

TROOPS OUT OF IRELAND



**TROOPS OUT
NOW**

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

Paper of the Troops Out Movement 30p

Vol. 10, No. 9, July 1987

The legacy of imperialism General Election:

**PARTITIONED
IRELAND,
DIVIDED
BRITAIN**

CHARTISM
BRITISH INTELLIGENCE
LETTERS, REVIEWS

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EDITORIAL

Minorities

In 1834 the future Chartist leader James Bronté O'Brien wrote: 'universal suffrage can be of little use, if applied only to political purposes. In fact it is only as auxiliary to social reform or as a means of protecting the multitude in the establishment of new institutions for the production and distribution of wealth that universal suffrage would develop its virtues.'

O'Brien did not live to see a system of government based on universal suffrage, but his warning has been confirmed as governments have consistently refused to represent the interests of the population at large. General Elections, which should be unimpeachable advertisements for democracy, have only served to re-inforce the grip of business and financial interests over ordinary people's lives. The 1987 General Election was no exception.

All the major political parties concentrated their energies on winning the votes of the professional and middle classes. Unemployment was raised only as a warning to those who have come to consider themselves 'fortunate enough' to have work. Small mention was made of the living hell of surviving on the dole. People's concern for peace was not addressed — defence of the State was the issue. Fighting racism was not deemed voteworthy. The question of the British occupation of Ireland was hardly raised. Making Britain great again was the rallying call of all the parties.

The result confirmed what we already knew, Britain is a divided country. The party of government represents the prosperous ambitions of the South and Midlands. The people of Scotland and Wales emphatically expressed their opposition to Thatcher's rule. So too did the people of northern England. The people of the inner city areas in the South have been left isolated by the encroachment of 'popular capitalism'.

It is a class division. While traditional working class communities struggle to survive the collapse of manufacturing industry the financial wealth accrued by the City of London institutions has generated new investment in surrounding areas. The new professional and technical class is now a force to be reckoned with.

The 13.75 million people who voted Tory have decided the fate of a population of nearly 60 million. And Mrs Thatcher dares to turn her back on the democratic demands of people who are contemptuously referred to as 'minorities'.

British society is a population of minorities whether we are Scottish, Welsh, Black, of Irish descent or unemployed. And the business and financial community, the smallest minority of all, has been given licence to govern on our behalf when claiming to represent the interests of the majority.

For twenty years now a so-called 'minority' has shown what can be achieved by a people determined to be free. Since the formation of the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association in February 1967, which included universal suffrage as one of its demands, the nationalist people of the six counties have steadily advanced in the face of great adversity. In the General Election Gerry Adams' vote was up by 4.1% in winning West Belfast. 83,388 people voted Sinn Fein in fourteen seats contested and three SDLP MPs were returned to Westminster. And the war goes on.

Troops Out Movement

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

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

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

Troops Out Paper

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

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

COPY SHOULD REACH US BY
22nd JULY for the August/September issue.

SUBSCRIPTIONS

Make sure you get your *Troops Out* regularly by taking out a subscription.

RATES

Britain & Ireland: £5 yearly (10 issues).

Europe: £7 yearly.

USA, Australia & New Zealand: £12.

Libraries/institutions: £12.

Make cheques payable to Troops Out (Literature Committee).

All correspondence for *Troops Out* journal, send to:

Box 10, 2A St Paul's Road,

London N1 2QN.

All correspondence for the Troops Out Movement send to:

PO Box 353, London NW5 4NH.

General Election results in the North

The general election brought conflicting results in Northern Ireland. The SDLP, which was heavily backed by the Northern Ireland Office in an attempt to wipe out Sinn Fein electorally, won an extra seat but failed decisively to take their prime target seat, West Belfast. Their gain in South Down was at the expense of Enoch Powell of the Official Unionist Party (OUP). The Unionist vote was down, and they lost a senior member. It is the loss of Enoch Powell, and the brand of Unionism he represented, which is more relevant than the drop in votes. Because the two main Unionist parties had agreed not to stand against each other, it is easier to draw conclusions from the voting pattern of the Nationalist community.

REPRESSION OF REPUBLICANS

In the first week of the election campaign, Dermot Hackett was shot dead by a UDA gang in a sectarian killing. Prior to his death Mr Hackett had been the victim of continuous harassment by the RUC, so much so that the Bishop of Derry publicly called on the RUC to end their harassment of people in West Tyrone, accusing them of victimising catholics and exposing them to attack by 'psychopaths'. A few days later 14 solicitors issued a public statement criticising the RUC for the constant abuse to which the solicitors and their Nationalist clients are subjected. In the same week there was an assassination attempt on a Sinn Fein worker, a number of Nationalist houses were raided across the six counties, and there were a number of assaults on people living in Nationalist areas.

This weekly tally of oppression was to carry on for the rest of the election campaign. There was another assassination attempt in Belfast. It is clear that these attempts, like that on Alex Maskey and the killing of Larry Marley, are all carried out using information supplied by the RUC. The message coming very much from the N. Ireland office was support Sinn Fein and the terror will continue, support the SDLP and we will listen to you. Repression of Republicans was to be the stick to the carrot of SDLP promises of a bright new future.

with Joe Hendron of SDLP and Gerry Fitt (ex SDLP) receiving just over 10,000 votes each. With former MP Fitt in the House of Lords, Hendron hoped to attract the bulk of his vote.

The Northern Ireland Office put considerable effort into helping Joe Hendron's campaign. They tried to persuade the Unionist candidate not to stand hoping Hendron might win some of his votes. They implied that EEC development funding would not be forthcoming for West Belfast if Sinn Fein won. A week before voting the N. Ireland minister Nicholas Scott announced a

With this money the SDLP were able to produce extensive election literature as well as run regular half-page advertisements in the *Irish News*, the paper most widely read by Northern Ireland Nationalists. They were also heavily backed by that paper's editorial policy. Yet the SDLP only gained one seat. Their vote rose slightly and Sinn Fein's dropped slightly. They and their backers failed in their primary aim of significantly eroding Sinn Fein's electoral base.

OUP INTEGRATIONISTS OUT

Though the Northern Ireland Office concentrated primarily on channelling the Nationalist vote to the SDLP, they were



Photo AP/RN

SDLP AND FRIENDS

The SDLP came into this election riding on the crest of a wave. Other than having the support of the Northern Ireland office, they were awash with money, and earlier this year had won a by-election taking the Newry & Armagh seat from the Unionists. They had high hopes of taking two more seats in this election. One of these was West Belfast where they hoped to oust Sinn Fein president Gerry Adams. In the previous election Gerry Adams won just over 16,000 votes,

"more humane approach" to long term prisoners, implying many would be released early. Journalists were continually fed with stories that Hendron was edging out in front of Adams. In the end Adams held his seat, increasing his vote and Joe Hendron could only attract 4,000 of Fitt's vote.

The SDLP was also helped by funding from the US 'National Endowment for Democracy'. The NED is generally noted for funding right-wing groups in countries as far apart as Panama, the Philippines and France.

RUC enforce democracy on republicans after Adams is re-elected.

also playing close attention to the performance of the Unionists. Both the Official Unionist Party (OUP) and the Democratic Unionist Party (DUP), had agreed they would not stand against each other in the Election. Sitting MPs were to be unopposed. Their combined vote was down 10% but that is as likely to be due to the lack of competition as to discontent in the Unionist camp.

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The defeat of Enoch Powell is a severe loss to the Official Unionists however. Powell was a major figure in the party, on the integrationist wing (those who believed the cause of the Union would best be served by N. Ireland being treated the same as any area in Britain such as Yorkshire). He was also the leader of the party in Westminster.

The OUP also lost another major figure on the integrationist wing, barrister Robert McCartney, due to the election. McCartney had been in dispute with the leadership of his party for some time, and refused to accept the election pact with the other parties. He stood in South Down against Jim Kilfeather of the Popular Unionist Party, and was expelled from the OUP.

The other party to the electoral pact, the DUP, lost Jim Allister, a rising figure. Allister's resignation was followed by the resignation of 14 councillors, and it was only Ian Paisley's impassioned plea for unity in the party which stopped further haemorrhage.

But the major blow to the Unionists was not in the figures for N Ireland, but in the British election results. They had been banking heavily on a hung parliament. This election leaves them as divided and confused about future policy as they were before. The SDLP are in a stronger position with three MPs than they have been for some time. Sinn Fein, despite the most adverse circumstances, have held their vote and shown that they have a base of support which holds solid. In the last five elections in Northern Ireland their share of the Nationalist vote has not dropped below 35%.



Photo: AP/RN

Election: Goodbye Nick, hello John

After serving six years as Minister in the Northern Ireland Office under James Prior, Douglas Hurd and Tom King, Nicholas Scott has been replaced by former Armed Forces Minister John Stanley. No doubt Mr Scott will put his experience gained in the six counties to use in his new post as Minister responsible for social security.

John Stanley needs no introduction. As Mrs Thatcher's

parliamentary private secretary before she became Prime Minister, he shows unquestionable loyalty to Thatcherism. As Minister of Housing, 1979-83, he pushed through the sale of council houses while keeping a watchful eye on his boss, the then Environment Secretary Michael Heseltine.

In 1983, as Armed Forces Minister, he masterminded the government's cover-up over the sinking of the Belgrano — with some 360 lives lost.

John Stanley will go to Ireland with the full support of the Army and will be welcomed by Unionist politicians. There is no need for us to ask the six counties to smooth-talk the unionists on the Anglo-Irish Agreement or to co-ordinate a new wave of repression against the nationalist community. He is quite capable of achieving both with total disregard for all but his leader in Westminster.

Election workers under attack

Sinn Fein councillor Alex Maskey, who survived an attempt to assassinate him in April, has left hospital. He feared another attempt on his life, since he was being given no protection in the hospital, and left a week before he was due to. Hospital visitors, including his wife, suffered constant harassment from the RUC. It now appears that the attack on Alex Maskey is part of a series by loyalist gangs with information provided by the RUC or Army.

The attack on Alex Maskey

took place using a mini-cab of a type frequently used by him. The night before the attack his phone had been put out of action. At the time of the attack there were no Army/RUC units in the area even though they had been present for the preceding few days.

At the end of April Brendan Davidson, a Sinn Fein worker, was shot in a betting shop in Belfast. He had been stopped a number of times that day by the RUC and only they would have known he would be in the

betting shop just then. The gun used in this attack is reputed to be the same as that used to kill Larry Marley, shot in his home earlier this year. Larry Marley was a member of the IRA.

The shooting of Eamon Burns early in June also follows this pattern. Though not politically active, he was a Republican supporter and was frequently stopped and interrogated by the RUC. Thirty shots were fired at the cab of his lorry outside his workplace on the Glen Road in Belfast.

Shorts Blowpipe saga

The British government thought it was onto a winner with Belfast firm Shorts Brothers shoulder launched Blowpipe surface to air missile (range three miles). The government is so frightened the weapon may fall into the wrong hands that strict regulations cover their sale. Only state governments can buy the missiles on condition they are not re-sold to any third party.

The Afghan rebels are reported to have received many Blowpipe missiles. They were not impressed. The US made Stinger missile is preferred and rejected Blowpipe missiles have found their way to Pakistan's international arms bazaar in Darra!

The Irangate hearing in Washington also discovered



Photo: AP/RN

that Colonel Oliver North offered Blowpipe missiles to the Contras. In one secret memo he suggested that Shorts Brothers trainer teams might

instruct Contra forces in the use of the weapon. The Contras showed little interest, they thought the missiles too expensive.

Ireland and Europe

The Single European Act (SEA) was supported with a two to one majority in a referendum in Ireland on May 26th. The Act, which had been already accepted by all the other countries in the EEC, is designed to harmonise EEC foreign policy, with the use of proportional voting in the Council of Ministers, discouraging the veto previously available to individual countries who found their interests threatened.

Opponents of the Act argued that it would have serious adverse effects for Ireland's neutrality. In particular they objected to section III under which is set up a body known as European Political Co-operation with its own staff and diplomatic corps. They felt that this body would undermine the ability of Ireland to control its



Petra Kelly of the German Green Party speaks against the Single European Act in Dublin (photo: AP/RN).

own foreign policy. These opponents, who included groups like Irish CND, the Irish Sovereignty Movement, Sinn Fein, the Workers' Party, and major sections of the Labour Party, had information available for the start of the referendum campaign.

They were opposed by the three largest parties who argued that the Act would not affect Ireland's neutrality. The debate soon got off the ground and

the issue was widely discussed in the media as well as at local level. Two weeks before the referendum date, polls indicated that opponents of the Act might be in a majority. Immediately a barrage of arguments for the Act was unleashed.

All the large parties increased their propaganda for acceptance. The media was attacked for giving a balanced view of the arguments. The party leaders argued that there should be

three times more time given to the yes argument because the three large parties supported it! Large sums of money were spent promoting the yes campaign. Voters were threatened with economic ruin if they did not vote yes. Frank Dolan of the *Irish Post* was later to compare these threats with the ten plagues of Egypt!

Towards the end of the campaign the no lobby began to lose ground. They couldn't compete with the large sums of money spent by the other side and found it increasingly difficult to get access to the media.

In the end only 44% of the electorate voted. Confusion and apathy seemed to be the dominant factor, caused not least by the very contradictory statements coming from the main party leaders. The party in government, Fianna Fail, was split on the issue and threats of expulsions were all that stopped some members from campaigning against the Act.

OTHER INTERNATIONAL NEWS

Dutch campaign against plastic bullets

A campaign has begun in Holland against the use of plastic bullets in the north of Ireland. The 6-month campaign, organised by the Amsterdam-based Ierland Informatie Centrum, includes a petition, a photo and poster display, videos, and a booklet in Dutch giving technical details of the weapon, background to the victims, and the circumstances in which they were killed and injured.

The aim of the campaign is to make it increasingly difficult for the British government to justify its use of this weapon. The British army and the RUC have repeatedly deflected international public criticism by issuing false press statements on incidents where plastic bullets have caused serious injuries or deaths. This has resulted in the Dutch media either not handling reports because of their unreliability, or misleading information being presented as fact. As a consequence many people not only don't know of the damage a plastic bullet does, but that they exist at all and have killed men, women and children in the north of Ireland.

Support for the campaign so far has come from the ecumenical movement, trade unionists, 3rd World solidarity groups, and ordinary Dutch people, hundreds of whom have already

signed the petition after they learned of the use and abuse of this weapon. It is also intended to canvas support from the legal and medical professors, among the hierarchy of all religious denominations, and political representatives at local and national level.

The campaign will end in late autumn with a speaking tour of Holland by a plastic

bullet victim and relative, in co-operation with the Belfast-based United Campaign Against Plastic Bullets. During this tour the petition will be presented to the representative of the British government in The Hague, the Dutch Foreign Secretary, and foreign affairs spokespersons of all the political parties in the Dutch parliament.



The Ierland Informatie Centrum stand on Leidseplein in Amsterdam on Dutch Liberation Day, at the opening of the campaign against plastic bullets.

British 'intelligence' in Ireland

Spies bombs and destabilisation

Spies, thanks to the works of fiction, are often regarded in some awe and almost as a race apart. In reality they are just another part of the state apparatus, just as much as the police, the army or the civil service. They have two functions, to obtain intelligence on anyone internally or externally whose interests are not exactly the same as the government, and to keep track of organs of the state such as the army or the police.

Since 1969 Britain has put considerable resources into intelligence activities in Ireland. MI6 (the external branch) has only three 'desks' attributed to single countries. They are for the US, the USSR and Ireland. The rest of the world is divided into regional desks. MI5 (the internal branch) also operates in Ireland as does Army intelligence. Some of Britain's leading intelligence operators have been assigned to Ireland. These include Maurice Oldfield, Ewart Biggs and Richard Sykes.

TWENTY SIX COUNTIES

Ewart Biggs held dual posts as an MI6 co-ordinator and ambassador to Dublin. He was assassinated by the IRA in July 1976 not long after he took over the posts. Richard Sykes came to Ireland to investigate Biggs' death. He later became joint ambassador/MI6 co-ordinator in Holland. He is believed to have been investigating an IRA arms supply route when he was assassinated by them in 1979. (See page 13 for an update on the present ambassador to Holland.)

It was Maurice Oldfield whose career was the most deeply involved in Ireland, both as chief of MI6 and security co-ordinator in the North of Ireland. His tenure was not a complete success although it was he who set about infiltrating the Gardai, a process which has proved successful. In the early '70s most British Intelligence activities in the twenty six counties were aimed at information gathering and influencing the policies of the Dublin government.

In 1972 two English criminals, the Littlejohn brothers, were extradited to Ireland. They had been involved in a number of robberies, as well as petrol bombing two Garda stations. It transpired that the two had been recruited by Lady Pamela Onslow, cousin of the present minister with responsibility for intelligence matters, Cranley Onslow. Their function was to discredit the IRA. However their arrest led to the Irish authorities uncovering a Garda working in Gardai headquarters for British intelligence. His controller was John Wyman, who was also the Littlejohn's MI6 case officer.

In the same year a loyalist gang led by an intelligence officer planted a number of bombs in Dublin, killing two people. The Dail was debating a draconian piece of legislation known as the Offences Against the State Amendment Act. It appeared that the Act would not go

'Be clear on one point above all else. The intelligence world is not answerable to secretaries of state. It is accountable to nobody – not the Prime Minister, not Parliament, not the courts. An intelligence department decides what information politicians should be given and they're rarely, if ever, given the full facts.'

Former Army intelligence officer quoted in the *Irish Times*, 24.4.80

through due to civil libertarian considerations. When the bombs exploded during the debate it went through unopposed.

In a number of bombing incidents until 1976, aimed to destabilise the government and increase opposition to IRA activities 34 people were killed. Since British and Irish government policies on the North have converged there have been no such incidents. A small number of loyalist paramilitary incursions, without British military help, have not proved major incidents.

SIX COUNTIES

As all this was happening in the twenty six counties, the Intelligence services were busy in the North of Ireland. The army conceived an amateur scheme to get into Republican no-go areas. Using a laundry van they spied out what was happening in the areas and later investigated the clothes received on the rounds, for signs of contact with gunpowder, explosives etc. They were soon found out and the occupants of the van were killed in an IRA ambush.

Intelligence gathering was not only aimed at the nationalist community. In 1970 James Miller joined Tara, a small loyalist paramilitary organisation led by William McGrath. Miller was working for MI5 and was part of an operation known as Clockwork Orange, to infiltrate loyalist organisations. A year later he joined the UDA and stayed with them until 1975, playing an active role in the Ulster Workers' Strike. Another part of Clockwork Orange was surveillance of Kincora House.

Kincora House was a residential home for boys in Belfast, run by William McGrath of Tara fame. He involved some of the boys in a prostitution ring and MI5

used the information to pressure prominent Loyalists who availed of the ring. For many years afterwards MI5 prevented the RUC and Social Services from acting on Kincora, because of its usefulness to them.

One of the options considered at the time by MI5 was the assassination of Ian Paisley. They would try to portray his death as resulting from internal feuding, involving a vice ring and/or misappropriation of funds. But Clockwork Orange began to lose steam during 1974 and was replaced by Clockwork Orange II. This was the plot to destabilise the newly elected Labour government, organised by MI5 officers in N.Ireland and London. It is the description of this plot in Peter Wright's book that has prompted the British government to put so much effort into attempting to ban publication.

About this time there was an outbreak of rivalry between MI6 and MI5. There was considerable competition between the two Intelligence branches and a lot of energy was put into internecine fighting. One branch would try to recruit someone in the Army or RUC to either spy on the other branch or even pass to them false and misleading information.

PLANNING AHEAD

But Maurice Oldfield was looking to the longer term. In 1972 he had sat in on the talks with the IRA and was involved in setting up the truce in 1976. He also played a behind the scenes role with MP Maurice Foley in getting the disparate Nationalist MPs in Northern Ireland to come together to form the Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP). There is no reason to believe that any of the founders of the SDLP were aware of MI6 involvement, but Oldfield saw the importance of developing a 'moderate' Nationalist party with whom the British government could deal. The alternative was the IRA stepping into the vacuum created by the demise of the old Nationalist party.

When Oldfield again returned to Ireland in 1979 as Security Co-ordinator, he concentrated on three main areas. He streamlined the operations of the RUC and the Army, he again concentrated on developing contacts in the Gardai, and he developed the supergrass system based on the 'converted terrorist' system used in Malaya in the '50s. But this strategy rebounded on him. The supergrass system was eventually defeated after widespread campaigns led by its victims and their relatives. Intelligence gathered by the RUC was soon outweighed by intelligence gathered by the IRA as the RUC revealed in court their sources and methods of information gathering. The IRA subsequently removed informers and members likely to be susceptible to pressure, and emerged a tighter and leaner organisation.

Frank O'Neill

Total policing

"There is one thing that policing terrorism has in common with policing ethnic ghettos. Policing activities must be accompanied by social and economic measures and the policies of the police and civil administration must be co-ordinated with a coherent strategy."

Put another way, counter-insurgency campaigns are run with similar methods, be it in a colonial situation like the North of Ireland or in England's inner cities. Newman's tenure in Ireland (RUC Chief Constable 1976-79, Deputy 1973-76) was marked by the implementation of the counter-insurgency theories formulated by Kitson. Total policing in Ireland is the blending of post-1945 experiences in Britain's colonies, in which both Newman (Palestine) and Kitson (Kenya) served.

Newman has attempted to change the face of London's (and Britain's) policing in three main areas over his five years as Metropolitan Commissioner. Militarization has increased apace, there is "an imaginative community relations programme" and maximum effort is expended in aligning public opinion with police policy.

TOOLING UP

When Newman arrived in Belfast the RUC (police) were very much second fiddle to the Army in the war against nationalists. Mindful of the colonial stratagem of deploying indigenously-raised security forces to undercut a nationalist political position, Newman set about re-organizing the RUC. Increasing numbers, high-velocity firearms, armoured vehicles, CS gas and plastic bullets, the UK's largest Special Patrol Group and the second largest Special Branch (after London) added up to a paramilitary force that could rival any dictator's.

London now sees the same. Backing up the 'riot control' Transits and Sherpas, which carry a full complement of military-style equipment, are the recently purchased armoured Landrovers so familiar in the North of Ireland. Londoners have been "put on notice" by Newman that plastic bullets may be used.

Brutal crowd control measures — hemming-in, gratuitous assault, snatch squads — are the most overt manifestations of paramilitary policing to the public at large. But residents in "certain demographic areas and urban developments" (Newman, *Irish Times* 1976) experience the day-to-day policing of occupation by stop-and-search, road-blocks, petty harassment and constant surveillance.

The concentration on low-level intelligence gathering in Ireland has been mirrored by that in London. The databanks of the Army's Lisburn computer hold details of upwards of half a million people, a third of the Northern Ireland population. One of the prime categories is that of household, with residents classified as members under age, occu-

Kenneth Newman, October 1983

pation, criminal record, pattern of movements derived from road-blocks and identity checks, etc.

In a speech to the Society of Conservative Lawyers in February 1986, Newman quoted figures for the proportion of households on Broadwater Farm Estate with no earning members, with members with criminal convictions and those that are black. This information can only have been derived from police surveillance, questioning, visits and raids.

COMMUNITY WOOING

'Psyops' was a relatively late addition to British techniques of counter-insurgency. With only a 30-strong psychological warfare section in 1971 the British Army was unable to make much of a dent in republican communities with their establishment of community projects, youth clubs, hiking trips and meals-on-wheels for pensioners.

London in 1987 witnesses the lessons learnt in Ireland. Through a network of consultative committees, neighbourhood watches and membership of community organizations, we are enlisted to the cause of 'law and order'. Home Office guidelines explicitly state the purpose of consultation is to promote support for the police, neighbourhood watch yields low-level intelligence and constables attend meetings of pensioners' projects and festival committees.

But, as in Ireland, Newman's 'community policing' only serves to insulate policing from its critics, it does not fool those on the receiving end. A 'consultative committee meeting' called by Hackney police recently broke up after intervention by members of the Trevor Monerville campaign, fighting for justice for a black man paralyzed from brain

damage inflicted after his arrest by Stoke Newington police.

PRESS MANIPULATION

The RUC and Army in the North of Ireland have long since realized the importance of a policy of seeming openness with the press. Providing information, a constant drip of 'good' stories, allowing journalists to accompany soldiers and police on patrols — all diverts the press away from less desirable sources. Up to the minute statements enable the police version of events to become the norm against which later conflicting reports have to be judged. The flip side of the con is the gleaning of information from journalists and the feeding of disinformation.

In London the press has been used to criminalize those "certain demographic areas" and, within them, "flashpoints" such as Railton Road (Brixton), All Saints Road (Notting Hill) and Sandringham Road (Hackney) and housing estates such as Broadwater Farm (Tottenham) and Mozart (Queens Park). Independent Radio News now describes All Saints Road in a factual news item as "an area plagued by mugging, drug-dealing and prostitution".

PREPARATION

Newman has practised policing by confrontation while attempting to numb any public concern with community relations exercises. He has participated in the trend of redefining political differences as problems of law and order. He has promoted the separation of communities into law-abiding or state-opposing.

Undoubtedly he has had some success. The ground has been prepared for paramilitary occupation policing on a larger deadlier scale. People rather than offences are the focus of his policing, as the emphasis shifts from crime to politics.

But Newman has failed too. The lines are clearer than ever. Why else are there hardly any black people in the police force, just as there are hardly any nationalists in the RUC? Newman has raised the stakes, and the opposition too.

Next month *Troops Out* charts the career to date of Peter Imbert, Kenneth Newman's successor as Metropolitan Commissioner.



Trevor Monerville campaigners 'consult' the police

Pages from history: Fighting a common enemy in the 19th Century

The French Revolution of 1789 was to become a barometer of political opinion in Europe for over half a century. In 1792 Tom Paine's *Rights of Man* was published in England and immediately suppressed. Paine declared his support for the Revolution and outlined the principles which were to be taken up by the United Irishmen and the English and Scottish 'Jacobin' societies, so called after the French revolutionaries.

In this period of history Ireland had a colonial parliament sitting in Dublin under the jurisdiction of the English crown. The electorate was restricted by property qualifications with MP's living off their private wealth. It was a parliament of the landed aristocracy for the landed aristocracy (the same was true of the Westminster parliament for England, Scotland and Wales).

Formed in 1791, under Theobold Wolfe Tone's leadership, the United Irishmen later drew up a programme for electoral reform which included general demands for (i) manhood suffrage (ii) equal electoral districts (iii) no property qualifications (iv) annual parliaments and (v) payment of MP's. These demands were presented alongside the right to nationhood and a wide range of economic measures. We might add that in an oppressive men's world Mary Wollstonecraft's *Vindication of the Rights of Women* was warmly received.

The United Irishmen forged a unity between the urban middle and working classes and the peasantry in their programme for independence, democracy and land reform. The Westminster government responded to the growth of the movement by unleashing all the repressive measures at its disposal. Left with no alternative, an insurrection was planned with French support. Final defeat for the United Irishmen came in 1798, followed by Westminster's abolition of the Dublin parliament through the Act of Union, enforced on the 1st January, 1801.

THE PEOPLE'S CHARTER

Widespread repression followed the imposition of English direct rule in Ireland. The desertion of middle class dissenters from the cause of democracy left the Irish peasantry to pursue a harsh struggle against absentee English landlords. In Britain the conclusion of the Napoleonic Wars (1815) heralded economic crisis and political repression.

It was the time of mass emigration from Ireland to Britain. The landless farm labourers of Britain were looking to the new industrial conurbations for employment. Luddite craft-workers rose to prominence when they destroyed machinery in the hope of safeguarding their living standards. In 1819 a rally calling for political reform at St. Peter's Fields, Manchester was attacked by the armed yeomanry leaving 11 dead and 400 wounded. The Peterloo Massacre marked the advent of more repressive legislation. 1830 witnessed what was to be described as the 'last labourers revolt'. Farmworkers and the

landless rioted throughout southern and eastern England under the fictitious leadership of Captain Swing. Nine men were hung, some 450 transported and the same number imprisoned.

In February 1837 a meeting of the London Working-Men's Association drew up a petition for parliamentary reform. It is believed that what was to become known as the People's Charter was originally mooted by Daniel O'Connell, the Irish MP who was to become an arch enemy of Chartism. The Charter specified the five demands of the United Irishmen and added a sixth - vote by secret ballot.

With Ireland having taken its lead from France, now Britain took its lead from Ireland. At the outset Chartism came to represent an alliance of the landless, the new working class and sections of the new middle class (bourgeoisie) arraigned against the landed aristocracy. Irish people were to play a central part in the movement from the guiding ideas of the United Irishmen to the mass involvement of Irish people living in Britain and the emergence of Irish leaders of the British working class. There was Feargus O'Connor, one

time Irish MP from a staunch family of United Irishmen, James Bronté O'Brien, the intellectual giant of Chartism and John Doherty the pioneer trade unionist, to name but a few.

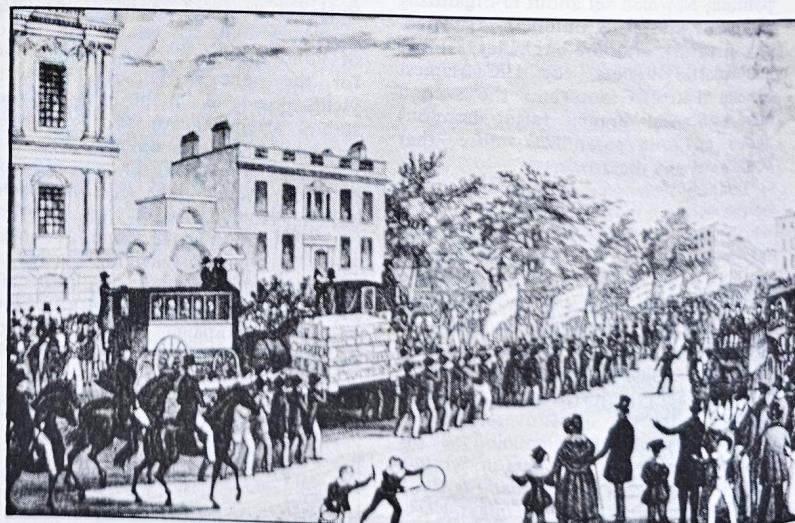
IRELAND AND BRITAIN

While the Chartist Movement was to challenge the political power of the English landed aristocracy in Britain, the aristocracy's wealth was to be undermined by the Irish peasantry.

Daniel O'Connell had asserted himself as the champion of catholic rights in Ireland with the winning of Catholic Emancipation in 1829. Yet the conditions of the peasantry did not improve. Irish landlords had gained some access to political power and were now demanding their pound of flesh. In the mid '30's the Tithe Wars erupted in the countryside. The peasantry had had enough of paying tithes for the upkeep of a foreign protestant church.

Forced to take notice of growing popular opposition to the Union between Ireland and Britain, O'Connell was to found the Loyal National Repeal Association in 1841. But it was not until 1843 that he was to launch a series of 'monstermeetings' to agitate for repeal of the Act of Union.

By this time events in Britain had radically altered the nature of Chartism. The Chartist Movement served as an umbrella for several working class demands alongside parliamentary reform. These included



The parliamentary road: the 1842 petition goes to Westminster.....

"The history of mankind shows that from the beginning of the world, the rich of all countries have been in a permanent state of conspiracy to keep down the poor of all countries, and for this plain reason - because the poverty of the poor man is essential to the riches of the rich man. No matter by what means they may disguise

their operations, the rich are everlastingly plundering, debasing, and brutalising the poor. All the crimes and superstitions of human nature have their origin in this cannibal warfare of riches against poverty."

James Bronté O'Brien in the *Poor Man's Guardian*: April 27, 1833.

Ireland and Chartist

factory legislation and repeal of the Corn Law (which kept the cost of bread at an inflated price). The political leaders of the working class recognised that without political representation the working class would be unable to achieve any real advances in their living conditions. The bourgeois element of Chartism, on the other hand, desired political power for themselves. They considered the mass agitations of the working class merely as a means to achieving that end. Therefore, in an attempt to divert working class attention from politics, bourgeois humanitarians emerged as leaders of the Anti-Corn Law League and the factory movement.

The first People's Charter had been presented to the House of Commons in June 1839 signed by 1,280,000 petitioners. It was rejected by 237 votes to 48. The result was greeted in the country with calls for armed insurrection. Revolution was only averted by the imprisonment of Chartist leaders, including O'Brien and O'Connor.

A WORKING CLASS ORGANIZATION

Stripped of its many bourgeois elements the Chartist Movement regrouped in 1840. The National Charter Association of Great Britain was formed – the first working class organisation in history, although it must be said the Association was riddled with differences.

As a working class organisation Chartist then moved to recognise the common oppression visited on the working people of Britain and Ireland. The revised People's Charter of 1842 included the clause: That your petitioners complain of the

many grievances borne by the people of Ireland, and contend that they are fully entitled to a repeal of the legislative union.'

Undoubtedly Feargus O'Connor played an important part in this change of perspective, with the many Irish chartists ensuring its adoption. But, more significantly, it demonstrated a drawing together of popular movements in Britain and Ireland. In actuality the two peoples were fighting a common enemy, the English landed aristocracy and the growing wealth and power of the British bourgeoisie.

1842 was another bad year for the Chartists. The second Charter was presented to the Commons in May with 3,317,702 signatures. This time 51 MPs voted for the Charter. Then, in August, the leadership of the movement was found wanting when workers retaliated to a lock out in Lancashire with a general strike in Lancashire, Yorkshire and the Midlands. Unable to decide whether the struggle was a positive contribution to the working class movement or a deviation from the political struggle, the Executive of the National Charter Association procrastinated. The workers returned to work defeated.

CLONTARF

In October 1842 there appeared in Ireland a new radical journal called the *Nation*. Although members of O'Connell's Repeal Association, writers for the *Nation* looked to Wolfe Tone and the new nationalist movements in Europe for their politics. They came to be known as the Young Irelanders after the Young Germany and the Young Italy movements, and recog-

nised the Chartists as allies in the struggle against English rule.

Forced to take notice of the growing nationalist sentiment O'Connell launched a series of 'monster meetings', with over half a million people attending, in 1843. Another meeting was arranged for Clontarf, on the outskirts of Dublin, for 5th October. The authorities banned this outright challenge to English rule. With all preparations finalised, and with many people on their way to Clontarf, O'Connell capitulated and turned his back on the people's readiness for armed insurrection.

UNITY IN STRUGGLE

For the British and Irish peoples the events of '42 and '43 were to prove disastrous. Famine broke out in Ireland leaving a leaderless peasantry to count the massive cost in terms of human lives lost. The 'Hungry Forties' in Britain were years of intense deprivation (Engels was to write *The Conditions of the Working Class in England* in 1844).

It was not until 1847 that there was a resurgence in popular politics. But repeal of the Corn Law, 1846, and the passing of the Ten Hour Day Act (factory legislation) in 1847, had effectively broken the back of the Chartist Movement.

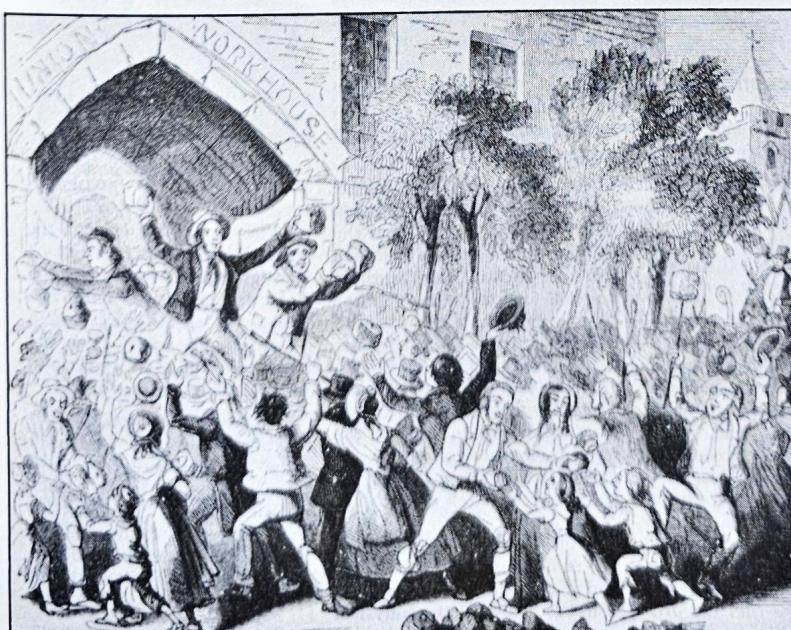
In Ireland divisions within the repeal movement had continued with the emergence of the Irish Confederates, who called for armed revolt against English rule.

1848 was to be described as the year of European Revolution; on February 22nd the French government was overthrown to be replaced by a republic. Just one week earlier John Mitchel, a Young Irelander and Chartist supporter, published the *United Irishman* newspaper in Ireland, which was enthusiastically received by British Chartists. Mitchel was uncompromising in his opposition to English rule and his support for working people's political power. Fraternal relations had finally been established between Chartism and the Young Irelanders. But unity had come too late.

At the end of March the revolutionary leadership in Ireland was arrested. In April a third Chartist petition was presented to Parliament with a large rally held on nearby Kennington Common. Despite the fact that the Confederate Clubs in Ireland and secret clubs in Britain were "armed and drilling" in preparation for revolution, the opportunity for armed insurrection passed.

Undeterred by the defeat of '48 Ireland's rural communities re-organised into the Tenant Right League. Later generations were to continue the struggle for Irish independence. In Britain since 1848 the ruling class has walked a delicate tightrope of repression and reform, buying off the leaders of the trade unions while scattering the crumbs of imperial wealth to maintain an uneasy peace.

Graham Smith



....and the other road: food distribution in Stockport, 1842.

2,000 oppose strip-searching in



Photo: Joanne O'Brien (Format)

Nearly 2,000 people from a wide range of groups converged on the small city of Durham on Saturday June 13th to support the demand for an end to strip searching. The event was organised by Newcastle Women and Ireland Group, Leicester Women Against Strip Searching and Stop the Strip Searches Campaign in London.

The march, accompanied by two bands from the Scottish Republican Band Alliance, passed Durham prison where Ella O'Dwyer and Martina Anderson are held in the notorious 'H Wing'. Here the marchers stopped for 15 minutes with messages of support shouted to the women inside.

Speakers at the rally included women from the Iranian Women's Association and CAMUR, a Chilean women's organisation.

Two women from the Broadwater Farm Youth Association spoke on the links between Irish and Black political prisoners. A message of thanks was delivered by the wife of Engin Raghip (one of the Tottenham

Three), Sharon, to Paul Hill, one of the Guildford Four, for the moral support given to the Broadwater Farm prisoners.

Geraldine Bailey from the Belfast Relatives' Committee outlined the hardships suffered when Irish people visit their loved ones being held hostages in British jails.

Isobel Anderson, sister of Martina, said *'the British have always treated Irish prisoners badly. The British ruling class has a pathological hatred of Irish people who have the belief that the British have no right to be in Ireland. Security, which is used to justify strip searching, is a groundless excuse ...'*

Wakefield prison protest

While the campaign against the strip searching of two Irish women in Durham prison is gathering momentum, another battle of wills is taking place in an English prison. Two Irish republicans in Wakefield top security jail are staging protests against visiting conditions there, which they say are the worst in the country.

Two prisoners have dirtied their cells in Wakefield, refused to wear prison uniform, and are refusing to do penal work. As a result of these protests against the visiting conditions, they are locked into a cycle of protest and punishment with the prison authorities.

Of the 37 Irish republican prisoners in England, two are in Wakefield - Donegal man Hugh Doherty who was sentenced to life in 1976, and Dubliner Nat Vella who was jailed for 15 years in 1985. Their relatives say they are doubly discriminated against, as their visits are held in worse conditions than other top security prisoners in Wakefield have - and in worse conditions than are imposed on the other male republican prisoners held in England.

Since before the end of last year Hugh Doherty and Nat Vella have been refusing visits until conditions are changed - arguing that the authorities are imposing additional punishments on them and their families to try to *'break our spirits and isolate us'*.

Wakefield has a special visiting room for 'high risk' prisoners. In practice this means Irish republicans, as other Category A prisoners have their visits elsewhere. A friend of Nat Vella describes the room thus: *'It is approximately 10 feet by 8 feet, with two tables next to each other in the centre and bolted to the floor. Chairs are positioned at either end of the double tables, so that the prisoner and his visitor are five feet apart from each other. This*

naturally puts a great strain on both prisoner and visitor.'

Other Category A prisoners in Wakefield have their visits in rooms with a single table which is not bolted to the floor. The republicans' relatives have seen other families having visits in rooms with easy chairs and coffee tables.

In the case of republicans, prisoner and visitor are allowed to touch each other only at the beginning and the end of each visit. Throughout the visit there are two prison warders in the room, one behind the prisoner's left shoulder. They occasionally take notes of what is said.

'But the lack of privacy doesn't end there,' says one visitor. *'All along one side of the room there is a window at waist height, so that anyone passing along the corridor can look in on the visit.'*

Hugh Doherty and Nat Vella are strip-searched both before and after visits. Sometimes these searches include the physical probing of both mouth and anus.



Frank Stagg, died February 1984

Visitors are searched in the prison's Administration Block before visits. Although metal detectors are always used, visitors are often also subjected to hand frisking. Sweets and cigarettes are the only items permitted to be taken on visits.

Relatives' complaints to Wakefield Governor Mr. Gadd draw the response that he is merely obeying Home Office instructions. Yet complaints to the Home Office have met the answer that visiting conditions are at the discretion of the Governor.

Wakefield has long been regarded as the English prison

Durham

Martina and Ella themselves sent a letter to the rally. Explaining that in two years they have between them suffered over 900 strip searches, they went on, 'How long will this psychological torture continue? . . . We've been sentenced to life imprisonment . . . Does that mean a life sentence of sexual torture?'

Maria Tolley finished the rally with her moving song about Paul Hill's mother which she dedicated to 'all my Irish sisters who have relatives in English jails'.



Photo: Joanne O'Brien (Format)

Prisoners Birthdays

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

ROBERT CUNNINGHAM 131877
HM Prison Long Lartin, South Littleton, Evesham, Worcs, WR11 5TZ
12th July

PAUL KAVANAGH B26380
HM Prison Leicester, Walford Road, Leicester, LE2 7AJ
17th July

THOMAS QUIGLEY B69204
HM Prison Parkhurst, Newport, Isle of Wight, PO30 5NX
23rd July

STEPHEN NORDONE 758663
HM Prison Gartree, Leicester Road, Market Harborough, LE16 7RP
2nd August

where male Irish republicans get the harshest treatment. In the mid-1970's it housed the controversial Special Control Unit, and 1976 saw the death on hunger strike of Frank Stagg who was protesting at conditions and demanding repatriation to Ireland.

Hugh Doherty and father of two Nat Vella have been in Wakefield since 1986 and 1985 respectively. For refusing to work or wear uniform, they are removed to local prisons on a 'lie-down' for between 28 and 56 days solitary confinement plus 84 days loss of remission.

At the end of the punishment period they are returned to the wing, where they will again protest at the unchanged visiting conditions — and the cycle begins again.

Although their main grievance is the visiting conditions, the republican prisoners also appear to be discriminated against when it comes to punishments. Their sentences of 56 days in solitary confinement are four times more than the sentences imposed on a group of British prisoners who staged a protest in March this year.

A Home Office spokesman

has said that visiting procedures are laid down by the Home Office, 'so there ought not to be any difference between one prison and another.'

This supports the prisoners' belief that responsibility for their treatment lies with Wakefield's Governor Mr. Gadd, who they believe is trying to 'break' them and their families by isolating them even more than being behind prison walls and hundreds of miles from home.

There are clearly parallels with the strip-searching of Martina Anderson and Ella O'Dwyer in Durham — searches which are employed as a psychological weapon rather than as a security measure.

The continuing protests and growing bitterness inside Wakefield, and the campaign around Durham, are both products of the Home Office's refusal to repatriate Irish republican prisoners to jails in Ireland. This policy is in direct contrast to the speedy repatriation of British soldiers who have been convicted of serious offences in Northern Ireland — offences which have included murder.

B'ham 6 campaigning

"The Birmingham Six are innocent. If they can be given life sentences, anyone can be. It's an issue for us all," said Maggie McIlkenny whose father Richard was jailed for the Birmingham pub bombings in 1974.

Maggie was speaking to Birmingham Trades Council. Delegates heard a moving account of her family's suffering for the last 13 years. The families of the Birmingham Six had known those imprisoned to be innocent right from the start, she said, but media hysterics and consequent public prejudice has made it impossible to obtain support for the campaign to prove their innocence and secure their release.

Paying tribute to the Granada TV team and author Chris Mullin (now a Sunderland Labour MP) who have helped awake public concern, Maggie McIlkenny reported on her mother's recent visit to the United States. Why was Mrs McIlkenny received into the US Congress and given an award from the State of Massachusetts for commitment to the campaign for justice, when here in England some people will still turn their back rather than talk about the Birmingham Six?

A Troops Out Movement speaker told Trades Council delegates that appeals have been written off on legal technicalities. If the Birmingham Six Appeal, scheduled for

November 1987, is to be successful then the Home Secretary and the Attorney-General must be left in no doubt that they are being closely watched. They need to be swamped with letters pointing out that the new evidence to be presented proves overwhelmingly that the Birmingham Six were wrongly convicted.

At the end of the meeting, several trade union delegates pledged to arrange for Mary McIlkenny and other speakers from the Birmingham Six campaign to speak at their branch meetings.

• Michael Havers, chief prosecutor at the Birmingham Six and Guildford Four frame-up trials, has been appointed Lord Chancellor. This only increases the necessity for maximum publicity over the frame-up cases.

Raise the frame-up cases in your trade union branch, workplace, organization and groups. Speakers on the Birmingham Six campaign can be obtained by telephoning 021 773 8683. Publicity material, information and speakers are available from the Troops Out Movement, PO Box 353, London, NW5 4NH, telephone 01 609 1743.

Money is urgently needed to finance Birmingham Six family members speaking up and down the country, and for publicity. Please organize collections and send your donations to PO Box 817, Camphill, Birmingham, B11 4AF.

Plastic bullets campaign....

Young people from a Leicester project for the unemployed have raised £300 to renovate a vandalised monument to plastic bullet victim Julie Livingstone.

14 year old Julie died in May 1981 when she was hit on the head by a plastic bullet fired by a British soldier. After visiting Belfast, people from Leicester invited Julie's father Archie and Jim McCabe over to speak about the campaign against plastic bullets. Jim's wife Norah was killed by a plastic bullet in July 1981.

Raising money from a ceilidh and by local collection, a group of seven from the unemployed project presented a cheque for £300 to Julie's sister Elizabeth and Emma Groves, blinded by a rubber bullet in 1971.

...still necessary

Thames Valley police have spent £9,000 on eight plastic bullet guns, ammunition and training. Already twenty police support units, some 460 officers, have trained with plastic bullet guns.

Chief Constable Colin Smith said he did not foresee the need to use plastic bullets

in the Thames Valley area, Oxfordshire, Berkshire and Buckinghamshire, but training in the use of the weapons is considered necessary for the force. It was deemed 'essential' for Thames Valley to be able to supply mobile police support units to other areas when requested for use in riot situations.

News from Scotland



The annual parade to commemorate IRA Volunteer Billy Reid took place in Glasgow on Saturday 23rd May. Nine Republican flute bands took part.

As a mark of respect for comrade Willie Hamill, 20 year old member of the Coatbridge Republican Flute Band who died on May 22nd after a car accident, the Coatbridge RFB marched with flags dipped.

Some 100 fascists/loyalists were present to oppose the march but did little more than hurl verbal abuse. After the march a number of attacks

were launched on marchers as they were leaving the area. Bottles and baseball bats were much in evidence and a nail gun and flare gun were fired at buses.

Before the parade some English National Front football supporters, up for the England-Scotland football match, tried to link up with Scottish loyalists to attack the marchers. About 50 were spotted in the area but were quickly scattered by a charge of local residents and members of the Tom Barry Republican Flute Band.



Plastic bullet: actual size

Photo: Nick Oakes

Civil rights movement started

At a public meeting called by the Broadwater Farm Youth Association (BWFYA) on the Broadwater Farm estate, Tottenham, on 24th May, the setting up of a civil rights movement was announced. The many organisations represented at the meeting were invited to take part in a working group to discuss the issue of civil rights.

The BWFYA decided to initiate a civil rights movement immediately after the Old Bailey Court's sentencing of Winston Silcott, Engin Raghip and Mark Braithwaite to life prison sentences. The conviction of these three men, along with the long sentences given to many other people for public order offences, was greeted by the Broadwater Farm community with renewed determination to continue the fight to free the framed prisoners (see *Troops Out*, March and May issues).

The aim of the new movement is to build support among community groups, trade unions, churches and civil rights organisations for justice for all. Youth Association speakers have toured the country speaking to groups and at events — Durham Strip Searches March, Yorkshire's miner's gala, Bradford, Sheffield, etc. International links have also been made with planned visits to the US, Ireland, Switzerland and West Berlin.

An all day national conference is to be held on Sunday 19th July at the Broadwater Farm estate (see back page for details) with the launch of the new movement being delayed until 3rd October when there will be a national demonstration to commemorate the death of Mrs Cynthia Jarrett and the Broadwater Farm Uprising of 6th October 1985.

The people's agenda

Dear Brothers, Sisters, Comrades and Friends,

As you may well know, we, the Broadwater Farm Youth Association and Broadwater Farm Defence Campaign, have been at the fore of the struggle against racism and oppression at all levels. A struggle which is being waged on a Worldwide level for Equality, Justice, and Freedom.

We are hoping to create a movement of people, a movement where all oppressed people come together to demand better and fairer justice, better housing conditions and better educational resources.

We are hoping to build a movement where people from all walks of life come together to discuss their common issues, take back the discussion and ideas into their communities, relate these issues to the people of their community and motivate, galvanize and mobilize their communities for action.

The only way we are going to have a say in the policies of this or future governments is by a massive show of strength and

solidarity. We therefore call on all groups, communities, organisations and concerned individuals to come forward and discuss and prepare the **PEOPLE'S AGENDA**.

On July 19th we shall be hosting a National Conference on 'Racism In Britain' where we will be debating the issues that effect us as black people in Britain. But we will not stop there: we shall also be seeking to work out a strategy for the way forward. We invite all aware peoples to come and be part of this initiative. On October 3rd, to commemorate the death of Mrs Jarrett and the uprisings on Broadwater Farm, we will be having a Mass Demonstration and March to Downing Street. It is our intention to hand in petitions with thousands of signatures, demanding a Public Inquiry and the release of the framed prisoners.

Broadwater Farm Youth Association, Tottenham

- See back page for details of conference.

Abortion

A chara,

I don't want to become involved in a lengthy and tiresome controversy, but I hope you will give me space to point out that both Ann Rossiter and Bárbre Foreman credit me with saying things I certainly did not say or mean. If they re-read my original letter (did they really read it in the first place?) they will surely agree.

1. I did not say that abortion (or anything else) was a 'British plot'.

2. I did not even 'condemn' abortion (though making it clear that I join with the large majority of Irish people in believing it to be wrong), nor did I suggest that *Troops Out* should not carry any information it wants. I was objecting to its exhorting us to get involved in Irish internal affairs, and take on board issues far removed (as I see it) from our avowed aims.

3. I did not say that Irish women should not have abortions – that is for the Irish themselves to decide – and I certainly did not say that we had influenced them to 'turn to abortion' (where on earth did Bárbre Foreman find that in my letter?). I simply said we should *NOT* interfere or *TRY* to exert any influence whatever on a people whom we have so woefully abused for so long. In other words, that we should let them alone.

I yield to no one in my deep and long-lasting (4½ years) love of Ireland and her wonderful people. The last thing I'd want to do would be to insult their intelligence (we see more than enough of that in our press and TV) or to patronise them. The only Irish affair in which we

have any right to interfere is getting the troops out, because they are our troops.

Mise le meas,
Helena Brown,
York

In memoriam

TERENCE FINBARR MCKENNA
2nd MAY 1987

I'm carrying my life in my hands (easy now, don't let it go off): not blood and bones and gristle and glands but wires and gelly and stuff.

I'm asking myself all the while, what sort of a fool am I? A hundred yards seems a hundred miles... Do I WANT to be blown sky-high?

I dreamt once of Ireland free, and the dream burns me yet; while I live what else can I do only follow that dream? If I die, O my God have mercy on me!

I've pledged her my life (sing 'Soldiers are we'): what she claims, without grudging I give.

Michael

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

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

Tea for two



Sir John William Margetson

A chara,

Sir John William Margetson is the present British ambassador to The Hague. In the Dutch newspaper NRC of 3rd January 1987 Sir John wrote an article in the form of a diary covering the period 7th-13th December 1986. During that week he attended receptions at the Finnish, Kenyan, French and Norwegian embassies. He had lunch with the president of Royal Dutch Shell and dinners with the American Chargé d'Affaires and the Dutch Prime Minister Ruud Lubbers.

However, between meals on 9th December, Sir John found time to call on the Dutch State Secretary for Justice Korte van Hemel to thank her for 'her close co-operation in connection with a recent extradition question'.

Now no matter what lengths Sir John might go to disguise the fact, the only individuals extradited from Holland last December in which the British had an interest were IRA Volunteers Gerard Kelly and Bic McFarlane. As far as I know this is the first and only indication of the level of diplomatic pressure the British brought to bear on the Dutch government to ensure their extradition, irrespective of the doubts of the Dutch courts regarding the ill-treatment of political prisoners in the North of Ireland.

For those readers interested in the background to such individuals as Sir John Williams Margetson KCMG, the NRC newspaper published the following details. Born in 1927, educated at Blundell and St. John's College, Cambridge. Served

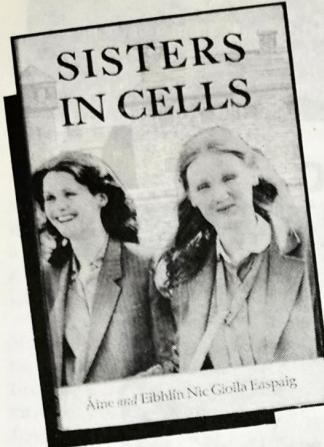
in the British Army from 1947 to 1949. From 1950 he acted as 'district officer' in Tanganyika (now Tanzania) and served as 'private secretary' to the Governor (possibly Edward Twining). In 1960 he joined the Foreign Office and served as ambassador to Vietnam before working for NATO. He was appointed British ambassador to Holland in 1984.

Even these sketchy details give an indication of Sir John's intelligence connections, from the early '50s in East Africa to the South-East Asian conflict in the '60s and early '70s. During the de-colonization of East Africa in the '50s one of Sir John's colleagues operating in neighbouring Kenya was Captain (later General) Frank Kitson and when the two met over tea (Twinnings?) one of the topics no doubt discussed was the removal of unwanted members of the East African community.

The counter-insurgency theories Kitson formulated later became the basis for British policy in Ireland. What input John Margetson might have made is purely conjecture. However, those of a suspicious nature might wonder at Sir John's appointment to The Hague within months of the Long Kesh escape in 1983 and his possible continuing relationship with M16, and who am I to dampen their enthusiasm for intrigue?

Mise le meas,
Mick Quilligan,
Ierland Informatie Centrum
Amsterdam.

REVIEWS



SISTERS IN CELLS

Áine and Eibhlín Nic Giolla Easpaig

FNT: £4.50

Two sisters, two ordinary sisters, find themselves living in Manchester in the early '70s and the results are shattering. Their participation in Republican politics led them into the snares of the blood-thirsty British authorities, determined to have their pound of flesh as Áine and Eibhlín Nic Giolla Easpaig (Gillespie, translated into English) so rightly repeat throughout this nightmarish account of their nine and a half years imprisonment in English gaols.

Theirs is a simple story, told with a natural story teller's gift that is so compelling one cannot put the book down until the end, even if one is left feeling so utterly useless and disgusted in the face of so much injustice.

Beginning with their early years in Donegal and subsequent isolated childhood and teens in Manchester

(they could not speak English on arrival), Áine and Eibhlín tell of their involvement in the Republican Movement and of their sudden arrest in 1974 following an explosion in a house they were visiting in Salford.

As they were living in England at the time and were tried there, they had to serve all their time in England: eight and a half years in Durham High Security Prison as Special Category A prisoners and a year in Styal Open Prison near Manchester, to freshen them up for the outside world.

Cut off from their family, most of whom had returned to Ireland for health and security reasons, these two sisters served their long sentence in a most hostile and racist environment. They remain incredibly clear and just in their analysis, avoiding emotional rhetoric they simply state the facts as they lived them. The never ending hatred from the other prisoners as well as the wardens towards them, 'these sisters of terror', the educational and intellectual deprivation, the brutality and, of course, the final inhuman decision not to allow them to attend their father's funeral. He died shortly before their release in 1983.

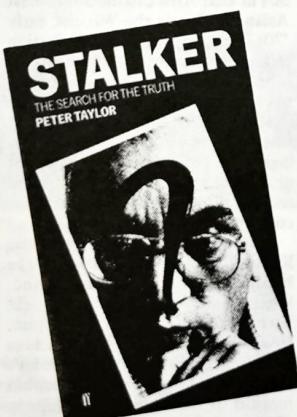
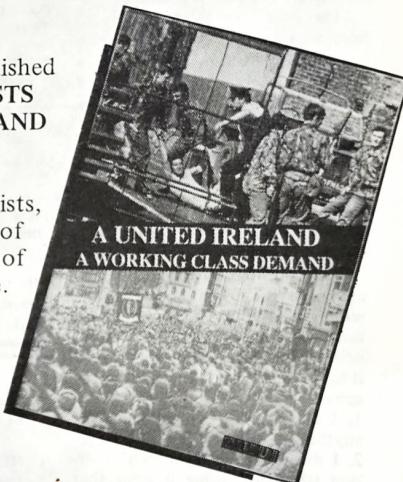
Ignored by their own country, isolated from the Republican Movement and serving time in a foreign land, Áine and Eibhlín, when finally released, were received as heroes on returning to Ireland. But they have not forgiven or forgotten that precious little was done to bring attention to their condition. Their book, only recently published in English and awaiting German translation rights, is a final plea for more, much more, to be done to stop the scandalous treatment of Irish prisoners in British gaols.

Wendy Atkinson



The Gillespie sisters on their release from prison

This pamphlet is published by TRADE UNIONISTS FOR IRISH UNITY AND INDEPENDENCE (TUIUI). Mainly addressed to trade unionists, it tells why the cause of Ireland and the cause of labour are inseparable. It costs 75p including p&p and is available from TOM, PO Box 353, London NW5 4NH.



STALKER: THE SEARCH FOR THE TRUTH

Peter Taylor,
Faber & Faber: £4.95

'...it is relevant to examine the regulations governing the use of firearms by the security forces in Northern Ireland and the law by which they are bound. The police and army are tied by strict rules. Their enemy is not.' sums up Peter Taylor's attitude to Army and RUC shoot to kill incidents in the Six Counties.

John Stalker has been portrayed by many as an honest cop out of his depth in the subterfuges of counter insurgency methods. Taylor dispels the myth. Stalker's training covered all areas of policing in colonial and civil disobedience situations.

The inference has always been that the security services rely on secrecy to maintain law and order. Taylor does not seriously challenge this view. By concluding with a long list of unanswerable questions he manages to leave us with that all too familiar feeling of the public's

inability to overcome its own ignorance.

Anyone looking for the truth behind shoot to kill operations will not find it in *Stalker: The Search for the Truth*.

Vivien Graham



John Stalker

Books and Publications list of the Troops Out Movement



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All prices are correct at the time of going to press but price and availability cannot be guaranteed.

Troops Out Movement,
Box 353, London NW5 4NH. 01-809 1743.

To get your copy send a s.a.e. to Troops Out Movement, Box 353, London NW5 4NH.

3rd
The RUC intercept a horse trailer containing 2,700lbs of homemade explosives.

The Irish police detective, code-named 'the badger', who is alleged to have liaised with MI5 personnel in the mid 70's claimed in an interview with the Irish paper *Sunday World* that liaison with British Army Officers was 'normal procedure' at that time: 'There was nothing unusual about it' he said. The policeman appears to corroborate claims by a number of former Irish Army officers that 'the badger' met a senior British Army figure, Major Peter Maynard in Dublin. He stopped short of conceding that he also met the former British Army Intelligence officer, Captain Fred Holroyd, who he can only vaguely recall as someone who 'sat in on meetings.'

4th
Relations between the RUC Chief Constable, John Hermon, and the Police Federation, already strained, have worsened due to the increase in IRA attacks on RUC officers, sources close to the Federation indicated.

5th
Radio Moscow marked the sixth anniversary of Bobby Sands' death by attacking the British government for continuing to 'harass the fighters for equality in Ulster'. In a bulletin carried prominently in its hourly news broadcasts Radio Moscow accused the British government of 'declining to abandon its efforts to solve the problem of Northern Ireland by military means.'

6th
Several hundred full time RUC reservists are to be recruited to boost the number and effectiveness of the Northern Ireland security forces in the wake of recent IRA killings. Opening a debate in the House of Commons the Northern Ireland Secretary, Mr Tom King, said that extra recruitment had been requested by RUC Chief Constable, John Hermon and approved by the Police Authority. The present strength of the RUC is 12,623.

16 people are injured when the RUC attacks mourners at the funeral of IRA volunteer Finbarr McKenna. After stones and bricks were hurled from a school yard, soldiers opened fire with plastic bullets. The injured included local Sinn Fein Councillor Sean Keenan, who was later detained in hospital. The Irish Government expresses concern to the British authorities about the behaviour of the security forces.

The Moderator of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland, Dr John Thompson, said the failure of the Anglo-Irish Agreement to produce the peace and stability hoped for must put a question mark over its viability and necessitate a speedy rethink.

7th
After a night of violence in Belfast, Gary McCarron is shot dead by gunmen in his Ormeau Road home.



8th

8 IRA Volunteers are ambushed and killed by the security forces at Loughgall barracks, Co. Armagh. The security forces make no attempt to arrest the men. A passer-by is also killed and another wounded in the indiscriminate fire.

A Belfast Court hears that a UDR man has died before he could be sentenced for possession of an arsenal of weapons. Sentence had been deferred on David Crawford of Ballymena because of his serious illness.

10th

Kevin McQuillan and Jerry Hankin, both members of the IRSP, are detained under the PTA when they arrive at Manchester airport.

A rocket launcher and some missiles are found during an Army and RUC search of a youth club in West Belfast. British security sources claim that it was probably the last of these weapons in the possession of the IRA.

11th

During the funeral in Co. Monaghan of IRA Volunteer Jim Lynagh, killed at Loughgall, a small force of police attempt to intercept an IRA firing party. They are attacked by the crowd and their car is overturned into a stream.

N. Ireland Police Federation chairman Alan Wright threatens to stop contact with the N.I. Office over proposed changes in the police complaints procedure. These have been described as inadequate by human rights groups. Only a very small percentage of complaints made against the RUC have ever resulted in charges or disciplinary measures.

14th

A small group of UDA supporters, including the UDA leader John McMichael, picket the Dail (Irish Parliament) in Dublin. They hand out leaflets calling for the amendment of Articles 2 and 3 of the Irish Constitution, which claim sovereignty over all Ireland.

17th

The Gardai (Irish police) open a new inquiry into claims by former MI6 officer Fred Holroyd that he 'ran' several senior Irish police officers during the 70's.

18th

Engineering firm James Mackies and Sons is found guilty of breaching Fair Employment law by allowing

loyalist flags and banners to be displayed in the factory. The complaint had been brought by a nationalist worker who said they interfered with his ability to do his job. The traditionally loyalist firm lodges appeal against the judgement.

20th

Considerable differences emerge during the Church of Ireland Synod over attitudes to the Anglo-Irish Agreement, some bishops considering further opposition to the Anglo-Irish Agreement to be futile.

21st

A part-time Captain in the Ulster Defence Regiment is killed by the IRA near Carrickmore, Co. Tyrone.

The Unionist manifesto for the British elections is launched in Belfast by James Molyneaux and Ian Paisley. It suggests that Unionist MP's would be prepared to 'offer consent' to a new British Government in return for 'replacement' of the Anglo-Irish Agreement. While the manifesto makes no direct reference to a hung parliament, Paisley says that in such circumstances Unionists would be in 'a different ballgame altogether'.

22nd

Belfast Sinn Fein Councillor Alex Maskey is shot at his front door by loyalist gunmen. He is taken to hospital seriously wounded.

23rd

30 Irish loyalists and British sympathisers are arrested during demonstration against the Anglo-Irish Agreement in the north Wiltshire constituency of N. I. Minister Richard Needham.

24th

Unionist Belfast Councillor William Dickson says that Tom King and Richard Needham should be tried for treason.

25th

At the funeral of Dermot Hackett, murdered by the Ulster Freedom Fighters near Omagh, Co. Tyrone, Bishop Daly of Derry accuses the RUC of harassing innocent nationalists. Hackett had protested in the past through politicians and the press about police harassment he had experienced.

26th

The Single European Act is ratified by a 2 to 1 majority by a referendum in the Republic of Ireland. Just over half of the electorate voted.

Raymond Crotty, whose High Court action forced the Irish government to hold the referendum to endorse the Single European Act.

28th

Scottish loyalists announce that they have dropped plans to field candidates in up to 11 Tory-held constituencies in Scotland. Instead they will urge supporters to vote tactically for the party most likely to unseat the Tories.

In Strabane, Co. Derry, a part-time UDR soldier is shot in the leg by the IRA while driving a bus.

29th

A part-time member of the UDR is critically injured by the IRA in Castlcaulfield, Co. Tyrone.

30th

Loyalist gunmen attack and injure Sinn Fein election worker Brendan Davidson.

31st

The Irish Government delays the implementation of the new extradition agreement with Britain until it is satisfied with the standard of justice an Irish national can expect in Britain or N. Ireland. It is particularly concerned about the cases of the Birmingham 6 and the Guildford 4, and in particular the latter case where an appeal has been refused by the British authorities.

OUP leader James Molyneaux asserts that British MP's were given glasses of whiskey to fortify them before ratifying the Anglo-Irish Agreement.

JUNE

1st

Journalists working for Irish television in Belfast request the removal of Section 31 of the Irish Broadcasting Act, which forbids them interviewing members of Sinn Fein during the election campaign.

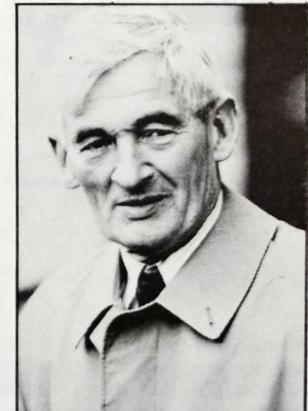
2nd

IRA Volunteers kill an RUC man near Letterkenny, Co. Donegal.

4th

A British soldier is shot and killed in a sniper attack by the IRA in West Belfast.

Jim Guy, an independent Unionist, is elected Mayor of Derry City by the predominantly nationalist Council.



COMING EVENTS & RESOURCES

LONDON

RACISM IN BRITAIN

National Conference organised by Broadwater Farm Youth Association.

Workshops on:

- Immigration
- Social welfare
- Black women prisoners
- Black children in care
- Housing
- Media
- Racist Policing
- Education
- Planning

Sunday 19th July, 10am to 5pm

Broadwater Farm Estate, Tottenham, London N17.
For details contact S. Scott or H.W. Voit, BWFYA, 12-16 Tangmere, Broadwater Farm Estate, Tottenham, London N17.
Tel: 808 1667.

JOIN THE TROOPS OUT MOVEMENT

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

ENGLAND

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

Tyneside

York

LONDON AREA

Camden
East London
Haringey
Hillingdon
Islington
Lambeth
West London

SCOTLAND

Glasgow

WALES

Newport

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

Name

Address

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



TOM Delegation 7th/10th AUGUST — have you booked yet?

Further information and leaflets about the delegation can be obtained from the Troops Out office: PO Box 353, London NW5 (Tel: 01-609 1743) or from local Troops Out branches.

BIRMINGHAM

VIDEO SHOW AND MEETING

For those going on the TOM Delegation to Belfast, but open to anyone interested. Organised by Birmingham TOM.

Monday 6th July, 7.30pm

Monday 20th July, 7.30pm

Trade Union Resource Centre, 7 Frederick Street, Hockley (76 bus from City Centre to the door).

MANCHESTER

NATIONAL MEETING

Labour Committee on Ireland Youth Comission's first National Meeting.

Saturday July 11th, 1pm

Mother Mae's Public House, Newton Street, Manchester M1
For details contact G. Hellawell, c/o 2 Leonard St., Fartown, Huddersfield HD2 1AB. Tel: 0484-534467.

LONDON

JAMES BRONTERRE O'BRIEN COMMEMORATION

Oration by Peter Beresford Ellis

Sunday 28th June, 12noon

Abney Park Cemetery,
Stoke Newington High Street,
London N16.

New!

New 22 page A4 booklet:

MAIRÉ O'SHEA: THE CASE AGAINST THE PTA

An essential handbook for campaigning against the Prevention of Terrorism Act.

- Background and history of the PTA
- Common arguments around the PTA
- The Mairé O'Shea case
- Trade Unions — the ASTMS campaign
- Conspiracy law

Available from M. Metcalfe, Trade Union Resource Centre, 7 Frederick Street, Hockley, Birmingham. £1+30p p+p.