killings were justifiable as the victims were guilty of murder before they had even been questioned

by police. This was reflected in the judge's remark at the end of the trial when he said of the dead men, 'they were wanted by police on a charge of multiple murder': an incorrect fact. At the time they were wanted by the RUC only for questioning in relation to 'terrorist offences'.

COMPPLICITY BETWEEN THE SECURITY FORCES AND THE JUDICIARY

This trial, coming only two months after another RUC man was cleared of murdering the unarmed Seamus Grew, underlines the collusion between the judiciary and state forces which is necessary for the perpetuation of the 'shoot-to-kill' policy. Gibson effectively gave the go-ahead for further such actions when he posed the question that when an RUC man or British soldier 'is ordered to arrest a dangerous



criminal and, on the basis of that order, to bring him back dead or alive, how is he to consider his conduct?'. That remark even embarrassed Prior into declaring that a 'shoot-to-kill policy has never been pursued' and that the judiciary is independent.

The judge's remark produced strong condemnations from Dublin, too, with FitzGerald calling the comments 'entirely

unacceptable and unworthy of any decent judicial authority'.

Prior's later comment that 'the law is the same for all, regardless of whether they are police, soldiers or civilians' has the hollowest of rings, particularly for those from the nationalist community. For this acquittal is only the latest in a long line of injustices suffered by them at the hands of the British state.

Trade and Imperialism

Over £80 million of public funds was poured into the De Lorean car company but it still went bust. With the announcement of lay-offs in the Lear Fan aircraft company, a repeat run of that sorry story looks likely.

Lear Fan set up production in the towns of Antrim and Newtownabbey for its 'revolutionary design' executive jet with British Government funding of over £50 million. This was part of an investment drive by Britain, directed particularly towards the USA, to cope with the collapse of N. Ireland's economy. Among the incentives offered were 80% relief on corporation tax and abolition of rates on industrial premises.

But the new jet turns out to have design faults in its fuselage. So far it has been refused an American certification of airworthiness. Hence the lay-offs - 350 workers, with just a force of 30 maintenance staff being retained.

The incentives and big pay-offs to dubious entrepreneurs is a marked contrast to the present British Government's proud boast of 'economic realism' and non-intervention in 'free market forces'. For the North of Ireland there are evidently strategic needs which override purely economic considerations. Put simply: the present economic crisis alienates the people of the North from Britain; conversely, the pouring of money into the North will tie the beneficiaries - employed workers and the managerial class - more closely to Britain and lead them to believe that a secure future lies in maintaining the link.

HARLAND AND WOLFF

Another area of Government spending in the North of Ireland is the awarding of contracts. Harland and Wolff shipbuilders, for example, recently delivered a floating dock for the Falklands and has just won a British naval order worth £30 million.

This is after a 15-year break in defence contracts.

SHORTS AIRCRAFT

The drive for foreign investments and orders has had its greatest success at Shorts, the Government-owned aircraft factory in East Belfast employing 6,900 workers. This year Shorts won its thirteenth Queen's Award for export achievement by increasing its exports from £9.8 million in 1981 to £23.4 million in 1983. These exports were Blowpipe, Seacat and Tigercat missile systems (to ten countries) and the Shorland range of armoured cars (to 35 countries).

Earlier this year Shorts won an order of 18 planes for the US air force, valued at £115 million, with a possibility of more in the future. Winning this order involved the British Ambassador and the Secretary of State James Prior touting for the business in America. It was strongly opposed by the

The Wit And Wisdom Of George Seawright

George Seawright, Northern Ireland Assembly member and Belfast City Councillor, is a rising star within the Democratic Unionist Party (DUP). He is a Scottish-born Presbyterian, and a Tee-totaler. He has a way with words, a way not noted for its diplomacy. Indeed, he is capable of making Ian Paisley appear a master of charm and tact. As a result, his utterances often bear a marked resemblance to his face. They are blunt and ugly.

On May 31st, at a meeting of Belfast Education and Library Board, objections were

raised by some parents to the playing of the national anthem at school concerts. Seawright replied by calling the protesters 'Fenian scum' and declared that 'taxpayer's money would be better spent on an incinerator and burning the lot of them. The priests should be thrown in and burned as well.'

The concern shown here for the correct use of public money must be most reassuring to the average taxpayer, or at least those loyal enough to escape the blaze. The gratuitous additon of the clergy to the flames is also noteworthy. Clearly, if you want your genocide carried out in a thorough



and businesslike manner, then George is your man.

Reactions to this outburst have been strong. Complaints have been made to the authorities urging that Seawright be charged with incitement to hatred. Additionally, a special meeting of Belfast City Council voted on June 11th by 21 to 7 to ask for his removal from the Education and Library Board. Many Unionists supported this proposal, including members of the DUP.

Seawright declared himself puzzled by all the fuss, and accused those loyalists who voted against him of hypocrisy, brought on by the proximity of the European elections. It is hard not to agree with him. Seawright may have few printable characteristics, but it must be said he is neither hypocritical nor dishonest. The simple truth is that he consistently acts in an equally offensive manner, without drawing any public rebuke from other loyalist politicians. His record speaks for itself.

- Two months ago, he opposed the building of a leisure centre in a nationalist area of Belfast on 'good honest sectarian grounds.' He then described himself as an 'honest Protestant bigot - and proud of it.'

- After the assassination attempt on Gerry Adams last March, he announced that 'as a constituent of Mr. Adams, I deeply regret that the attack was unsuccessful.'

- He publicly attended the funeral of Lennie Murphy, commander of the 'Shankhill Butchers', a loyalist terror gang responsible for several appalling sectarian murders in the

1970's. His own background links him closely with loyalist paramilitaries in Glasgow.

- During an interview shown in the film *The Cause of Ireland*, he insisted that the only possible use for Republican paramilitaries would be as 'manure for the fields.' (This would appear to be an earlier version of the incineration strategy, specially adapted to court the farmers' vote).

Viewed in isolation, Seawright can appear ludicrous; his remarks just a sick joke. But as a politician, he has a strong grass roots support in the Shankhill Road, the traditional heartland of working class loyalism. Outbursts such as these are unlikely to lose him votes there. The DUP, and its leader, Ian Paisley, may claim that they stand for religious and civil liberty, but the harsh truth is that most DUP supporters identify closely with the poison emanating from Seawright. The loyalist working class has consistently sought to maintain their marginal privileges at the expense of the nationalist community.

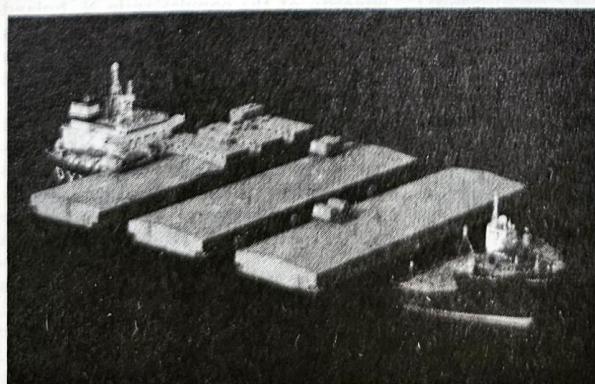
They will continue to vote for those leaders who most consistently defend these privileges. History clearly shows that they can never be won to a progressive position within the six-county state, as it is the state itself that created and maintains their position. Even in times of recession, as at present, when unemployment is very high among loyalists as well as nationalists, they are diverted from their true class interests by their stake in the continued survival of the state. Until that state is gone, George Seawright can never be truly funny - merely sick.

Irish National Caucus in America who sent a trade union delegation to Ireland to investigate discrimination by the company.

Without a doubt Shorts does discriminate against employing Catholics. And, like the discrimination against black people in this country, it is carried out not simply by management but worms its way among the trade unions as well. Commented Father McManus of the Irish National Caucus: 'The Shipbuilding and Engineering Union - with 4.8% Catholics in Shorts! This Confederation is not and never

has been interested in the employment rights of Catholics.' As a result of the pressure, Shorts has signed an agreement with the Fair Employment Agency for an 'affirmative action programme' - positive discrimination for the recruitment of Catholics. What effect, if any, this will have remains to be seen.

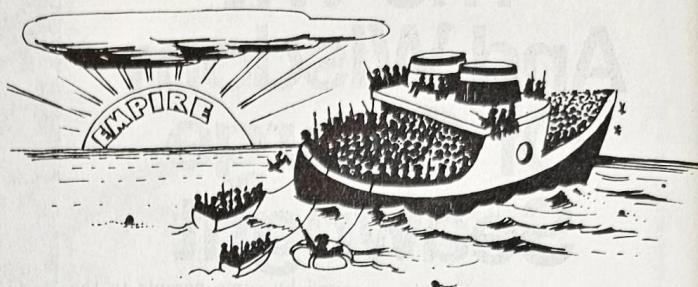
There is some irony in the fact that the British Government, which shouts so loudly against the 'men of violence' in Ireland, can do business in Ireland only in the armaments trade!



The floating dock on the way to the Malvinas

STRATEGIES FOR WITHDRAWAL

The Communist Party



There is a wide variety of groups in England, Scotland and Wales calling for British withdrawal from Ireland. But very little time has been spent actually discussing what political activities will best contribute to this goal. In this series, various organisations have been invited by *Troops Out* to present their strategies for withdrawal. This month the pages are given over the COMMUNIST PARTY of GREAT BRITAIN to put forward their own ideas of how to resolve the conflict.

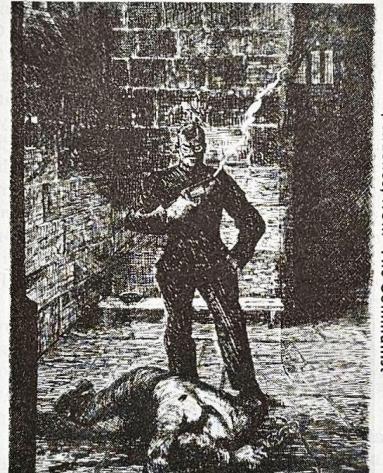
No one outside Ireland will be able to give its people unity and independence — they will have to win it for themselves. Our responsibility here in Britain is to help that task by removing the obstacles which have been created by centuries of British presence in Ireland.

DEVELOPMENT OF COMMUNIST PARTY STRATEGY

Unlike some in the British labour and democratic movement, the Communist Party has always been clear on the right of the Irish people to self-determination. Our party never sought to organise in Ireland. Within months of its formation our party's leadership instructed the Clyde-side engineers' leader Willie Gallacher to visit Dublin to warn the leaders of the Republican movement of the looming partition/treaty ploy.

Since that time we have played a part, sometimes an important one, in many of the movements concerned with aspects of the Irish question. Communists were instrumental in the formation of the National Council of Civil Liberties and in directing its concerns in the 1930s toward the repressive Special Powers Act of the Stormont Unionists junta then governing Northern Ireland. At that time our members, particularly in the Irish community in Britain, were active in the formation of what became the Connolly Association. Its work was especially important in countering anti-Irish racism in Britain and in bringing internment in Northern Ireland to an end in the '40s.

More recently in the early '60s, Communists in Britain were deeply involved through the party itself, as well as in their trade unions and the Connolly Association, in the discussion and mobilisation which helped to create the atmosphere in which the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association was formed. For us, and for our comrades in the Communist Party of Northern Ireland, this was a most important development. (The Communists of Northern Ireland united two years later with the Communist organisa-



IRELAND

"Prisoner Committed Suicide in his Cell"

ation south of the border to reform the united Communist Party of Ireland).

NO MILITARY ROAD FORWARD

We did not then consider, and do not now, that there is any military road forward for the Irish people. Like our comrades in Ireland, we have always opposed state repression and Unionist sectarian violence in the North. But, terrible as the sufferings of the people there have been, particularly in the anti-Unionist areas, Communists do not consider counter-violence the correct way forward. It has undercut the potential movement of support in Britain, especially since that violence was brought across the water in February, 1972, by the Official, and then the Provisional, IRA and INLA. It has provided a convenient screen behind which the state and the Unionists have acquired a greater freedom to indulge in their own acts of violence. But above all it has closed off vital avenues for mass mobilisation. The impasse experienced over the past fifteen years has surely proved beyond all doubt that only when we achieve some degree of success on this

front in both parts of Ireland and in Britain will we make progress.

THE UNIONISTS

British regular troops, the SAS squads and the other undercover operatives, are only a small part of the chains which help to keep Ireland under British domination. They no longer constitute the majority of the 'security' forces in N. Ireland. The development of the crisis since 1970 has meant a strengthening of the other processes involved, particularly the political.

Unionist ultra-right politicians now have a wider and deeper influence than at almost any time in the history of the region. Winning Unionist-minded people away from that allegiance has become all the harder, as widely organised intimidation, assisted by the official policy of 'ghettoisation', has forced people into exclusively Catholic or Protestant areas. The vicious Unionist murder campaign of the early 1970s, taking the lives of hundreds of Catholics and dozens of Protestants, effectively destroyed any 'middle ground', leaving Unionist political leaders in virtually unchallenged domination.

Any strategy for withdrawal which does not start from the basis that this Unionist domination must be overcome is doomed to the same failure that has greeted the IRA's campaign over the past decade and a half. Even if that campaign were backed by an even greater vote for Sinn Fein than at present, success would still not be achievable. Look back to the mid-50s when Sinn Fein secured overwhelming votes in anti-Unionist areas in Westminster elections. So long as opposition to the British link is confined to the minority of the population in N. Ireland there will never be a balance of forces there capable of acting as the fulcrum around which any strategy for withdrawal can actually be implemented.

It is because we have to find ways of winning away from Unionism, those currently committed to it, that Communists have opposed the policies suggested by some others on the left in Britain. We opposed those who identified the IRA in the '70s as the national liberation movement. More recently the argument has developed that the way forward will come through a simple decision on the part of the British government to get out. Such an act, the argument says, would shock Unionists into rethinking their position.

While it has always been our view that an elementary part of a proper policy toward Ireland should be a commitment by the government to work for Irish unity and independence, we think there are several problems with such an approach. It is only slogan mongering to say that one's policy is to seek 'an end to the Unionist veto and the restoration of majority rule to Ireland', but not to spell out how one proposes to do this in Northern Ireland. For over 100 years now the Unionist political tradition has been prepared to go to extraordinary lengths to force British governments to give Unionists what they want. Governments in London have been willing victims to this pressure. It will need considerable mass pressure to reverse such an influence.

How on earth are we going to form such a movement if we cannot even force the government to drop the Prevention of Terrorism Act or the Emergency Provisions Act? We have never considered that such action is in some way opposed to that of self-determination. They are part and parcel of the issue. In particular they are avenues through which British people can be won to involve themselves in activities, in decision taking and in mobilisation to force the government to change course. Success on such demands also opens avenues through which the impasse within Northern Ireland itself can be altered and around which people currently committed to Unionist politics can be won for campaigns which, in practice, begin to challenge the basis of those politics.

ROLE OF TRADE UNIONS

It is here that we see the trade union movement as having a very important role to play. This is not only because of the importance the movement has within British politics. In Northern Ireland itself the unions are the only non-sectarian mass movement of any significance and strength committed to progressive ideas. They are organised on an all-Ireland basis, though most of the members in the North are in British-based unions.

The policy-making conference for Northern Ireland issues, the annual conference of the Northern Ireland Committee of the Irish Congress of Trade Unions, has repeatedly challenged the repressive basis of British policy in the region. It has called unanimously for the repeal of the Terror Act and the Emergency Provisions Act and has demanded an end to the supergrass trials.

There is a basis here for a really decisive drive in the British trade union movement to win similar decisions. The difference that would make to the public debate around Ireland in Britain is incalculable. It would in particular help us to channel the growing public feeling against the Tory policies of successive Labour and Conservative administrations in ways which will secure real changes in government policy.

In turn, that would open the way for the full dismantling of all those obstacles, military, political, social and economic, placed in the way of Irish unity and independence. Only then can we be satisfied that we are really working for a full withdrawal.



Ronnie's Roots

Suddenly at the beginning of June, Ireland hit the headlines in a way that, not excepting the Forum Report, hadn't happened since Harrods was bombed. And all because a second-rate actor decided to conduct a little electioneering. Many papers actually commented on the electioneering aspect of Reagan's visit although that didn't stop them from contributing pages of newsprint and photographs to one of the biggest publicity stunts ever staged.

Much of the coverage in the so-called quality British press, particularly at Reagan's 'homecoming' to his 'roots in Ballyporeen' was patronising in tone. The underlying implication being that only the Irish could fall for a con trick like this. In fact, Ballyporeen was a godsend to the British media, enabling them to wheel out the stereotype of the simple, backward, Guinness-drinking Irish 'Sleepy Ballyporeen' 'nestling in the Golden Vale of Tipperary' with its population consisting of 'simple, smiling country folk'.

The *Sunday Times* did compare Reagan's visit unfavourably with that of Kennedy 20 years earlier, but only on the

grounds that the local people couldn't get to see Ronnie because of all the security men guarding him! The British press largely ignored the demonstrations which greeted the Reagans wherever they went but were prepared to devote screaming headlines to the President's remarks on the IRA and those 'misguided and vulgar Americans who support terrorist groups'.

In the 26 counties of Ireland itself, the papers did acknowledge the electioneering aspect of the visit and gave front page coverage to the large demonstration against Reagan. However they also had to reflect the visit as a success for the FitzGerald government — a recognition of the supposed importance of the Southern state to the Americans. This led to headlines such as 'Reagan re-affirms Irish-US links' and a concentration on the President's praise for the work of the New Ireland Forum. And even readers of the *Irish Times* had to suffer the kind of 12-page photo supplement, which made the Royal wedding look like a serious political event by comparison. Here we have the Reagans arriving at the airport, the President receiving his honorary degree, Nancy and Ron in Ballyporeen, etc., etc., ad nauseam. Let's hope its at least another 20 years before the next performance.

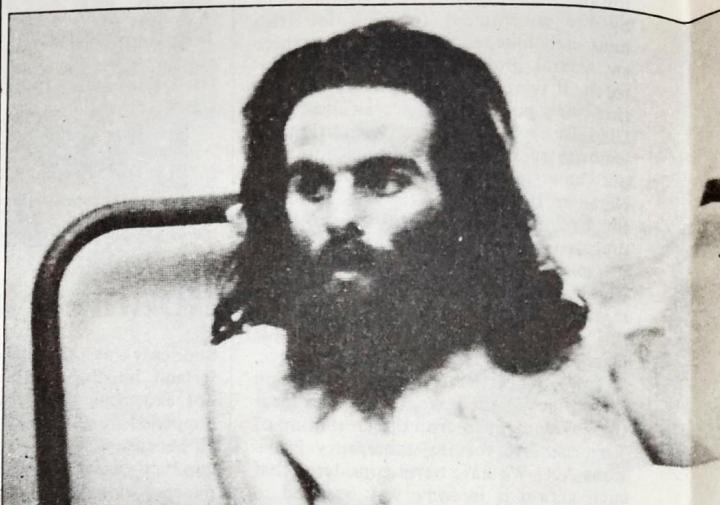


Anti-Reagan demonstration in Dublin (Photo: Derek Spiers/Report)



ABOVE: Emma Groves, blinded by a plastic bullet.

RIGHT: Eddie Rooney, 'jumped' from second floor window while being interrogated by police in February 1977.



ABOVE: Prisoners went on hunger strike in 1980 and 1981 after years of horrific protest against criminalisation.



AUGUST
18th
DEMOCRATIC
FOR WITNESS
NO
SHOW

THE BRITISH ARMY HAS BEEN FIGHTING IN THE NORTH OF IRELAND FOR 15 YEARS – LONGER EVEN THAN THE AMERICAN WAR IN VIETNAM. THE ARMY WAS FIRST DEPLOYED IN AUGUST 1969. WITHIN A FEW MONTHS THEIR IMAGE AS 'PEACEKEEPERS' WAS SHATTERED AS THE GUNS TURNED AGAINST THE NATIONALIST COMMUNITIES DEMANDING CIVIL RIGHTS.

THE ECONOMY OF NORTHERN IRELAND IS IN RUINS. THE TOLL OF DEATHS, INJURIES AND IMPRISONMENT IS INTOLERABLE. THE LEGAL SYSTEM HAS BEEN DESTROYED BY EMERGENCY LEGISLATION, SHOW TRIALS AND LICENSE TO KILL BY THE POLICE AND MILITARY.

SELF DETERMINATION FOR THE IRISH PEOPLE AS A WHOLE.

DEMOCRATIC IRISH REPUBLICAN PARTY

THE LEGAL SYSTEM HAS BEEN DESTROYED BY EMERGENCY LEGISLATION, SHOW TRIALS AND LICENSE TO KILL BY THE POLICE AND MILITARY.

SELF DETERMINATION FOR THE IRISH PEOPLE AS A WHOLE.

PROTEST DEMONSTRATE

AS Speakers London

to Jubilee

PERIODIC STRIP SEARCHING

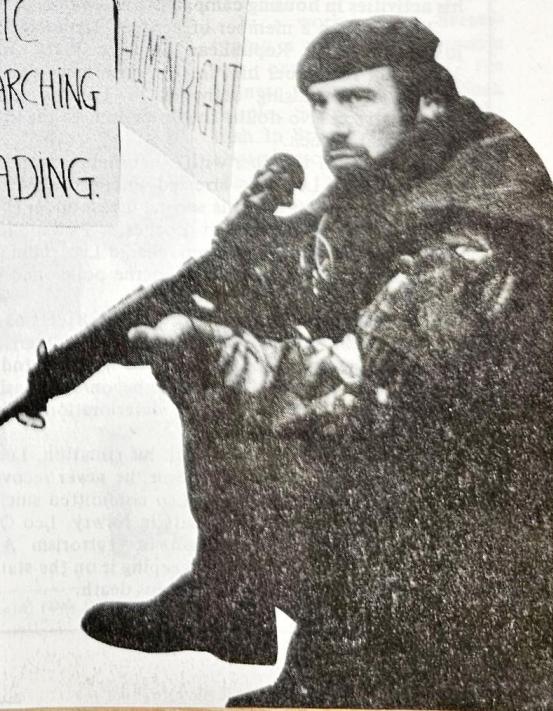
DIGNITY IS A HUMAN RIGHT

Assemble Speakers Corner London 1 pm

March to Jubilee Gardens

END THE USE OF PERJURERS IN NORTHERN IRELAND

STOP THE ROT TO KILL POLICY



A State of Siege

The miners' strike has seen the creation of a National Riot Force among the police, which is putting into practice in England, Scotland and Wales the lessons learned by the British state in Ireland. That's the conclusion of an investigation into the policing of the miners' strike published last month by the National Union of Mineworkers in Yorkshire.*

Susan Miller and Martin Walker, both members of the white collar local government union NALGO, studied the methods of the police during the first six weeks of the miners' strike.

They conclude that 'a National Riot Force has been developed and deployed', controlled by the Home Secretary and the right-wing Association of Chief Police Officers, operating from the so-called National Recording Centre at Scotland Yard.

'This force is trained in paramilitary strategies and is equipped with riot weapons,' they write. 'The lessons which this force is putting into practice are those learned in

the north of Ireland since 1968.

After examining the police methods, including road blocks, riot squads, telephone tapping, and the denial of rights in custody to the 4,000 pickets arrested during the strike, the report notes that 'many of the things which they have been doing will be sanctioned in the Police and Criminal Evidence Bill when it becomes law. Witnessing what has been happening in the first weeks of the miners' strike confirms in our minds what many people have already said, that the Police and Criminal Evidence Bill has little to do with crime and everything to do with criminalising the working class and those who dissent from the policies of the present government.'

Meanwhile, emphasising the links between the miners' struggle and that of the Irish people, the Troops Out Movement has held several public meetings around the country with miners on the platform.

* *A State of Siege* published by the Yorkshire NUM, Huddersfield Road, Barnsley, in the police state of South Yorkshire.

Death Of A Comrade

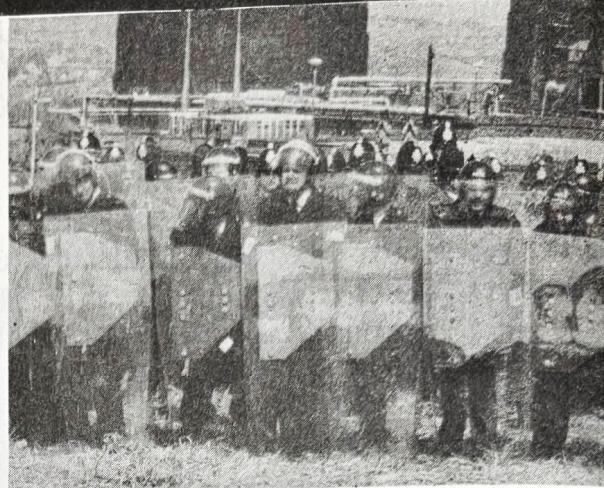
Leo O'Neill came to Ireland from Newry in the mid seventies and took up a trade union studies course at Middlesex Polytechnic. He was involved in Irish politics and was also well known both inside and outside of student circles for his activities in housing campaigns and co-ops.

He has been a member of Peoples' Democracy and later joined the Irish Republican Socialist Party in London. Many will remember him for the prominent part which he played in organising activities in London during both hunger strikes. No doubt this drew him to the attention of the Special Branch.

In late 1981 together with other members and associates of the IRSP, Leo was arrested under the Prevention of Terrorism Act. In this, his second arrest under the PTA, he was held for seven days at Rochester Row police station. Following his release without charge Leo claimed that his food had been drugged and that the police had physically assaulted him.

Leo experienced many direct after effects as the result of his detention in police custody. His marriage broke down. He could no longer carry on with his studies and he ceased to be politically active. He became increasingly paranoid and there was a marked deterioration in his mental and physical well-being.

In order to try to cope with his situation, Leo returned to his home in Newry. However, he never recovered from his experiences of the PTA. Leo committed suicide in May by jumping off a block of flats in Newry. Leo O'Neill was murdered by the Prevention of Terrorism Act. Those involved in introducing and keeping it on the statute books must bear the responsibility for his death.



Riot Police outside Orgreave

Bristol Brewery Bans TOM

Organisations which oppose establishment policies in relation to Northern Ireland constantly experience harassment at the hands of the police. But recent events in Bristol have taken on bizarre proportions.

During 1983 Bristol Troops Out Movement held two successful public meetings at a pub in the centre of Bristol. When the branch decided to book the same room for a public meeting in March this year they were surprised to be told that TOM were banned from holding meetings there. Apparently, the brewery who owned the pub had been

instructed by police not to let the rooms to TOM – and to telephone Bristol police if approached by that organisation. If such a booking were made, it was made clear that there would be 'police activity' in the pub, which would be 'full of Special Branch officers'.

When Bristol TOM members attempted to discover the reason for the ban, they predictably came up against a brick wall. They have made a formal complaint to the Chief Constable stating that the police are responsible for this denial of the right of freedom of expression. We all await the reply.

Ups and Downs in Tyneside

Interest in Ireland has taken a reawakening on Tyneside over the last 9 months as Tyneside TOM's fortunes have revived. The formation of a United Ireland Society, a Student Society at Newcastle University, last year has meant we can jointly produce socials and general political activity on a far better scale than ever before.

We held two public meetings this year, one on Informers, in January, and one with a Sinn Fein speaker, in May. The latter caused a 'Media Storm' merely because we invited a Sinn Fein speaker. The New-

castle Journal especially went to town on this, with articles and an editorial devoted to whipping up unrest.

A minor controversy developed in April over the decision not to allow an H-Block banner at the annual May Day demonstration after pressure from certain right-wing elements in NUPE. Newcastle Trades Council, unhappy at being forced into this, agreed afterwards not to succumb to such pressure in the future. And the Trades Council plans to hold a Day School in the Autumn on Ireland, which augurs well for the future.

British Press Found Guilty

The GLC's conference on British Media and British Imperialism attracted over 600 people on 3rd June, and turned out to be one of the most inspiring events in Britain for many years.

The range of countries represented was impressive. There were speakers and bookstalls from the Caribbean, Palestine, Iran, Sri Lanka, Australia, South Africa, Central and South America, the Philippines, Turkey, black and national minorities in Britain, British miners – and Ireland.

Many of the best speakers educated us on the relation between the ideas, or ideology, expressed in the newspapers and TV, and the material or political needs of imperialist nations and multinational companies. Political violence was deeply analysed, and racism was defined in terms of imperialist values instead of the often facile identification with skin colour.

THE LINK WITH IRELAND

Perhaps it is not surprising that in such a gathering Ireland took its rightful place as an area of liberation struggle, with Irish speakers and bookstalls of the Troops Out Movement, London Armagh Group, Information On Ireland and the Connolly Association. How often in

the past have we seen 'anti-imperialists' wince and retreat when Ireland gets mentioned? In this case some of the GLC organisers did wince, but there was no hesitation at all in the conference itself.

A number of speakers linked Ireland with their own struggles. Dave Douglass of the National Union of Mineworkers drew a parallel between the minority non-striking Nottingham miners – who have the 'privilege' of safe jobs – attempting to exercise a veto over the NUM, and the unionists of N. Ireland exercising a veto over Irish unity. He described the criminalisation of the miners, and the militarisation of the police. *'We are one step away from rubber bullets.'*

SINN FEIN

Chrissie McAuley spoke for Sinn Fein's weekly paper *An Phoblacht/Republican News*, which has a circulation of 44,000 throughout Ireland. The paper has survived attempts by the authorities on both sides of the border to shut it down. In 1977 and 1978 Sinn Fein's offices were raided and the paper's staff arrested – and yet a new issue appeared within days. The censorship attempts rebounded because they only increased the paper's popularity. Now the authorities

use less confrontational techniques of disruption – like tampering with the post and arresting drivers and photographers working for *An Phoblacht/Republican News*.

She defined the functions of *An Phoblacht/Republican News* as providing accurate information and republican analysis, raising political consciousness, mobilising support for the national liberation struggle and providing coverage of parallel struggles like Palestine or Malaya.

A BAD PRESS

Regarding the establishment media, Ms McAuley condemned its censorship and brainwashing, but also pointed out that this did not fool the nationalist population of Ireland. Its effect principally was on the British people who have neither the direct experience nor alternative access to the truth.

The point was taken up by Joe Austin, former Press Officer of Belfast Sinn Fein: the Irish have no illusions about the press because it has *always* been hostile to them. The press has a vested interest in capitalism and imperialism and will manipulate the facts accordingly. Sinn Fein's response has been two-fold. First, to set up its Press Centre so that journalists had to come to them and could speak only to authorised repre-



Chrissie McAuley
(Photo: Nick Oakes)

sentatives. and second, to set up alternative media (*An Phoblacht/Republican News*, the journal *Iris* and local bulletins).

Much of the conference was filmed and taped while in progress. We hope that a video and written papers will soon be available from the GLC so that the lessons from the conference can be spread and developed.

ANTI IRISH RACISM

In a workshop on Stereotyping, a whole range of racism was examined, against the Chinese community and black people. Seamus Carey of the Irish In Britain Representation Group described racism against the Irish as the 'most acceptable' for the media. To be Irish is to be the butt of jokes – drunken, violent, stupid, etc. insidious because it's only for a laugh isn't it? Can't you take a joke? But the 'stupidity' and the 'violence' are related, Mr Carey pointed out, to the political relationship between Britain and Ireland: the media implies that it is stupid to resist the 'superior' British, and presents it as a natural characteristic to evade facing the causes of the war – Britain's own self-interest. Racism is a means of downgrading a people to justify the colonisation of their country.



Chrissie McAuley, Colin Prescod (Institute of Race Relations) and Cecil Gutzmore (Campaign Against the Police Bill).

(Photo: Nick Oakes)

TRADE UNION NEWS

UCATT Passes Irish Motions

Three motions on Ireland were carried at last month's biennial conference of the Union of Construction, Allied Trades and Technicians (UCATT).

Although none of the above motions called for constitutional changes in Ireland, the fact that they were even debated, marks a breakthrough in this union which has a very high proportion of Irish immigrant labour among its membership.

In past years, debate on Ireland has been stifled within UCATT, either by resolutions being excluded from the agenda, or by a lobby of delegates, moving 'next business', when Ireland came up.

This year, those resolutions that did call for constitutional changes (i.e. Troops Out and the removal of the Loyalist veto), were excluded from the agenda by the Standing Orders Committee. Three motions, however, were put on the final agenda for discussion.

The first was a composite of a resolution opposing the use of informers, and a resolution calling for a Bill of Rights to be established in the North. After a very brief discussion, the motion was carried unanimously. A resolution calling for the repeal of the Prevention of Terrorism Act was then de-

ated. The debate centred on the creeping powers of the state, and the effect of the Act on Irish members of the union residing here. The one black delegate spoke of the colonial uses of emergency legislation; when put to the vote, this resolution was also carried unanimously. The third resolution, from the Southend branch, also called for the setting up of a Bill of Rights in the North, and was carried with one vote against.

In all of the discussion around these three resolutions, little political debate occurred. The general theme was that of Trade Unions in the North being used as a tool to combat sectarianism. When a delegate from Ireland rose to raise the national question, he got as far as 'There are one or two things that have not been said yet...', before being ruled out of order.

There were three lobbies on Ireland, one from Peace through Democracy, another from the Building Worker Group, a rank and file grouping within UCATT, with Troops Out as a major demand; and a third lobby from the Troops Out Movement Trade Union sub-group, who had prepared a leaflet specifically for the event.



Picket of Parkhurst Prison, 3 June, on the anniversary of the death of Michael Gaughan who died on hunger strike in 1974. The picket was called by Sinn Fein Britain. (Photo: Birmingham TOM)

Prisoners Not Forgotten



PRISONERS' BIRTHDAYS

Please send greeting cards, letters, papers, magazines etc to prisoners, especially for their birthdays. Let them know they are not forgotten.

341418 SEAN HAYES
HM Prison Albany,
Newport, Isle of Wight

July

132016 GERRY CUNNINGHAM
HM Prison Long Lartin
South Littleton, Evesham
Worcs.

12 July

B26380 BRIAN KEENAN
HM Prison Welford Rd.,
Leicester

17 July

758663 STEPHEN NORDONE
HM Prison Parkhurst,
Newport, Isle of Wight

2 August

Please also send birthday greetings to the women prisoners in Armagh Jail. The address is: Armagh Women's Prison, Armagh, N. of Ireland.

Ann Bateson, C Wing: 7 July
Rosie Armstrong, C Wing: 13 July

Army Presence Not Worthwhile

Last month on a BBC 'Real Lives' programme, a group of ex-soldiers, who had been among the first to go into Ireland 15 years ago, were taken back to the North to reminisce and meet soldiers serving there now.

They spoke of their experiences and impressions of what was happening in Ireland at the time. They expressed a certain amount of sympathy with the civil rights demands, and were shocked by the differences between Northern Ireland and the rest of Britain, particularly the fact that one man did not necessarily have one vote.

They spoke of how the Nationalists turned against them after a while, and true to the BBC, the outrageous activities of the British Army at the time was not even hinted at, once again leaving the viewer confused, misinformed and reinforced in their stereotypes.

At the end of the programme the ex-soldiers were asked whether they thought at the time that the Army would still be there in 15 years, and if they considered their presence had been worthwhile. Both questions were answered with a resounding no.

Lie Machine

Dear Editor,

I, like the great majority of people educated in Britain, was fed on a diet of press and TV reaction when it came to discussing 'the Troubles' in the North of Ireland at school. The searching questions were left unanswered and hence unanswered. It was simply a question of the British Army being the heroes, policing the two communities in the North and preventing civil war from breaking out, and acting as a neutral force to help the RUC in an emergency situation.

Through my own research, and through such organisations as the TOM, the true disgusting picture emerges, and I am ashamed to be known as British because of the overt oppression that is practised in the North against the nationalist population. I say this as a British subject and a Protestant, and would fight with whatever means were at my disposal if such a situation existed on the mainland of Britain, so that my country might eventually be free from the occupying army.

I enclose a few lines that I have written to demonstrate that it is not only people in Ireland that are aware of the oppression of the nationalists by the British Army and the RUC.

ASHAMED TO BE A BRIT

It's smiles for the Shankhill,
And bullets for the Falls,
With paranoid armed policemen,
And hatred on the walls.

For believing in their Country,
They're interned in Long Kesh,
And without a judge or jury,
Given a life behind the mesh.

Suspicion brings a bullet,
'To keep the Taigs at bay'
Using armed British bigots,
'To smash the IRA'.

An inch of Royal Justice,
Meted out on sight,
To kill another suspect,
Resisting the British might.

When I read of Northern Ireland,
And the injustice of the split,
When I see patrolling soldiers,
I'm ashamed to be a Brit.

Yours sincerely,
Walter Scott (Jnr),
Fleetwood, Lancashire

'Phoenix'

Dear Troops Out,

I thought the June Issue of *Troops Out* was very good, and I only want to write on one small point.

On page 14 in your summary of periodicals, you have missed out a very useful magazine — *Phoenix*. In my opinion it took over from Magill as the best 'investigative' journal, and although a bit Private Eye-ish it is full of very good material. It has been going now for over a year.

The *Phoenix* (fortnightly), 60p or £15 subscription, 44 Lower Baggot St, Dublin 2.

All best wishes,
P.J., Bristol

Class & Nation

Dear TOM,

When Alex Maskey (Troops Out June '84) dismisses the relevance of Catholic and Protestant workers uniting in struggle, (in this instance over the 1982 Health workers pay claim), and says that *Socialist Worker* mistakenly sees the struggle in the North as a 'Protestant/Catholic conflict', I feel that he somewhat misses the point.

Socialist Worker has never pretended that the struggle in the North is caused by religious divisions, nor have they ever denied the validity of the 'National Question'. The problem is how to achieve it.

Surely there can be no doubt that one of the main pillars of the Northern State has been the cross-class alliance between the loyalist establishment (mostly Protestant), developed by British Imperialism for their own ends, and consolidated further by the partition of Ireland in 1920/21. Today the coalition appears as strong as ever inspite of the mutual recriminations of the various loyalist parties — this at a time when the marginal privileges enjoyed by loyalist workers over their nationalist counterparts in jobs and housing etc, are being steadily undermined by the world slump and the Thatcherite axe.

Even if the British connection were to be severed, unlikely as it is at the moment, this would still leave this cross-class unity to be faced. It is not enough therefore, for nationalists simply to say that the problem will be solved once the British withdraw, and by implication therefore to say that class struggle is secondary to the military/electoral strategy pursued by Sinn Fein and the IRA.

Troops Out welcomes your views and opinions. Send your letters to Box 10, 2a St Paul's Road, London N1.

Maskey is probably correct in saying that very little in the way of Protestant/Catholic unity among workers can be achieved now. This is partly as a result of the divisions institutionalised by partition; but it is also because the LEVEL of class struggle is low everywhere — in Ireland as a whole and in Britain: that workers lack the independent workplace organisation and that unemployment acts like a cancer on their confidence in fighting back, and that class struggle is sporadic and uneven.

But equally there have been times of mass action by the working class eg. 1907, 1913, 1919, 1932, and 1944. The fact that Protestants and Catholic working class unity was short-lived, and fell easy victim to subsequent sectarianism should not obscure the fact that there WAS unity. The lessons of those years is not that class struggle fails, but rather, for it to succeed, it must go the whole way and overthrow the capitalist system, and replace it with a workers Republic.

The fact is that workers fighting for better wages and conditions, resisting redundancies etc, by the very act of struggle, MUST unite if they are to succeed. No group of workers can win if they allow sectarianism to intervene. Thus, if unity in struggle is the price to be paid for overcoming these divisions, even though this may only apply on a small scale, and even though this may only attract a trickle of Protestant workers at the moment, then it follows that in a period of intense class struggle they will dissipate even more. It is in struggle that workers are amenable to revolutionary ideas, barriers can be broken down, and the ideas of the ruling class (Green as well as Orange) can be challenged. A strike or a factory occupation can be worth dozens of elections or ASU's (Active Service Units).

Again, if class struggle is precluded in the North because of the border, this does not mean that it disappears entirely. Far from it. The question then is finding it, locating the minority prepared to fight, organising them, and spreading the struggle out of its immediate confines across the border if need be.

It seems to me therefore, that isolation in the North can only be compensated by creating links between workers in the South, and those like the miners fighting pit closures in Britain. I do not believe that workers in the North could be unaffected by mass struggles elsewhere, particularly if they are nearer home in the South or in the UK. As a revolutionary socialist I cannot equally conceive of any Republic worth fighting for than a 32-county workers Republic.

For me, the 'National Question' can only be resolved in the process of a workers revolution. It is not a struggle between Nations as Sinn Fein would have it; rather it is a struggle between classes. In this, the

Irish working class are the only 'incorruptible inheritors in the fight for Irish freedom'. It is British imperialism alongside 'Orange' and 'Green' capitalism which remains implacably opposed to this. Both must be fought, but fought on clear class terms. There can be no room for 'popular fronts' with the nationalist bourgeoisie, since invariably the price of such a front is the abandonment of exactly those class interests which the Irish proletariat represents. This time 'LABOUR WILL NOT WAIT'!

In conclusion therefore I would like to refer again to the 1982 health workers dispute. In a revolutionary situation you would most likely expect revolutionaries to raise the slogan, 'All Power to the Workers'. But in a non-revolutionary scenario the most immediate task is to build. In the case of the health workers the target must be the highest attainable demand, which in this case was an all-out strike for the 12%. Thus from such victories in partial struggle, workers can then gain in confidence for more specific ones, such as the question, 'who rules?'

I wonder whether Sinn Fein understands this.
Yours in struggle
C.M., Norwich

Spreading the Message

Dear Comrades,

Four people have got together in this area to start *Troops Out* activities. We have been distributing our own leaflets in Yeovil during the past year and have held small semi-monthly meetings. We had a video film on the history of events in the six occupied counties from the mid-sixties up to the early eighties.

Other people are interested in Ireland and have attended some meetings though it will obviously be some time before they become active. But education is the key and that is our main concentration at this stage with lesser emphasis at the moment on street work.

We are all members of CND so we have large numbers of contacts in the area, and we are all working and thus can begin to influence people at our workplaces too.

Yours,
D. Perry,
Yeovil, Dorset

REVIEWS

THE UNCIVIL WARS

By Padraig O'Malley, Blackstaff Press, £7.95

The Uncivil Wars analyses present day policy and strategy on the question of Northern Ireland and is constructed around a series of interviews with prominent politicians. These include Garret Fitzgerald, S. Irish Prime Minister (Taoiseach), Charles Haughey, leader of Fianna Fail, Daithi O'Conaill and Danny Morrison of Sinn Fein, John Hume and Seamus Mallon of the Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP), Thomas MacGiolla of the Workers' Party, James Molyneaux, leader of the Official Unionists, Ian Paisley of the Democratic Unionists, Andy Tyrie of the Ulster Defence Association, Chief Constable of the RUC Sir Jack Hermon, James Prior and Don Concannon.

First of all I should say this is one of the most confusing books I have read on Ireland for a long time. Padraig O'Malley — who is a professor of Political Studies in Massachusetts University — writes in a style of impressionistic despair. His text bursts with words like impasse, stalemate, intransigent, etc etc. He delights in long lists of paradoxes and contradictions. The ordering of his material is very repetitive and the text is so arranged that it is often not clear where he is paraphrasing his interviewee and where he is giving his own opinion.

And yet the book is a very useful contribution to the debate, particularly since the publication of the New Ireland Forum's Report. O'Malley's central question is, What do you do with the unionists? Now the Troops Out Movement's central question is, What do you do with the British? but we also recognise that the role of the unionists is of crucial strategic importance and that the issue is too often fudged by those demanding British withdrawal.

O'Malley's interviewing technique is to start by taking what is said at face value, and then to develop the logic and contradictions. For example, with the British politicians (Tory, Labour and SDP all say much the same): they claim to be in the North of Ireland merely to uphold the democratically expressed wishes of the majority there to be part of the United Kingdom. O'Malley rightly points out

that no British parliamentary party has a strategy, only a policy, and that the cost of upholding this 'democracy' is the destruction of internal democracy in the North. He then goes on to explore the hypocrisy of Britain's position by pointing out that if 51% of the North's population (i.e. all the nationalists and a percentage of the unionists) voted to leave the UK, then Britain would not in fact turn its army around to face the 49% hard-line unionists who would refuse to accept the decision.

Of particular interest is John Hume's (SDLP) position. He argues that the first thing to press for is not British withdrawal but the ending of the British guarantee to the unionists to uphold majority wishes. The removal of this guarantee would push the unionists into declaring an 'independent Ulster' and then 'the trap is sprung'. For once they had reached this decision they would quickly realise that an 'independent Ulster' could not survive without an accommodation with the rest of Ireland. And then we would arrive relatively painlessly at a federal Ireland!

The Uncivil Wars does not pose a solution. It is flawed both politically and stylistically, but the range of its analysis of contemporary positions on the Irish national question makes it essential reading.

DRESSED TO KILL — Cartoonists and the Northern Ireland Conflict

By John Darby, £4.95, published by Appletree Press, 7 James Street South, Belfast BT2 8DL, Northern Ireland.

Dressed to Kill is both intriguing and annoying, but most Troops Out readers will find it worth a look. It is intriguing because it looks at how the war in the Six Counties has been treated by cartoonists since Victorian times, but mostly since 1968.

Over 100 cartoons are reprinted, and the collection is unusual and worthwhile in that it includes not only those from mainstream British and Irish papers, but those from republican, loyalist, British army, and overseas publications.

It is interesting to contrast the subject matter chosen by different cartoonists. For example, there were very few cartoons in British publications about internment or torture, when those issues dominated cartoons in overseas papers.

AGENDA

by Irish Information Partnership,
No. 1 Morval, 7831 Gondregnies,
Belgium.

A commitment to producing the consistent, unbiased information that democracy needs led a group of professional Irish people in Europe to form the 'Irish Information Partnership' early in 1981. They have been researching and documenting Anglo-Irish relations and events in Northern Ireland since that period.

At a press conference in the House of Commons (16 May), we viewed their publication. At £250 subscription per year, we were a little sceptical about *Agenda*. However, its authors' claims to having produced 'the largest, widest and deepest study in the private sector' are no exaggeration. The 3,000 pages of *Agenda* (7 volumes) range over law, justice, civil rights, violence, terrorism, military, paramilitary, security and police matters, political developments, social and economic affairs.

To mention but a few of the things you can find within its

covers: it lists each of the Troubles-related deaths in N. Ireland since 1968, all of the killings by security forces, and killings by security forces in 'dubious circumstances'. You can see the year by year increases and decreases in the numbers of Army, RUC, UDR etc.

In addition to meticulous day by day details of court cases and violent incidents, arms finds, politicians' statements and factory closures, there are summary tables and analyses of the information. Graphs neatly display yearly acquittal rates in non-jury and jury courts, the rise and decline of political parties at the polls, long-term unemployment and the pattern of deaths and violent incidents.

The 'Political Analysis' section covers events in the Republic of Ireland, the USA and Europe as well as in N. Ireland and Britain.

Much of the detailed figures on the repressive use of the law and police powers illustrate *Troops Out's* argument that the military/police cannot solve the political problem. This type of information is useful only if popularised. What reading matter on Ireland does your local library provide?



A Spanish view of the war against British imperialism

As John Darby notes in the rather dry accompanying text, *'if cartoons are to be examined for the light they may throw on political attitudes, it is at least as important to look for the omitted themes as for those which appear in print'*.

But the book is annoying because it ignores the many cartoons published over the years by the Troops Out Movement and others in Britain arguing against the British presence. One small cartoon from Socialist Challenge is hardly a fair representation. Similarly, Phil Evans' *Ireland for Beginners* (Writers and Readers cartoon book) is not mentioned (though personally I found Evans' book even more annoying than this one).

Another omission is any mention of the GLC stand against the Standard's appalling

anti-Irish cartoon by Jak.

And John Darby's concluding remarks made me think he couldn't have read all the Cormac or Oisin cartoons he claims to have studied: *'the greater the cartoonist's commitment to a cause, the less likely are the cartoons to be humorous. Politics and humour are not comfortable bedfellows. Deep involvement often produces effective propaganda, but rarely humour'*.

But despite these faults, and the author's attempts to sit on an academic fence over and above the conflict, not to mention its dubious title, *Dressed to Kill* is a welcome addition to books on N. Ireland, but would be better read as a companion to *Ireland: The Propaganda War* by Liz Curtis (Pluto) and *Cormac Strikes Back* (Information on Ireland).

MAY

23rd 200 staff of the National University of Ireland criticise the university's decision to award an honorary doctorate to Reagan. On 28th May graduates of the university meet to condemn the decision as well, and a number of 'honorary doctors' return their degrees in disgust.

24th

In Dublin police evict workers occupying Ranks Mills — the plant shut down 16 months ago and the workers are demanding that it be reopened. One worker has been imprisoned.

At the Preliminary Enquiry (committal proceedings) involving supergrass Harry Kirkpatrick, seventeen of the thirty-one defendants are injured when RUC assault them. Five defence lawyers walk out in protest and after a five-day adjournment, the magistrate finally agrees to dismiss himself 'in the interests of justice'. The Preliminary Enquiry starts from the beginning again on 6th June.

26th

Robert Russell, one of the 38 prisoners who escaped from Long Kesh in September 1983 is arrested in Dublin. RUC issue a warrant for his extradition, which is granted on 31st May.

Irish Minister for Foreign Affairs spends weekend in London and France and has talks with British Ministers: he claims that Prior, Howe and Whitelaw were sympathetic to Forum Report. Also a resolution passes through US Congress and Senate endorsing the Report and commanding it to British Govt and N. Ireland parties. (On 1st June, the Socialist Group in the EEC also called on British Govt to 'respond positively' to the Report — this includes the British Labour Party.)

Large demonstrations in Dublin against Reagan's visit, led by 200 nuns (the Irish missionary element in Central America is opposed to



US policy). Also a demonstration in Belfast, which is addressed by Bernadette McAliskey and former black panther Mel Mason.

28th

Central Statistics Office in Dublin 'discovers' that multinationals in Ireland repatriated a staggering £700 millions profits, dividends etc in 1983.

29th

Official Unionists return to N. Ireland Assembly after a six-month boycott. British soldier killed and one wounded by IRA landmine in Co. Armagh.

JUNE

1st-4th

President Reagan visits Ireland. Massive protests around Ireland. His public speeches stay clear of any policy apart from condemnations of 'terrorism' (IRA, not British Army) for which he is thanked by Thatcher when he moves on to Britain. Addresses Dublin Parliament (Dail), three TD's walk out in disgust, rest remain; premier Fitzgerald makes mild criticisms of Central American policies.

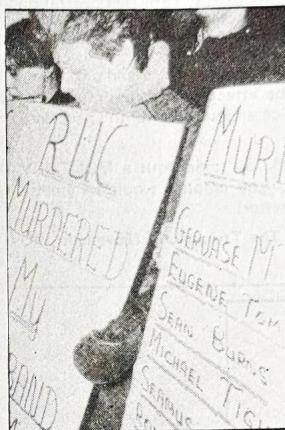
3rd

Former UDR soldier shot dead by IRA in Co. Tyrone. Another is shot dead in Co. Armagh by IRA the next day, and two RUC and four British soldiers are injured by

booby trap bomb in same incident. Plastic bullets are fired by RUC at nationalists in Derry.

4th

Three RUC officers are acquitted of the murder of Eugene Toman, shoot-to-kill victim. See article.



Relatives of Shoot-to-Kill victims protest but the courts in N. Ireland give protection to the police and military. This trial was ordered by the British Attorney General, against the wishes of the N. Ireland Director of Public Prosecutions.

9th

National Front march in Coleraine — 90 turn up; equate loyalist opposition to nationalists with their opposition to 'immigrants'. 300 hold a counter-demonstration.

14th

Election for European Assembly. In S. Ireland neutrality becomes an issue with Irish CND getting a pledge from 24 candidates to support Irish neutrality and oppose nuclear weaponry in Europe. This coincides with the revival of the Western European Union on 12th June, a military alliance involving seven EEC countries. Irish CND, building on anti-Reagan mobilisation, also starts campaigning to have neutrality written into the Constitution.

There is also a referendum held at the same time in S. Ireland as to whether British residents in Ireland should have voting rights. Three-to-one vote in favour. Election results in North: Ian Paisley, John Hume and John Taylor elected — no change. See article.

British Government reconsiders its decision to buy Kinsale Gas from South for North, although work has already started on laying a pipeline — probably a bargaining ploy to get a better price.

London police shoot two unarmed men attempting to rob a post office: shades of shoot-to-kill policy under Sir Kenneth Newman's (former head of RUC) leadership.

15th

A Catholic man in Belfast is awarded £10,000 in an out-of-court settlement for his claim of discrimination against the General Municipal Boilermakers & Allied Trades Union at Harland & Wolff shipyards. He had registered as unemployed with the union for two years, during which time he was never notified of a vacancy — meanwhile 105 people were taken on in his trade, including 60 non-union workers. When the case was investigated, it was discovered that pages had been torn out of the union's records.

Paul McCann, a member of INLA (Irish National Liberation Army), is shot dead when RUC raid a house in Lenadoon, West Belfast. An RUC man is also killed, apparently by a police or army bullet ricocheting. An initial RUC statement claims the police 'returned fire' (denied by INLA), a second statement denied they had fired at all! INLA statement points out that McCann had been arrested twice a month since Christmas and that during his last detention he was given a death threat by the RUC.

17th

Three leading members of IRSP are arrested and later released, evidently to disrupt the funeral of Paul McCann. During the funeral, on the 18th, an INLA colour party salutes the coffin — RUC and Army try to intervene and are beaten off by the mourners.

20th

Michael O'Rourke is to be deported from USA to South of Ireland. He escaped from court six years ago and has been fighting extradition for four years by demanding political asylum.



The Church Militant, against Reagan (Photo: Derek Spiers/Report)

COMING EVENTS & RESOURCES

Appeal for Funds

NATIONAL APPEAL FOR BANKER'S ORDERS

TROOPS OUT NOW and SELF DETERMINATION FOR THE IRISH PEOPLE AS A WHOLE are the two demands of the Troops Out Movement. In order to explain and win support for these demands we campaign on many aspects of British rule in Ireland. We are currently involved in work on:-

- Informers in the Northern Ireland Courts
- Police methods in Northern Ireland
- Plastic Bullets
- The Prevention of Terrorism Act
- Strip Searching in Armagh Jail
- Prisoners' issues

We are organising our annual August Delegation to the North of Ireland, when approximately 200 people will go to see for themselves what life is like under British rule.

We are centrally involved in organising the August 18th Demonstration in London, calling for British withdrawal, to mark the 15th anniversary of the troops going into N. Ireland.

As you can see our task is enormous. A national office and a full-time worker are essential to enable us to be effective. We need sufficient funds to pay a worker, service the office and produce all the necessary campaign material.

We ask you to help finance our work by taking out a **MONTHLY STANDING ORDER** with your bank. Any amount would be greatly appreciated - obviously the more the better!

For more information, please contact The Troops Out Movement, PO Box 353, London NW5 4NH.

JOIN THE TROOPS OUT MOVEMENT

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

ENGLAND
Birmingham Tyneside
Brighton York

LONDON AREA

Camden

East London

Haringey

Islington

Lambeth

West London

Tower Hamlets

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