

TROOPS OUT OF IRELAND

TROOPS OUT NOW

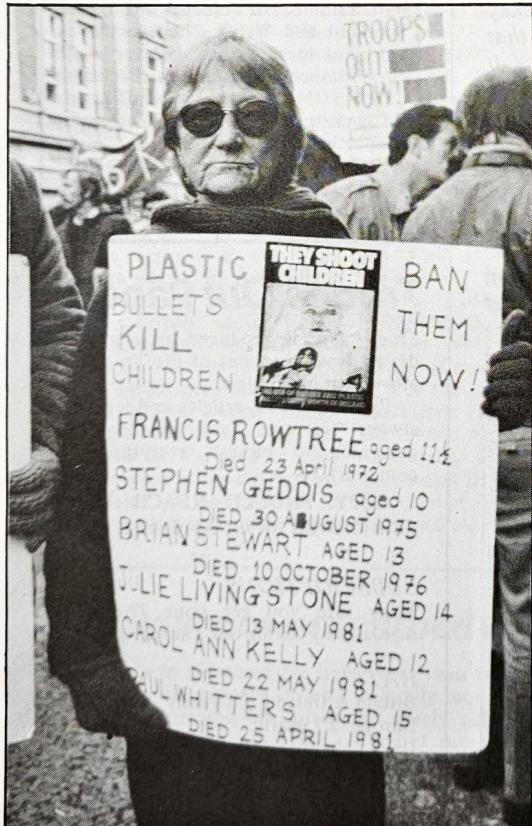
SELF DETERMINATION FOR THE IRISH PEOPLE AS A WHOLE

Paper of the Troops Out Movement

30p

Vol. 10, No. 5, March 1987

Women fight for self-determination



FRANCIS ROWTREE aged 11½
Died 23 April 1972
STEPHEN GEDDIS aged 10
DIED 30 AUGUST 1975
BRIAN STEWART AGED 13
DIED 10 OCTOBER 1976
JULIE LIVING STONE AGED 14
DIED 13 MAY 1981
CAROL ANN KELLY AGED 12
DIED 22 MAY 1981
PAUL WHITTENS AGED 15
DIED 25 APRIL 1981

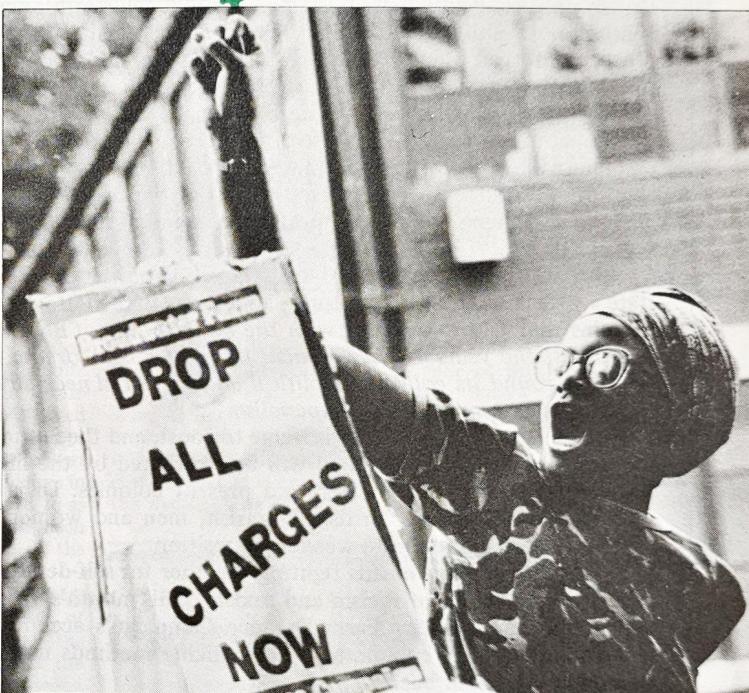


Photo: TOM



Photo: Joanne O'Brien/Format

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- BROADWATER FARM
- USA AND IRELAND
- IRISH ELECTION



EDITORIAL

Colonial echoes

The British way of life, economically and ideologically, is founded on slavery and exploitation. This fact underwrites any understanding of British politics. Post-imperial decline has produced a rash of silencing legislation to shift the boundary between criminal and legitimate protest, enforced by an increasingly paramilitary and political police force.

Total policing has been seen before in British colonies around the globe, most recently in the North of Ireland with the attendant paraphernalia of internment, frame-ups, paid informers, show-trials and shoot-to-kill. At home, Black and Irish women and men have been experiencing for years the state's reaction to their political organization.

But that history has been largely ignored and the violence of the state's attack comes as a surprise to many. Bernadette McAliskey explains that "what is wrong with the body politic of Britain is that despite all the years of development of the British working class, it has hung round its collective political and industrial neck an historic inability to recognize British imperialism".

Now British imperialism is home to roost, and the authoritarian response to protest here is and will be structured by the history of Britain's relations with its past and present colonies. Divisions between white and black, British and Irish, men and women will be articulated and exploited to weaken opposition.

Anti-imperialism means fighting together for self-determination against the divisions of racism and sexism. This month's *Troops Out* features the Broadwater Farm Defence Campaign's account of the harassment of their community, the policing methods used against them and their fight back.



PHOTO: TOM

Troops Out Movement

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

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

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

Troops Out Paper

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

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

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PO Box 353, London NW5 4NH.

Death squad cover up

Dr Thomas Marshall, the State Pathologist for Northern Ireland, said the trunk wounds inflicted on Michael Devine, many as he lay on the ground 'almost defeated interpretation'. He was giving evidence at the start of the inquest into the death of three members of the IRA killed by a British army unit two years ago in Strabane on February 23rd 1985.

David Devine, 16 years, was hit by five bullets, his brother Michael was hit at least 28 times while Charles Breslin was struck by 13 bullets. Each had a single shot to the head. A total of 117 bullets were fired by the soldiers. No shots were fired at them nor did they challenge the IRA members.

The RUC (police) investigation of the incident was cursory in the extreme. Gerard Stevenson, a local man, said after the incident 'They weren't asked to surrender, the Brits [British army] just started shooting right away'; he was not interviewed by the RUC. Local people recall hearing intermittent firing for about 20 minutes, this was followed by another burst of gunfire and then three single shots.

The actions of the three soldiers who were not present at the inquest were defended by a British army Major, referred to as Soldier G, who was part of a backup team. He said 'I am satisfied that none of the soldiers had an opportunity to issue a challenge to the terrorists on the basis of what they told me at the debriefing'. The Major was not required to make a statement until nine



The scene of the killing of Michael and David Devine and Charles Breslin. Photo: AP/RN.

months after the incident on November 4th 1985. Despite his soldiers being in plain-clothes and using unmarked cars he has refused to accept that they were on a covert mission. Two of the soldiers in the backup team referred to as Soldiers D and E have been identified as members of the SAS.

This particular inquest follows hard on the heels of another which involved the killing of two members of the IRA in the grounds of Gransha Psychiatric Hospital in December 1984. An SAS unit was again lying in wait. The two were killed in a hail of bullets. No attempt was made to capture them alive.

Both came during a wave of shoot-to-kill incidents which occurred at the time. They serve as a reminder that such a policy can be switched on and off as required. What is clear is that it is not based on the decisions of a few individ-

ual soldiers who decide on the spur of the moment to open fire. Such a policy is controlled centrally and remains an option available to the British government to ensure continued occupation of Northern Ireland.

Irangate and Ireland

Much annoyance was caused in Ireland by the illegal use of Irish passports by Robert McFarlane, Ronald Reagan's former security advisor. He and four associates travelled to Teheran last September on Irish passports to discuss arms deals with senior Iranian officials.

Irish passports ensure their bearers a good reception throughout the world but this could now be jeopardised and put Irish people in danger. It is not the first time: three CIA operatives working in Libya and the Lebanon in the early '80s carried Irish passports. The one McFarlane used is believed to be part of a batch stolen in Dublin two years ago.

Ireland featured unwittingly in other aspects of the Irangate affair. In July 1986 a number of flights carrying arms for Iran used Shannon airport to refuel.

Aircraft landing at Shannon are not normally searched by customs if they are only refuelling and Irish authorities were thus totally unaware of their cargo. US flights would usually have gone via the US base in the Azores, but this would have meant a written record of the flight path, open to scrutiny by the Senate and Congress.

A number of shipments of munitions were also sent by sea through Belfast. American boats transferred the arms to other merchant ships in Belfast harbour. These boats then called into various other ports before bringing their cargoes to the Middle East from where they were taken overland to Iran. The object of the exercise was again to make it as difficult as possible to trace the origins of the arms.

Inquest powers curbed

Inquests in N.Ireland are little more than the state going through the motions of what is legally required. They are delayed unreasonably, often for purely political reasons, and material witnesses are often not summoned to give evidence. When cases eventually come to be heard the juries, who coroners are required to empanel in these instances, are severely restricted in their conclusions. In England and Wales a jury could bring in a verdict of 'unlawful killing' where it considered a member of the security force used more force than was absolutely necessary, although it could not name the person concerned. In Northern Ireland today a jury is not even allowed to record an 'open verdict'. It is limited to just a list of its actual findings. No opinion can be expressed.

Waiting for Charlie

Unionists in a quandary

Fighting the Hillsborough Agreement, as the Unionists have found out, is a little like trying to catch smoke rings in a net. It is an extremely nebulous affair to begin with, but, add to this the lack of substantial change resulting from it, and it becomes nearly impossible to figure out what the target is and how to hit it. Of course, that did not stop some Unionists deciding that, if in doubt, hit out at the traditional target, ordinary Nationalists. But the level of attack on Nationalists has been less than might have been expected; certainly, it has not matched the level at the height of the assassination campaign of the early 1970s.

All of which leaves the Unionists in a quandary, involved in stunts which frequently border on the ridiculous. True, the invasion of Clontibret, led by Peter Robinson, was potentially far from harmless.

But what is one to make of poor Harold McCusker, leading light in the Official Unionist Party (OUP), going to jail for a week for doing what many people here do without any political motivation, namely, refusing to pay his car tax? Perhaps in embarrassing recognition of the futility of McCusker's gesture, his remarkably non-charismatic Party leader Jim Molyneaux could muster no more political support for him than standing outside the prison, more tight-lipped than usual, holding a placard with the uninspiring slogan: 'Good on you Harold'. The final act in the farce is that within days of OUP MP Martin Smyth appearing in court for non-payment of rates, his party colleagues in councils were breaking their pact with the Democratic Unionist Party (DUP) and striking a rate.

With civil disobedience at such a low ebb, there seems little prospect of the Unionists bringing Thatcher to her knees. They have just played their trump card, a petition of 400,000 signatures against the Agreement delivered to the Queen. It is unlikely that she will break with the custom whereby Her Majesty does not



Peter Robinson still says no, but in the circumstances it is hardly sufficient.

differ publicly on policy from Her Majesty's Government. Loyal hearts are therefore likely to miss a beat when, in effect, the Queen says No.

Which leaves the most unlikely of all trump cards, the existence of which Unionists would prefer not to admit to at all. If Charlie Haughey is elected in the South, Unionists will wait with bated breath to see if he will do what they could not — wreck the Agreement by withdrawing his cooperation. Politics makes strange bedfellows, but none could be stranger than this. However, waiting for Charlie may be an extremely frustrating experience, as Nationalists have found out often in the past. Despite initial noises against the Agreement, Haughey has changed his tune more recently. He may cast an eye over his shoulder now and again at his Republican rump, but his other eye, as usual, will be on the main chance. In this instance that will probably mean cooperation with the British government, and not opposition.

Where does that leave the Unionists then? Integration? Fragmentation? A stepped-up assassination campaign? Watch this space!

Bill Rolston

The General

FINAL STATE OF THE PARTIES

FF	FG	LAB	PD	OTHERS
81	51	12	14	8

ON DISSOLUTION THE POSITION WAS

71	68	14	5	8
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Changes on the way?

February's election in the Irish Republic resulted in a change of government, from the coalition of Fine Gael and Labour, to Fianna Fail.

The coalition government fell on its economic policies, which they had tried to carry out at the expense of the poor, the unemployed and low paid.

Fianna Fail is seen as a more republican party than Fine Gael, and commentators are speculating that the new government will take a harder line with Britain over civil rights reforms for the North of Ireland which were promised under the Anglo-Irish Agreement.

The proportional representation voting system in the Republic results in a very accurate reflection of seats won to votes cast. Thus for example in this election, Fianna Fail won just under half the seats (81, three short of an overall majority) with 44.1% of the votes.

The accuracy of the electoral system also gives a chance to smaller parties and independents. This is unlike the British system where such candidates are usually swamped in the final result even though they win an appreciable number of votes.

These smaller parties and independents now hold the balance of power, and Fianna Fail is dependent on their support. They are a mixture of socialist or republican, with only Tony Gregory (Dublin Central) being both. The Workers' Party (with four seats) and Jim Kemmy (Democratic Socialist Party) are socialist but see 'the national question' as a diversion from 'class politics'. A number of Labour Party representatives are also of this view. There now arises the possibility of a Left Alliance, in which the national question needs to be seriously debated.

Section 31

One aspect of the election which came in for criticism by journalists and others, was the overt censorship of 'Section 31'. This is a clause of the Broadcasting Act which forbids interviews with and direct coverage of alleged subversive organisations on the radio and television.

Section 31 operates all the time, but during the election it clearly discriminated against Sinn Fein, a registered political party standing candidates in due form.

In this election, Sinn Fein did not win any seats. They recognised that they are only at the beginning of building up their party and winning conviction for the policies in the Republic.

Election

What the issues are

February's General Election in the Republic of Ireland cannot be understood by pouring it into the jelly mould of British parliamentary politics. The two largest parties, Fianna Fail and Fine Gael, are distinguished in terms of the national question and the response to a partitioned, divided country.

This is still, naturally, the key question of Irish politics even though it is not the slogan on party posters, nor the central issue presented to the electorate. It did surface, however, in the last week of the election campaign and before that it lay behind the issue which was presented as central – namely, the economy.

This election saw two new parties on the parliamentary scene. Sinn Fein was fighting its first election under its new policy of taking seats if elected and using the parliamentary platform to further its goal of a united Ireland; previously it had stood candidates only to register a protest vote. The other new party is the Progressive Democrats, which is a breakaway from Fianna Fail but aspires to the same political territory as Fine Gael.

THE ECONOMY

The election, which was due some time this year, was precipitated when the Government drew up an austerity budget involving spending cuts of £210 million – £34 million of which would have been cuts in social welfare. The Government was a coalition of Fine Gael and the Labour Party: the Labour Party rejected the budget, withdrew from the Government and brought about the election.

The economy of the Irish Republic has been run on deficit budgeting since the 1973 oil crisis, with the deficit being made up by large scale borrowing. At present the national debt stands at £24 billion, 40% of which is to foreign interests, 60% to domestic. A debtor state will always be in a weak bargaining

position in its international relations, and this is why economic questions have an impact on sovereignty, particularly in Ireland's case vis-a-vis Britain. A second weakening effect of indebtedness is loss of control over the economy itself: a change in currency rates, for example, has a devastating effect on the size of the debt and its interest rates, thus making forecasting and effective strategy about as scientific as roulette. Successive governments in the Republic have all failed to stem the upward spiral of borrowing.

A third effect is on domestic politics, where, in a capitalist economy, borrowing leads to high interest rates which lead to lack of investment which leads to a stagnant economy. The end product is an exceptionally high level of unemployment, an exceptionally high level of emigration and an exceptionally high level of PAYE tax. At present in the Republic, one third of the population receive some form of welfare benefits and the welfare bill as a whole is £2½ billion (or 12% of the Gross National Product).

This is the nature and scale of the problem. Public debate during the electioneering spelt it out in very clear terms. Of course the solutions were not so clear cut. Fine Gael went to the country on a platform of being honest about facing the hardships and stuck to their programme of big public spend-

ing cuts as the basis of stimulating growth. The Progressive Democrats took the same line, but even more at the expense of the poor. Fianna Fail opposed this with their line of increased public spending which, they claimed, would regenerate the economy enough to start paying off the debts. Labour, the Workers' Party and Sinn Fein all had this basic approach, with stress on working class interests, development of indigenous resources and the public sector.

SUB-PLOTS

Two other issues affecting the national question lurked around the fringes of this election.

One was the question of the Republic's neutrality policy, under threat from the EEC's close involvement with NATO and indeed from the encirclement of Ireland by NATO activities. Irish CND sent a questionnaire to some of the parties about neutrality: Fine Gael refused to answer; Fianna Fail stood by the traditional policy; so did the Progressive Democrats, although they saw no problem with the EEC's new Single European Act. None of the parties except Sinn Fein saw any need for action on this issue.

Another issue was the whole social debate, particularly as it affects women. Fine Gael had come into office to mount a 'constitutional crusade' for a more pluralist and liberal



Comment from Magill magazine

society. One purpose of this was to break the tradition of a Catholic state, which was also a barrier to wooing Northern Protestants into a united Ireland. However, during its term of office it enacted two referenda which resulted in a clear majority upholding the ban on abortion and upholding the ban on divorce. And recently two women's clinics were prosecuted merely for making available information about abortions in Britain and other countries.

The Government did nothing to counter these defeats, and it would appear from the low profile in the election campaign that all the other parties were also content to let pluralism rest in an unmarked grave.

WHAT ABOUT THE NORTH

Fine Gael went to the country with the Anglo-Irish Agreement as its claim to fame. Fine Gael leader Garret Fitzgerald described it as forcing a policy on Britain, and one in which Dublin became a partner, and as such bring an end to 'the destructive phase of post-revolutionary nationalism'. In the party political game, Fine Gael wrong-footed the traditionally 'republican' Fianna Fail which has always been in two minds about the Agreement: on the one hand Fianna Fail perceived it to be the best deal that could be wrung from the British side, and also saw that it was a popular measure; on the other hand it stuck out for more, arguing that the Agreement breached the Republic's constitution by conceding present sovereignty of the North to Britain.

Fine Gael pressed its advantage home: would Fianna Fail honour the Agreement or renege on it? And if it considered the Agreement was unconstitutional, would it act on this and call a referendum? Fianna Fail was publicly seen not to have a straight answer to these questions.

Party politics aside, the way Fine Gael forced the debate has in fact ensured that whoever comes to power will continue with the Agreement.

Of all the other parties, only Sinn Fein opposed the Anglo-Irish Agreement, on the grounds that it continued British rule in the North. Sinn Fein demanded complete British withdrawal.

Bernadette McAliskey

Photo: Joanne O'Brien/Format



NATO CON

Hundreds turned out to hear Bernadette McAliskey speak at two meetings in Brighton and London recently. The meetings, organised by the Troops Out Movement, were on the themes of Irish neutrality and the NATO connection. Other speakers included Ben Lowe, author of *Peace Through Non-Alignment* and Sarah Booker of the Troops Out Movement. Here we print part of Bernadette McAliskey's speech.

"Many people who have over the years been involved in the campaigning around some or all of the issues in N.Ireland remain totally unaware or uninformed or unconcerned with what is happening on the Southern side of the border. The entire political nature of the Southern Government admin-

istration has been practically forgotten and so when we came to the position when the Anglo-Irish agreement was signed, too many people in Britain slipped back 100 years into believing that there was something worthwhile in the agreement."

Bernadette explained that it does not need much reasoning to see that two people of such minds, two arch-Conservatives, two anti-working class people such as M.Thatcher and G. FitzGerald, would never devise a political agreement in the interest of the working class in Ireland. She went on to emphasize the role that the agreement plays and that it is here that we begin to see how Ireland fits into the whole question of East/West relations. Bernadette argued that as she sees it the Anglo-Irish agreement has three tiers or levels to it.

Ireland for sale to USA

The first level is to claim that the agreement serves to improve the lot of nationalists in the North. This idea has been promoted via the mass media into the international arena. It was promoted as being an improvement, for the northern nationalists, of their immediate position, an assertion of their rights to their cultural, political and national aspirations.

"150 Catholic families have been driven out of their homes into the already overcrowded ghettos of West Belfast. It has meant for Strabane that three of their people have been shot down by the SAS. One with 28 bullet wounds, one with 13 and one with five all from rapid machine gun fire and each one had, most peculiarly, one single pistol shot in the head. The people of Strabane, County Tyrone, Belfast and of Derry have been subject to the intensification of harassment against them by the police, the UDR and by the British Army.

At this level the Anglo-Irish agreement does not improve our lives. It is an intensification of the attempt to intimidate us out of existence and out of support for the Republican Movement and Sinn Fein in particular."

The second tier of the agreement, which is openly admitted, is for the Irish Government to assist the British forces in the restoration of so-called law and order and to stamp out the Republican Movement. This is called cross-border security.

Bernadette argued that the major changes to come out of the agreement are actually "to be seen in changes in the legislation on the southern side of the border, whereby the security education over the last year has been brought into line with that of the British Government".

"If you've been to N.Ireland you can see that we live in Orwell's 1984. We live in the situation where there are cameras on top of houses, on top of police stations in all the towns, villages and cities of N.Ireland. The police do not have to patrol our streets, they sit in their police stations and they watch men, women and children. They know every single thing they do. They know when we were born, the registration of our cars, they listen to our telephone calls, they know how much rent we owe. They know our friends and relatives and, very simply, if they see somebody somewhere they don't think should be at that place, then

they come round and ask them what they are doing there".

It is this level and this kind of technology and degree of sophistication that is being brought into the southern state security machine.

The third level of the Anglo-Irish agreement that Bernadette McAliskey talked about was to her mind the most threatening level of that agreement. She wanted to know why the Americans were paying for it. Bernadette told us that some people have said it's because there are nearly 44 million people of Irish descent in the USA. Bernadette asked us if we seriously believe that Reagan and the Administration he represents want to help the poor in N. Ireland when he won't give money to the poor members of his own community.

We were told of a grand plan, that is documented and free for everyone to see under the Freedom of Information Act in the USA. The plan started a few years back with the formation of the National Endowment for Democracy (NED) committee in the States. This organisation consists of the FBI, the CIA, the Republican Party and the Democratic Party to name but a few.

Funding was to be done by cultural exchange through cultural groups and political education for those groups earmarked by the NED as being the groups most likely to promote 'stability and democracy' in the countries they existed. Such organisations include the right-wing Contra's fighting Nicaragua, the Marcos regime in the Philippines and right-wing groups in France, all of whom have received money and funds originating from the NED.

Someone was also sent to Ireland to promote 'democracy' and the result was that money was given to the Social Democratic Labour Party (SDLP).

"I can show through documentation how the Democratic Party (USA) set up an organisation to promote the SDLP on peace in Ireland and that they applied to the NED for a grant to cover the money, and the money for the SDLP comes directly from that organisation. Also on the very day before the grant was paid by the NED the deputy leader of the SDLP Seamus Mallon stated perfectly clearly at a prominent University in Massachusetts, that as far as the SDLP was concerned, 'Ireland's unification in exchange for Irish neutrality is a fair and reasonable bargain'".

"Europe is becoming increasingly nervous about the USA and the effects of its foreign policy, especially after the bombing of Libya. So what we are seeing is a growing attempt by the European senate of NATO to strengthen their independent ability in relation to the USA. We are seeing an attempt through the EEC to incorporate the Irish Republic into the system. Europe believes that Ireland can be relied to act as if she was in NATO and as if she wasn't neutral. We are looking at a country that is strategically placed in Western Europe and what the USA is doing is buying itself a direct satellite in part of Western Europe. They know politics are unstable in Ireland and that it is much cheaper in the long run to own Ireland itself."

"Both Garret FitzGerald and Charlie Haughey know that they could be in charge of a country that has nowhere to go if it continues to struggle economically and politically as it has in the past. Southern Ireland suffers — there is no work and no future for the young people, we are witnessing in Ireland a rate of emigration unequalled since the thirties.

Even with the massive emigration the state of play in Southern Ireland at the moment is that for every ten people in it only three are contributing to the National purse. Given the situation in Southern Ireland per head of its population, its international debt is three times that of Mexico, we are looking at a country that bears stark economic similarities with the emerging nations and countries of the Third World."

To a standing ovation, Bernadette McAliskey finished by saying: "Just as the Dublin Government sold us in the 1920s — they sold us to build themselves an Irish Republic they weren't even fit to run, every bit of Independence, every ideal that people fought and died for, the leadership of the south of Ireland systematically sold until today they find themselves in a country that is politically, morally, socially and economically bankrupt — then with the Anglo-Irish Agreement, they looked across the border and said — 'You know how we managed last time? We sold the Northern Fenians for our own survival and we'll do it again'. As we fight to rid ourselves of the last vestige of British Imperialism — the Irish Government are in the process of selling us out to the Americans. **OVER MY DEAD BODY.**"

Broadwater Farm - Defending its

Show trials of 158 people from Broadwater Farm housing estate and surrounding streets of Tottenham are now taking place following the 'disturbances' of October 1985. It was the time when Handsworth, Brixton and Tottenham erupted as Black people defended their communities against police brutality. Representatives of the Broadwater Farm Defence Campaign spoke to Haringey TOM:

For years the police have put pressure on kids in Tottenham. Youth, and especially Black youth, have faced police raids on their clubs and police harassment on the streets under cover of the blatantly racist SUS law, which when finally exposed was replaced by the Stop and Search laws.

October 6th 1985 did not happen out of the blue. If there was a problem in Tottenham the answer invariably was that the police picked up a Black youth, put him in a van, beat him up, and charged him at the police station. On the days preceding 6th October there had been a build-up of police on the estate due to rumours about hard drugs. But instead of finding the main people involved, they indiscriminately arrested any Black person. Being Black was, in their eyes, being guilty.

The police did not attempt to work with people on the estate, they ignored the Youth Association and didn't consult organised groups as to their tactics, although they had been invited several times to meetings. Dolly Kiffin, one of the main forces behind positive community action on the estate, was away in Jamaica. There was a build-up of tension due to police tactics. People were also aware of the attacks on Black communities in Handsworth and in Brixton. Then the police murdered Cynthia Jarrett.

As in Brixton, because of the problems police were having after the attempted murder of Cherry Groce, the police were

out to control the Black community. Out to beat down the community, they wanted to repress Black people. Murdering Cynthia Jarrett was a way of getting their own back. For decades fathers and brothers have been taken into custody. But a mother being killed... Mrs Jarrett was well known in the area and her sons well known in Broadwater Farm. People were in solidarity with Mrs Jarrett's family and people thought, enough's enough.

The first decision after the police killed Mrs Jarrett was to hold demonstrations outside the police station in Tottenham. The day after Mrs Jarrett's death there was another demonstration outside Tottenham police station. When people returned to the estate the police had sealed it off. A group tried to leave the estate to return to the police station and were stopped by police in full riot gear. Reinforcements of police arrived armed with CS gas and plastic bullets. (They were not used this time but the day after the disturbances the Commissioner, Kenneth Newman, said he would "not shrink" from using plastic bullets in the future.) And events of the night of October 6th followed - the police attacked Broadwater Farm, people fought back, PC Blakelock was killed.

SURVEILLANCE

It took the police a week to plan how they would exact their revenge. For six days there were 9,165 police on standby and the decks of the estate were swarming with police. They actually occupied the estate on Saturday 12th, six days later. It was a murder enquiry from the start. The police went into action, sledge-hammering down doors and wielding axes. Three to four officers went to each house; they had detailed questionnaires; their aim was to build up a databank - it was a surveillance exercise.

The police carried out P checks: name, date-of-birth, who was in the flat, ages and names, place of work, names of neighbours and history. If you refused to answer the questionnaire you had to say why, and those who didn't fill it in were pulled in. The police took address and phone books and gave no undertaking that they would destroy the information. Food, nappies, cutlery, stereo equipment were all taken - no receipts were given and nothing has been returned.

Many people were scared stiff. Some left the estate for days or weeks to avoid the continual harassment. Women on their own with young children were especially worried. One woman with a five year old child was taken away; a policewoman

flung a pound coin at the feet of her neighbour and told her to feed the child on that. A three year old was interrogated as to her parents' whereabouts on the night of October 6th.

The police steadily built up a full picture of exactly who lived on the estate and all their details.

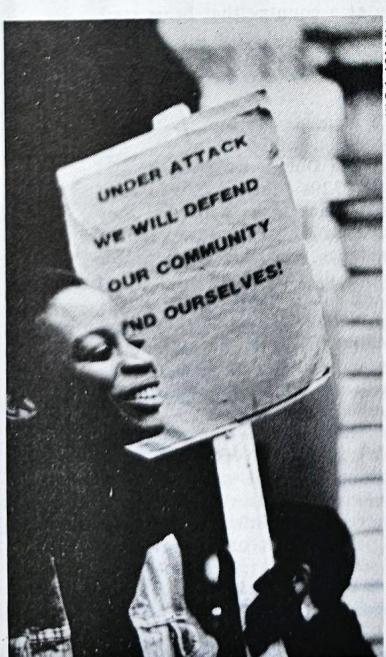
FORCED CONFESSIONS

In all 362 people were arrested, over half have been released without charge. On arrival at the police station they were told they had been arrested for the murder of PC Blakelock on 6th October. The majority responded by saying they had done something else. The first group were taken in for 2/3 days and were held without access to solicitors or family, even though many were juveniles. They were forced to give samples of blood, urine, spit and hair. They invariably named others, who were then taken in, and also admitted to throwing stones or burglary; not because they were guilty but because they were frightened of being charged with murder. They were told by the police that they would just get a fine in court. They had no idea of the seriousness of the offences. They did not know they would get three to eight years inside.

The first trials were of those charged with affray. The police had talked them into confessing, they pleaded guilty and expected a fine, but instead they got five years. The trials of the 70 who pleaded not guilty to affray started in September 1986. Affray is a charge linked to collective action, and joint trials were therefore expected but everyone has been tried individually.

It was Detective Chief Superintendent Melvin who made the decision that those arrested should be held incommunicado, saying that family, friends, etc might pervert the course of justice. He also decided which solicitors could represent defendants; and to avoid a so-called conflict of interest he only allowed each solicitor to represent one defendant. Some who asked for named solicitors didn't get them, and then, under the 36 hour rule, the police imposed a different solicitor in court.

Although the 'evidence' rested largely on confessions extracted while detainees were incommunicado, this fact has been disregarded by the courts. For example,



Kenneth New

Detective in the colonial police
As Chief of RUC mastermind
counties
Appointed Commissioner of
Police and Criminal Evidence
Public Order Act
Community policing program
Racist police hit-list of eight
Training of Instant Response
The 'inevitable accidents' of
Storage of, and readiness to
New Territorial Support Gro

1946-48
1976-82

1982-

community

one magistrate ruled as irrelevant that one defendant had been tortured for three days and held in a police station with only paper bags as clothes. As in the case of the Birmingham Six you have to question the reliability of evidence given in these circumstances.

One of the officers involved in the investigations was PC Sargent. He is the policeman who had held a man, Derek Pascal, down while police officers kicked and burned him. Sargent had been found guilty of this racist assault in March 1986, with Pascal being awarded costs of £3,500 against the Metropolitan Police.

SHOW TRIALS

The reasoning behind the court appearances is to criminalise the Broadwater Farm community. Of the 15 cases heard at the Old Bailey so far, sentences range from three and a half years to eight years for affray, with five acquittals and two retrials. Of these, three have appealed and had their sentences slightly reduced. At the Appeal Court, Chief Justice Lane tried to give an outline of the sentencing framework. He said "*Affray is serious*" and the youth had to "*bear a collective responsibility for the night*". He said affray could mean that anyone encouraging affray was guilty and the bottom line was eighteen months. He never described how you determine 'encouraging'.

They've got six youths framed for murder. They have gone out to placate the public at large to say "*here they are you should be grateful that we've got someone*".

The media's portrayal of the opening of the Old Bailey murder trial was sensationalised, showing Black people as mad and violent. The media hasn't given details, but has built up a picture of PC Blakelock as the innocent 'bobby on the beat', hacked to death by frenzied mobs of Black youth. The trial itself is structured around these racist images with obvious pressure on the witnesses and jury to reinforce this view. The media have also made it out as a Black versus white riot; but both Black and white youth were out that night.

A key prosecution witness in the trial has been Jason Cobham, a paid informer who has received accommodation, work, money and 24-hour police protection in exchange for his appearance in court.

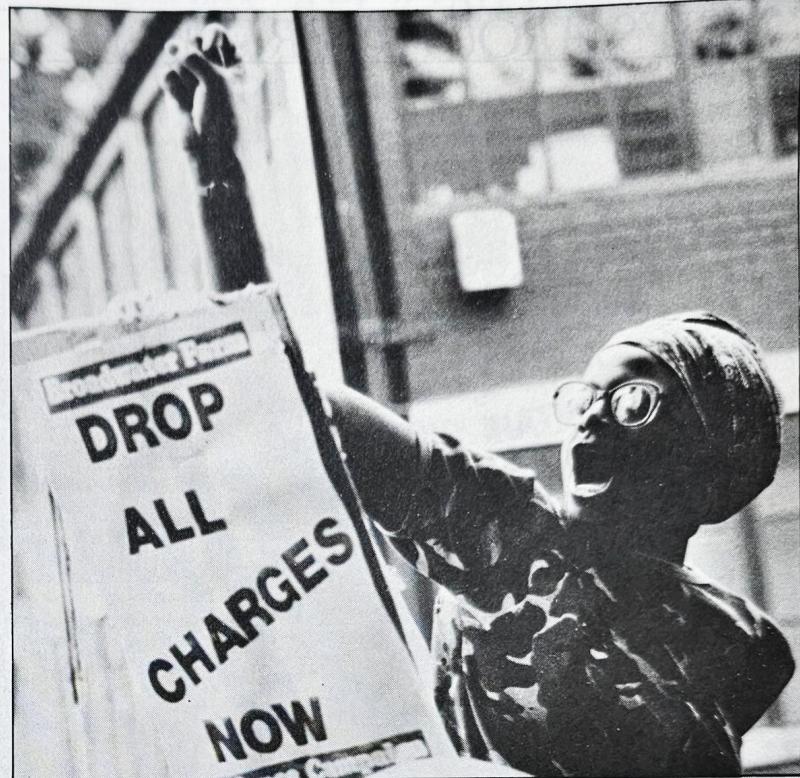
man - Colonial cop

force of Palestine
and the British criminalisation policy in the six

metropolitan Police

neighbourhood watch
London housing estates

police
plastic bullets
loan of 'pigs' (armoured personnel carriers)



RESISTANCE

The Broadwater Farm Independent Inquiry, set up by Haringey Council, accepted the view that if Mrs Jarrett had not died there would have been no disturbances on October 6th. Two demonstrations were held at Tottenham Police Station and a group of young people were leaving the estate, heading for the police station, when the police attacked in full riot gear. There had been 400 police officers in coaches on standby in the area all day. When they attacked in the early evening they attacked with cries of "*Wait until we get in there and get you, you coons. You don't come out until we tell you. Get back in there you bastards*".

The road was completely blocked by police in riot gear. The police were moving against youths determined to go to the police station to demonstrate their feelings about Mrs Jarrett's death. The youth fought back until about 4.30am when a massive number of police in riot gear entered the estate and witnesses saw youths being beaten and kicked. They smashed into the Youth Association and surrounded the people in there. They then spread out and took up positions occupying the whole estate.

Many witnesses said the youth were not out to start a riot but to defend Broadwater Farm and to defend themselves against officers who had interfered with their rights.

Almost immediately after October 6th

people recognised the need to set up a defence campaign. Three committees were set up: family support unit, legal and publicity. But to begin with there were urgent priorities, for there was no milk being delivered on the estate and no post deliveries, and so people were not able to get their DHSS cheques. The initial job of the campaign was to get goods to people and to make links with social services and get people their money.

Meanwhile lists of solicitors were drawn up to refer defendants to. If anyone was arrested the network of solicitors was phoned and attempts were made to find out where the person had been taken. A package of civil rights was also built up. The Council pledged its support to the defence campaign, especially the press aspect - the feeling was that the council was trying to support the community, rather than the much more common practice of Councillors using the community.

There have been numerous demonstrations outside the trials as well as the constant work of supporting the families and youths on trial. The evidence of the trials so far points to the State seeking revenge for Blakelock with no attempt at justice. The Defence Campaign calls on people to join the demonstrations against the State's revenge for Blakelock and in support of the six youths framed for murder. The slogan sums up our work and demands: **REVENGE IS NOT JUSTICE - WE DEMAND JUSTICE**.

The Broadwater Farm Defence Campaign is organising two demonstrations:

2nd March, 12-2pm, Old Bailey, Holborn Viaduct, London EC1 (nearest tube, St Pauls);
14th March, 11am-2pm, Tottenham Police Station, High Road, London N17 (nearest tube, Seven Sisters).



Photo: Iris Press

Sheffield City Centre was the scene for this year's Bloody Sunday Commemoration march and rally. Over 2,000 demonstrators amongst Saturday morning shoppers in the bustling centre. The message was clear for all to see and hear 'Troops Out of Ireland'.

Pockets of fascist opposition along the route failed to disrupt the disciplined march. They merely succeeded in increasing the volume of chanting.

Speakers at the rally in the town hall included Brenda Downes, the wife of John Downes who was killed by a plastic bullet in August 1984 during the annual anti-internment march in Belfast. Tony Docherty whose father Paddy was one of those killed on Bloody Sunday. A representative from the Asian Youth Movement, Jean Gittens of the Women Against Pit Closures, and Dermot Breathnach of the Irish in Britain Representative Group. Tommy Carlin a member of Derry Sinn Fein was the final speaker.

BLOODY SUNDAY MARCH



Brenda Downes (photo: TOM).

'You must tell your people of your government's activities. They cannot tell the truth, for that would sign their death knell. Remember that and remember Bloody Sunday.'

Tony Docherty

'The Anglo-Irish Agreement won't bring about British withdrawal. It is only the Republican Movement which will end British rule in Ireland.'

Tommy Carlin

Rally confusion

Considerable confusion was caused at the Bloody Sunday demonstration when members of the Irish Freedom Movement (IFM) stormed the stage and forced a speaker on the rally. We feel that the actions of members of this group on the day make it necessary to explain the background.

Last year when the Troops Out Movement initiated the Bloody Sunday demonstration we invited the other national groups whose primary activity is to work for Irish self-determination to join the organising committee. These were the Irish in Britain Representation Group (IBRG), The Labour Committee on Ireland (LCI), and the Women and Ireland Network (WIN).

The Irish Freedom Movement, which is the name used by the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) when campaigning around Ireland, was not invited.

This group has attacked meetings and events around injustices in Ireland such as strip-searches, shoot-to-kill, plastic bullets, etc as not tackling the real issue. We believe that giving victims of these methods of British oppression the opportunity to tell people in Britain their experiences not only gains them support in their own campaigns but also increases the demand for British withdrawal from Ireland.

We will continue to work to build the campaign for Troops Out in as wide a sector of the British public as possible. Rallies such as those on the anniversary of Bloody Sunday are to give people here the opportunity to hear speakers from Ireland and those in this country who through their own struggle have become aware of the importance of opposing Britain's continued occupation of Northern Ireland and their right to Irish self-determination.

Troops Out Movement Steering Committee

Terror Act hits cultural tour

Members of a cultural delegation arriving at Liverpool airport from Ireland were all arrested under the Prevention of Terrorism Act (PTA) on 12th February. The only person detained for a further 48 hours was Sinn Fein councillor Tom McGuire who is an official representative of Fermanagh District Council. He was taken for further questioning to Liverpool's notorious Bridewell Police Station and subsequently excluded from England, Scotland and Wales.

The delegation had been invited to take part in a tour of North Wales by the Welsh Language Society. Sinn Fein cultural activists formed part of the delegation.

Objections to members of Sinn Fein being on the tour came from an unlikely quarter. Mr Dafydd Elis Thomas,

President of Plaid Cymru, made a number of calls to the Home Secretary, Douglas Hurd, requesting that Sinn Fein be banned from coming. The police receiving support from such a quarter have clearly been encouraged in their subsequent actions.

Elis Thomas' statement that he opposes the use of violence for political ends is certainly an about face for him. On May 8th 1982, the first anniversary of the Hunger Strikes, he shared a platform in Brixton with a number of Irish republicans. In his speech he pledged his support to the Irish people struggling against British oppression.

The 91 votes against the renewal of the PTA in the Commons recently did not include that of Elis Thomas.

Below we reprint an excerpt from a letter sent to *Republican*

News from a member of Plaid Cymru opposed to Elis Thomas' activities in this affair.

Fein with an early general election expected. Were Mr Thomas to be a pacifist in the true sense of the word his opinion could be respected. But the government with which he has colluded regarding the visit by members of your party fought the war in the Malvinas, and continues to fight a war against the Irish people. His refusal to associate with advocates of violence for political purposes is highly selective.

Meurig Parri

Terror Act renewed

On Tuesday 10th February the Prevention of Terrorism Act was renewed for a year by 184 votes to 91. From the major parties, Steel and Owen voted for the Act while Shadow Labour Home and Northern Ireland Secretaries Kaufman and Archer led the votes against. Roy Hattersley and Denzil Davies left the chamber immediately prior to the vote.

During the renewal debate Home Secretary Hurd claimed he was careful to exclude only those 'actively involved in acts of terrorism'. Membership of a proscribed organisation alone would not constitute grounds for exclusion under the PTA, he said.

Majority with the TOM!

In the latest Mori opinion poll, reported in the *Daily Express* newspaper, nearly two thirds of people living in Britain were in favour of the withdrawal of British troops from Northern Ireland.

In addition, more than half think Britain spends too much money trying to keep the peace in N. Ireland between the two communities. Since the last opinion poll was carried out, three years ago,

there has been some change of attitudes.

- The number who would like to see the Army withdraw - 22% - has stayed the same.
- Those that would like to see a phased withdrawal increased by 8%, from 31% in May 1984 to 39% in this present poll.
- Only 34% are in favour of troops staying in N. Ireland as violence continues - this is 4% fewer than in 1984.

When those interviewed were asked "where in a list of problems facing Britain would they put the Irish question?" none gave it priority. 3% did give it some urgency slightly ahead of strikes, the Common Market and taxation.

When asked what was the major cause of the N. Ireland problem, 45% laid it at the door of religion. This is hardly a surprise in view of the way the British media reports the

conflict in the Six Counties.

- Only 2% blamed the Border. 4% and 6% respectively felt the paramilitary groups or the presence of the British Army were responsible.
- 70% of the poll rated Paisley as a force for evil, Adams at 55% was rated less evil, 24% thought Margaret Thatcher was a force for evil.
- 52% did not believe the Anglo-Irish agreement would bring peace, 24% thought it would.

Mori interviewed a total of 1,103 adults, aged 18 plus, in 74 constituency points throughout Britain between January 19th and January 24th 1987.

Prison news

Long Lartin

A new booking system for visits at Long Lartin prison will increase the hardship of relatives of Irish Republican prisoners. The prison governor is proposing to postpone all other visits until another day in the event of two visits occurring at the prison on the same day. In short, families who already have to travel hundreds of miles to visit relatives in prison will now be told when they can visit, with no consideration of the financial position of the family at the time.

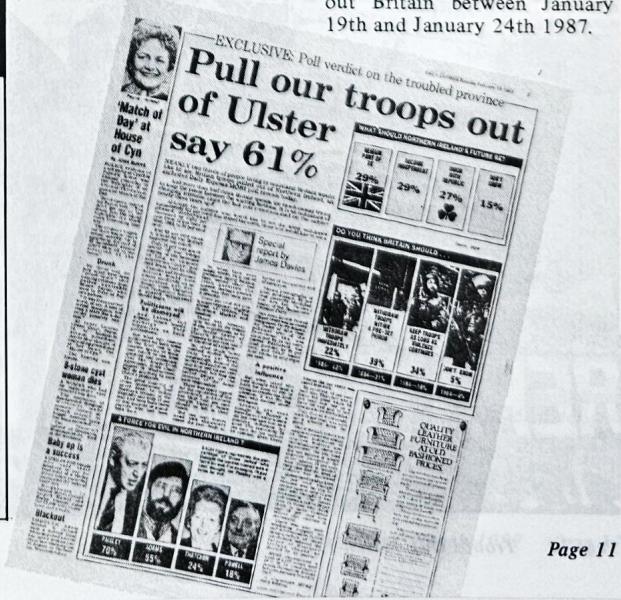
Birthdays

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

ELLA O'DWYER D25135
HM Prison Durham, Old Elvet,
Durham DH1 3HU 3rd March

PATRICK MULRYAN 461575
HM Prison Long Lartin, South
Littleton, Evesham, Worcs WR11
23rd March

GERRY CUNNINGHAM 132016
HM Prison Long Lartin, South
Littleton, Evesham, Worcs WR11
5TZ. 24th March



INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY

On International Women's Day we salute Irish Women in their struggle for self determination.



Solidarity

The strip-searching of Irish Republican Women continues. Protest demonstrations will be taking place outside Maghaberry Prison in the North of Ireland on International Women's Day. Over 100 women from England, Scotland and Wales will join a local International Women's Day demonstration protesting against British occupation and repression in Ireland and also against strip-searching – a particular form of torture used against Irish Republican women.

Martina Anderson and Ella O'Dwyer, two Republican women prisoners in Durham, are also subjected to this torture. There will be an extended picket of Durham jail on International Women's Day (see back page).

JOIN US in sending solidarity greetings on International Women's Day to Irish Republican women:

SOLIDARITY CARDS are available from Women in the Troops Out Movement, c/o TOM, PO Box 353, London NW5 4NH. Set of 16 cards for £2.50 plus 50p p&p.

SEND CARDS TO MAGHABERRY PRISON ...

Old Road, Upper Ballinderry,
Lisburn BT2 82PT

Addressed to:

**ALICE TAYLOR ★ DOLORES O'NEILL ★
JENNIFER McCANN ★ ELLEN McGUIGAN
CATHY STANTON ★ PATRICIA McDAID
MARIE WRIGHT ★ MARY McARDLE
PAULINE QUINN ★ JACKIE MOORE
ANNA MOORE ★ PATRICIA SEMPLE
REGINA GALLAGHER ★
MAURA McCOMVILLE**

... AND TO DURHAM PRISON

Old Elvet, Durham

Addressed to:

**ELLA O'DWYER (D25135) and
MARTINA ANDERSON (D25134)**

... AND TO THE GOVERNORS

The prison authorities are being forced to acknowledge the widespread protest against strip-searching. Help keep the pressure up by sending protest cards against strip-searching on International Women's Day to the Prison Governors and authorities.

Four stamped, addressed postcards for sending to the four relevant bodies are available from Women in the Troops Out Movement at 60p plus 20p p&p.

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

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

Incredible evidence

On 30th January the BBC screened a programme in the *Indelible Evidence* series based on the 1976 killing of two UDR men. In it presenter Ludovic Kennedy propped up the incredible evidence presented by the Crown to secure Tommy McGrath's life imprisonment three years later.

An apple with toothmarks was allegedly found at the scene of the killings. The Crown used McGrath's 'confessions' as evidence and produced an orthodontist's report as corroboration. However, the judge convicted solely on the basis of the 'confessions'. Ludovic Kennedy, for the purposes of his programme, concentrated on the forensics.

At the time of McGrath's trial in 1979 the conviction rate in the single judge no-jury Diplock courts had increased to an astounding 97%. Most of the guilty verdicts were based solely on 'confessions' extracted after beatings and threats at interrogation centres.

Tommy McGrath's sister reconstructs the events surrounding her brother's detention and trial.

Even ignoring the PR job on the RUC, the 'neanderthal man' portrayal of Tommy, the ignorance of the forensic biologist who didn't know how to preserve the apple when cases dating back to the early 1970s were documented in his own profession's forensic journals, and the denial by the Northern Ireland Army Office that 'Craig', victim of the first shooting, was a member of the security forces, what is the truth behind Windfall, shown on BBC2 on 30th January?

Tommy was arrested in June 1977 and held at Castlereagh Holding Centre for seven days. He was physically and psychologically abused. His father was arrested three days later and held and beaten in a neighbouring cell. Tommy signed 'confessions' to various activities, including the shootings portrayed in the programme. During this period casts were indeed taken of his teeth. At the time of these shootings, Tommy was in fact in Hertfordshire, ironically undergoing treatment at a dental surgery for a very painful abscess on a tooth on his front lower jaw, a condition which would have prevented him biting on the softest fruit leave alone a hard apple.

The judge at Tommy's Diplock trial in January 1979, while impressed with the orthodontist's report (even though Tommy is about 5' 8" tall, quite solid and muscular, does not have a lantern jaw and has never suffered from respiratory problems and therefore bears no resemblance to the description offered by the orthodontist) did say he was convicting more on the basis of the 'confessions'.

All this begs the questions: If Tommy didn't bite the apple, who did? Or, perhaps more importantly, when did he bite the apple? Not at the scene of the crime but more likely while being held in Castlereagh Barracks. Then again did he in fact bite the apple at all? The RUC did after all have a cast of his teeth!

Mary McMillan

EEC AND IRELAND

Dear *Troops Out*,

The article 'Irish independence squeezed by new EEC powers' in your last issue mistakenly said that the change in EEC structures occurred on January 1st 1987. In fact, the changes have been postponed. The injunction taken out by a single Irish citizen against the Single European Act has prevented the Irish government from contributing to the necessary unanimous vote for EEC structural change.

If the change were eventually ratified, such unanimity will no longer be required. High-population countries like Britain have more votes and will possess an effective

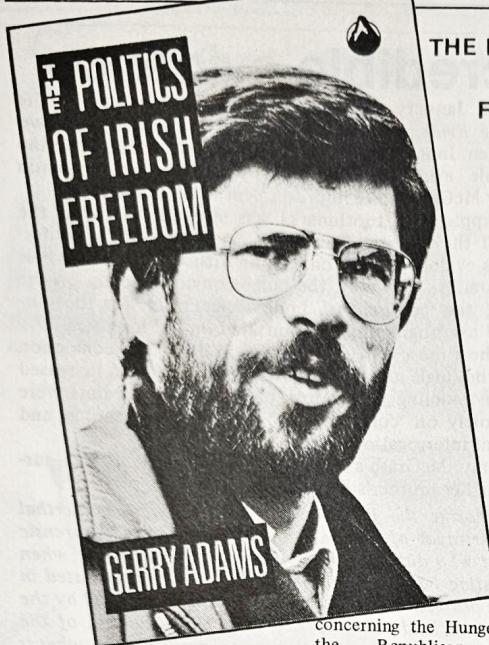
veto, whilst smaller countries like Ireland will have to accept possibly detrimental policies agreed by a majority.

Raymond Crotty, who took out the injunction, is concerned about the Irish economy, not Irish people. Many of the 84% of Irish people who voted for EEC entry believed that joining would help break economic dependence on Britain. But emigration and unemployment are as high as during the mass exodus in the 1950s.

The effects of colonialism, especially an underdeveloped economy, will continue to restrict the political freedom of any Irish state.

D. O'Reilly (London)

REVIEWS



"In the final analysis the (Hillsborough) agreement is about stabilising British interests."

In the final analysis this fact provides the crux of Adams' book; the projection of Sinn Fein, the only all Ireland political organisation with a popular base, and a call for a genuinely independent united Ireland free from any conditions British Imperialism may impose on a Dublin government.

Adams' warning is crystal clear: "It is not, however, out of the question that in certain circumstances the British government would find a United Ireland completely acceptable." These 'circumstances' could be provided by the imperialist powers of NATO or the consolidation of an imperialist European Superstate.

A critical analysis first demands an appraisal of whom the work is aimed towards. *The Politics of Irish Freedom* is directed at the people of the 26 counties - the recently broadened constituency of Adams' political organisation, Sinn Fein. The Republican Movement having established a firm political base in the six counties, the present task is now setting about to build a broad-based alliance of forces in the 26 counties.

Given the restrictions imposed on his uncompromising political style, Adams approaches his work with a personal narrative. Through the use of personal anecdotes he constructs a picture of the Republican Movement's development from revolutionary pre-partition days through partition to revolution. His style flies in the face of coherent political analysis as he continually appeals to the people of the 26 counties; recalling the 'classic period' of the IRA in the Tan War, the inconsistencies of the 'Peace People', the media's use of Fr Denis

concerning the Hunger Strike and the Republican Movement's demand of nationalist equality with the loyalist people.

On the politicisation of Sinn Fein Adams is at his best, outlining the emergence of the H Block/Armagh Committee, Sinn Fein's original mistaken insistence on nothing short of support for the armed struggle and the massive popular advances of the Republican Movement with the struggles in support of the prisoners' demand for political status - "The hunger strike did away with spectator politics. When the only form of struggle being waged was armed struggle it only needed a small number of people to engage in it. But with the hunger strike people, rather than just looking on at one aspect of struggle, had an active role to play, which could be as limited or as important as billposting, writing letters, or taking part in numerous forms of protest."

On the question of leadership Adams is quite clear - "As in the case of any radical movement, republicans have had to grapple not only with the movement's historical shortcomings but with the whole question of finding a strategy for moving towards the independent republic. This is an on-going task requiring continuous analysis, co-education, good internal and external communications, re-assessments, flexibility and, most of all, agreement on the final objective."

The relationship between the popular forces of a political movement and its leadership has always been a delicate one. James Connolly, assessing the importance of Wolfe Tone, said that greatness depends on any individual's ability "to unite in (their) own person the hopes of the new revolutionary faith and the ancient aspirations of an oppressed people."

Vivien Graham

THE POLITICS OF IRISH FREEDOM

Gerry Adams
Brandon, £3

PAISLEY



PAISLEY

Ed Maloney & Andy Pollack
Poolbeg, £6.50

This account of Paisley's career is like its subject - large and not a little wordy. That criticism aside, it provides a riveting and detailed account of the Big Man's bullying, lying and manipulation to get to his present position.

Since 1948 he had been building a power base not so much by attacking the hated enemy, the Catholic Church, but by attacking fellow unionists for not being determined enough in opposing Catholicism. Interestingly it's a tactic used by some so called left factions in this country who spend more time attacking pro-withdrawal organisations than the government who maintains the armed presence in Ireland. Paisley has been more successful, outmanoeuvring the Official Unionists to reach his present position of receiving more personal votes in the last European elections than the other two N.Ireland MEPs put together. Since he began his career he has created two formidable and closely linked organisations - the Free Presbyterian Church and the Democratic Unionist Party (DUP).

His overwhelming political ambitions having dictated all his actions. He has reversed policies overnight, principles taking second place to pragmatism. A glaring example is his decision in 1978 to stand for the European Parliament. For years previously he had been preaching against the EEC which he described as "the greatest Roman Catholic super state the world has ever known" held together by "satanic power".

Successive British governments have not been shy to 'out extreme' him when it suits them. To prevent the power workers from joining Paisley's attempt at a general strike in 1977, the N.Ireland secretary, Roy Mason, met with them. He then signed a pledge to bring in a new 'security' package which unveiled plans to increase the strength of the Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC) and the Ulster Defence

Regiment (UDR); a review of oppressive legislation with a view to increasing prison sentences; and a greater use of SAS in covert operations. It took the ground from under Paisley but at the expense of greatly increased suffering and repression of the Nationalist community.

Ian Paisley is held in awe by many people, friends and foes alike. This book demystifies his career and shows him as very much a product of the reactionary Orange statelet of N. Ireland, founded by Britain in 1921. He truly stands in the tradition of Edward Carson and other previous loyalist leaders. As a former Free Presbyterian colleague said of him, "Ian will fight to the last drop of everyone else's blood".

Frank O'Neill

BOY SOLDIER

Directed by Karl Francis
Starring Richard Lynch
and Emer Gillespie

Boy Soldier starts off with a group of soldiers running up and down some streets in the six counties. Immediately the viewer is shown the oppressive role of squaddies in the six counties, when the patrol intimidates and beats up two innocent fishermen.

Boy Soldier is an anti-British Army film. The central figure of the film is Wil Thomas, played superbly by Richard Lynch. Through a series of flashbacks from an army prison (the film is mainly concerned with the events within this prison) we find out that Thomas is a young soldier from a Welsh working-class background who joined the Army from the dole queue. Sent to N. Ireland, he falls in love with an Irish girl. He is in prison for killing an Irish civilian and is charged with murder. This is where we blink in disbelief: a British soldier charged with murdering an Irishman? This is the stuff of fairy tales. Young Wil fights against the brutal Army system and gets the charge of murder dropped (surprise, surprise). The main argument of the film is, however, that private Thomas is really being punished for falling in love with an Irish girl (much more believable).

The most impressive feature of the film is the way Thomas fights against the charge and the Army in general. He resorts to speaking only in his native Welsh and refusing to be broken, much to the fury of the vicious warders. The analogy with the way Republican prisoners fight criminalisation is noted. Perhaps one day there'll be a film about Republican prisoners and the way they have fought British imperialism, instead of having their methods of fighting that repression portrayed by a British soldier.

All said and done, though, *Boy Soldier* is worth a visit; the acting is superb and it is a rare anti-British Army film.

Aengus MacNeil

JANUARY

7th The RUC (police) arrest Christopher Glass, the son of the owner of a pub in Maghera in which a bomb exploded nine days earlier. One man was killed in the explosion and Glass himself was injured.

A New York judge denies an application for bail to Peter McMullen, a former British paratrooper who deserted to the IRA, later left that organisation and fled to the US. The US authorities have ordered his deportation to the Irish Republic.

The Democratic Unionist Party members, who constitute a majority on the Ballymena, Co Antrim District Council, drop their policy of adjourning official business in protest at the Anglo-Irish agreement to reinforce the council's strict line on sabbatarianism. At the meeting the council suspend the protest to vote in support of a motion preventing a local branch of the Texas Homecare retail group from opening on Sunday. The council will vote again next month to prevent a snooker hall from opening on a Sunday. The DUP has 15 of the Council's 23 members.

8th The former DUP Assembly member for Craigavon, Co Armagh, David Calvert, is shot as he leaves his drapery business near Portadown.

Christopher Glass injured in the Maghera pub explosion is charged with murder.

A recent poll shows that the majority of people in Dublin are opposed to Section 31 of the Irish Broadcasting Act which prohibits interviews with members of Sinn Fein and other named organisations. 53% opposed the legislation while 36% approved and 11% had no opinion.

9th A member of the RUC is killed in an explosion in Enniskillen, Co Fermanagh. The IRA claim responsibility.

Elizabeth Seawright wins the local council seat vacated by her husband George Seawright when he received a 9 month prison sentence.

11th The US Senate Intelligence Committee reveal that Lt Col. Oliver North carried 10 stolen Irish passports to Tehran on the abortive arms for hostages mission.

The Irish government lodges a formal protest with the Israeli Embassy in London following the direct involvement of the Israeli army in the recent death of an UN Irish soldier.

12th More than 100 police backed up by armed troops are on duty around the Special Criminal Court in Dublin for the opening day of the trial of DUP deputy leader Peter Robinson.

The Irish High Court awards £50,000 to 3 Dublin journalists whose phones were tapped in 1982 when Haughey was Prime Minister.

14th Lord Brookeborough, son of the former Prime Minister of Northern Ireland, accuses Cardinal O'Fiaich of encouraging Catholics not to join the RUC and of justifying members of the security forces.



Patrick MacIntyre is ordered by a court in Donegal to be extradited to the North of Ireland. He had escaped from Long Kesh prison in 1983 during a mass break-out of Republican prisoners.

15th

Mr Haughey, Fianna Fail leader says that Sinn Fein candidates contesting the next election should be entitled to have their views put to the public through the media, including RTE television and radio. At present it is illegal for the media to interview Sinn Fein. Unionist MP John Taylor says that the opposition to the Anglo-Irish Agreement was growing and a change in government in the Republic would lead to a situation where the agreement would crumble.

The European Commission office in Belfast announces grants of £15.1 million for 2 regional development programmes in N. Ireland.

16th

The DUP Deputy Leader Peter Robinson is freed from Dublin's Special Criminal court after paying £17,500 in fines and compensation costs for his part in the loyalist riot at Clontibret, Co Monaghan last year.

19th

The Irish Republic's Minister for Communications, Mr Mitchell, renews for a further year the order forbidding RTE to interview members of named organisations, includ-

ing Sinn Fein. He extends the ban to include the recently formed Republican Sinn Fein.

20th

The Home Secretary, Mr Hurd, refers the case of the 6 men serving life sentences for the 1974 pub bombings in Birmingham to the court of appeal on the grounds that new evidence had emerged. Two leading members of the Irish National Liberation Army are shot dead in the bar of a Drogheda hotel. The 2 men, John O'Reilly and Thomas Power, were both recently released following an appeal against conviction on the evidence of supergrass Harry Kirkpatrick.

21st

The Taoiseach (Prime Minister) of the Republic, Garret Fitzgerald, dissolves 24th Dail (Parliament) and calls for a general election in February.

22nd

Sinn Fein selects 27 candidates to stand in 24 constituencies in the forthcoming election. This is the first time the new non-abstentionist strategy will be tested in a general election in the Republic.

25th

The interception of Irish Embassy dispatches by the British Secret Service is to be raised by opposition parties in the House of Commons. The Labour spokesperson on Home Affairs, Mr Dubbs, said that such

interceptions represented a decision which could damage Anglo Irish relations out of all proportion to any information obtained. Thousands take part in the annual Bloody Sunday commemoration march in Derry. Sinn Fein member Martin McGuinness says that the number of arrests and house searches in the North had increased significantly since the signing of the Anglo-Irish agreement.

Mr Neil Kinnock visits N. Ireland and meets with members of Sinn Fein.

26th

A UDR Major, George Shaw, is shot dead by the IRA outside his home in Dungannon.

BBC controller in N. Ireland, Mr James Hawthorn, is to retire at the end of this year after 10 years in the job.

28th

Police in the Irish Republic seize a large quantity of bomb making equipment, 200 rounds of ammunition and 4 home made mortars in raids on 2 farms near Trim, Co. Meath.

29th

The Ulster Defence Association's political front Ulster Political Research issues a document outlining proposals for a way forward in N. Ireland.

30th

A wave of IRA bombs shake Belfast and Lisburn with at least 10 people, including 4 members of the RUC, injured in W. Belfast.

Joyriders in West Belfast have organised themselves into a group and are threatening to take retaliatory action against members of the IRA who have been involved in punishment beatings of joyriders.

FEBRUARY

1st

Mrs Mary McGlinchey is shot dead in the latest internal INLA feuding.

3rd

Liberal leader David Steel and the party's chief whip and Northern Ireland spokesperson David Alton will attend the Northern Ireland Alliance Party's annual conference in Belfast on 11th April.

4th

In a random loyalist sectarian attack a woman is shot in the leg. Rosemary Taylor was visiting a Catholic family in Ballynahinch, Co. Down.

An IRA mortar bomb explodes over Dunmurry Barracks, Belfast.

5th

Tony McCluskey is shot dead as a result of the continuing internal feuding in INLA.

6th

A member of the RUC fraud squad killed himself 2 days after writing to the Chief Constable about alleged corruption within the force, an inquest hears. The body of Detective Constable Patterson was found on the shore of Belfast Lough by a number of children who were digging for bait.

An IRA bomb attached to the vehicle belonging to a member of the Ulster Defence Regiment is defused.

7th

A nationalist man is stabbed in the throat and hand after being attacked by loyalists in Belfast City centre. Others who go to his rescue are also injured.



Peter Robinson (on right), of the DUP and John Carson former Mayor of Belfast, with John McMichael of the UDA hovering. (Photo: AP/RN)

COMING EVENTS & RESOURCES

IRELAND — TIME TO WITHDRAW

Public meeting with
Gerry Adams MP

Ticket only.
Organised by TOM, IBRG, LCI,
Wolfe Tone Society

Friday 6th March, 7.30pm
Hornsey Town Hall, Crouch End Broadway,
London N8
Telephone: 01-609 1743

HOMELESSNESS AND THE IRISH IN LONDON

Irish in Britain Research Group meeting
with Noel Clark of CARA
Monday 16th March, 5pm
Committee Room, Holloway Road Building,
North London Polytechnic, Holloway Road,
London N5
Telephone 01-607 2789

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	Tyneside
Birmingham	York
Brighton	
Bristol	LONDON AREA
Cambridge	Camden
Colchester	East London
Coventry	Haringey
Leeds	Hillingdon
Leicester	Islington
Manchester	Lambeth
Merseyside	West London
Northampton	SCOTLAND
Norwich	Glasgow
Nottingham	
Redditch	WALES
Sheffield	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*.

WALKING BEHIND

Irish Women's Labour Migration
Speaker: Bronwen Walters
Organised by Irish in Britain History
Group
Thursday 5th March, 7.30pm
Irish Centre, Murray Street, London NW1
Telephone 01-624 7438

IRISH BOOK FAIR

13th/14th March
Camden Centre, Bidborough Street,
London WC1

AMÁRACH (TOMORROW) FESTIVAL

Public meeting with
Raymond Crotty, author of study
on colonial underdevelopment in Ireland
Monday 16th March, 8.30pm
Old Town Hall, Lavender Hill, London SW11
Telephone: 01-223 2223/6557

'CELEBRATION OF A LIFE' An Evening for Miriam James lifelong fighter for Ireland who died last December

Saturday 21st March, 8pm-12
Tabernacle Community Centre
Powis Square, London W11
Music and Food — bring a bottle

There is also an appeal fund to erect a
headstone on her grave in Dublin. Please
send all donations to:

Miriam James Appeal Fund
c/o C. Robertson
29 Lancaster Road
London W12 1QJ

INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY

SPONSORED WALK

10 miles around Irish historical
landmarks in London
Fundraising for the
Irish Prisoners Action Group
and the Stop the Strip Searches
Campaign
Assemble Clerkenwell Green,
London EC1, 1pm

Saturday 7th March

Details and forms: 01-809 1049

DEMONSTRATION AND RALLY

Solidarity with women in struggle
against imperialism in South Africa
and in Ireland. Bring your banners.

Sunday 8th March, 12-3pm
Contact: Women in TOM, 01-609 1743

INTERNATIONAL EVENT

Speakers, singers, musicians
from Turkey, Iran, Ireland

Organised by Iranian Women's Association,
Turkish Women, Kurdish Women and
Stop the Strip Search Campaign
Tuesday 10th March, 6pm
Ealing Town Hall, Ealing Broadway,
London W5

PICKET OF DURHAM PRISON

Against the Strip Searching

Saturday 7th-Sunday 8th March
Contact: 021-771 0774

SAINT PATRICK'S NIGHT

CEILIDH

The Jacket Potatoes
Caller, bookstall, bar
Organised by East London TOM
Saturday 14th March, 8pm
£3 and £1.50 (concessions)
Chats Palace, 42 Brooksbys Walk, London E9

SOCIAL

Saoirse
Organised by The Wolfe Tone Society
Saturday 14th March 8.30pm
£3 and £1.50 (concessions)
Sir George Robey, Seven Sisters Road,
Finsbury Park, London N4

TERENCE MACSWINEY MEMORIAL LECTURES

Irish culture and resistance
Present by LPSU (ex-GLC)
Wednesdays at 7.30pm
4th March, 11th March,
18th March, 25th March
Mall Galleries, 17 Carlton Hall Terrace,
London SW1 (LPSU: 01-633 3657)

ANAM AGUS ÍNTÍNN HEARTS AND MINDS

A phototext exhibition of Irish culture in
London
Photos by Joanne O'Brien.
Sponsored by LSPU
Touring London boroughs from March. For
details contact Claire Keatinge, 01-633 1245.