

The Red Mole

IRELAND

The people have risen up against the Orange police state and British troops.
They will smash British Imperialism or be smashed themselves.



Comrades!

Northern Ireland has exploded again. The slow, but inevitable accumulation of contradictions since last August has been burst by the jailing of Bernadette Devlin. On the surface it may look a lot like last summer. In reality British imperialism and its Stormont lackeys today confront a completely different situation.

Last year when the troops entered Derry and Belfast, many people there believed that they had been spared an orange pogrom. Callaghan's visit and his demagogic promise of 'reforms' raised hopes that at last things were beginning to change. The granting of One-Man One-Vote, the disbandment of the 'B' Specials all helped to raise these hopes. The months which have followed have proved rather clearly that these hopes were false.

Unemployment and housing problems have been aggravated by the troubles of last year; there has been a swing to Paisleyism amongst the Protestant workers and the Tories have been elected in Britain. All of these factors have combined to make the situation unbearable for the mass of Catholic workers. The jailing of Bernadette Devlin was the last straw. The anger which was blown red hot was turned incandescent by the reaction of British imperialism. Maudling supported so far by the Labour Front Bench has turned to a policy of complete repression, attempting to behead the struggles before they go any further. Northern Ireland is in for a long, bitter, bloody, hot summer.

THE LEFT IN BRITAIN

The left in Britain has a tremendous responsibility. It must not stand by as it has done in the past and see the struggle crushed. It must overcome the historical backwardness about Ireland

which has never been eradicated from the British working class movement. During the struggle of the Irish in 1870, Marx wrote that the British workers could never liberate themselves unless they supported the liberation of Ireland. A hundred years later, in 1970, we are still in the same position.

Revolutionaries in Britain must seriously grapple with the Irish situation. The old method of seeing every other struggle in the world as an extension of the fight here just does not wash for Ireland. Low wages, bad housing, police repression, divisions in the working class, do not exist just because Ireland is a capitalist country, but because Ireland is dominated by British imperialism. The national democratic revolution for independence was aborted. The Irish bourgeoisie sold out in 1921 and has been selling out to British capitalism ever since. All of the problems of the Irish workers, North and South, stem from this fact and all of their struggles are dominated by this relationship.

CIVIL RIGHTS STRUGGLE?

The civil rights struggle in Northern Ireland was no exception. It concentrated at first on purely constitutional demands, within the context of the Northern Irish statelet. However the grievances it took up and the state it challenged were formed by this defeat of the national democratic revolution. Since the Orange colony could not concede real civil rights every step forward by the popular movement meant another blow at Orange stability. Nor was this affected in the least by British Imperialism's plan to re-structure Northern Ireland on the basis and with the consent of the Catholic and Protestant middle-classes. The frankenstein monster it had created in the Orange

working class would brook no change in Ulster whatever and any attempt to alter the status quo inevitably threatens to knock down the state.

A UNITED IRELAND

So the present stage in NI is a struggle that will achieve, not civil rights, but the destruction of Northern Ireland and the unification of Ireland. It may not be clearly expressed at this moment, but the dynamics of Irish history will allow no other course. This unification will be achieved in the teeth of the opposition of every section of the Irish bourgeoisie and will mean that the national and the anti-capitalist struggle will be fused into one. The process of permanent revolution has begun in Ireland and it will lead either to the victory of the Workers Republic or to the defeat of those sections of the Irish population, the workers and poor farmers, who bear the brunt of the struggle. A defeat which could make the present repression in Ireland seem like nothing.

WHAT IS TO BE DONE IN BRITAIN

We in Britain who support this struggle against British imperialism must not fail. There must be an all-out effort to build an effective solidarity movement on an all-inclusive basis, on the principle of self-determination for Ireland. The great reserves of Irish wear workers in Britain are ready to be mobilised by such a campaign. And in mobilising them we will begin to mobilise their British fellow workers, not to speak of the Black workers. In carrying out our revolutionary duty to the Irish comrades we are at the same time preparing for the war against British imperialism in Ireland to be brought home to be fought in the lair of the beast itself.

**SELF-DETERMINATION FOR IRELAND!
WITHDRAW ALL BRITISH TROOPS NOW!
RELEASE BERNADETTE DEVLIN AND
ALL IRISH POLITICAL PRISONERS NOW!**

Unfree Press Distorts History

"Laws that make the sentiment of the acting person the main criterion, and not the act as such, are nothing but positive sanctions of lawlessness."

— KARL MARX

The question of Ireland has once again given the bourgeois press in England an exceptional opportunity to fulfil its traditional role of mystification. A role that it plays during every popular uprising: that of concealing the true issues, of trivialising the achievements, motives and above all the desperation of the insurgents. The bourgeois press has, true to form, done its bit to preserve the interests of its capitalist masters by a persistent demand for the re-establishment of law, order and 'reason' while 'reform' is introduced and the workers can go back quietly to their exploited situation. However, for many of the events in the Six Counties, the bourgeois press remains one of our few sources of information. It is important therefore to be able to translate their gnomish language into simple English. We give here a few simple ground rules:

MAINTAINING LAW AND ORDER/ KEEPING THE PEACE/ for these and other variants read:

The English have occupied Ireland for centuries. They were largely driven out by a revolution which has since been corrupted and bourgeoisified, but they clung on to six economically useful counties which they continued to hold with an occupying army under the direction of a landlordist and industrialist ruling class. The army (now heavily re-inforced), the RUC and the Unionist irregulars aim to maintain the status-quo.

Recently 'sanctions of lawlessness' have included orders to the military to shoot those defending their freedom, laws increasing the penalties on those exercising their civil liberties and threats to withdraw the minor concessions won in the early phase of the struggle last year.

PROTESTANT AND CATHOLIC:

The press in staunch support of the Irish gentry and capitalists have done their utmost to compel their readers to think of the struggle as one between religious sects. Bear in mind the following— many workers thus labelled have only the most notional allegiance to their respective churches. Those actually fighting are all working class and a bulk of them are living in acute poverty and conditions of heavy unemployment. Much as poor whites in the USA see poor blacks as at once more depressed and as a threat so do poor 'Protestants' regard poor 'Catholics'. Working class 'Catholics' have come to see 'Protestants' as embodying the world of privilege, force and oppression which has dominated them for centuries. Landlords and bosses have been careful to take over the principal Protestant groupings which provide a release for Protestant workers: the Orange Order, the Orange

issue. Paisley is not right wing in the obvious, simple sense. He represents a populist opposition to landlordism and also reflects the false consciousness of a section of the working class. His twin enemies are the 'Paddies' or Catholics, for complex religio-historical reasons and landlordism for political reasons. In one sense he is the perverted result of a popular opposition that has decided to accept the terms of the conflict imposed by the bosses. By describing him as the extremist of the 'other side' the press have tried to make the bosses and landlords into the reasonable men of the centre.

BRITAIN OR IRELAND:

Protestants want to remain with Britain. Catholics want to join Ireland. Thus the bourgeois Press in England. In the distant past the counties of Ulster were the strongest centres of opposition to British colonial rule. The British 'pacified' the area by a mixture of genocide and forced evacuation. The large estates were granted to British landlords or Irish puppets and the population was largely replaced by poor Protestants driven from their homelands by similar forces in Scotland. It is their descendants, almost equally brutalised by their masters who are the modern 'Protestants' in the conflict. At the time of Independence, Ulster itself was divided: three poor and still Catholic counties were freed and six rich and largely Protestant counties were enslaved under the pigs of Stormont. Freedom in the twenty-six counties was sold back to the British as the republic became a neo-colony, while the gerrymandered six counties were partially integrated into the exploiting Capital of Britain. TYH

There is no solution to this dilemma apart from increased repression. The press recognise this and talk slavishly of the need for 'sweet reason' to triumph— what they mean is for things to settle and for the republic to continue as a client state of England and the six counties as a colony. In this wish they are joined by the bourgeois of the Twenty-Six Counties who find the British interest profitable.

FACTIONS/IRISHISM/CROSS CHILDREN/ ETC./:

These are the expressions the press use to hide the determination of the Catholic working class to fight for its freedom. Ridicule is the weapon of the impotent editors of the 'quality' press and they use it in order to defend the crimes being perpetrated by British Imperialism in Ireland. Revolution in Ireland is too close for the comfort of the Bosses and their newspapers.

Remember:

"If you remove the English army tomorrow and hoist the green flag over Dublin Castle, unless you set about the organisation of the Socialist republic your efforts would be in

BERNADETTE RE-ELECTED

Voters in Mid-Ulster re-elected Bernadette Devlin on June 18, 1970, giving her a considerably increased majority. Throughout her campaign she was bitterly opposed by both a pro-Paisley Unionist candidate and a Green Tory; a 'National Socialist' withdrew on the day of the election.

Bernadette fought an extremely principled election campaign. She made it clear that she was a socialist and asked people to vote for Connolly's Workers Republic; she made it plain that she was opposed to both the Orange and the Green Tories and the reactionary influence of the Catholic Church on the people.

Despite all this it cannot be said that all the people who voted for her did so because she was a socialist. They did so because they felt that she was the only candidate who could beat the Unionist. But the effect of her election campaign and her period as an MP has been on the whole a healthy one. It is not uncommon to hear young Irish workers in particular calling at meetings for a 32 county Workers Republic and for workers control in the factories. Of course she has antagonised many older people. One old lady I met in the desolate Lough shore area told me that if Bernadette ever criticised the Catholic Church again she would campaign against her.

Campaign meetings were held in all parts of the constituency in the two weeks preceding the election. Despite the jeers and taunts of the Paisleyites, Bernadette fought a courageous campaign.

Around 3 a.m. on the night of the election a large crowd, mainly of Devlin supporters had gathered outside the school in Omagh where the count was going on, waiting for the result. Most of them were quite convinced that Bernadette had won and were waiting for the victory parade. After the result was declared and Bernadette was back with an increased majority, they all gathered up outside the Courthouse. As someone raised a Starry Plough over the court house, Bernadette raised her fist and began to sing the 'Internationale'. Spontaneously large parts of the crowd raised their fists and joined in humming and singing the snatches of words they knew.

Mid-Ulster had re-elected its SOCIALIST

Steve O' Dwyer



THE FIRE THIS TIME

[This is the abridged version of a speech made by a leading Irish militant at the founding conference of the Spartacus League in London on July 4-5, 1970]

At the turn of the century British imperialism had arrived at a new method of governing Ireland. The proceeds of the scramble for Africa had made it possible to buy out the landlord class in Ireland. The Irish countryside could therefore be transformed from an Eastern European situation to a Western European one. The land problem could in that way be removed from Irish politics. British imperialism could then come to terms with the southern bourgeoisie to construct a modern up-to-date method of exploiting Ireland. This southern bourgeoisie wanted to erect a tariff barrier between itself and England so that it would be able to compete within its own market. The northern bourgeoisie on the other hand had no use for such a barrier. Indeed it would have been fatal to its interests for its shipbuilding industry etc was really a part of British industry implanted in Ireland. It depended on free and unfettered access to the Imperial markets: its whole mode of production was rooted in that premise. By themselves, however, the northern bourgeoisie would not have been strong enough to resist a general mobilisation of the people against British Imperialism led by the southern bourgeoisie. It could offer a successful resistance only because it was able to maintain the support of the Protestant settlers in Northern Ireland.

HOME RULE= ROME RULE

Mobilised on the slogan that Home Rule meant Rome Rule, it is true that had the north come under the domination of the southern bourgeoisie, it was probable that sections of the population from small farmers upward would have suffered. Although a crude characterisation, it is true to say that the Catholics in the North are Blacks with white skins. The Protestant settlers remain conscious of themselves as colons. The Protestants originally settled on land robbed from the native Catholic Irish. The fact that they have settled on stolen land, and that the original occupants have remained in the country and not been exterminated after the North American model, has been the basis for a continuing fear of the Catholics by the Protestant population. To this day the Catholic streets are referred to as Irish streets in the North. If the British connexion were to be broken and an Irish Workers Republic declared, it is possible that a third of the Northern Irish would emigrate rather than remain to have equal rights with the Catholics. So deeply rooted is the colon mentality (In fact the situation bears some comparison to Algeria, although the French settlers there had not been in the country for nearly such a length of time as the Protestants in Ireland).

In 1912 the Protestants had resorted to armed uprising to stop the Home Rule Bill from being implemented. The southern response was nationalist uprising. By 1920 Britain was both weak at home and had acquired new colonies abroad. What it did not want was a continuing guerrilla war on its hands in Ireland. It tried repression (The Black and Tans etc), but this

only intensified peoples' war against it. Guerrilla troops beat British imperialism out of two-thirds of Ireland: Britain's influence became restricted to the towns. The King's writ no longer ran. The Civil War had a massive effect on the Irish working class.

ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

With the end of World War 1 a run down took place in many Irish industries connected with agriculture. They had been inflated by the war and with the end of the war the market collapsed.

In some cases rather than face the sack, workers took over the factories, imitating the example of the Russian workers and soviets. The national revolution showed signs of growing over into a socialist revolution. Because of the deep implantation of chauvinist attitudes and because of the predominantly nationalist character of the revolution, it had not so far made a deep impression on the British working class. British imperialism feared, however, that if the Irish revolution assumed an independent socialist character, the struggle in Ireland would link up with that in Britain, particularly with that of the Clydeside workers.

The southern bourgeoisie therefore got its tariff barriers or at least the eventual opportunity to erect them. The tragedy for the Irish working class had been that it lost its Marxist leadership in 1916: however necessary and important for the struggle that uprising was, its cost was great. The result was that in 1920 the Irish working class did not enter the situation as an independent factor. The situation was resolved by the Northern and Southern bourgeoisies and by British imperialism.

In the North the mass support of the Protestants was in an area around Belfast, so small an area in fact that it was not viable as a bridgehead or a sub-statelet. It was necessary to extend this district. The problem then was one of maintaining control once large numbers of Catholics were admitted. For this reason three of the historic counties of Ulster were left out of the formation of the six county state. The remaining boundaries were very carefully drawn to allow the Unionists to maintain control while including as large an area as possible. In four and a half counties the Catholics were either in a majority or constituted a very substantial minority. These Catholics would not work the Northern Irish state and because of this a fascist state was erected in the North. The Catholics were smashed militarily, politically and psychologically. Pogroms, 'B' Specials and all the rest of the repressive apparatus was used to make sure that the Catholic population remained crushed. Politically they were demoralised by the Civil War in the South, which they didn't understand. The Catholics in the North had historically constituted one of the more politically backward sections of the population and would have settled for the Free State. This lasted from the time of the Treaty (1922) to the present day.

A CHANGING SITUATION

Why is it that the change has come about now? The 1922 Treaty is out of date. The balance of forces has altered and altered against the Northern bourgeoisie. Although the achievements of the Southern bourgeoisie have been limited in the economic sphere certain sections of southern industry have been able to build themselves up by means of tariff barriers. One example is the steel industry, which for a long time has had to put up with a market-sharing agreement with English firms; not competing in the North or

in Britain and sharing the southern market on a 50-50 basis. In the last period it has felt sufficiently strong to break that agreement. With the rise of the Common Market, the southern bourgeoisie has faced the choice of either going in with Britain or staying out and stagnating. The logic of its position is that it is better to go in and be the subject of a number of bourgeoisies than to be the subject of one. Britain, however, had to protect Southern Ireland for itself. British capitalism strove to integrate southern Irish agriculture with its own before the entry into the market. Accordingly from the mid-fifties onwards Free Trade agreements have been made between Britain and Ireland and each year tariffs between the two countries are reduced considerably.

What industry there is in the South are new industries such as electronics which are growing industries. These industries will be able to stand the pace of the Common Market. The situation in the North is exactly the reverse. There the industries are older (Shipbuilding, linen). These industries still integrated to the British economy are precisely those which are declining throughout the economy.

The reason for the need to keep a military bridgehead against the southern bourgeoisie has been declining too. Those troops were needed if the southern bourgeoisie got out of hand and restarted the national struggle. While De Valera held power this always remained a small possibility for he was basically a Bonapartist. The troops were also needed if the southern bourgeoisie found itself incapable of controlling the masses in the South.

It was Harold Macmillan who first mooted a plan for the reform of the Northern regime. Wilson put pressure on the northern state to reform itself. O'Neill talked in terms of reform to a satisfy the British government. He did not act, however, hoping for the return of a Tory government. His talk however had raised hopes of reform from below. Another factor in the situation was the effects of the Butler Education Act. A few Catholics were able to enter Queen's University in Belfast and after this experience of education it was impossible for them to contemplate a return to the submissive role allotted to Catholics in the North. In fact throughout the North a generation exists which has not been defeated or had its spirit broken.

The timetable of reform has gone completely awry. British imperialism which had originally attempted to encourage the Catholics, last week failed to repress them with 7000 troops and failed to smash the resistance in the Falls.

URBAN GUERRILLA WARFARE!

The immediate prospect is one of continuing urban guerrilla warfare in the North continuing into the winter. That conflict may well spread into the south too. The Ulster Volunteer Force will try and mobilise a 'people's militia'. It will try to do again in 1970 what it did in 1920. This time, however, a number of factors aren't on their side. There is no civil war in the south and if there were one it would have a real meaning for Catholics in the North. The situation is not one like Rhodesia where the White Settlers can count on their superior technology over that of the surrounding areas. Any attempted pogrom would meet with intervention from the South. It would be unlikely that this intervention would be sponsored by the southern Irish government so that an attempt to overthrow that Government could not be ruled out.



