

The

# Red Mole

SPECIAL IRISH BROADSHEET

31st Jan. '72

1p.

## AVENGE DERRY



**SOLIDARITY  
WITH THE IRA!**

**DEMONSTRATE**

Monday - 6pm outside Downing St.

ALL OUT Saturday - 3.30pm Kilburn



# The Red

# MASSACRE

As the first flush of the shooting down of Irish workers in the streets of Derry passes, the event with all its cold-blooded brutality will not be so unfamiliar. Its precedents can be found in the 1905 Russian Revolution, Peterloo in Britain, the Jallianwalla Bagh massacres in India in 1919, and more recently with Sharpville and the even more recent killings of Blacks in Rhodesia. When imperialism decides to answer the grievances of the people in this way, it does so after careful calculations, hoping that they will inflict a blow from which the adversary will not be able to recover. This is the simple meaning of the massacre on Derry's Bloody Sunday.

Since August 9th last year, British imperialism has been under a constant attack mounted by the oppressed Irish minority in the Six-Counties, but this attack has existed on two fronts: first the military struggle and secondly the mass rents and rate strikes. These two fronts, separated by the logistics of guerrilla warfare, were not only aimed at the same enemy, but were also linked politically through the mass popular demonstrations, such as have been held over the last week culminating in the 20,000 strong march in Derry. The target of all these actions had become the smashing of Stormont, i.e., the statelet of Northern Ireland.

From a purely military point of view British imperialism could not allow such a state of affairs to continue. The deployment of troops to contain mass demonstrations became increasingly difficult because it created a second front and distracted from the task of combatting the guerrillas.

The demonstrations, unarmed and presenting an easy target, were the obvious choice to attempt and break the tightening noose of resistance. The Army had failed completely to inflict a decisive blow against the IRA. The only way to defeat a rates and rents strike is by arresting thousands of householders. This was clearly impossible. The mass demonstrations provided the clearest target. Here lay the real hope of stemming the tide. Here one decisive blow could teach a terrible lesson to those who continued the resistance.

Derry was the "tough nut" which had to be cracked. The Army decided to smash this den of iniquity and up till now had met with little success. The IRA showed its complete contempt for British security forces by lobbing CS gas grenades into the barrack's mess every time there was a CS attack on working class streets and homes.

The British Army desperately needed yesterday's massacre in Derry to try and demoralise and terrorise the largest Catholic population concentrated in a single town in the Six-Counties. Because Derry provided the most durable resistance, because here the demonstrations were the largest and the most defiant; and because here a salient lesson could be taught to the whole Catholic population of Northern Ireland.

What is this but a war? On one side is British imperialism and the Orange Order and on the other the majority of the Irish working class, spearheaded by the minority in the Six-counties and represented militarily by the IRA. For us as socialists and revolutionaries it is necessary to take sides in this war. The side of the Irish people and the IRA against our own bourgeoisie. As we have stated many times before, Ireland IS the acid test!

British imperialism, the inventor of total war, today carries it out in Ireland. This can only be successfully answered by mobilising the entire Irish working class, North and South, as well as calling for the support of anti-imperialist forces throughout the world. The aim of this mobilisation must be to defeat British imperialism in Ireland and weaken it even further within Britain itself.

In the North what is needed is a revolutionary united front to organise the armed struggle, the rent and rate strikes and the mass movement of civil disobedience on the streets. This could best take the form of a revolutionary government based on democratic mass popular assemblies.

In the South such a united front would have as its main task to bring down the Green Tory regime of Union Jack Lynch and his Blueshirt and fake left supporters. A government committed to the struggle against British imperialism would have to take its place. Such a government would be forced to break with capitalism and would be based on the Republican and socialist organisations, small farmers committees and representatives of the combat organisations.

This united front would initially be separate, though its perspectives would be similar: the creation of a revolutionary government to lead the whole of Ireland in struggle.

In Britain itself our struggle has a special character. We fight within the heartland, where imperialist institutions and ideology is strongest. All the more essential for us to be firm in our determination to oppose British imperialism and provide support for the embattled and oppressed Irish people. To be more concrete: we have to support the armed vanguard of the struggle for Irish national self-determination, the IRA, who are harassing British imperialism in Ireland. Both Irish and British workers here have to unite in an organised struggle to destroy British imperialism's control over Ireland. The miners out on strike should understand that the Irish fighters are struggling against the same enemy and a victory for one would provide useful support for the other.

Internationally the mobilisation of solidarity with the Irish cause has to be similarly based on the demand for self-determination of the Irish people and solidarity with all those struggling in Ireland against British troops. Embassies and representatives of British imperialism should be besieged. International solidarity action comparable to that mounted to aid the Vietnamese struggle must be taken to expose imperialist butchery. The massacre of Derry will be avenged. Sunday 30th January was a day in which centuries of oppression were embodied. A defeat for imperialism in Ireland and the emergence of a Workers' Republic would make the Irish people masters of their own destiny. It will also be a useful lesson for the British working class and will help them in overthrowing this burden which they have had to bear for many decades: the burden of British capitalism.

SELF-DETERMINATION FOR IRELAND

WITHDRAW ALL BRITISH TROOPS IMMEDIATELY

SOLIDARITY WITH THE I.R.A.



"Catholics in 'free Derry', where no policeman has patrolled for two years, and no soldier except by force since internment, expect what they call 'the big push' soon."  
NEW STATESMAN/21 Jan. 1972

Appropriately enough the news of the Derry Massacre was preceded on the BBC World Service by that traditional non-partisan song: "The Loyal and True Protestant Boys."

"We were approached by the Government and given assurances that the civil rights march will be halted—by force if necessary. We are prepared to give the government a final opportunity."  
(Rev. James McClelland, Paisleyite leader on why their counter rally

was cancelled).  
The Observer  
30.1.72.





# Mole

# WHAT ACTUALLY HAPPENED



At least thirteen civilians were slain and sixteen or more injured when British troops opened fire on those taking part in the Civil Rights Association demonstration in Derry yesterday. Another woman was also seriously injured after being knocked down by a speeding armoured car.

The march set off at about 2.30 pm from the Bishops Fields area behind the Creggan, and at least 20,000 people were estimated to have been on it by the time it reached William St and the barricades set up by the British Army to prevent access into Waterloo Place and Guildhall. Soon after it reached the barricades a section of the marchers started stoning the troops of the 2nd Battalion, Royal Green Jackets, who were manning the barricades. Then at about 3.30 pm the troops opened up with CS gas and a dozen shots from a water cannon which drenched the marchers in purple, indelible dye. Shortly afterwards the troops also opened up with a continuous hail of rubber bullets.

There are wildly conflicting accounts of what followed, although in the light of what came afterwards, as Michael Canavan of the Derry Citizens Central Council said, "it doesn't really matter". According to what appears to be the most reliable report, from Simon Winchester in *The Guardian*, a single shot was fired at 4.05 pm, which "was ignored". This was the only shot heard by Winchester before the Army later opened fire.

Then about ten minutes later, as the crowd was moving off to a meeting at Free Derry Corner, troops from the 1st Battalion of the Paratroopers began to advance in a move obviously completely unconnected with the previous single shot. Winchester describes what happened next: "Four or five armoured cars appeared in William Street and raced into the Rossville Street square, and several thousand people began to run away..... Paratroopers piled out of their vehicles, many ran forward to make arrests, but others rushed to the street corners. It was these men, perhaps 20 in all, who opened fire with their rifles..... Army snipers could be seen firing continuously towards the central Bogside streets and at one stage a lone army sniper on a street corner fired two shots towards me as I peered around a corner. "Then people could be seen moving forward in Fahan Street, their hands above their heads. One man was carrying a white handkerchief. Gunfire was directed even at them and they

fled or fell to the ground.....the sound which predominated was the heavy, hard banging of the British SLRs, and this continued for about 10 or 15 minutes until about 4.30pm."

This report is corroborated by a press photographer quoted in *The Times*. "I was appalled. They opened up into a crowd of people. As far as I could see, they did not fire over people's heads at all." *The Financial Times* also admits "that there was a great deal of shooting by the Army at the crowd, while the streets were indeed full of people." As well as all the shooting, over 70 people were arrested, including a priest who was dragged away while administering the last rites to one of the dying.

Apart from the main facts of the massacre, several other interesting points emerge from the different newsreports. Winchester claims that he was later shot at by "a civilian, armed with a .22 rifle...firing from a Protestant part of the city." What part did the UVF play in the massacre? And the *Morning Star* alone reports that Tony Smythe of the National Council for Civil Liberties, along with its own reporter Chris Myant, was deliberately prevented by security forces from witnessing the rally. In the 70 miles from Belfast to Derry they were stopped five times, and finally taken to Derry's main police station on the grounds that the car registration was faulty. "We were only let out when the shooting had finished." There were obviously people in the security forces who knew what was going to happen before the shooting started.

After the shooting was over, there were swift reactions from many of those involved. One man told the *Financial Times* reporter that, "If there wasn't an IRA man in Creggan this morning, there are 3000 tonight." The local commanding officer of the Provisional IRA had ordered all weapons out of the total route area. He added that, "we will avenge every death in Derry today", and a later statement by the Provisionals promised an all-out campaign to kill British soldiers in return for the civilians murdered by troops in Derry. Bernadette Devlin, Derry Labour Party, and the Creggan Estate residents have called for a General Strike in Ireland, North and South.

Whatever the immediate reaction, however, there can be no doubt of one thing. Like Bloody Sunday 1920, the massacre of Derry, far from signifying a victory for British imperialism, will on the contrary prove in the long term to have been a watershed in the growing struggle of the Irish people for national self-determination.

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This RED MOLE broadsheet has been produced by the International Marxist Group (British Section of the Fourth International) in solidarity with those who fell facing British bullets in Derry on 30th Jan. '72. THE RED MOLE itself (12 X pages) comes out fortnightly and costs 7½p. Bulk orders (over 12) cost 5p per copy, cash in advance, and are postfree. Subs cost £1 for 6 months and £2 per year. If you want more information about the IMG and its activities, fill in the form below and post it to IMG, 182 Pentonville Road, London N.1

NAME.....

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# Why Irish Solidarity ?

Derry will be avenged only by the extension of the struggle against British imperialism in both the North and South of Ireland. And after this massacre it is clearer still that the mass struggle in the North cannot be fought and defended without arms. Yet of the many protests which Monday's *Morning Star* urges should 'flood Downing Street', few enough will help militants in Britain to draw the necessary conclusions from this. All shades of liberal and reformist opinion will today be protesting against the actions of the British Army - but at the same time they will more or less openly be pointing the finger to the IRA as the main enemy of 'peace' in Ulster.

The reaction of the British press to Sunday's killings throws into sharp relief the need to make support for the IRA a central task of the solidarity movement in Britain. Running through many of the reports is the idea that the main responsibility for the killings lies with the IRA. Imperialism's use of internment, the presence and high concentration of British troops, the terror tactics and the murder, are all justified as being regrettable aspects of a necessary campaign against what it dubs a cancer within the Northern Catholic community - the IRA.

A solidarity movement in Britain has to have as its main task the combatting of such mystifications. This can only be achieved by showing that at this period the struggle of the IRA is the legitimate continuation of the struggle of the Irish people for self-determination. For militants who take the side of the oppressed minority of N. Ireland against the Stormont regime, the N. Irish State, and therefore British imperialism, it is vital to solidarise with the IRA, the only force capable of giving an immediate perspective of struggle against an enemy which is determined to crush the resistance of the Irish

people. A refusal to take up this position, in the present situation, means running the risk of falling into the arms of the British bourgeoisie, which is desperate only to smash the IRA before clinching a political deal with Lynch, Stormont, and the reformists in the N. Ireland opposition who are prepared to sell out on the national question and accept less blatant but equally exploitative forms of imperialist domination.

The Irish Solidarity Campaign has been fighting within the British left and in the movement against internment for a principled position of solidarity with the IRA. Founded fifteen months ago, and now organising around its paper, *The Irish Citizen* ISC is a unique organisation: neither an Irish organisation in Britain, nor an organisation of British people in solidarity with the Irish struggle, it is an attempt to combine both of these and make use of the links between the two to grease the slope of British imperialism's decline. The Irish workers in exile are crucial to the building of an effective solidarity campaign: but it is of great importance for them to have the support of British militants. The student left, and all the youth who recognise the existence of British imperialism, have been the first to begin to respond to this need. The third sector which must be brought into the struggle, is the organised British working class itself. However it is a fact of history that the British workers have rarely understood the necessity to make common cause with the nations oppressed by British imperialism. Their organisations have been dominated by the ideology of Fabianism and by a privileged bureaucracy which considers that collaboration with the ruling class, and gradual reform within capitalism, is the proper route for British workers.

Yet the British working class will be won to the support of the struggle in Ireland, which comes at a time of deep

crisis for imperialism, and at a time when the ruling class attack on British workers is leading to a questioning of social democracy among the militants. The point, though, is that they will not be won through a campaign which capitulates to imperialist ideology on the Irish question because the left in Britain fails to support the most effective enemies of its own bourgeoisie.

The argument that the campaign in the imperialist country should be based on the lowest common denominator of demands, is a betrayal not only of the Irish struggle, but ultimately of the struggle of the British working class against the most experienced imperialist ruling class in the world.

The main slogans adopted by the founding conference of the ISC were as follows:-

1) Self-determination for Ireland: which is the main principled slogan on which all ISC activity is based. Concretely this means that ISC supports the struggle in Ireland at whatever stage it has reached and does not seek to make any demands on the Irish movement as a prerequisite for its solidarity. It makes its main target the domination of Ireland by British imperialism, and seeks to mobilise support for the right of the Irish people to decide their own destiny free from the political or economic domination of any foreign power.

2) Withdraw all British Troops Now: this slogan follows logically from the first. It is mainly by the presence of large numbers of British troops that British imperialism is able to prop up its rotten structure of repression in Ireland. ISC rejects the argument that the troops are preventing a bloodbath: any movement in Ireland and Britain which was strong enough to force the withdrawal of the troops would be strong enough to ensure the defence of the people. In any

case this argument becomes more and more ludicrous in the face of the bloodbath resulting from the presence of the troops. The only principled position for a movement in Britain is the rejection of the right of the oppressor to send forces to maintain British rule in Ireland. ISC cannot and will not countenance the presence of a single British soldier in Ireland.

3) Release all Irish Political Prisoners Now:

to which must now be added the demand for the release of all internees, and the ending of internment. This is the most unifying and historic slogan, which again flows from the self-determination position. ISC rejects the right of British imperialism to hold a single Irish man or woman who has fought for Ireland, or is suspected of having fought. ISC demands their immediate and unconditional release, and pledges itself to work for the aid of them and their dependents.

4) Since August 1971 the individual branches of ISC, by mutual consent, and without waiting for the sanction of a national conference, have adopted the additional slogan:-

Victory to the IRA: this is the result of the new stage of the Irish struggle. It has been the military resistance of the Provisional and Official IRA which has underpinned the political resistance of the Six County minority, and has inspired the support of increasing numbers in the 26 counties. Again this slogan flows from the self-determination position: just as the ISC successively supported those aspects which were central as

the struggle unfolded, it now supports the armed struggle against the British Army. British imperialism is involved in a war against the IRA and we are for the defeat of British imperialism, and the success of the IRA.

## The Unfree Press

## The Unfree Press

### THE DAILY TELEGRAPH

"..... the Army, using minimum force is obliged to stop them. Inevitably, there are those present who will defy the more prudent counsel of their leaders and start a fight. The resulting chaos supplies perfect conditions for IRA snipers, but what the viewing public and the visiting sentimentalists like Lord Brockway see is British troops quelling a peaceful demonstration. .... Where then is the moral difference between the IRA murderers and the civil rights movement? Ostensibly these marches are directed against internment; they have nothing whatever to do with the proposition, embodied in law, that Roman Catholics and Protestants in Northern Ireland should enjoy equal citizenship. In fact, the movement aims, just like the IRA, at imposing on the people of Northern Ireland a revolution repugnant to most of them. It does not murder; it simply creates conditions favourable to the murders attempted by others and leaves the Army in the last resort with no alternative but to fire. Its courage may be less than that of the IRA, its guilt is not. The IRA has promised to avenge the dead. Their blood is on its own hands."

### Daily Mail

"British bullets will be found in most of the bodies, but the blood is on the consciences of irresponsible political leaders and the fanatical IRA. It was a scenario for slaughter from the minute it was planned and only a fool or a cynic would attempt to argue otherwise. For what other end but death could there be to a massive and illegal demonstration through the streets of Londonderry? Ofcourse, the IRA men would be there. Ofcourse they would carry guns. Ofcourse they would shoot. Couldn't the Bernadette Devlins and the Ivan Coopers have foreseen that? Didn't they know enough to try to get the march called off? Didn't they care? This was Derry, remember the nearest thing to an armed terrorist encampment in the United Kingdom. When British troops stopped the marchers they were met with CS bombs and a fusillade of sniper fire. They returned fire. Those who died were not martyrs to civil rights (though already last night they were being promoted as such). They were terrorists or fodder for terrorists. They died that anti-British propaganda might flourish."

### DAILY EXPRESS

### THE INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPER

### OPINION

"The ill-named Civil Rights Movement in Northern Ireland creates a tragic riot in Londonderry.

Many members of this organisation are neither civil nor right. They simply promote the aims of the IRA. The bloody battle in Londonderry follows the familiar pattern of gunmen using protests as cover. The toll is the price of mindless violence."



"The IRA, and because of it, the people of Ulster, will have to be battered longer before the IRA is reduced to the point of generally recognised disablements at which it would become useful to make further proposals for any political settlement that could be accepted by both sides."

### THE GUARDIAN

".... Nor is it a solution to say 'release the internees', for that only leads back to more fighting in the streets and more bombing.

.... But the possibility of tougher security measures has already been mentioned. Full rearming of the RUC is one of these. Beyond that what follows would depend on the presence or absence of parallel action against the IRA in the Republic. If it came, that might be enough, but if the IRA still had a safe retreat across the border, then hot pursuit and other Israeli techniques might be called for.

... The presence of snipers in the later stages of the march must have added a murderous dimension. It is a terrible warning to everyone involved."