

TROOPS OUT OF IRELAND

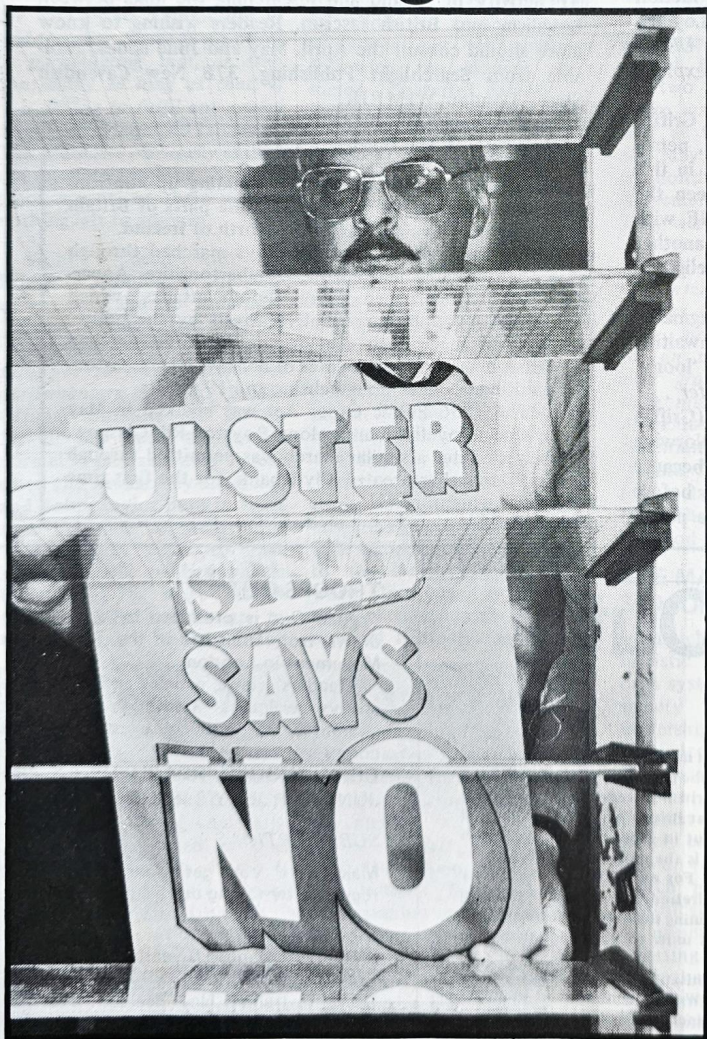
**TROOPS OUT
NOW**

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

Paper of the Troops Out Movement 30p

Vol. 9, No. 8, June 1986

Unionism ~ trapped in a fading colonial nightmare



Seige mentality: Rev. Ivan Foster of the Democratic Unionist Party, occupying Stormont switchboard (photo Pacemaker).

It has become quite embarrassing to report on the unionists' campaign against the Anglo-Irish Agreement. Confusion and vacillation reign, particularly among their political leaders.

The unionist camp is up in arms (literally in some cases) because the Anglo-Irish Agreement gave a role to the Government of the Irish Republic of 'representing the nationalist community' of the North. The unionists therefore feel that the British Government has betrayed them.

Six months after the Agreement was signed, the unionists have still not decided whether their main enemy is located in Dublin or in London. This indecision is having a bad effect on their strategy, as can be seen in their grand Twelve Point Plan which was unveiled at the end of April.

THE TWELVE POINT PLAN

The first two points of The Plan call for unionist councillors to adjourn meetings of Area Boards and Councils and stop them functioning. This tactic cracked at its first test: Belfast City Council was taken to court by the middle of the road unionist Alliance Party, where it was ruled that councillors who continued to suspend council business would be liable to a £25,000 fine and a five year ban on holding office. On 6th May, five members of the Official Unionist Party joined councillors of Sinn Fein, Social Democratic and Labour Party and Alliance Party to win through a vote to resume normal business, 27-23 (one OUP councillor abstained). The Alliance Party is considering taking similar court action against the eighteen other unionist-controlled Councils which have adjourned all their meetings.

**INSIDE: TOM DELEGATION ★ SUBMERGED NUCLEAR THREAT
★ OLD BAILEY SHOW TRIAL ★ SOCIALISM & IRELAND**

continued on p.3

National Front and Loyalism - the Fascist connection

The National Front is becoming increasingly involved with Loyalists in the North. There are NF branches in Belfast and Larne, and will soon be enough members in Ballymena, Lurgan and Portadown to form branches. Many members of the National Front hold dual membership with the Ulster Defence Association and John Field, one of the top men at the NF's Norwich headquarters, is the leading liaison officer with the UDA.

National Front News and *Nationalism Today* both frontpaged Ireland in March and the fascists have also produced a 2-page broadsheet *British Ulsterman*. This latter casually ignores NF orthodoxy and ditches the British racial 'United' Kingdom to declare "to survive Ulster has to declare UDR".

The NF, however is split as to what part it should play to help the Loyalist comrades. The 'pragmatic' faction of Anderson and Brown favour distribution of Loyalist propaganda - suitably modified because, as *British Ulsterman* puts it, "The mainland isn't interested in the exploits of William of Orange".

The 'loony' faction, though, led by Harrington, Griffin and Holland, are all for assisting in direct action, petrol bombing and the like - chiefly in the North but in this country as and when necessary. The split between the factions has run right from top to bottom of the NF, with injunctions flying and local groups attacking one another with shotguns and ammonia. Anti-fascists are delighted at this self-destruction.

A consideration weighing heavily with the 'pragmatic' faction is the likelihood of stiff prison sentences awaiting imported paramilitaries in the North. But for the 'loony' faction "our British Revolution will start in Ulster... History beckons us, we must not turn our backs" (Griffin writing in *Nationalism Today*). Thus it was that Norwich NF headquarters was unable to open on 20th April because of casualties suffered in the Portadown riot the day before when Catholic churches, homes and schools were petrol



bombed. NF literature is openly on sale at many Loyalist gatherings.

Searchlight, the anti-fascist magazine, is monitoring NF activity in Ireland and researching the links between Loyalism and British fascism. Readers wishing to know more should consult the April, May and June issues, available from Searchlight Publishing, 37B New Cavendish Street, London, W1M 8JR.

STIRRING IT IN SCOTLAND

Loyalists in Scotland are also building up confrontational tactics, aiming to destabilise parts of Britain in parallel with activities in the North of Ireland.

In April, the Apprentice Boys marched through a Catholic area in Renton, Dumbartonshire. Apparently they planned petrol bomb attacks, which were stopped by pre-emptive arrests by the police. Later in the month the Apprentice Boys marched through the Catholic estates of Belsmyre, Dumbarton, resulting in continuous fighting and 19 arrests.

The 1936 Public Order Act was invoked in May to stop a loyalist march along Royston Rd, Glasgow. A week later a similar march was permitted through the Duntocher area of Clydebank, for the first time in living memory.

The Troops Out Movement



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

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

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

TROOPS OUT

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

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

COPY SHOULD REACH US BY 18th JUNE FOR JULY'S 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).

Send to Box 10, 2a St Pauls Road, London N1.

Unionism trapped

continued from p. 1

The 3rd point deals with the Northern Ireland Assembly. It "will only be used as a forum for Unionist leadership" with a possible future adjournment if that "would better advance our campaign". The trouble with the Assembly is that it has no power and no function. New elections are due in the autumn, and Tom King (N. Ireland Secretary) dropped some heavy hints in Parliament: "In reaching a decision on new elections, we shall clearly have to consider whether the Assembly will serve a useful purpose... As the Assembly will reach the end of its natural life in mid-October, there is no point in perpetuating that, or even continuing as long as that, if it is failing to fulfil any useful function" (Hansard, 1st May). The unionists obviously should not hesitate too long about an adjournment, or there will be nothing left to adjourn.

Point 4 deals with the House of Commons. The politicians stop short of a definite boycott. They have merely "reaffirmed their earlier decision not to revert to normal parliamentary business." In fact Official Unionist MP Enoch Powell has been sat in his normal parliamentary seat since the January by-elections, and John Taylor pops in from time to time as well. Four unionist MPs came to vote against a Bill to ban plastic bullets on 7th May. All 14 unionist MPs turned up to vote against the Sunday

Trading Bill — partly from religious principle, even though the Act would not have applied to the North of Ireland, partly to have the Conservative Government defeated.

So Thatcher is the enemy? Yet at the same time Paisley and Molyneux, the leaders of the two unionist parties, were engaged in starting talks with the British Government.

Also in point 4 is a decision not to have direct communications with Northern Ireland Office ministers. But Paisley and Molyneux were having precisely such communications regarding the start of negotiations up until 10th May (when they broke them off, accusing the British side of bad faith). In addition, unionist representatives met NIO officials following the closure of a major cigarette factory in Carrickfergus.

Point 5 calls for the withholding of rates. This has the double weakness of falling short of a rent strike (which would have an immediate effect), and of falling on the shoulders of ordinary people while the MPs and councillors and Assembly representatives come and go as they please.

Points 6, 7 and 8 call for publicity campaigns and lobbying in Britain, USA and the North of Ireland.

Point 9, grandly entitled 'Sanctions against the Republic' turns out merely to be a 'don't buy Irish goods' campaign. The bulk of the Republic's 'exports' to the North (£600 million worth last year) are live animals, clothes, textiles, machinery and computer equipment.



Photo AP/RN

More of the switchboard occupation, on the six month anniversary of the Agreement. No-one except the unionists use the Stormont building.

Point 10 calls for protests whenever the Intergovernmental Conference (between the two Governments) meets. There was a small demonstration at the last meeting, on 9th May, and another on the six-month anniversary of the Agreement, on 15th May. They were both low key.

Point 11 is a vaguely worded address to the RUC: "We intend to further urge the officers of the RUC to press their professional body to act on the already expressed and growing reluctance of their members in policing an Agreement that does not have community support."

And finally, point 12 calls for a day of prayer on 3rd May. That at least did happen. Did God hear?

THE MARCHING SEASON

Inasmuch as unionism is a fascistic type of politics based on a systematised inequality in society (see page 2), such leadership weaknesses can only be welcomed. However, they also create a dangerous vacuum.

June sees the start of the unionist 'marching season' which continues through July and up to the Apprentice Boys march in August. These are historical marches which serve a present day function of asserting unionist supremacy over the Catholics (or 'Taigs' or 'Fenian bastards'). To perform this function it is essential that the marches have maximum provocation value — "we can march wherever we want, this is our province",

slap bang right through a nationalist ghetto with obscene songs and breakages of heads and windows.

The British Government seems to have the strategy of attempting to sit out the inevitable violence. For them the problem is not the risk to nationalist lives, but the question of whether the RUC will hold firm and to what extent the British Army will have to be deployed in direct confrontation with unionism.

Nationalist lives come cheap. So far no action at all has been taken to halt the intimidation, petrol bombings and killings. Few people in Britain even know it is going on — it is not worth a mention on the news.

In the House of Commons, Labour MP Clare Short asked what is to be done about the unionist violence. The under-secretary for Northern Ireland Nicholas Scott replied that all 'paramilitary' organisations are kept under review and the 'security forces will continue to deal even handedly' etc etc etc (Hansard, 1st May).

Clare Short came back, correctly pointing out where the responsibility lies: "I am sorry the Minister has not answered my question, but has merely said that the Government will keep everything under review. Is he aware that Northern Ireland is massively armed — overwhelmingly so in the loyalist community — with gun licences approved by the British Government?"

It is a matter others of us in Britain need to take up, and soon.

CO-ORDINATING LOYALIST ACTION

A new loyalist group, the Ulster Co-ordinating Committee, has been behind many of the recent attacks on Catholics and RUC (police) homes. The committee, formed in mid-April, has committed itself to organising confrontational action against the Anglo-Irish Agreement.

Describing itself as 'a concerned loyalist grouping' it includes members of the Ulster Defence Association and other loyalist para-military organisations. Sam Wilson, the Democratic Unionist Party Assembly member, and Alan Wright of the Ulster Clubs attended the inaugural meeting. The group embodies the 1986 Workers Committee which organised the one day strike in March this year.

This committee is reminiscent of the Ulster Loyalist Central Co-ordinating Committee which was set up after the 1974 loyalist strike in protest at the Sunningdale Agreement. That committee superseded the Ulster Army Council which had been in existence for a year.

Loyalist attacks covered up

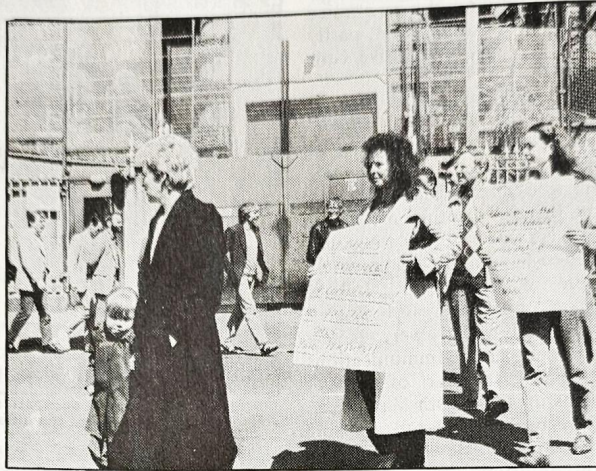
The full extent of the loyalist campaign against Catholics is being covered up by the British authorities. Since the latest phase of loyalist reaction against the Anglo-Irish Agreement began, Catholics have been attacked and intimidated in a particularly brutal and naked show of sectarianism. Those most affected have been isolated Catholic families.

In Lisburn 20 families have been driven out, while 10 families in the village of Newbuildings, Co. Derry, have asked to be re-housed following loyalist threats. Sinn Féin member Martin McGuinness stated that families have been told by the RUC (police) not to publicise the threats or tell the media. He accused them of trying to conceal the extent of loyalist intimidation and violence: "There are sinister implications for nationalists in the attitude and behaviour of the RUC which appears perfectly willing to permit loyalists to go on the rampage but it can be guaranteed that the attacks will receive little or no publicity. In fact, the RUC's advice itself threatens Catholic families and amounts to little more than a further example of intimidation."

In the predominantly Protestant Fountain Estate on the west Bank of the Foyle shots have been fired into a Catholic home. The mother of one family on the estate, who have been forced out, stated that she had reported 20 incidents of intimidation to the RUC.

According to RUC figures, 79 sectarian attacks were recorded against Catholic families in April. In addition 92 loyalist attacks on schools, halls, churches and commercial buildings took place. These figures are but the tip of the iceberg. The fact remains that it is virtually impossible to find out just how many cases of intimidation have occurred since the Anglo-Irish agreement was signed. A situation the British government is keen to perpetuate.

Show trial injustice drags on



Protest against the show trials outside Crumlin Road Prison (photo AP/RN).

The corruption of the law in the North of Ireland has existed as long as partition. The Anglo-Irish Agreement promised to improve matters, but nothing has been forthcoming. Corruption reached new depths in the Show Trials or supergrass system which emerged in 1981 and is still with us.

- Supergrass 'evidence' is unreliable. A person offered large sums of money or threatened with a long prison sentence does not necessarily tell the truth. What are we supposed to make of the recent announcement that loyalist supergrass William 'Budgie' Allen is to be released after serving a mere 3½ years of a fourteen year sentence? He was convicted on 52 charges, including conspiracy to kill and an attempted car bombing; his so-called evidence brought 47 people to a show trial (most of whom were acquitted); now Allen is getting his reward.

- Mass trials heard before one judge, with no jury, are no sort of justice. No-one could possibly evaluate all the evidence (or so-called evidence). The show trial involving supergrass Christopher Black lasted 120 days, with 38 defendants crammed into the court. The appeal of 22 of these, in May, was largely based on the fact that the judge had ignored contradictions in Black's 'evidence' and ignored evidence which contradicted Black; two weeks into the show trial, the judge stated that he had decided that Black was reliable and truthful – the next 100 days were just water down the drain.

- Defendants can spend a year or two years on remand, and as long again awaiting an appeal. And still they have not had a trial in any real sense of a trial. The suffering of those in prison, and their families equally, from this sort of internment is intolerable.

Ex-soldiers commanding loyalists

Undercover RUC personnel operating in Protestant districts in Belfast have reported that a newly formed paramilitary organisation believed to be behind much of recent Loyalist violence has former members of Scottish regiments in the British Army as area commanders.

The new loyalist organisation, based in the Canmore Street area of the Shankill Road, draws its rank and file from local membership of the UVF, UDA and other established paramilitary groups. Several former members of the British Army from Glasgow have been spread over the North to form local units and act as area commanders responsible to the headquarters in Belfast.

The organisation, not yet named, is believed to be responsible for much of the co-ordination of Loyalist violence.

Judge sanctions shoot to kill

Undercover SAS soldiers who shot dead Dennis Heaney in Derry in June 1978 claimed under oath that they opened fire, believing themselves threatened, when Heaney and a companion came towards them. Forensic evidence presented to court in the course of a claim for damages by Heaney's mother in April showed that all of the bullets that struck Heaney entered through his back.

Despite this contradiction, Judge Kelly dismissed the claim for damages and pronounced himself satisfied that the plainclothes SAS

killers reasonably believed that their lives were in danger while they were driving in unmarked cars in Harvey Street on the edge of the Bogside.

It would seem to follow, on Judge Kelly's logic, that Heaney, or anyone else for that matter, was unreasonable enough to believe that on a street in his own town his life was not in danger from men in plainclothes in unmarked cars. A policy of shoot-to-kill requires the practice of judicial corruption, and Judge Kelly has not been found wanting.

SAS execution

Seamus McElwaine was interrogated by members of the SAS before being shot dead.

McElwaine and Sean Lynch were ambushed by the SAS while crossing a field at Mulhaghliss, Co Fermanagh, in the early hours of 26th April. Both men were wounded in the opening burst of gunfire. It was some time later that McElwaine was summarily executed by the SAS.

Describing the incident from his bed in Belfast's Royal Victoria Hospital, Lynch stated that the SAS gave no warning or challenge before they opened fire. Wounded in the stomach and hand, Lynch was able to crawl some 100 yards and conceal himself in the undergrowth. He heard the SAS questioning McElwaine, "Who was with you?" He then heard 3 shots, 2 of which hit McElwaine in the head.

This account confirmed earlier reports from people in the Rosslea area who said that they heard a burst of gunfire followed some time later by a series of single shots.

Unable to find Lynch, the SAS then left the scene. He



Hundreds came to express their grief at the funeral of Seamus McElwaine (photo AP/RN).

was eventually discovered by regular British army soldiers using a tracker dog. While Lynch was being given first aid, two members of the notorious RUC Divisional Mobile Support Unit dragged him away to where McElwaine lay. He was thrown to the ground face down and systematically beaten for about an hour. Only the intervention of the soldiers

who found him prevented the RUC from killing him.

An argument ensued between the soldiers and RUC who refused to allow an ambulance into the area. Eventually the soldiers called up a helicopter which took both Lynch and McElwaine to Erne Hospital.

Seamus McElwaine was one of 38 Republican prisoners

who escaped from Long Kesh in September 1983. At his funeral Martin McGuinness told the mourners, "What happened on Saturday morning was that an IRA volunteer was murdered by British terrorists and it was terrorists who sent them. The sort of people who drop bombs on children in Libya - terrorists such as Thatcher and Reagan".

Self-determination and trade unions

None of the speakers was a Larkin or Connolly. The fifty-odd participants looked a bit lonely in the large room provided in Liberty Hall, headquarters of the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union. Yet there was something historic about the conference held in Dublin on 10th May by Trade Unionists for Irish Unity and Independence (TUIUI), on the theme that Irish unity "is a working class issue".

For the first time, probably, since Partition a sizeable group of trade union activists drawn about equally from both sides of the Irish Sea and from a wide range of organisations, had met to discuss how to work for Irish unity and self-determination as trade unionists.

Organisations represented from Britain included four Trades Councils and the Lances Trades Councils' Association, London Labour Party and Co-op Society, West Midlands and Glasgow NALGO, South Wales NUM, and the T&GWU's North West Region. The Labour Committee on Ireland, Connolly Association, and the TU-based Campaign to End Interference in Irish Affairs (CEIIA) were

there, as was TOM.

Irish participants were in the main the union officials, from general secretaries to district and branch officers, who had come together in their personal capacity two years ago to form TUIUI. Several voiced concern that there were not more rank-and-file Irish trade unionists present.

AGAINST THE ACCORD

The morning session focussed on the Anglo-Irish Accord. Last November, soon after it was signed, TUIUI issued a statement categorically rejecting it.

Opening the conference for TUIUI, Tom Redmond (Executive Cttee, Federated Workers Union of Ireland) repeated its firm opposition to the Accord - an attempt by the British Government, he said, to find "new allies" in Ireland not just for itself but as part of Reagan/NATO "global strategy".

Opinions were divided about his view that this meant Britain "flushing the Unionists down the drain". Fergus O'Hare, former People's Democracy councillor from Belfast and member of the teaching union INTO, declared that loyalists were still "No 1 guarantor of the Union",

and that we must not underestimate the power and tenacity of their pro-imperialist ideology.

PRACTICAL STEPS

In the afternoon the conference turned to how in practice the Irish and British labour movements could be mobilised (as the TUIUI's November statement put it) "in a new campaign against London and Belfast unionism". Main areas covered were:

- Issues to campaign on. Civil liberties; the Accord itself; and economic issues, especially job discrimination in the Six Counties. Many speakers called for a campaign on the MacBride Principles, against allowing investment in industries with discriminatory employment principles.
- Exposing the role of the official Irish TU structure. One delegate called for the ICTU's Northern Irish Committee to be "destroyed". Paddy Logue, Secretary of Derry Trades Council and one of Sinn Féin's leading trade unionists, urged British trade unionists to challenge reports fed into their union's structure by their NI divisions.
- Broadening TUIUI's base. It plans public meetings in Cork,

Limerick, Galway, and Derry; a pamphlet on social and economic effects of Partition; a regular newsletter; work to widen its support within individual Irish unions; exploring links with the left of the Irish Labour Party; and encouraging more delegations from England, Scotland and Wales (with a plea that they "come to Dublin" as well as the North).

• More co-ordination in TU work between the anti-imperialist organisations in Britain. With LCI and TOM already beginning to work jointly, both agreed after the conference to discuss future co-operation with the CEIIA and Connolly Association.

FOOTNOTE . . .

On another aspect of 26 Counties trade unionism in the 1980s. The following day several delegates attended Dublin Trades Council's commemoration of the 70th anniversary of the execution of James Connolly, at Arbour Hill cemetery where he is buried. John Carroll, president of the ITGWU which Connolly himself founded, gave an oration about equality, peace and modern technology. He came up with a quote - not from Connolly, one of the greatest trade union organisers as well as revolutionaries in history, but from . . . Bob Geldof.

Join our delegation to Belfast



Photo Paul Mattsson

This year the Troops Out Movement is taking its seventh delegation to Belfast. The delegation welcomes *your* attendance as representatives of trades unions, Irish organisations, Black, women's, gay and lesbian groups, and other individuals.

Over the weekend, delegates have the opportunity to meet with local people, political and community activists; to participate in workshops; and to demonstrate against British occupation.

The delegation is well organised to cover the many different areas which go to form the whole of the struggle in the north of Ireland. There will be various workshops over the weekend on issues such as Sinn Féin, women, Irish culture, Irish labour movement, plastic bullets, strip-searching and the show trials.

On the Saturday, there will be a picket of the various forts in west Belfast,

which are on street corners, looming over housing estates and strategically placed so that most areas are under constant surveillance. The British presence is with you all the time. The picket is our way of telling the British soldiers that they shouldn't be there.

The main event of the delegation is Sunday's Anti-Internment march and rally, when we have the opportunity to express our solidarity with the people of the North of Ireland and show that there are some from England, Scotland and Wales who are committed to seeing a united Ireland.

"As I marched that day, I thought back over the visit so far. I had thought I had known what to expect, what it would be like. But I had been shaken. I realise it is not possible to imagine the continuous oppression, or the grim struggle of life. It had been one thing to read about and discuss the situation in the North, it is another to sit with people who recount their experiences. The raids, the harassments, the internment, the strip-searches, the torture, the total brutality comes home."

Geraldine Egan

President Birmingham Trades Council



Preparing the internment anniversary bonfire at Divis flats



Falls Road, Belfast (photo Martin Shakeshaft).

To: Delegation Organising Committee, PO Box 353, London NW5 4NH.

I am interested in joining the August delegation to Belfast.
Please send me further information.

Name

Address

Organisation

I cannot attend myself, but I enclose a donation of

The delegation is centred around West Belfast with familiar names – like the Divis flats so badly in need of demolition and re-housing, Turf Lodge with Fort Jericho towering over it, Andersonstown, Ballymurphy, the newer estates on the outskirts, designed with the army intelligence (?) guidance, of Poleglass and Twinbrook. Areas where there are constant RUC/British army patrols on the streets with their rifles, plastic bullet guns and armoured cars.

This year there is also the spectre of the Anglo-Irish Agreement hovering about. We've seen from the media the reaction of the loyalists to what they see as an attempt to take their unquestioned dominance of the North away from them, with their attacks on the person and homes of the RUC. But what is not so well covered is the greatest upsurge of sectarian violence since the mid 70s, with 4 nationalists murdered and scores intimidated out of their homes.

Now is the time for the people of this country to stand up and be counted, to say to our Government: "Ireland: Time to Go."

1986

The other nuclear threat

The Sellafield nuclear complex in Cumbria poses a threat to Ireland because of its radioactive discharge into the air and the Irish Sea (see *Troops Out* April 1986). It also poses an even more serious threat as the aging station grows more likely to malfunction with the possibility of a massive release of radiation.

But another threat lies in the Irish Sea in the form of a large number of nuclear submarines, making this the most militarised area in the entire North Atlantic. Some of these submarines are British but most are from the United States based in Holy Loch 25 miles west of Glasgow.

The US navy also operates off the west coast of Ireland but the submarines travel at a greater depth and are not often detected. They have planted a large number of detection buoys along the continental shelf which act as listening posts to detect other countries' shipping and submarines. Such buoys have been trawled up by fishermen working off the Kerry coast. When an Air India jet crashed off the west coast of Ireland last year, the USA was reluctant to supply sophisticated sonar equipment to recover the wreck because it might also show where some of these buoys were stationed. No permission was given by or asked of the Irish Government for the planting of this equipment which is just outside territorial waters.

The first clear indication of these submarines operating off the south and west coasts of Ireland occurred in July 1983 when one surfaced to have a seriously ill crewmember flown to Cork to receive treatment. In September of the same year the USS *Sam Rayburn* crashed into a number of dumped nuclear waste barrels 300 miles south west of Cork. Britain had been using this area as a nuclear dumping area until the National Union of Seamen refused to work on such jobs and brought to an end the practice of dumping nuclear waste in the sea by this country.

The USS *Sam Rayburn* had to remain on the sea bed until it was rescued by a support ship and guided back to Holy Loch. It took two months for its outer hull to be decontaminated.

The ten Poseidon submarines based at Holy Loch form the most important US military facility in Britain. They are all nuclear powered and carry 16 missiles with 14 nuclear warheads on each. They are large vessels weighing 7,000 tons with a crew of 200. The Poseidon submarines form one section of the three-pronged US 'defence' strategy along with land-based missiles and nuclear bomber airplanes. Less than a third of officers sign up for a second tour of duty on these submarines, so they are frequently led by relatively inexperienced personnel.

Leaving Holy Loch they generally travel south down the Irish Sea before

going out into the Atlantic. To avoid detection they either travel very close to the bottom or more frequently travel beneath a surface ship using it as a shadow. British submarines also use these tactics and there have been a number of incidents where submarines have become ensnared with fishing boats. The first recorded was in 1968 when it took five hours for the USS *Robert E. Lee* to become disentangled from the fishing nets of a Breton trawler.

On April 18th 1982 a British submarine caught the nets of an Irish trawler, the *Sharelga*, and pulled it backwards for 20 minutes before capsizing it. The submarine never surfaced and the five fishermen were rescued by another trawler. Two months later confidential documents were found in a metal container fished up in the same spot where the *Sharelga* was sunk. They had been dumped by USS *Henry Clay*, another Poseidon submarine.

In 1984 two Irish trawlers the *Willing Land* and the *Family Friend* were fishing in tandem when a submarine caught in their nets and pulled them backwards for several miles. Again, the submarine never surfaced and the trawlers were only freed when the cable snapped.

On March 13th of this year the USS *Nathaniel Green* ran aground in the Irish Sea damaging its ballast tanks. Two years previously it had to be towed back to Holy Loch after it lost its propeller off the Isle of Man.

North of Holy Loch are based the US Navy Special Warfare Unit No 2. They operate like US Navy SAS and their speciality is attaching nuclear mines to ships and submarines. They have been sighted landing on the Antrim coast, presumably training.

All this activity is a threat to Irish neutrality. No wonder that Admiral Wesley L. McDonald, NATO's Supreme Allied Commander Atlantic, could say in June of last year that NATO is not dependent on Irish ports.

The submarine traffic also poses a threat to life and limb. Not alone to the fishing boats which operate in the Irish Sea but to everyone by the nature of their nuclear payload. Each Poseidon carries the nuclear warhead equivalent of 9,000,000 tons of conventional explosives. Because they have to remain as light as possible, there is relatively little protection around the nuclear core which powers the boats. They pose as great a potential danger as Sellafield or the other British nuclear stations.

"The Trade Unions should send lots of delegations like the one we've been on to Belfast. Not just the NUM, but throughout the whole Trade Union Movement, we should be putting pressure on the British Government. We should come out more openly, not in support of Sinn Fein particularly, but just to explain what is going on in Ireland. Then let the people decide. We should talk about the aggression, the unemployment, the housing, the kids who've got no chance."

Paul, Lancashire Miner



Socialism and Ireland

Militant misses the point

In last month's issue of *Troops Out*, MIKE BELBIN looked at the political analysis of Militant supporters regarding Ireland, as an example of some rather widespread British socialist misconceptions. Militant argues that economic conditions in the North of Ireland are ripe for socialism, but the working class is held back by 'sectarianism' – this could be overcome by standard (ie British-type) labour movement politics such as trade union workplace demands and a labour party. Militant ignores the crucial role of British imperialism in keeping Ireland and the Irish working class divided.

Here Mike Belbin concludes his analysis, illustrating how British interference has prevented and continues to prevent the developments Militant would will into existence. This analysis points to the real role socialists in Britain must play.

What are socialists in England, Scotland and Wales to do about the conflict (i.e. war) in the North of Ireland? Militant supporters in the Labour Party reply: Nothing. We must give them that – Militant have no ideas of exporting Labourism or Marxism. They simply look forward to the local rank and file workers of the Six Counties setting up their own Labour Party, overcoming divisive 'sectarian ideas and attitudes', moving left and achieving socialism without outside assistance (though Militant did have a hope that the Labour Party here might initiate the Conference that would bring the rank and file together).

This is honourable non-interference but I think members of the TOM (for example) would just wish that this respect for Irish autonomy extended to supporting the withdrawal of the force that actively prevents self-determination, the force from over here – the British State. For Militant though this is a misreading of the situation. The British State would like a united Ireland – stable, peaceful and capitalist and is frustrated in not being able to achieve this. To argue for simple self-determination is to believe alongside the British state in a united capitalist Ireland.

Militant, on the other hand, want the solution to be socialism and argue that major events in the world economic crisis are propelling the N. Irish working class to a unity around socialism (and an independent Labour Party). The enemy of this socialist unity is *sectarian ideas and attitudes*, mainly as represented in the Republican Movement. To simply withdraw in such a situation would mean a workers bloodbath. This is the substance of Militant's pamphlet 'Northern Ireland: A Marxist Analysis'.

THE NATURE OF SECTARIANISM

In the last issue I argued that it is more than 'ideas and attitudes' that prevent

a British-type socialist movement emerging in the Six Counties. The division of the N. Irish working class is a *material* one. Protestants make up the majority of skilled and unionised workers with Catholics the majority of the unskilled and unemployed strata.

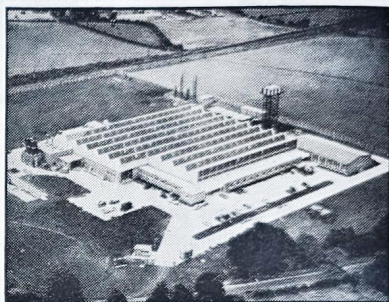
The historical reasons for this have everything to do with the Protestants' position as loyalists to the British connection. It is neither irrational nor simply ideological for a Loyalist worker to fight for the Union with Britain and the petty privileges that go with it.

NOTHING TO LOSE BUT THEIR CHAINS

And yet what Militant expects is that economic crisis will produce a local independent Labour Party. A resurrection, they say, of the Northern Ireland Labour Party which experienced its greatest postwar electoral surge in the late fifties and early sixties. What were the conditions of such a growth in support?

In 1949 the NILP had tried to improve their chances by declaring that they recognised the 'close association' with Britain. In 1958 they won four seats in the Stormont assembly and in 1962 retained them with 76,000 votes – their highest score ever. Apart from their anti-nationalism the reasons for their attractiveness were that traditional industries in the area had declined, unemployment among Loyalists had risen and the Unionist Party was doing nothing about it. And the reason for these conditions was none other than the 'close association'. The Northern Ireland economy had always been export orientated with 55% of those going to Britain. Loyal reliance on this sector led the Unionists to place limits on the growth of traditional industries like linen or cotton. But in the postwar era textiles began to be replaced by synthetic fibres and the result was a high unemployment rate with no major new industries to

absorb it. As the national question was dormant (the isolated IRA border campaign had come to nothing) so there was much more leeway for Loyalist workers to register a protest vote about jobs with the NILP while still remaining firm on the Union (like the NILP). One corroboration of this analysis was what happened next in the conservative Unionist Party.



Bridgeport factory: economic boom did not bring working class unity, nor has the recession.

In 1963 Terence O'Neill took over as leader of the Unionist Party and began to encourage state intervention. So it was that the British State gave financial aid to Belfast Harbour Commissioners to build a massive new dry dock. In 1963 a £10 million grant was arranged to Short Bros and Harland and Wolff to complete 10 Belfast Freighters for the RAF. The 1964 UK Industrial Training Act was implemented in N. Ireland providing a level of training ten times that of the rest of the UK while capital grants to new industries rose from 25% in the late fifties to 45% under the Industrial Development Act (NI) of 1966.

Road and communications to service new industries were given priority over housing but development concentrated on the Eastern counties rather than the predominantly Catholic South and West. New engineering firms were set up on the outskirts of Belfast and new 'engineering suburbs' built to house skilled workers.

This was the Sixties 'boom' in N. Ireland and it was directed at reinforcing sectarian inequalities – in 1971 at the end of this period of investment 23% of Catholic males in Derry (majority Catholic city) were unemployed compared to 8% of Protestants. And in West Belfast the Catholic male unemployment rate was 50%.

It was in these conditions that Catholics flocked to march with the N. Ireland Civil Rights Association of 1968 onwards, to protest at the political and social inequalities of the local

Loyalist state. Meanwhile the Loyalist Ian Paisley had began his own grass roots movement, against O'Neill's economic co-operation with the Republic. Paisley got his chance when state repression of the NICRA marches brought nationalist resistance. It was Paisley's Democratic Unionist Party (and forces like the UDA) that became the voice of majority Loyalist working class protest. The gap that the N. Ireland Labour Party had exploited in the fifties and sixties was no longer there – an independent Labour Party would have to be a lot more socialist than loyalist to pose as an alternative.

But today the recession and its effect through the structure of sectarian inequality is even more divisive. In 1974-79 Catholic female unemployment quadrupled. The massive aid given by the Tories to Harland and Wolff etc is there to safeguard existing jobs and competition for such resources has developed between workers and between areas.

Foreign companies affect nothing, moving into prosperous areas, acquiring local firms and transforming Protestant owners into middle management with a skilled Loyalist workforce. Why should they assist Catholics? Their aim is profit not political change.

Meanwhile the whole structure of inequality is 'secured' by the paramilitary RUC and the British Army, by special courts, special laws and direct rule from Westminster. The British State pays out £4 billion a year to keep a colonial rump which has always been repressive, unequal and unstable.

Perhaps Militant have something of a point when they say Britain would like to get out? Why does Britain stay and continue to fight?

TOO CLOSE FOR COMFORT

Militant agrees that sectarianism (even if defined inadequately) was the result of the British Imperial link. They say that the British State partitioned Ireland to 'safeguard [the ruling class's] class interests both in Britain and Ireland.' However, these interests no longer require the current presence. A united capitalist Ireland would do just as well, according to Militant. So, what were these interests at partition? And what – or who – was their enemy? After the 1918 election, in which 73% of the Irish electorate voted for the independence party Sinn Fein, the British State went to war with the Irish people. In 1921 the truce proposed by Britain included a Treaty which divided Ireland into 26 counties with dominion status and 6 counties still linked to the UK but with its own local assembly.

This settlement, one of several options, kept at bay the politicians' greatest fears – an independent Republic. In 1920 Winston Churchill articulated that fear, the consequences of which the Irish have lived with ever since – "Ireland bulks very largely in our minds because it is the heart's centre of the British Empire. Any disturbance or movement

there produces vibrations, almost convulsions, throughout the whole of our system of society." Ireland was too close to be let go without guarding against unwanted possibilities of self-determination. Divide and secure was the immediate tactic used. Partitioned Ireland was reactionary in the North and conservative in the South.

In 1972, during the present war period, British State personnel returned to the theme with a Green Paper 'The Future of Northern Ireland'. It read:

"The UK Government has three major concerns in Northern Ireland. First, that it should be internally at peace – a divided and strife-ridden Province is bound to disturb and weaken the whole kingdom. Second, that it should prosper, so as to contribute to and not detract from the prosperity of the whole. Third, that NI should not offer a base for any external threat to the security of the UK."

As we have seen the Six Counties has not prospered and its sectarian structure is heavily subsidised. But 1) and 3), the political and the strategic, still stand. The British State's declared aim is to defeat 'terrorism' (and they are not talking about Orange commandoes killing Catholics), to keep at bay what was rejected in the early 1920s, the spectre of independence and 'subversion', of full self-determination.

Whatever arrangement the British State does or does not seek in the future, let us be clear about what it will not seek – what the majority of Irish people voted for in 1918, namely Irish independence.

WORKERS BLOODBATH

Finally, Militant argues against self-determination because they say it will mean a sectarian civil war. However, the 'sectarians' they direct 97% of their antipathy towards are the Republican Movement.

If we recognise sectarianism to be a structure of inequalities operating in the Six Counties maintained by the British State then this means that a sectarian ideology is one that supports this state of affairs. Yet Republicanism is the enemy of British rule. Consider also what Gerry Adams of Sinn Fein has said about a post-British scenario – "The regime that administered the Six County state for 50 years needed to discriminate and to alienate anti-unionists to preserve the status quo. A republican Ireland would in the same way need to defend the rights of all its citizens in order to survive." (Ireland After Britain, Pluto 1985).

Anyone who thinks that 'individual terrorists' could survive sixteen years of war and repression without popular support or a political movement, does not understand what a guerrilla war is about.

They also have not yet comprehended the sort of situation which could support such a thriving career.

If Sinn Fein, whose declared aim is a 32-county socialist republic, are simply radical nationalists, what was James Connolly? Ireland's greatest marxist said in 1916 – "The peaceful progress of the future requires the possession by Ireland of all the national rights now denied her." As a socialist in an oppressed country Connolly could not divorce the social and national struggles: "We declare to the Orange workers of Belfast that we stand for the right of the people to rule as well as to own Ireland and cannot conceive of a separation of the two ideas."

What will happen after British Imperialism leaves? If we supplied the answer, that would not be self-determination. But socialists in Militant should consider what they are supporting – the residue of a colonial history in which a divisive and repressive system of sectarian inequality is maintained by British arms, laws and taxes for British political-strategic reasons. How can any socialist think that the solution they most desire can come out of that?

NO BRITISH SOLUTION – EVEN SOCIALIST

Why does Militant seek a solution within the existing terms of this bloody state of affairs? Because they recognise the deep seated loyalism of most Protestant workers (though they do not explain this beyond talk of fears or religion). They wish this was not so, that these workers would be converted to a 'correct' (British socialist/trades unionist) perspective. The TOM also recognises the tragedy of this stalemate but cannot join Militant in their calls for an internal solution. For in doing so their position is based on unionist premises –

- 1) that the Six Counties is the same as other parts of the UK – that what works in Liverpool (!) will work in Belfast, so rejecting what they initially accept as a colonial history,
- 2) that sectarianism is a pair of religious or tribal ideologies and not a structure of material inequalities; that it is an Irish cat-fight not a part of a colonial history.

If this is A Marxist Analysis, it is of the Daily Mail school.

FINALLY – SELF-DETERMINATION

To change the political and economic inequalities in the North of Ireland you must first remove what maintains them – British Rule. The position of socialists in England, Scotland and Wales is clear – they are within an imperialist relationship to all the Irish people. We cannot export or honourably demand a solution, we can only make one possible by getting the colonial state off the backs of the exploited Protestant and oppressed Catholic alike. This is our role in the struggle towards peace and social change in Ireland.

Old Bailey show trial



Photo Joanne O'Brien/Format

The political show trial which opened at the Old Bailey on 6th May has all the ingredients: mass trial, conspiracy charges, prejudicial media coverage and harassment of defendants.

All press reports of the trial mention Brighton in the headline, and most refer to the trial as "the Brighton bomb trial", even though only one defendant is charged with anything to do with the Brighton bombing. The media also report the "huge security operation" involving armed police patrolling streets and rooftops as a helicopter flies overhead the armed convoy from Brixton prison. Anybody entering the building is body-searched and passes through an airport-style electronic security gate. This security hype, also endured by the jurors, creates the impression of dangerous guilty defendants.

"It is a case where the human and political overtones are so monumental that objective judgment must be well nigh impossible. If ever there was a test of the British legal system, this is it."

Today newspaper, 11th May

On the first day severance — a separate trial — was refused for those defendants not accused of anything to do with the Brighton bombing. The separate cases are thus linked together in the jury's mind and, via the press coverage, in the public's mind.

On the third day the Defence asked for a change of jury because press coverage was affecting their impartiality — the Prosecution did not object. Judge Boreham watched a video of the media coverage, pronounced himself satisfied and refused to dismiss the jury.

All the defendants are charged with conspiring to

cause explosions and all but one with nothing else. Conspiracy charges are preferred when there is insufficient evidence for a substantive charge. Mass trial is necessary for conspiracy charges to have a chance of sticking, because 'evidence' of 'guilt by association' plays a large part in the prosecution case. Hence, the trial together of those charged with conspiring to cause explosions and of the one person charged with causing the separate explosion at Brighton.

"The way we're taken to court and back each day is disgraceful... on Friday (9th) I was violently sick on our way to the Old Bailey and I vomited on a few occasions in the van. However, when I reached the court Judge Boreham refused to allow me to sit down below in one of the cells... my barrister again asked the judge — after all, the trial that I was made to sit through has nothing to do with me — but again the judge refused."

Letter from
Martina Anderson

The harassment of defendants continues apace. All are strip-searched before and after court appearances on Monday to Friday and before and after relatives' visits on Saturdays, even though they never leave the custody of prison warders. A minimum of 12 strip-searches per week. This is after a detention on remand when strip-searches averaged 50 and body-searches 200 per month. Nothing has ever been found.

Consultant psychiatrist Dr Derek Davies, Professor of Mental Health at Bristol University stated that Martina Anderson and Ella O'Dwyer are suffering a serious degree of distress and significant impairment of concentration due to strip-searching.

The movement of the defendants from Brixton prison to the Old Bailey and back every day involves a one hour trip each way in a swaying high speed convoy that takes a different secret route each day through the rush-hour traffic. Martina Anderson has been vomiting in the van and has been ill in court.

The sum of these ingredients adds up to a political show trial. Such a show is necessary in the political context of Loyalist opposition to the Anglo-Irish Agreement and of growing calls in this country for British withdrawal from Ireland.



Photo Joanne O'Brien/Format

Pickets of the Old Bailey show trial being arrested on 19th May for the third week running. At first, police had quoted "Commissioner of the City of London Rules", but later admitted that there were no such rules outlawing Old Bailey pickets. Instead, one person was charged with "wilful obstruction" on 18th May, which police said would be a "test case". Everyone else, as on previous pickets, was released without charge after several hours' detention.

STRIP SEARCHING CONDEMNED

Birmingham Trades Council unanimously voted to condemn the strip searching of Martina Anderson and Ella O'Dwyer in Brixton Prison.

ASTMS (Birmingham City branch) put the motion, which was supported by members of NUPE, NUT, NATFHE and NGA. NUPE and UCW (Post Office workers) are following up the motion in their branches.

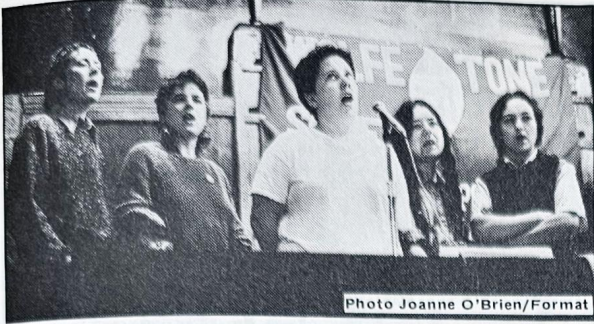


Photo Joanne O'Brien/Format

Bobby Sands remembered

At the commemoration rally for James Connolly and Bobby Sands at London's Conway Hall on 10th May, the hunger-strikes were described as being for the Irish in Britain "like watching blood seep from under the door of a locked room". The result, said the IBRG and London Irish Women's Centre speakers, was that Irish men and women here were demanding their rights and becoming more visible. Our picture shows the singing at the rally of Ann Doyle's song for Ella O'Dwyer and Martina Anderson. Other speakers included Jim McAllister of Sinn Féin and Spanish Civil War veteran Bob Doyle, who both received standing ovations.

Plastic bullets in Parliament

"How many more children and young people will have to die before the House abolishes such a barbaric practice forever from the whole of Great Britain and Northern Ireland?"

Labour MP Dennis Canavan attempted to bring in a Bill to ban plastic bullets in Britain and the North of Ireland, under the House of Commons ten minutes rule.

Leave to bring in the Bill was voted down by 184 to 85, but the attempt was part of a process to ensure that plastic bullets be clearly seen as unacceptable.

Canavan held up a plastic bullet in the House of Commons while explaining how technically it is a lethal weapon by its very nature, even when used according to regulations. He stressed the serious nature of the injuries caused - blindness, paralysis and brain damage - and the number of young children who have died or been permanently maimed. Since the death of a Protestant man Keith White - killed by a plastic bullet in April, the sixteenth victim - condemnation of plastic bullets in the North have been widespread, no longer to be dismissed as 'republican propaganda'.

Speaking against the motion was Sir Eldon Griffiths, Tory MP and spokesperson for the Police Federation. "The baton

round [plastic bullet], in fact, can and does save lives." The police have to protect themselves, argued Sir Eldon: plastic bullets enable them to keep at a distance from "the mob"; they are discriminate, unlike the blanket effect of water cannon or CS gas; they are less lethal (!) than live rounds; and precise regulations exist for their use, both with the RUC and the British police forces.

Voting for Canavan's Bill to ban plastic bullets were Labour MPs, including front-bench spokesperson Peter Archer, the two Plaid Cymru MPs and the two SDLP MPs, plus one Tory (Dale Campbell-Savours). Against them were the Tory ranks, augmented by Liberal David Penhaligon, SDP Ian Wrigglesworth and Unionist MPs Ken Maginnis, James Molyneaux, Enoch Powell and John Taylor. Not for them the concerns of compassion and civil rights.

13 police forces in Britain have now been issued with plastic bullets and Home Secretary Douglas Hurd has stated that he will side-step any Police Authority preventing their use by allowing police forces to order supplies from a central store and to use Metropolitan Police training facilities.

Supergrass surfaces

Loyalist supergrass Joseph Bennett, whose 'evidence' in 1983 sent 14 people to jail, has been arrested in the Midlands on armed robbery charges. At first police did not realise Bennett's true identity, because after the trial he had been given a new life and identity in England. However, weapons found at the time of Bennett's arrest were discovered to have been licensed by police in the North and subsequent enquiries revealed the UVF killer's actual background.

Bennett's criminal activities in England are no surprise, given his connections with fascist groups here and in Belgium, for whose paramilitaries he helped to arrange training in Belfast. Meanwhile, police in the Midlands don't know what to do next, given the Northern Ireland Office's wish to keep Bennett out of sight.

Trade union news

Irish unity tour success

The April tour by the Trades Unionists for Irish Unity and Independence (TUIUI), jointly organised by TOM and LCI, produced several fruitful meetings even though TUIUI had to withdraw from two of the scheduled events.

The tour began on April 13 with a public meeting in Newport, Gwent, organised by the new Newport TOM branch. Eddie Glackin of the Federated Workers' Union of Ireland addressed an audience of mainly TU activists drawn from a wide area around Newport. The meeting has led to campaigning in Newport and Cardiff against strip-searching and to a dramatic growth in membership for Newport TOM.

In Leicester on April 15 leading local trade unionists were amongst 30 people who attended a meeting organised by Leicester TOM, including members of NUPE, NALGO and the Leicester Miners' Forum which has close links with TOM. Plans were agreed for developing work on Ireland in the local labour movement.

Sean Redmond, General Secretary of the Irish Municipal Employees Trade Union and TUIUI Secretary, spoke to the Trades Councils in Nottingham on April 16 and in Coventry on April 17. The tour ended with a meeting in Norwich on April 18 organised by the local TOM branch.

The Coventry meeting, preceded by discussion between Redmond and Trades Council officers, resulted in the Trades Council deciding to send a delegate to TUIUI's Dublin conference in May (see report page 4) and to organise a dayschool on Ireland in early autumn. Coventry TOM members played a leading role in having Redmond invited to the Trades Council, which already has a policy of "immediate British withdrawal" from Ireland.

ASTMS

This year's ASTMS Conference vote voted to support a debate on Irish issues. The Annual Conference in Bournemouth on May 10th-12th rejected the stance of its National Executive and its Unionist members in Belfast. It censured the NEC for preventing a debate at Scottish TUC and rejected their policy which argued "this is hardly a priority issue for most ASTMS members."

Conference passed a motion calling for information, discussion and courses throughout the union.

Whilst this opens the door it does not secure a Troops Out objective. Supporters of Associated Staffs for a United Ireland (ASUI) will now push on the door to show that only a United Ireland will defend the interests of all Irish workers. It will have to demonstrate that loyalism is by its very nature reactionary and discriminatory.

ASTMS 605 (Brighton General) Branch decided in May to ask Maire O'Shea to come to talk about her arrest and trial, confirming that concern last year within ASTMS about her case was not just a flash in the pan. Members of other ASTMS branches in the area will be invited. ASTMS 605 has also resolved to send a member on the Brighton Labour Party delegation to the North of Ireland, 12-17 June.

DELEGATION

The Irish Transport & General Workers' Union has sent a delegation of senior officers to Britain to meet opposite numbers in the T&GWU, NUR (including Jimmy Knapp) and other unions, in line with the resolution adopted at their 1985 conference calling for dialogue with the trade union movement in Britain "with a view to lobbying the British Labour Party to implement policies when they are returned to government, which will allow all Irish men and women to live as one on this island".

NCCL against Terror Act and censorship

Two motions related to Ireland were passed unanimously at the National Council for Civil Liberties' annual conference last month.

The first, proposed by Information on Ireland and the National Union of Journalists, condemned the Home Secretary and the BBC for banning the 'Real Lives - At the Edge of the Union' television programme and called on the NCCL executive to monitor and oppose any further attempts either by the Government or the TV companies to censor programmes on Northern Irish affairs.

The second, proposed by Sarah Spencer (General Secretary of NCCL) reaffirmed the NCCL's commitment 'to oppose the international provisions of the Prevention of Terrorism Act within its continuing commitment to press for the repeal of the Act in its entirety'. It referred specifically to an incident on September 22nd last year when Mr Shapua Kaukungua was detained at Heathrow Airport.

Mr Kaukungua is the chief representative in the UK of SWAPO which is recognised by the United Nations as the sole legitimate representative of the Namibian people. He was told that he was being held because he was a member of a terrorist organisation. His papers were taken from him and presumably photocopied. He was released after a few hours.

When the present Prevention of Terrorism Act (widened to allow the police to detain people from what was described as international terrorist organisations and not just Irish people) was introduced, the Government said it would not apply to members of organisations such as ANC, SWAPO etc unless they committed a crime in Britain. When the NCCL complained on Mr Kaukungua's behalf they were told by the Home Office that this assurance by the Government applied only to picking people up inland, not at ports of entry!

Shapua Kaukungua's arrest is not the only example of the use of the 'international' provision of the Act. An increasing number of people have been detained under this section, such as the holding of some Sikh activists when the Indian prime minister Rajiv Gandhi visited Britain.

The detention of such a prominent person as Shapua Kaukungua should be no surprise either. Irish people held under the Act have ranged from a former foreign minister and TV personalities to thousands of ordinary people. Just as the Act was initially introduced as temporary legislation and became permanent, influencing other legislation such as the Police Act, so the 'international' provision in the act - despite assurances otherwise - is being increasingly extended.



Sheffield TOM joins protest against the bombing of Libya.

Libya and Ireland

The widespread outrage at the US bombing of Tripoli and Benghazi was certainly encouraging. In Sheffield, for example, over 5,000 signatures condemning US aggression were collected within four days of the raid, and on May 3rd a 700 strong demonstration called for US bases to be removed from British soil.

In her desperate attempt to regain the lost ground, it was to other so-called 'terrorists' that Thatcher turned her attention. On Radio 4's 'World at One' she justified the renewed attack on the Republican Movement in the North of Ireland with the words "look, all people in

Northern Ireland have the right to vote." Similarly, repeated attempts have been made to exploit the alleged links between the Provisional IRA and Colonel Gaddafi's Government.

Despite the growing clarity with which the spread of US influence can be seen, there remains a marked reluctance amongst the British left to adopt an anti-imperialist perspective. The demand of the Palestinian people for a homeland is avoided. And so, too, the right of the Irish people to self-determination is repeatedly denied. Dispelling the notion that 'we know best' remains as urgent a need as ever.

Wakefield Jail 'inhuman'

Birmingham Troops Out Movement received a letter from Wakefield Prison about the inhuman conditions there. The letter, from Irish prisoner Paul Norney, describes unacceptable visiting arrangements imposed on political prisoners by the prison authorities.

Paul Norney writes:

"Wakefield Prison has hit the headlines in the past for its brutal treatment of prisoners - the operation of a control unit in the early '70s, the death of Frank Stagg on Hungerstrike, the solitary incarceration of Irish Republican prisoners in the prison's 'F' wing for periods ranging from 6 to 12 months.

"Another feature of this policy used against Irish POWs relates to visiting arrangements. Our families already under the strain and burden

of having to travel hundreds of miles to see us, have on seeing us to undergo a humiliating and intimidating experience because of the visiting arrangements.

"The visits are held in a small room, 12ft. by 10ft., two tables end to end are in the middle of the room, chairs are bolted to the floor at either end of the tables. The visitor must sit at one end and the prisoner at the other end. No physical contact is allowed during the visit (an embrace is allowed at the beginning and the end of the visit). All through the visit two prison officers are in the room, one sits behind the visitor and the other sits behind the prisoner. Before and after the visit the prisoner is strip-searched.

"We view these visits as an attempt to prevent normal communication between prisoner and visitor (man and wife on many

occasions). We are told that these visits are the result of a directive from the Home Office.

"However, the directive from the Home Office states that certain prisoners (Republicans, Palestinians, Libyans) are to have 'supervised visits' i.e. visits within the sight and hearing of at least one prison officer. The visiting arrangements in this prison are peculiar to this prison. Visiting arrangements in all the other top security prisons all adhere to the Home Office Directive but their arrangements are neither humiliating nor intimidating, nor has there been a breach in their security as a result of visits.

"We see the visiting arrangements here as designed to isolate Republican Prisoners from their families by making normal communication impossible. We see this as part of a continual policy adopted by the British Home Office over 13 years ago. However, we

also recognise that the visiting arrangements are peculiar to this prison and must therefore be regarded as an indication of the vehement anti-Republican attitude prevalent amongst prison officers at this establishment. We are refusing to accept these visiting arrangements but we have informed the governor that we will not go without our visits."

WHAT YOU CAN DO

- Write to the Home Office, 50 Queen Anne's Gate, London SW1.
- Write to MPs, House of Commons, London SW1.
- Raise in trade unions, Labour Party, community groups etc.
- Write letters to the press, use radio phone-ins etc.
- Write to the prisoners in Wakefield to show your support, via Paul Norney, 863532, H. M. Prison, Love Lane, Wakefield WF2 9AC.

How to withdraw

Dear Troops Out,

Your readers deserve an explanation for P. Curry's reactionary article, 'British Withdrawal', which you published in the May issue.

Firstly, it proposes a scenario in which some foreseeable British Government plays a progressive role in Ireland – in this case, withdrawing in such a way as to demoralise the Unionists, while miraculously making no moves against anti-imperialists (such as those opposing NATO and the multinationals).

Secondly, the author grants a legitimate role to "the Dublin Government" and to some new "Northern Ireland" Government. Does your editorial collective really need reminding that those separate states (26 Counties and 6 Counties) are integral to imperialist interests in Ireland?

In any case the British state needs no advice from P. Curry on how to maintain them. Rather than his fantasy scenario, it prefers the current process of modifying Partition through the Anglo-Irish agreement, fully supported by all four Parliamentary parties.

Yours,
Les Levidow, London

Dear Troops Out,

I'm writing in response to P. Curry's article *British Withdrawal* – a short sharp shock in the last issue. I think the writer misses out on certain essentials of the Loyalist veto.

I think that the Troops Out Movement has always said that since the Loyalist population has always denied the nationalists any rights, etc. in the North of Ireland Britain would therefore have to ignore the majority's wishes in any withdrawal situation. So in theory perhaps, no deals with any of the Loyalist's community representatives until after Britain has withdrawn.

In practice, I personally believe some Loyalist leaders will emerge, once a withdrawal process begins, whom all parties (whoever they are) will want to negotiate with in order to forestall any violence by the UDA, UVF and such, but also to set up a future for Loyalist people in a united Ireland.

As for resettlement of people from the North, things will have to be very clear. Certainly I would think some sort of reparation payment to the new Irish nation from Britain is also due.

It's good to see this sort of valuable discussion in *Troops Out* about the mechanics of withdrawal and the sort of responses from within the Loyalist community. Very real fears are imagined by many Loyalist people in the North of Ireland – Paisley and plenty of others have made a living out of exploiting these fears. Any withdrawal situation has to meet these problems to minimize any potential of a 'bloodbath'. Though 800 years of Britain in Ireland has already seen a long enough bloodbath, I would have thought.

Yours sincerely,
Mike Dixon,
Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

Hypocrisy over Libya

Dear Troops Out,

In the immediate aftermath of the American bombing of Libyan cities the overwhelming feelings were of outrage and horror at the brutal act of aggression. Soon to be added was a feeling of sickness at the hypocrisy coming from Reagan, Thatcher and their assorted hangers on.

"We struck at military and terrorist targets. We took every precaution to see that no civilians were involved."

"We Americans are a peaceful nation."

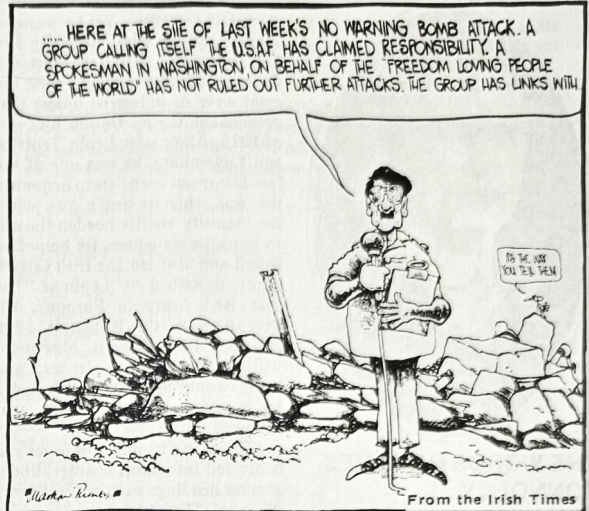
'Precision' bombing which killed many civilians; anti-personnel cluster bombs dropped into the streets of major cities. Both are justified as a major step to 'free the world of state sponsored terrorism'.

This from the imperialist power which supports the State of Israel – created on a wave of terror which drove the Palestinian people from their land. Maintained by bombings and massacres in Lebanon.

This from the President who pushes millions of dollars of advanced military hardware to the Contras who murder, torture and destroy across the Honduran border into Nicaragua.

But as thousands marched on the CND demonstration against Reagan and his accomplice Thatcher how many looked closer to home. If they had it would be Thatcher they saw holding the smoking gun – still pointing at Ireland, British troops shooting down unarmed demonstrators, torture and murder by the sectarian RUC and UDR, nationalist men and women imprisoned for years by no-jury courts on the word of paid informers. Women prisoners tortured by strip search after strip search.

In Libya the US acts to intimidate those who threaten its interests. In Ireland the British state attempts to crush the revolutionary struggle of the Irish people which threatens to break its grip on their country. The imperialists clearly see the connection. Thatcher protects her back by linking the Provisional IRA to Libya. Reagan



tries to convince the Senate to ease the extradition of Irish revolutionaries to Britain by pointing to the support given by Thatcher for the bombings. The imperialists have a clear view of the unity of their fight to maintain their power.

Unfortunately many who oppose them still have to learn the need for solidarity with all anti-imperialist struggles. If we are sickened we are not surprised by the hypocrisy of capitalist politicians. We receive more of a jolt, perhaps, from the statements of some on the 'left'.

E. P. Thompson, a prime mover in the nuclear disarmament movement wrote an article in the Observer, 27/4/86. We quote: – "The harbouring of terrorists is certainly a foul offence. Each year huge sums are collected in the United States to buy arms for the Provisional IRA. At the St Patrick's Day parades in New York city, graced by mayors and political dignitaries, the collectors are out, and no doubt my liberal friends have contributed, with no notion of the anguish which this brings to sectarian tormented Northern Ireland." This from an 'intellectual' of the 'left'.

Those who take up arms to fight for freedom, independence and socialism are 'terrorists', support for whom is a 'foul offence'. We 'civilised' people are of course totally opposed. All we ask is that 'our' governments put them down in a more 'civilised' fashion that doesn't disturb (too much) our moral sensibilities.

The 'troubles' in the north of Ireland are due to 'sectarianism' – the rather odd ideas held by these peculiar Irish people. Nothing, of course, to do with the history of 800 years of domination by England. Nothing to do with the creation by Britain of the sectarian Loyalist state and its armed forces.

We might not like some things about Maggie but we are, after all, don't you know, all ENGLISH!

E.P. Thompson and his like are a disgrace to the left. There is no equivalence between the violence of the oppressor and that of the oppressed. We support the latter.

We would hope that those who march against American imperialist brutality will realise that they cannot, seriously, oppose this while remaining silent about the actions of the British state in Ireland.

Yours,
Billy Quinn, Haringey TOM.

Sweden

Dear Comrades,

First of May, Malmö Sweden

The annual VPK ("the left party, the communists") demonstration gathered 1,300 people. As usual the international section was quite big. Behind a huge Irish flag were 100 people marching to the tunes of traditional music. The demands on our banners were "British imperialism out of Ireland", "Stop political censorship on Ireland, Abolish Section 31" and "British Troops out of Ireland".

During the demo we gave out leaflets, sold papers and troops out badges.

Also in Stockholm there was a lot of activity in giving out information about Ireland on the 1st of May.

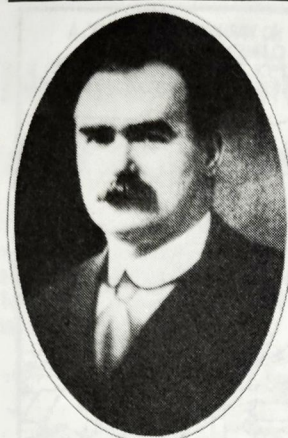
During the past winter we have had a couple of exhibitions and public showings of a video about plastic bullets. This is only the beginning of the organised solidarity work in Sweden, we have a lot of work to do during summer and autumn.

In solidarity,
Peter Akesson, Malmö, Sweden

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

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

REVIEWS



THE WORDS OF JAMES CONNOLLY

edited by James Connolly Heron,
Mercier Press £5.95

This book is an anthology of the works of James Connolly. The selection has been made by his great-grandson, the editor, who states his belief in "the continued relevance of his teachings to the issues which confront men and women in society today".

Few socialists aware of Irish history would question this sentiment. Connolly's written works contribute significantly to socialist thought, especially concerning the relationship between national liber-

ation and socialism. Yet he was also a great activist who, alongside Jim Larkin, led the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union during the great wave of industrial unrest that culminated in the Dublin lock-out of 1913. Along with Lenin, Trotsky, and Luxemburg, he was one of the few European socialists to denounce the war when it broke out, while the majority swiftly heeded the call to patriotic slaughter. He helped to found and also led the Irish Citizen Army, described by Lenin as "The first Red Army in Europe". His execution by the British in 1916 left the Irish Labour Movement without its natural leader, and many would argue that this had a tragic effect on the events that followed.

This book is only 136 pages and is divided into short chapters under general headings such as 'Freedom', 'Women', 'The Irish Language', and 'Partition'. Each chapter contains 20 or so extracts selected from a wide range of Connolly's work. A longer chapter discusses various topics of Irish History from 'Early Irish History' to 'The Fenians'.

It is unavoidable when so much is covered that much of this coverage will be sketchy. Personally, I found it difficult to read, as the style is constantly changing and the extracts are by no means in chronological order. There is thus a persistent need to refer to the source index at the end of the book to uncover

more context to what is being said. This is often important in such short passages.

This said, there is much here of interest and which amply illustrates the scope of Connolly's vision. His support for the Women's Suffrage Movement brought him into opposition with many 'socialists' of the time, who considered the issue diversionary. But Connolly derided this view, and believing in universal emancipation, was prepared to reach difficult conclusions and declare that "the worker is the slave of capitalist society and the female worker is the slave of that slave".

The short extracts naturally emphasise Connolly's skills as a propagandist rather than as a theoretician. As a creator of memorable phrases and powerful rhetoric, he has few equals. He denounces capitalism where a worker has no right to exist "unless a capitalist can see his way to make a profit out of him". And in attacking the Church for its reactionary role in Irish politics, he describes his own vision of socialism. "It is neither freethinker nor christian, turk nor jew, buddhist nor idolator, mahometan nor parsee - it is only human".

Recommended alternative reading: *The Life and Times of James Connolly* by Desmond Greaves and *Labour in Irish History* by James Connolly.

Ned Mallin

NO SURRENDER

Film, directed by Alan Bleasdale

Liverpool, New Year's Eve: scenes of the spectacular desolation of the city in understated and witty visual and verbal humour - the long parades of closed-down shops including the Job Centre, the young anti-hero's encounters with modern youth and modern gangsterism. He is one of two anti-heroes, the bemused new manager of 'The Charleston' night club who arrives to take the seedy joint over on New Year's Eve and smells some very pungent rats.

The other 'hero' - pursued by ghosts of his violent sectarian past - is Billy of the Orange Order, now middle-aged and apparently weary of violence, although he manages to commit the ultimate act of violence before the end of the film.

The themes of the film are played out through the rivalry of two over-60s clubs, meeting unexpectedly at 'The Charlestown' to welcome in the New Year. One club is Billy's Orange Order and the other, inevitably, is the local Catholic Social Club.

The advanced or middle age of most of the characters points up the lack of dignity and absurdity in their behaviour rather than their age in itself being mocked, and the general un-serious feel of the film prevents any of the characters

from coming across as entirely despicable, although there are plenty of cardboard cut-outs like the gay comic and boyfriend or the neurotic magician.

So it is not a vindictive film and neither is it primarily a political film; it seems to me that Alan Bleasdale (of *Boys from the Black Stuff*) was less interested in exploring the issues around the Irish struggle than in finding a vehicle complex enough to convey general observations about the hotchpotch of human courage, prejudice, insight and muddle which he presents.

It's just possible that the meeting of the two clubs - designed by the outgoing manager as some kind of revenge on the gangland nightclub owner - is an analogy for the manipulation of the nationalist and loyalist populations through religious loyalties by the State and its agents... but it would be a meaning you'd have to search very hard for and the behaviour of the two groups when they do meet would be a hostile analogy for what their struggle is about.

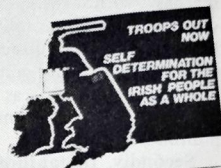
Therefore I think Bleasdale should not have chosen the Irish struggle as his vehicle because he does nothing to explain Billy's weariness or even his original violent sectarianism, nothing to unravel the mystification of the

Irish struggle for the British film audience. Much is in the film which reinforces stereotypes of the Irish as belligerent and comically stupid or shortsighted and the real and terrible sufferings of the war are parodied as bun-fights. Consequently we are left with the State's portrayal of the war in Northern Ireland unchallenged - it apparently arises from unexamined, 'mindless' and pitiful tribal rivalries in which only 'human nature' plays a part and from which there is no escape except possibly the resigned surrender of weariness.

Bleasdale may not have intended to take sides with this film, but as a result of the widespread respect he gained for his TV series - and by using the actor who played 'Yozzer Hughes' to very good effect as a central character he makes the most of that reputation - he had a responsibility to treat controversial issues with care. By failing to present any challenges to the stereotypes of the Irish and the basis of the war he has helped to harden British complacent and ignorant attitudes. From the nationalist, and even the loyalist, point of view it might as well have been a political statement, and a vindictive one at that.

Sal Jenkinson,
Haringey TOM

1986 Books and Publications list of the Troops Out Movement

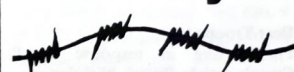


Our publications list is being constantly updated, so try us even if what you want is not included.
All prices are correct at the time of going to press but price and availability cannot be guaranteed.

Troops Out Movement,
Box 353, London NW5 4NH. 01 609 1743.

Send s.a.e. for TOM's list of publications (books, pamphlets, leaflets) to: PO Box 353, London NW5 4NH.

Prisoners' Birthdays



The Irish prisoners in Britain are held here as hostages, denied the right (as laid down in Home Office regulations) to serve their sentences near their homes and families. They often spend long periods in solitary confinement and are frequently moved from one prison to another. Please send them cards on their birthdays to help break the isolation - don't forget the number.

BOBBY CAMPBELL	832954
HM Prison Gartree, Leicester Rd, Market Harborough, Leics LE16 7RP	June 1st
CON McFADDEN	130662
HM Prison, Love Lane, Wakefield, Yorkshire WF2 9AG	June 19th
PAUL HOLMES	119034
HM Prison Frankland, Brasside, Co. Durham	June 22nd
SEAN HAYES	341418
HM Prison Albany, Newport, Isle of Wight PO30 5RS	July 8th



APRIL

17th
Loyalists picket RUC stations after the funeral of Keith White who died 2 weeks after being hit by a plastic bullet.

In a Commons written reply King states that 22 women were strip-searched in the North's prisons during March.

18th
Large Loyalist arms and explosives cache found by RUC in North Belfast after 60 year old woman shot dead. In other Loyalist rioting, 2 Catholic families are burnt out of their homes in Lisburn and plastic bullets are fired in Sandy Row.

19th
Viscount Cranborne MP announces that he will not stand for re-election because of his opposition to the Anglo/Irish agreement.

Cork Energy Group claims that Sellafield's primary use is "to supply military".

After a Loyalist rally in Portadown during which National Front literature is on sale, RUC fire 23 plastic bullets during rioting. Further attacks on Catholic homes and churches across the North.

20th
OUP Conference warns that support for the RUC is only conditional.

21st
OUP MP Smyth discerns "republicans, world socialists, anarchists" behind Loyalist riots.

22nd
Led by George Seawright, Loyalist march in Rathcoole attacks Catholic house with petrol bombs.

Former British soldier appears in Belfast High Court accused of arson during Loyalist riot.

23rd
IRA shoot dead RUC Inspector Hazlett in Newcastle, Co Down.

2 Catholic homes burnt out in Rathcoole during Loyalist riot by members of Ulster Clubs and National Front.

DUP and OUP produce 12 point plan of civil disobedience against Anglo-Irish agreement, including rates' strike.

24th
Kevin Donnelly of Portadown on life-support machine after being shot in the head by UDR.

Government places £130 million order for navy supply vessel with state-owned Belfast Harland & Wolff shipyard. Newcastle-upon-Tyne Labour MP Nick Brown said that Swan Hunter shipyard would almost certainly close and called the decision, welcomed by Loyalists, an "appeasement of terror in Ulster".

26th
Seamus McElwaine shot dead and Sean Lynch seriously injured by undercover troops lying in wait near Rosslea, Co Fermanagh. No shots fired at British troops. Later, IRA colour party fire shots over McElwaine's coffin on its arrival in Co Monaghan.

27th
British Army defuse "massive" bomb in central Belfast close to route of Orange march.

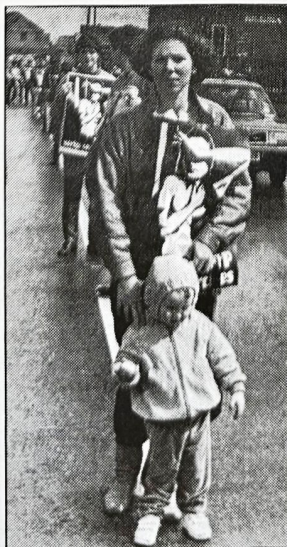
More Catholic homes and churches attacked by petrol bombs in rioting by Loyalists across the North, 3 plastic bullets fired in Derry.

28th
200lb bomb derails Dundalk to Belfast goods train and blocks line for 24 hours.

Watched by 3,000 mourners, an IRA colour party fires shots over the coffin at McElwaine's funeral in Scotstown, Co Monaghan. 150 Gardai in riot gear do not intervene. It emerges that McElwaine was killed on 26th by British troops after being questioned.

RUC figures show 79 sectarian attacks on Catholic families during April and 314 cases of intimidation against RUC members, resulting in 57 RUC leaving their homes.

29th
Sean Lynch, shot by the British Army on 26th and then beaten up by RUC men, charged at a special court at his hospital bedside with "attempted murder of members of the security forces".



'White-line' picket in Belfast against continuing strip searches in Maghaberry Prison (photo AP/RN).

TERROR ACT RESEARCH OFFICE OPENED

The West Midlands PREVENTION OF TERRORISM Act Welfare and Research Association has now opened an office in Birmingham and employed a part-time research and advice worker.

The aim of the project is to monitor the effects of the PTA on the West Midlands population in particular and the UK in general. Between 1977-1984 half a million people, mainly Irish, have been stopped, searched and checked under this Act. Only 0.02 per cent have been convicted of any charges, which were in the main trivial.

The project is funded by the West Midlands County Council, which made its decision amid local press controversy six months ago.

Padraig O Duibhir, the Association's research and advice worker said:

"We would like to hear from anyone who has been held under the PTA. All information will be treated in the strictest confidence. We would also like other groups and individuals who have campaigned against the act, to let us know about the responses they have had from MPs, unions etc. Donations, payable to the association, would be appreciated."

THE WMPTA PROJECT,
PO Box 817,
Camp Hill,
Birmingham
B11 5AF
(021 7737362)

30th
Riot in Belfast's Crumlin Road jail as prison officers begin their overtime ban.

Belfast Loyalist councillors defy High Court contempt ruling and continue adjournment policy.

Despite British and Irish governments' opposition US Senate gives legal status to the MacBride principles which seek to guarantee equal employment of Catholics in US firms in the North.

MAY

1st
London court refuses application from Anderson and O'Dwyer's solicitor for a judicial review into the way strip-searches are authorised in Brixton prison.

The appeal of 22 people convicted in the Black supergrass trial ends after 59 days. The defence case is based on inconsistencies, lies and contradictions in Black's evidence and the impossibility of a single judge being able to deal with a large complex trial of 38 people.

King threatens to cut off Assembly Unionists' £12,000 salaries because "they're not doing what they're supposed to be doing".

2nd
Industrial Development Board announces shortfall of 50% in job creation target in the North over the last 12 months.

4th
Chernobyl radioactive fallout reaches Ireland 6 days after accident.

5th
Methodist prison chaplain's house shot at and petrol bombed by Loyalists.

6th
OUP split results in Belfast City Council voting to end 6 month anti-Accord protest boycott of Council meetings.

British government sets up special team to help ease job losses among Protestants in East Antrim.

Conspiracy trial opens at the Old Bailey with "extraordinary" security precautions.

Brendan McFarlane's appeal against extradition opens in Dutch Supreme Court, decision expected in July.

7th
UVF held responsible for first Loyalist killing of a mixed marriage partner in 10 years when Protestant Margaret Caulfield shot dead in bed in North Belfast next to her Catholic husband who was seriously wounded.

Loyalists attack RUC after march in Co Antrim.

IRA fire missiles at Coalisland RUC station, being reconstructed after an IRA car bomb attack.

Paisley defines US aid as "impertinent interference" and "30 pieces of silver".

Labour MP Denis Canavan's 10-minute rule bill to ban plastic bullets defeated in Commons — only 80 odd Labour MPs vote for their party's policy, opposed by 184 Tories, Liberals & SDP.

8th
Protestant youth Mark Frizzell dies 5 days after being found with head injuries in the Short Strand area of Belfast.

RUC discover 2,000 rounds on Loyalist estate near where Margaret Caulfield shot dead on 7th.

9th
Anglo/Irish inter-governmental conference meets in London and discusses Diplock Courts, Divis Flats and Sellafield but reaches no decisions "because of complexity".

10th
Public house in Limavady used by off-duty British soldiers destroyed by bomb.

Doctor called to continuing Old Bailey trial to attend to Martina Anderson.

11th
Northern Ireland Office confirms that King has recommended Royal Prerogative to enable Loyalist informer Budgie Allen's release from his English prison after serving 2 years of his 14-year sentence for attempted murder.

COMING EVENTS & RESOURCES

BIRMINGHAM

The Maire O'Shea Support Committee is producing a pamphlet about the campaign. It will use the campaign as a model for work against the Prevention of Terrorism Act and conspiracy law.

The Committee would like anyone who was involved to write to them about the campaign, lessons, etc. Any photographs would be greatly appreciated. Donations towards the cost of production welcome.

Dr Maire O'Shea Support Committee
c/o 448 Stratford Road, Birmingham B11 4AE
Tel: 021-773 8683

Saturday 21st June, 2pm

Hunger Strike Commemoration Rally

Speakers from Sinn Fein, IRSP, PAC (Azania), All Africa People's Revolutionary Party, Kashmiri Liberation Front.

Organised by the Irish Hunger Strike Commemoration Committee (Birmingham)
Assembly Hall,
Digbeth Civic Hall, Birmingham
Creche available

JOIN THE TROOPS OUT MOVEMENT

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

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

Tyneside
York

LONDON AREA
Camden
East London
Haringey
Hillingdon
Islington
Lambeth
West London

SCOTLAND
Glasgow

WALES
Newport

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

Name

Address

Membership of a branch costs £6 (£2 unemployed) payable through the branch. Individual membership is £10 (£6 unemployed) which includes a subscription to *Troops Out*.

GLASGOW

Saturday 28th June, 10.30-4pm

Lessons for British workers

Labour Movement conference on Ireland
Speakers from Sinn Fein, NUM, EIS,
Labour councillors
Credentials £1
City Halls, Glasgow

YORK

Monday 9th June, 7.30pm

Sinn Fein Speaks

Public meeting about the Anglo-Irish Deal
Priory St Community Centre

LEEDS

Wednesday 11th June, 8pm

Anglo-Irish Deal - What's it all about?

Public meeting, with speaker from Sinn Fein

Organised by Leeds TOM

Leeds Trades Club, Savile Mount, Leeds 7

SHEFFIELD

Tuesday 10th June, 7.30pm

What the Papers Don't Say - the Anglo-Irish Accord

Public meeting, with Sinn Fein councillor Gerard McGuigan

Organised by Sheffield TOM, supported by LCI

Sheffield Town Hall, Surrey St entrance
Disabled access

READING

Monday 23rd June, 7.30pm

Screening of the video

IRISH NEWS, BRITISH STORIES

on media distortion and censorship
At Reading Centre for the Unemployed,
4-6 East St, Reading.

LONDON

4th-7th June, 7.30pm

THE SIN EATERS

New play about the political prisoner and frame-up victim, Judith Ward; set in Durham top security wing.
At the Albany Empire, Douglas Way, Deptford SE8.

Also ring 01-485 0008 for future bookings.

Meetings to commemorate the 70th Anniversary of the Easter Rising, organised by the Connolly Association

Monday 2nd June, 8pm

With Tony Coughlan
Brent Unemployed Workers' Centre,
389 Willesden High Rd, NW10

Tuesday 3rd June, 8pm

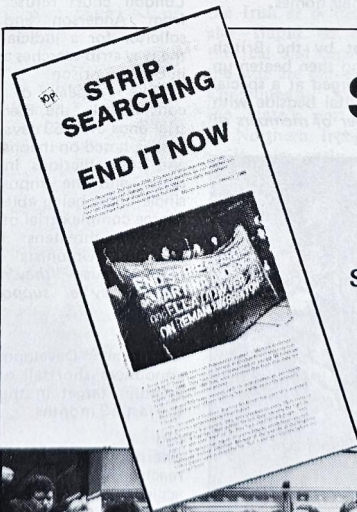
With C. Desmond Greaves
Dalston Trades Club, 96 Dalston Lane, E8

Thursday 5th June, 8pm

Poetry, music and songs
Holborn Library Hall, Theobalds Rd, WC1

Friday 6th June, 7pm

Launch of Pat Byrne's new pamphlet on the Republican Congress
Four Provinces Bookshop, 244-246 Gray's Inn Rd, WC1



Stop the strip searching

Strip searching has continued at horrific levels in Brixton Prison. And in the North of Ireland: the women prisoners were moved to the new prison of Maghaberry, but the strip searches were immediately resumed.

Get the facts from TOM's new leaflet, only 10p from PO Box 353, London NW5 4NH.



Left: petitioning against strip searching in Birmingham (photo B'ham TOM).