

# Socialist Worker

Special issue on Ireland

see centre pages for historical and economic background

For workers control and international socialism

134 21 August 1969 every Thursday 3d

## THE BARRICADES MUST STAY

### UNTIL

- B-Specials disbanded
- RUC disarmed
- Special Powers Act abolished
- Political prisoners released

EDITORIAL



BRITAIN'S POLITICAL SLUM in Northern Ireland exploded last week. The population of Bogside, discriminated against, confined to appalling houses, often without hope of ever getting a job, stood up for themselves. Immediately there was an organised attempt to beat the whole Catholic population back onto their knees.

The Royal Ulster Constabulary, controlled by members of the sectarian Orange Order and the B-Specials, recruited entirely from Orangemen, moved in to smash all resistance. In Derry they used batons and the notorious CS gas (readily supplied by the British government), in Belfast hundreds of automatic rifles and sub-machine guns.

Eight Catholics were killed, hundreds wounded, hundreds more burnt out of their houses. Only a heroic fight back against overwhelming odds, armed with petrol bombs and at most a dozen rifles, prevented a massive pogrom.

What took place was not a riot over religion. The discrimination and denial of civil rights in Northern Ireland does not flow from different religious beliefs.

It is the result of a deliberate and sustained effort to develop and deepen religious hatreds by the Unionist rulers of Stormont. By making the condition of the Protestant population seem marginally superior to that of the Catholics, by arming them in the B-Specials, and by permitting them to engage in periodic pogroms, the Protestants have been prevented from seeing their real interests in opposition to the Unionist ruling class.

While unemployment is heaviest among the Catholics, even among the Protestants it is at a level that would not be tolerated anywhere else in these islands.

The most oppressed section of the working class of Northern Ireland has begun to fight back in the last ten months. In the last week they have been fighting for their lives.

For us the immediate priority must be to give as much support as possible to this beleaguered minority. We can hope that Protestant

workers will see their own true interests and fight alongside them and socialists must ceaselessly press for Protestant-Catholic workers' unity.

But if not, the Catholic working class have no choice but to fight alone.

The British troops have been presented in the press as restoring 'law and order' and welcomed by the Catholic population. Certainly the mass of Catholics, after three days of bitter fighting were relieved to see the RUC and the Specials withdraw, and to this extent were glad to see the British troops.

But it should not be thought that the presence of British troops can begin to solve their problems.

the armed Orange thugs will still remain.

The 'law and order' imposed by the British troops at the moment means that the Stormont government is free to arrest without trial 'republicans' while leaving untouched the armed thugs who have burnt whole streets in Belfast.

It was Catholics who were murdered — and it is Catholics who are being arrested and disarmed.

The role of the British troops is not to bring any real solution to the problems of the people of Northern Ireland, but to freeze a situation that looked like getting out of hand and damaging the interests of the British ruling class in Ireland.

British capitalism, with more investments in Southern Ireland than the North, was worried by the effects of an undisguised pogrom in the six counties on the rest of the island. They preferred to send in British troops rather than risk intervention by the population, and even sections of the army, of the South.

The Stormont regime has never existed in a vacuum. It was set up with the support of the British ruling class. Its boundaries (artificially devised to ensure a Protestant majority) were fixed by Britain. The arms it uses to keep the population down come from Britain.

In return it has in the past served British imperialism

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## Unionists show they can only rule 'through barrel of a gun'

who would destroy it rather than surrender their privileged power.

Our immediate demands must be:

1. general amnesty and the release of political prisoners.
2. repeal of the Special Powers Act.
3. disbandment of the B-Specials and the disarming of the RUC.
4. abolition of Stormont.

Without these points being met there can be no moves made towards a solution of Ulster's basic problems. The apparatus of this police state must be dismantled. Then

the deep wounds caused by so many years of Stormont's rule can be attended to. We can move forward on a radical programme to solve unemployment, especially west of the Bann, to provide decent and adequate housing for all and massive direct state investment.

### CARNAGE

The deployment of British troops in Ulster provides some sort of security against

the lawlessness of the RUC and B-Specials who are obviously intent on carnage and destruction. But the troops cannot remain for ever and when they go the working people of Ulster must be secure enough to move on to meet the social needs of this area. To do so requires an end to state terror.

There will be no retreat until our demands are met and the working people of Ulster are able to live in a democracy which does not depend on barbed wire, barriers, armoured cars and fascist gunmen.

## MONEY URGENTLY NEEDED

THIS WHOLE ISSUE of Socialist Worker is devoted to Ireland. We regret that we are unable to carry many of our usual features but we are sure that our readers will appreciate the importance of the Irish situation and the need to combat the barrage of lies and distortion in the millionaire press.

The events in Ireland have shown the vital importance of our printshop. Since the uprising began last week our presses have been at work churning out leaflets and broadsheets not only for this country but also for our comrades on the barricades in Bogside and Belfast.

On the day British troops went into Northern Ireland we produced for the Irish Civil

Rights Solidarity Campaign a special broadsheet that declared 'Tear gas, murder, machine guns, the British army, won't stop the Irish people's struggle', plus many thousands of leaflets advertising last Sunday's ICRSC rally in London.

And this week, as well as this special issue of the paper, we have printed leaflets and broadsheets for Northern Ireland.

All this has put a great strain on our limited resources. We consider it our revolutionary duty to lay our presses at the disposal of those in the thick of the fight against British imperialism and its Orange stooges, but we urgently require financial assistance to allow us to

continue this work. Unless we receive help, we may have to postpone our plans for a six-page Socialist Worker.

Please rush money to us NOW! Socialist Worker has been the only Left-wing paper in Britain that has supported from the outset the struggle against the Ulster police state. Help us to keep up the good work.

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I enclose £..... towards your Fighting Fund. Send to Socialist Worker, 6 Cottons Gdns, London E2.

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# A united workers' republic

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## way to stop Ireland bleeding

# Northern Ireland

Where good business and the good life go hand in hand.

by MICHAEL KIDRON

THE IMPRESSION created by the press — and ours is no exception — is that Northern Ireland couldn't exist without British support and the British handout. It's true that the Stormont government couldn't exist without British troops, British arms and British subsidies.

But the government is not Northern Ireland. As far as the people of Northern Ireland are concerned the real subsidies, the flow of resources, are all in the other direction. The kinds of fact needed to show the drain in detail go unrecorded because there is no check on the flow of funds between the two components of the United Kingdom.

There's no way of knowing, for example, what part of the land-and-water-rents collected for the Earl of Shaftesbury or of Newcastle, or any of the other big landowners is spent in Northern Ireland, and what part is spent in Britain. Most of it probably comes here.

### Shipped over to Britain

The same goes for industrial profits — most is almost certainly shipped across to head offices in Britain. And so for finance collections made in Northern Ireland in the form of bank deposits or Ulster Savings Certificates or life insurance premiums or share purchases can so easily, and most probably do, find their way to Britain as bank advances, investments or placements on the London stock exchange.

One day we'll know of course, because one day we'll open the books. But for the moment there's only the most indirect evidence to go on.

The best single clue is contained in the trade figures. Northern Ireland has always run a trade surplus with Britain, exporting some £28 million a year, more on average (8.8 per cent) than she imported over the past dozen years. With the rest of the world she has a consistent trade deficit sufficiently large to put her whole trading account into substantial deficit. 1

The figures are not particularly reliable even though

they are official. Nor are they altogether foolproof as an indication of the drain or 'economic tribute' as it used to be called, but they do carry the right message: consistently more is taken out of Northern Ireland and shipped to Britain than ever comes back; and over the years the sum tends to get larger, reaching a high of £45 million in 1967, the last year for which figures are available.

Neither the existence of an economic drain nor its increasing size is accidental. The first reflects Northern Ireland's colonial status — the fact that the real ruling class in Ulster is English; English capitalists, English landowners and English bureaucrats resident here but operating there through a colon apparatus of declining effectiveness.

The second reflects the imperative need felt by that same English ruling class to concentrate its resources into really big units in the fastest growing industries in order to survive. And that leaves out Ulster.

The English ruling class is not peculiar in this. Ever since American capital wrenched open their home markets a decade or so ago, the smaller capitalists, throughout the West have been submitting themselves to an orgy of mergers and take-overs.

### Small-time buccaneers

It's still going on. But even the biggest takeover buccaneers have a long way to go still: Stokes of British Leyland still runs only fourth size in the European car-making stakes; and Weinstock of GEC-AEI is no more than third or fourth in the European electrical equipment manufacturers' leagues.

They're big, but they need to be bigger. And in order to do that as cheaply as possible, they close their small units and expand their big ones, they build near the largest labour markets, near the centres of technical and managerial skills, and within easy reach of government — the real government, that is, not the jumped-up police

headquarters at Stormont. In a word, they drain the economic periphery of the country to feed the centre (as they have done in Wallonia, Mezzogiorno, West and North West France).

There's little Stormont can do to counteract the economic pull of the southern half of England. They proudly advertise to British businessmen that Northern Ireland enjoys 'a higher level of unemployment than anywhere else in the United Kingdom' and add in the next sentence and in italics — 'but this is a situation which you can use to your advantage'. 2

### Lush investment grants

But their minute 'towns' — Coleraine, tenth in size, counts only 14,000 people — can only offer an unemployed labour reserve measured in hundreds, rather than the thousands or ten thousands that are needed.

They offer industrial de-rating of 75 per cent, the lushest investment grants in the United Kingdom, special Industrial Development Grants, fuel subsidies, grants for engaging business consultants, for shifting key workers, besides the normal incentives for development areas. And still the capital flows out rather than in and the number of jobs falls — 6000 down to 179,000 in civil manufacturing between 1949 and 1964, 34,000 down to 68,000 in agriculture. And there's more to come in both. 3

Meanwhile the working population is rising — by 120,000 in that period; and the flow of workers to Britain is lessening as unemployment goes up here — from 9000 a year on average up to 1964 to 6500 now; and the press for jobs gets relentless — and violent. And political.

From British capital's point of view Northern Ireland is becoming expensive. The cost of persuading potential investors that the province could be profitable has always been high — public investment has been running at £46 per head compared with under £40 in the rest of the United

Kingdom. 4

After what has been happening, the cost of persuading them that Northern Ireland is safe is going to be higher.

To actually make it both profitable and safe is unthinkable. The Civil Rights movement has seen to that.

The movement has done more. It has forced British capitalism to begin to think about doing the sums of continued occupation; how much it is prepared to spend before it pulls out politically; when to do so; how to disentangle itself from its frenzied colons.

If the movement can resist the temptation to interpret the Relief of Bogside as a political relief, it can do even more: it can build up the pressure and the cost until political withdrawal is a fact and the colons thoroughly isolated.

For that to come about British troops must be made to withdraw; British arms must be spiked; and British subsidies stopped.

### To stop the drain

Even then the movement will not have finished its work. An independent Ulster will continue to be bled of jobs and men by British capital. Even a united capitalist Ireland will be bled — as Eire is today.

To stop the drain once and for all time the struggle for civil rights in the north will need to be transformed into a successful struggle for a United Workers' Republic of Ireland.

1 From Government of Northern Ireland, Economic Section, Digest of Statistics No 31, March 1969, Belfast HMSO, table 109, p 68.

2 Ulster Office handout called Northern Ireland — the Most Profitable Area for Industrial Expansion, p 9.

3 Government of Northern Ireland, Economic Development in Northern Ireland, including the Report of the Economic Consultant Professor Thomas Wilson, Belfast: HMSO, Cmd 479, 1965, pp 23, 31, 33.

4 Government of Northern Ireland, Economic Section, Northern Ireland Economic Report on 1968, Belfast: HMSO, 1969, p. 9.

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### JUST OUT!

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how  
the  
revolution  
was  
lost

by Chris Harman

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### The embattled workers of Bogside and Belf...

IRELAND has a special place in the story of capitalism in Britain. It was the first British colony — just ahead of Jamaica — and for more than three centuries the exploitation of the people of Ireland was a big source of income for the rulers of this country.

For practical purposes Ireland was conquered in the 17th century, though the country had been an English dependency in name from a much earlier period. The effect of the conquest was well described by a left-wing historian in the 1930s:

Ireland now became, what it has since of necessity remained, a source of cheap food and raw materials for England. At first cattle were reared, and by 1660 some 500,000 head were being exported annually to England.

When these exports were found to be causing a fall in agricultural prices and rents, an Act was passed in 1666 forbidding the export of cattle, meat or dairy products. This Act crippled the Irish cattle industry and when cattle began to be replaced by sheep a further Act forbade both the export of wool to any other country and the export of anything but the raw wool to England. Later still, the Irish cloth industry was deliberately destroyed when it became a dangerous competitor.

The most important Irish export however soon became human beings — cheap labour for the developing industries of Britain, and later, the USA.

A comparatively small group of English landowners got hold of most of the land in Ireland, leaving the mass of the Irish people as tenants with no security whatsoever. Merciless rack renting reduced the people to a state of poverty unknown in any other part of Europe. Every year thousands and tens of thousands were forced to emigrate by the threat of starvation.

That was before the Great Hunger, the famine of 1845-49. The famine was man made. There was food enough in Ireland to feed the population — if they had had the money to buy it. At this time the country was still a major exporter of wheat — and wheat exports continued throughout the famine. The potato crop first failed in 1845.

In that year 515 people were officially recorded as dying of starvation and 3,250,000 quarters of wheat were exported. By 1847, when 21,770 deaths by starvation were recorded,

# Britain's colony — a of famine ...and her

by DUNCA

wheat exports were still over 2 million quarters and even in 1848, when nearly 300,000 died of hunger 1,826,132 quarters of grain were sent out of Irish ports.

This was the decisive turning point in 19th century Irish history. On the eve of the famine the population was estimated at over six million — slightly greater than it is today. As a direct consequence of the famine over a million Irish men, women and children died, a quarter of a million emigrated to England and Scotland and over a million left for the USA.

### RESERVOIR

Post-famine Ireland was a ruined country.

Except for the North East corner, where the linen industry had survived and expanded and shipbuilding was soon to develop, the whole country became simply a vast reservoir of surplus labour, barely kept alive by subsistence agriculture and available when required by the expanding industries of Britain and North America.

Even the export of wheat soon ceased to be important as a result of the adoption of free trade by the British government. Russia and the

USA replaced the principal imports to Britain until the 1950s any significant industry outside

The first major movement of the United Irish was founded in 1791. The great French Revolution aroused more enthusiasm in perhaps in any in Europe.

At first the men were an organisation of universal suffrage was soon driven. The UI adopted for a national and an Irish Republic the French mo

This was how the government and the society prepare for an. For a time the men succeeded down the hostility Catholics and combining the English rule and its Irish su

In 1798 the men were forced premature rise most savagely

This rising had a big influence subsequent dev

# Socialist Worker

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# WHERE WE STAND

SOCIALIST WORKER is the paper of International Socialism, a movement of revolutionary socialists who believe that the present form of society, with its blatant inequalities, its periodic crises, and racialist hysteria must be replaced by one based on a planned economy under full workers' control; those who produce the wealth should own and control the means of production. International Socialism is opposed to any incomes policy that seeks to restrict the wages of the workers in order to boost the profits of the employers. We unconditionally support all shop stewards and rank and file trade union members in their struggles for better wages and conditions and oppose all reactionary laws that threaten the liberties of the labour movement. We support all strikes in defence of workers' interests with the de-

fluence by linking up on an industrial and ultimately a national basis.

We are opposed to racial discrimination, a weapon used by the ruling class to divide the labour movement. Immigration control must be ended, ensuring the free movement of peoples regardless of race and colour. Black and white workers must unite and form their own defence organisations to fight fascism and racialism. The labour movement must demand the immediate recall of British troops from abroad as the first step towards ending colonial exploitation.

The task of revolutionary socialists is to join workers in their struggles with socialist ideas that will link up the various sections of the labour movement and help create a force that will lead on to workers' power and international socialism.

## From bad conscience the escalation of



RUC thugs in action during a Civil Rights demonstration



st are following in the long tradition of struggle against imperialism and its reactionary Green and Orange Tory friends

# Oldest history brutality ism

## N HALLAS



1912: Carson, architect of Ulster separatism, reviews his stormtroopers, the Ulster volunteers, armed with German weapons.

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modern revolution in Ireland, men, was last in 1791. The Revolution popular Ireland than other country

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high treason to of King George began to armed rising. United Irish- in breaking ity between Protestants oth against ng class porters. United Irish- d into a which was repressed. and its defeat nce on the elopment of

the national movement. The actual rebels had been mostly peasants and they had shown very little respect to the property rights of the small but influential minority of wealthy Irish.

This, together with the Jacobin ideas of Wolfe Tone and his friends, made a lasting impression. The Irish middle class learned its lesson. In future it was to fight on two fronts; against the English ascendancy but still more against the Irish people. Green Toryism was born.

From now on the British government could count on an ally in Ireland. An unreliable ally and one that would exploit every weakness to gain concessions for itself but an ally nonetheless.

The aim of the middle class was reform within the system, privilege for themselves. Their method, peaceful agitation directed at the British parliament, their instrument to control the peasants — 90 per cent of the people — the Roman Catholic Church.

The chief spokesman of the Irish middle class in the first half of the last century, Daniel O'Connell, the so-called 'liberator', chose to fight on the issue of Catholic emancipation, that is the

removal of the legal discrimination that existed against Catholics as such. O'Connell was successful in terms of his own aims. Catholic emancipation was achieved. Middle-class Irish Catholics got a modest share of privilege, the peasants got the famine!

The long-term effects of O'Connellism were even more pernicious. Religious sectarianism had been declining in Ireland for a century. By reviving it, by concentrating on the religious issue, O'Connell and his followers helped to revive the waning sectarianism of the North East.

### TRADITION

The 'official' church-supported nationalist movement continued in the O'Connell tradition right down to 1914, when the nationalist parliamentary leader, John Redmond, called on Irishmen to enlist in the British Army to fight for 'King and Country'.

There was another tradition, the tradition of 1898, carried forward by the Irish Republican Brotherhood, the Fenians and, in a different way, the Irish Land League. Men like John Mitchell and James Fintan Lalor kept alive the message of Wolfe

Tone — 'I appeal to that large and respectable class of the community — the men of no property'.

The political wing of Fenianism was unable, in spite of heroic efforts, to break the hold of middle-class nationalists and the church on the peasantry.

This lack of a massive popular base forced the Fenians into the blind alley of sporadic acts of terrorism, an experience and a method repeated by the IRA in the 1920s and 30s.

The agrarian counterpart of Fenianism, the Land League, was more successful. The League got mass peasant support for its tactics of resisting rent increases and evictions by means of the boycott.

It was also helped by the declining importance of Irish landownership as a source of income to the British ruling class and the very real fear of the British Liberals and Tories that peasant resistance could give the Fenians substantial popular support.

In the event successive British governments introduced legislation to give the peasants land bit by bit (with 'adequate' compensation to the landowners), a course of action they would never have adopted but for the

threat of revolution.

By the first decade of the present century it looked as though the Irish question could be solved by a compromise between the British ruling class and the Irish middle-class nationalists. 'Home Rule', which would have kept Ireland under effective Westminster control, whilst turning over the job of running the country to the 'respectable' nationalists, was the order of the day.

A Home Rule Bill was actually introduced by the British Liberal Government just before the 1914-18 war. Two factors wrecked this unholy alliance, the Orange Tories who had been built up to create a 'minority problem' in the interests of British ascendancy and, more important, the heroic sacrifice of the heirs of Fenianism and the pioneers of the revolutionary socialist movement in Ireland.

At Easter 1916, at the height of the world war, a few hundred armed men marched out to challenge the whole force of the British Empire. The men who seized the GPO in Dublin for the then non-existent

Republic of Ireland were not supported by the great majority of working people in the city, let alone the country. The rising was soon crushed — though 22,000 British troops had to be employed — and most of the leaders executed.

Yet Connolly, Pearse and the others changed the course of Irish history. In spite of the lack of mass participation they had correctly judged the balance of forces.

### SWUNG

It was one of those few moments when a handful of militants can decisively alter the course of events.

Lenin wrote soon afterwards: 'Anyone who calls this a putsch is incapable of understanding what a real revolution is like.'

The rising and its aftermath completely discredited the parliamentary nationalists. It swung the majority of the Irish people behind the lower middle-class nationalist party Sinn Fein.

The Tan War followed and by 1920, both the British government and the majority of the Sinn Fein leadership

were ready for a compromise-partition.

The economic basis of Northern Irish separation was the development of the ship-building and allied industries of Belfast. A 'native' capitalist class, whose interests required the British and imperial markets, became the leading force in the area.

Due to the O'Connellite character of the national movement, it was possible for this class to gain the solid support of practically the whole protestant population for the archaic ideology of Orangism.

'Home rule means Rome rule', 'Remember the Boyne', 'No Surrender' and the rest of the irrelevant clap-trap became and remained the sum and substance of the political thinking of a high proportion of the Protestant working class in the North.

This made them clay in the hands of the Orange bosses who had, and have, close links with the British Tories. Carson and Smith, the Ulster Tory leaders were violently opposed to 'Home Rule', which would have left them a permanent minority. They were willing to carry their opposition to the point of civil war, to intrigue with the German government and to foment mutiny in the British army.

Their determined opposition, together with the increasing cost of holding down the South at a time when Ireland as a whole was less and less a source of income to British capitalism, produced partition.

To make the Northern Irish statelet economically viable a substantial Catholic population had to be incorporated. So from the beginning Northern Ireland was a police state based on repression, gerrymandering and discrimination.

Today, when it is shaken to its foundations, we must be guided by the words of James Connolly: 'The Irish question is a social question, the whole age-long fight of the Irish people against their oppressors resolves itself, in the last analysis, into a fight for the means of life, the sources of production in Ireland...'

'In this movement the North and South will clasp hands again, again will be demonstrated, as in '98, that the pressure of a common exploitation can make enthusiastic rebels of a Protestant working class, earnest champions of civil and religious liberty out of Catholics, and out of both a united Socialist Democracy.'

# ences to the barricades — the civil rights struggle



1967 Civil Rights Association founded. Like National Council for Civil Liberties, a middle-class conscience group with a tame Unionist on executive. Press statements asked Stormont to be more liberal.

Aug 1968 A CRA-sponsored march in Dungannon for better housing.

Oct 5 Police riot against civil rights demonstration in Derry which defied a government ban. Catholics fight back on Lecky Road. Sympathy demonstration in Dublin. 'This is not a riot. It is an elemental outburst of rage by a class which has been denied jobs, homes and human rights by a regime as near fascist as makes no difference' - Eamonn McCann.

Oct 14 Peoples Democracy formed, mainly from ex-students of Queens University, Belfast and Young Socialist Alliance.

Dec Derry demonstration with dockers and factory workers versus police.

Jan 1969 Belfast to Derry Long March by the Peoples Democracy. Ambushed and beaten at Burntollet by B-Specials, RUC and Paisleyites.

### Election

Feb 8 PD candidates get total 20,000 votes in snap elections.

March Communist Party leaves CRA and Hume and Cooper step down from executive.

April PD march to Dublin. Mass welcome outside GPO

May Devlin elected. 'The unionists want to walk over us with hobnail boots, O'Neill would use carpet slippers!'

May 15 After PD inactivity a squat in Clooney Park, Derry.

July 3 Straban demonstration 5000 versus Special Powers Act and high unemployment. Newry march 'Civil Rights must turn left or fail' - Devlin.

July 17 Derry uprising. Young people take on cops. RUC dispersed. Fighting in Lurgan, Dungiven and Belfast.

Aug 12 50 hour battle in Derry.

### research:

**DAVE WIDGERY**

### NEXT WEEK

**Peterloo — the bully boys' massacre**

This important article by GWYN A. WILLIAMS on the 150th anniversary of Peterloo has had to be held over because of the Irish situation. Watch out for it next week.

## Join the International Socialists

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**POTTERIES** John Whitfield  
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87 Brodrick Road SW17  
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Campenders Park  
**WIGAN** Ray Challiner  
34 Whiteside Ave Hindley  
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Spillsbury 274 Penn Road  
**YORK** Bob Locker 22 Hobgate  
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Place SW1

Please send further details of the meetings and activities of the international socialists to

Name

Address





# Solidarity campaign's vital role in Britain

THE MILITANT 5000 strong demonstration to the Ulster Office in London on Sunday marked a new stage in the development of the Irish Civil Rights Solidarity Campaign.

With the escalation of the fighting in Northern Ireland against the B-Specials and the Orange pogroms, the campaign can now spread its influence among the mass of Irish working men and women in Britain as well as among British trade unionists. Both British and Irish newspapers have described the Solidarity Campaign as 'setting the pace' for the whole civil rights movement in Britain.

Since the campaign was launched four months ago by the International Socialists and the London branch of People's Democracy, branches have been set up throughout the main Irish areas of London and in a number of other British cities. In the coming weeks there are plans to set up more branches in the leading industrial cities.

It is vital that the tens of thousands of Irish workers throughout Britain are given the opportunity to express their solidarity with the beleaguered fighters in Derry, Belfast and the rest of the six counties.

## Medical aid

In addition to demonstrations and meetings, it will be important for the ICRSC to develop more concrete expressions of solidarity in the next few weeks. Already a call has gone out for volunteers to return to Northern Ireland to help the resistance to police and B-Special brutality. But it is vital that the campaign also involves a wider number of people through collections for medical aid and other supplies for the resistance forces.

The ICRSC should launch a national appeal similar in scope to the Vietnam Medical Aid campaign. It should involve not only Irish people but also the British trade union and shop stewards movement.

Perhaps the most effective support which can be given in this country to the workers in Northern Ireland is through industrial action. Already strikes have taken place on a number of building sites demanding that the Specials be disarmed, that political prisoners be freed and that the vicious Unionist Special Powers Act be abandoned.

In the next weeks as many British trade unionists as possible should back these demands being made of the hypocritical Labour government by taking action in their own factories and place of work.

## JOIN THE SOLIDARITY CAMPAIGN

Name .....

Address .....

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Organisation .....

Please send details of the ICRSC. Post to 6 Cottons Gdns E2.

# Barricades must stay

from page one

by safeguarding British capitalist interests in the North, and making impossible any real independence of the regime in the South.

The British ruling class feels that it can no longer afford to keep control over its enclaves in Ireland in the old way — through a sectarian-based, openly repressive regime. The impression must be given that reforms are being carried through peacefully.

But it is not prepared to jettison the source of the repression — the Stormont regime. The British armed presence may prevent the worst excesses of the Specials in the short term, but in the long term the troops are there to protect the regime.

In Bogside the population are making it clear that they will not dismantle their barricades until the RUC are disarmed, the B-Specials disbanded, prisoners released and the Stormont regime ended. They are absolutely correct. The only force that will ensure the end of the repressive regime and its arbitrary terror is the continued mobilisation of the oppressed population.

Every help must be given to them in their efforts. But this needs to be real help, not the sort of meaningless gestures made by the Southern government last

week.

The green Tories of the South showed that while unnamed Irishmen were being attacked by armed sectarian mobs, their chief concern was to keep the southern arsenals locked, while making unrealistic speeches about a United Nations 'peace-keeping force'.

The real answer to the hypocrites in the Dublin government was given in last week's demonstrations of dockers and other workers in the city. They demanded that the government give the only meaningful form of aid at their disposal. They should open the arsenals of the 26 county army for the oppressed people of the north and those southern volunteers who want to go to their aid.

## GOOD FRIEND

But in fact the Southern regime is a good friend of British capitalism and the status quo. They have the army mobilised along the border. It is claimed that they are there to give medical aid to the victims of the Northern fighting. In fact they are there to intercept those moving north to aid the beleaguered communities.

The only hope for the people in the North is a mass mobilisation of the Southern workers and small farmers. The refusal of the Dublin dockers to unload anti-civil rights British

newspapers was an example to other Irish workers.

In the South, British factories and land estates should be seized and held by the people in ransom for the lives of the Northern Catholics.

Time is vital to bring aid to the Northern people. The intervention of the British troops only allows a temporary breathing space in which the defences of the Catholic community can be strengthened.

In Derry in particular the Bogside has a real chance of holding out. The Derry people, who are overwhelmingly anti-Unionist, were never consulted about the border.

They were forcibly co-opted into the Northern state and their city was allowed to die. One day, the people of Derry will take their city from the Chichester-Clarks and the slum landlords.

British workers have a grave responsibility in the present situation. They can take action in many ways: by raising funds for the Irish Civil Rights Solidarity Campaign to send medical aid and other equipment to Northern Ireland, but most of all by joining with Irish workers in taking strike action to demand that the Mafia thugs spawned by Britain in Ireland — the Specials and the RUC, are finally removed and the Irish people allowed to decide their own future.

# DERRY: FIGHTING UNDER THE FLAG OF THE CITIZENS' ARMY

An interview with **EAMONN McCANN**  
and **RAY BURNETT** on the barricades

**MCCANN:** When the Derry Defence Committee was discussing its conditions for taking down the barricades we agreed that we won't let them down until there is a complete amnesty, that the B-Specials are disarmed and disbanded and that the Special Powers Act, which they are now making a lot of use of, is repealed.

But when it came to a programme for power here in the North there was disagreement about how far we are able to press for secession, or a redrawing of the boundary of the Workers' Republic over the 36 counties. The question of the partition is now raised.

What is happening in Belfast?

**MCCANN:** It's much worse than the British papers are saying. The B-men have gone wild. They're just chasing down Catholics and the fire-power's overwhelmingly on their side.

That's why we have never pushed the question of guns, though it looks as though we can't avoid it now. The British Army is poorly deployed especially around Hooker street — it might have been deliberate.

Last night there was a big crowd of RUC, B-men and Paisleyites, 600 strong, and in the Catholic houses the women had all been sent away and the men were just crouching inside their windows, scared stiff. But they didn't come, they must have been afraid of the silence.

## RADICAL

Most of the women are in refugee centres. As we see it in Derry, the ball's at everyone's foot except ours. What matters above all is what happens in the South.

**Burnett:** We're fighting under the tricolour and the Stary Plough. The real politics have been on the barricades, where politics and action are welded together.

And the politics tend to be far more radical on the barricades than back in the estates where the political activity is negligible. A bloke said to me just now, 'Well we've smashed Stormont, now let's hope they smash the Free State, too.'

What really was the reaction to the British troops?

## 'No one comes into Bogside'

**Burnett:** When they arrived it was marvellous. I mean they are a lot better than the bastards of the RUC and the B-men.

When they arrived Eddie McAteer (Nationalist Party leader) popped out with a nice clean suit on, with tears in his nationalist eyes and said that we had won a great victory and it was all over. Since he's so emotional and such a grand old man, everyone agreed and chaired him down the hill.

But I asked him directly whether the constitution had been suspended and whether the B-men were disbanded and he said Yes to both. I think he would have said yes to anything.

We're staying put and no one comes into Bogside or goes out without our say so.

What is going through the minds of the Orangemen?

**Burnett:** They are furious, so angry that reporters don't dare talk to them for fear of being beaten up. It's impossible to realise how deep their extremism goes and how deep and rotten their involvement is in personal power over the Catholics.

It's like the Deep South of America. They don't just want to be on top, they need to grind the people's faces in the ground. In fact the situation here is like the change from the civil rights movement to the black power stage in the American movement.

## BOMBS

How was the fighting arranged?

**Burnett:** Very spontaneously. There were about 200 folk who scarcely left the barricades in the 50 hours we operated.

The main weapons weren't stones but petrol bombs. We must have thrown about 8000 of them. The kids used to make them. They're playing cops versus civil rights instead of cops and robbers in the streets and they all sing We Shall Overcome, not as a pacifist song but as a victory song.

Bernadette Devlin was truly marvellous and it's a great tribute that the British press hate her so much. John Hume (moderate Civil Rights spokesman) did an awful thing up near the Rosemont Barracks. Our lads did a really fine attack and had every door except one of the barracks burning and the RUC inside. But Hume talked the local people into a truce.

\* Radio Free Derry is being run in Bogside by Derry Young Socialists, who are broadcasting news, comment and music. Top pop record on Bogside is the Rolling Stones' Street Fighting Man.

## MARCHES

LONDON: Irish Civil Rights Solidarity Campaign; meet Hyde Park, Sunday, 3 pm for rally followed by march to Ulster Office.

LIVERPOOL: march in support of Ulster struggle Saturday, August 23 from Lime Street Station at 3.00 pm going to Wilson's Labour Party HQ in Huyton.

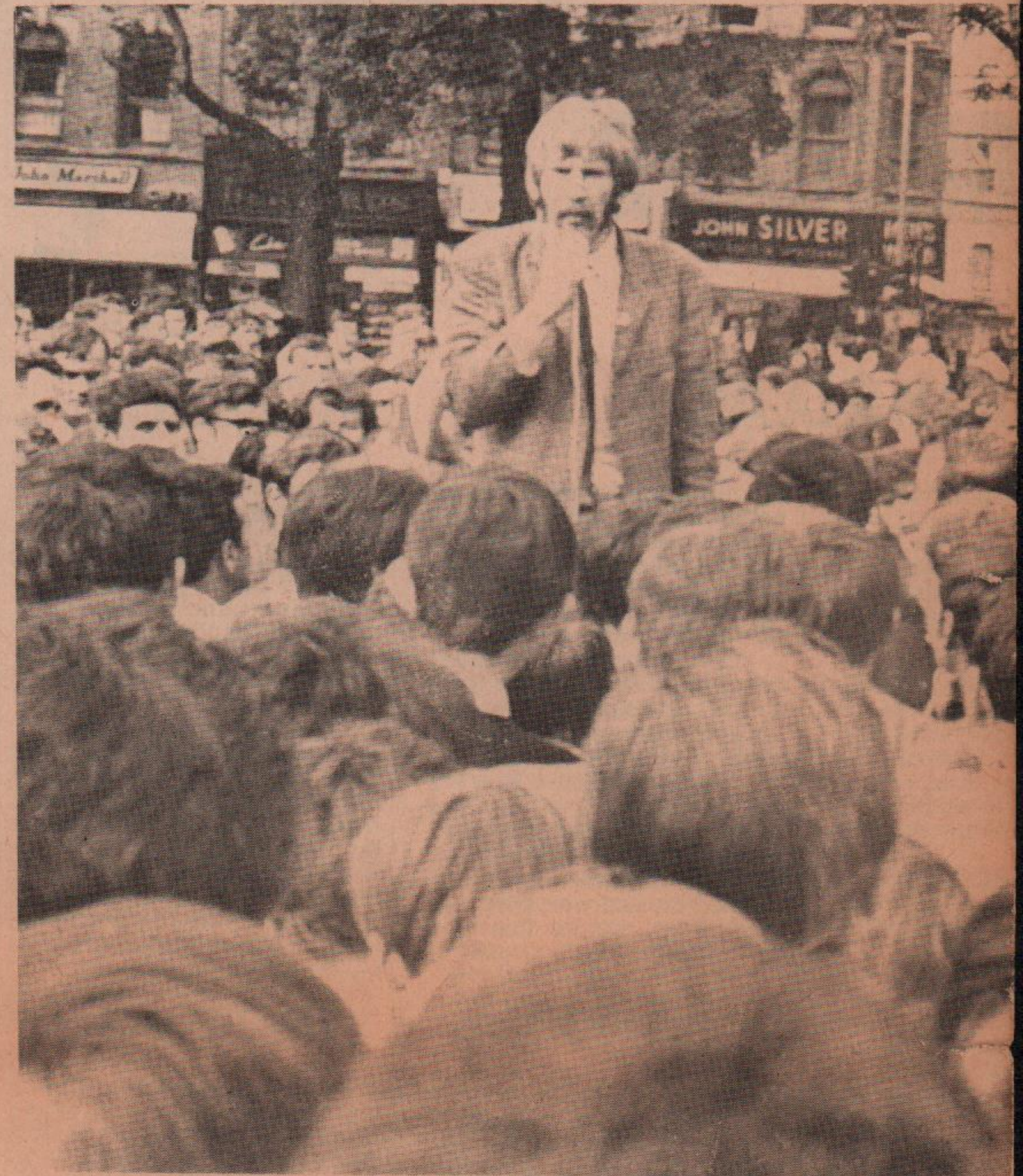
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## BERNADETTE LASHES LYNC

LAST WEEKEND demonstrators in Dublin were brutally attacked by the police when they marched on the British embassy. On Monday, in Derry, Bernadette Devlin, MP said she had a message for the South's Prime Minister, Jack Lynch: 'People here fought the police for 30 hours and we hoisted the flag of the Citizen's Army. The Irish Times today carried a photograph of a citizen of the Irish republic lying where he

had been beaten by the Gardai and the flag of the Citizen's Army was on the ground with him.

'If Jack Lynch or the Gardai James Connolly or the men who him did so that the country that tricolour could stamp on the Sta I will go down to Dublin and thr at Jack Lynch.'



Part of Sunday's large rally at Shepherds Bush called by the Irish Civil Rights Solidarity Campaign. The speaker is Tom McGurk from Belfast. The marchers later went to the Ulster Office. Right: British troops in Belfast containing Catholics behind a barricade.

# Downing Street hypocrisy

THE IMMEDIATE reaction in Bogside to the Wilson-Chichester-Clark talks was: 'The barricades stay!' It is the right reaction, for the pious platitudes in the Downing Street communique concede nothing to the Civil Rights movement, which must now intensify its struggle.

The fact that British troops are now in full command of both the RUC and B-Specials shows the degree of detestation which Catholics have for the guardians of Orange 'law and order'.

But what does this control add up to? The B-Specials are to be 'phased out' of action only while the troops remain. They are to be asked to surrender their guns — but there is no machinery to enforce this and the right-wing of the Unionist Party has already made it clear that it is opposed to the surrender of weapons.

The B-Specials have their guns in or out of uniform. There is no guarantee that these fanatical thugs and bigots will cease their indiscriminate murder of Catholics and the burning and looting of their homes. And when the troops go, the RUC and B-Specials will remain, to reinforce the Orange police state.

We say: the B-Specials must be totally disbanded and their weapons forcibly taken from them. The RUC must be disarmed.

The clerical fascist Paisley has called for the regroupment of the Ulster Volunteers, the original armed

stormtroopers of the Orange state who terrorised the Catholic working class. It is the B-Specials who will respond to Paisley's call, for they have the weapons at their disposal — unless they are forced to surrender them.

Wilson's timid, temporary step against the Specials is his only action. British capitalism is embarrassed by the Northern Ireland regime, but it is not prepared to take any real action against the Unionists for fear of sparking off further social unrest that might rock capital's boat in the Green Tory south as well as in the North.

And so the monstrous Orange regime at Stormont stays. Wilson makes no mention of the special Powers Act, that intolerable piece of authoritarianism that allows the RUC free reign to arrest, hold and interrogate citizens without charge or trial. Neither does Wilson demand the release of the political prisoners held under the Act.

The 'pledge' that reforms will be speedily enacted is just a sick joke as far as the workers on the barricades are concerned. They know that the Unionist employers and landowners cannot allow basic civil liberties, cannot end the electoral gerrymandering, the discrimination in jobs or housing, for to do so would wipe away the basis of their undemocratic rule.

The thousands of Irish men and women who voted for the Wilson government now see it exposed as a bunch of hypocrites opposed to the demands of basic civil liberties in Northern Ireland.

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