

básic riot gear. But after that — Christ! Well, it shook me! It got more like commando training. We were trained to do house raids and things like that. They put you in street complexes in the camp, just like Belfast or Derry or Liverpool, and really put you through it — with men firing blanks at you. They'd put you through it again and again, like a brainwash, so all you could do was react. The whole attitude of the Army became that much tougher and harder. But the patrols over there in the Protestant areas, they were really light.

There were certain people — and this was a totally new thing — who were picked out and separated; allowed to grow their hair, beards, do anything they wanted before going over, to change their appearance. And given small-arms training. They operated over there but you were never told what they did — it was special duty. You heard gossip and so on, it was obvious there was some other force operating along with the army. But they'd always deny it, saying that the SAS wasn't working there, that it was working some-

where else . . . you know.

Operating in England When I was in, whenever I'd hear about a strike in Liverpool or Glasgow I think at the time I'd have broken it if we'd been ordered. Because they present it as just another operation, like all your training — just a domestic issue, with no enemy. There's going to be a lot of those in the future. And it's really tight in the Army — if you answer back, they slap you inside. When there's a riot or demonstration or strike here, they'll use just the same methods they've developed in Ireland. They will.

And after Well, I've been out three years. I wasn't in there when it really got heavy. But I had a job for a year after coming out with my month's wages and twenty quid a year for life. That's what's left of my £6 a quarter for being in the reserve — after tax. Been on the dole for two and a half years, there's fuck all jobs. Last week the SS man came round and threatened me. He said people who are on the dole a long time tend to get in trouble with the police.

NO TO THE JENKINS LAW



It's not only in the North where Republicans are harassed. The picture shows the attitude of the Southern police. In the so-called 'Free State' there are hundreds of Republican prisoners.

The only 'policy' that will allow the possibility of a solution to the crisis in Northern Ireland is British withdrawal. While the British government refuses to relinquish its imperialist stranglehold, it will be forced more and more to rely on repression to contain the crisis. The Jenkins Act is only the latest in a series of such Acts of containment. In 1922, only a year after the Partition of Ireland and the setting up of the artificial statelet of Ulster, the *Special Powers Act* was introduced. It was only supposed to last for 'one year and no longer' . . . It was renewed annually until 1928; from then on it became virtually permanent legislation in the Six Counties. It allowed unlimited powers of arrest and detention.

POLICE STATE

Detention (internment) has been used *every decade* since Partition. 'A police state' even from a liberal position is the most accurate description of the legal set-up in the Six Counties. In 1974 the SPA was replaced by the *Emergency Provisions Act*. This was little more than a 1974 version of the old Act — a feeble attempt to create an impression of liberalisation. True, the death penalty was abolished, but all the powers of arrest, detention and so on remained. The right of silence, hallowed in British justice, has never existed in Northern Ireland. The armed forces were given the right to arrest on suspicion of an 'offence' being committed without even stating the reason for arrest. Vorster, the South African Prime Minister, acknowledged that the SPA was more repressive than anything he could allow.

Such legislation has allowed the British Army and the state, under a facade of 'legality', to develop and put into operation some of the most inhuman forms of torture in the world today. (See the BSSRS pamphlet *The New Technology of Repression*.)

NO JUDGE, NO JURY

The liberation struggle in Ireland has for periods of this century involved the extension of military struggle onto the English mainland. The most recent example of this has been the IRA bombing campaign, leading up to the truce in 1974. The state has again reacted in the only way it can — with repression. The Prevention of Terrorism Act bears close resemblance to the EPA. It bans the IRA. This makes it criminal to belong to, raise money for, encourage support for, or organise meetings in support of, the IRA. All these crimes are deliberately left vaguely defined and can be used as the flimsiest excuses for arrest and detention (a man has been jailed for six months for selling a poster which supported the IRA). The PTA allows exclusion and deportation orders to be served on anyone 'concerned in the commis-

sion, preparation or instigation of acts of terrorism'. This is equally vague, and the Home Secretary has sole authority to arbitrate — no judge, no jury. Similar legislation (the Immigration-Act) has recently been used against the Italian militant, Franco Caprino, who had been unionising immigrant catering workers. He was detained in Pentonville Prison in December 1974 and threatened with deportation. No reasons were given, but it was clear that his political beliefs were the cause. He was eventually released following a widespread protest. Two men (Noel McComb and James Flynn) were deported to Belfast under the PTA only to be arrested there under the EPA. Basically, the legislation is being used to get rid of people when the state is unable to convict in an open court — despite the fact that the rigour of criminal evidence is increasingly being dropped in Irish trials in England.

The PTA allows for detention up to seven days without charge (removing the centuries-old safeguard of *habeas corpus*, which prevented holding without charge over twenty-four hours). Fingerprints and photos can be taken without magistrates' permission. This effectively allows the police to arrest for seven days' uninterrupted interrogation without even charging the person, as they have shown themselves only too happy to do.

All in all, the PTA makes political life for Irish people in Britain virtually impossible. Even sending money for the relief of internees can be construed as being support for the IRA. And as the Caprino case shows, the legislation can be easily turned to much wider use.

WHOSE CONSPIRACY?

And the state has other legal weapons too. The Incitement to Disaffection Act has been dug up and used against people encouraging desertions from the Army. Pat Arrowsmith was jailed for handing out a leaflet explaining to British soldiers how to desert. Others have been charged to date. The use of conspiracy laws is becoming more frequent as political opposition to the state grows — as with the Stoke Newington 8 and the Shrewsbury pickets. All that has to be 'proved' is that two or more people met together and discussed something, whether or not they actually did it, something which might be criminal. The conspiracy charge is now being slapped on almost automatically in cases where the state's evidence won't otherwise stand up.

The pattern becomes clear. As the class struggle grows in this country, the use of repressive laws will grow. The conspiracy laws and now the PTA. And once these Acts are in use, it's very difficult for the working class to get rid of them. The PTA was renewed for another six months in May 1975 with only ten MPs opposing it. The SPA has run for 53 years! So much for the twelve months. So far (July '75), under the PTA around five hundred people (officially) have been questioned — and only *one* convicted. Thirty-eight exclusion orders have been signed. And now they're planning an amendment to further the process — to make 'planning an act of terrorism' a crime. Again, it all hinges on what you mean by planning. You could prove that someone committed a crime — but how can you prove they 'planned' one?

TROOPS OUT NOW!

The Troops Out Movement was started in September 1973. It has two demands: Troops Out Now! and Self-Determination for the Irish People as a Whole. Elsewhere in the pamphlet we explain what we mean by self-determination. Simply, it is the right of the Irish people as a whole to determine their own future, free from the two most obvious restraints imposed on Ireland by imperialism — the border and the Army Britain needs to prop it up with. Here we also explain why one of the arguments most often raised — that if the troops are pulled out there will be a 'bloodbath' — is false.

The TOM has built fast since its beginning. A series of demonstrations and other national initiatives have established it as a real presence in England on the question of Ireland. In May 1975 it organised a massive conference of Labour Movement delegates which overwhelmingly voted in favour of the TOM positions.

Big Flame militants have been working in the TOM since its founding. We believe that at the moment the TOM is the most important way for socialists in England to work on Ireland. In our work to build the campaign to get the troops out, we make clear our difference from the chauvinists, those who just say 'Get our boys back home and let the mad Irish kill each other!' The presence of the Army is the most oppressive form of British intervention in the affairs of Ireland. Only by its being pulled out, not when the British ruling class would like to, but now, can the struggle for liberation be won. And in that process, we believe, the ground for socialism in Ireland can be laid.

The TOM has also produced about the best arguments for its own position that has come out of the left in Britain on Ireland — the Alternative White Paper. It's well worth reading. (And only 15p.)

a 'bloodbath'. Rees acknowledged in the Commons in early 1975 that any pogroms would be by the Loyalists, and not by the IRA, yet troop deployment is almost wholly against the Catholics.

'... neither the British Government nor the Army are intent on eliminating the sectarian threat in the North of Ireland. This is because a decision to eliminate sectarianism would also be a decision to eliminate the Northern Ireland state. Rather, their strategy has been to stabilise the situation while attempting to pursue solutions in the framework of the existing Northern Ireland state. Consequently, Army tactics have been to contain sectarianism at times, while conducting a relentless war against the Catholic insurgency, which threatens all British solutions which do not question the existence of the Northern Ireland state.' [Alternative White Paper, Paragraph 71]

'Withdraw them to Barracks'?

The state has a strange bedfellow in the Communist Party, for whom the 'bloodbath' argument is the only prop for their empty slogans on Ireland and their complete inactivity on the question. They argue that the troops should be 'withdrawn to barracks' and that a 'Bill of Civil Rights' should be introduced for the North. This position is riddled with contradictions. The barracks are nearly all on the edges of Catholic areas, just yards away, and withdrawal to them would not remove their oppressive presence from the struggle. Secondly, it fails to recognise the role of the army itself in disarming and oppressing the Catholics. Finally, it doesn't answer any of the problems we have raised concerning the nature of the class struggle — who is to enforce the Bill? The Army? It is a curious form of anti-imperialism that still tries to use our ruling class to legislate the self-determination of the Irish people! As with their practice in England, far from facing up to the questions of state power and the struggle for socialism, the CP's position on Ireland covers over them in two major ways. Firstly, it covers over the nature of the Ulster statelet and the anti-imperialist struggle against it. The statelet can't be reformed. As long as it exists, the minority will be oppressed. Secondly, it furthers illusions in the nature of our own state, our own ruling class and our own Army.

TROOPS OUT NOW! AND THE 'BLOODBATH' ARGUMENT

The argument that there will be a 'bloodbath' if the troops are pulled out is voiced by several different class interests. First, it is a staple argument of the British state, who argue that the troops' role is as a 'peace-keeping force', that they are more or less successful, and that their presence prevents

What the Army's there for

The 'bloodbath' objection also comes from a lot of people who are otherwise sympathetic to the TOM position. They point to the frightening military power of the Loyalists and the apparent vulnerability of the Catholics in the face of it, and argue – perhaps – that, while the Army isn't exactly a peace-keeping force, well it sort of stops things from boiling over, doesn't it?

To all of these, we say firstly that fifteen hundred deaths in the last few years is itself a bloodbath, and secondly that the presence and actions of the Army actually make things worse. Prospective 'victims' of the bloodbath don't seem too impressed by the argument that the Army will defend the ghettos themselves, either. We think that a conflict of civil war proportions is virtually inevitable in Ireland, whether or not the troops are there. And the troops have made this likely to be more bloody. They have created, and will continue to create, the conditions for more deaths and block the possibility of any resolution – except on the bosses' terms.

Their deployment is almost completely devoted to raiding, disarming and harassing the Catholic population. They turn their backs on the increasing military power of the Loyalists. By siding with the Loyalist against the Catholics, they give the Loyalists more confidence. Some examples of this – when the army refused to obey the orders of the British government to break the UWC strike last May, they ensured that the strike would succeed in bringing down the power-sharing executive that threatened to diminish the Loyalists' control of Ulster. When the army gives information to the RUC and the UDR (the heavily armed ex B-Specials that Rees reincarnated at the end of 1974), they are helping prepare the conditions for a Loyalist takeover accompanied – necessarily – by massive repression. All gives confidence to the Loyalists.

Long Kesh, the camps and jails, and the merciless harassment of the people has also taken its toll, though at the same time it has stiffened the will of the nationalists to resist. The Army has collaborated with the RUC in allowing the Loyalists to intimidate the Catholics out of mixed areas into compact ghettos. Not only are they turning a blind eye to the campaign of sectarian murders by the Loyalists – they are actually helping, by passing over secret files on Republicans to the Loyalist paramilitary groups. After all, repressing the Catholics is an activity in the common interest of both the British Army and the Loyalist groups.

Troops Out Now!

In the face of all that, *and because of it*, we still call for *Troops Out Now!* It isn't that we don't think there may well be more lives lost, or are callous. Simply, it is because we don't want to see more working class people killed, and the chance of our losing the struggle against imperialism in Ireland diminished.

On the other side of the argument, there are several things to suggest that the situation isn't quite so dire. The IRA is a highly trained, skilled army with mass support and everything to fight for. The Loyalists on the other hand are a much less unified force. If the troops are pulled out now, under our pressure, then a lot of that confidence among the working class Protestants would be eroded. Many were hesitant about supporting the UWC stoppage till they saw it would succeed *because* of the tacit support of the Army. And, finally, in a civil war situation it is inevitable that the people of the Twenty-six Counties would support the minority, that there would be mutinies in the Free State Army, and that there would be sections of that Army who would come and support the nationalists.

Even in a civil war situation we must still call for *Troops Out Now!* to help get rid of the biggest block in the way of the self-determination of the Irish people as a whole. The demand is aimed at *changing the balance of forces* in the favour of the minority. If the demand is won, then it would give a tremendous boost to the minority in their struggle. And, unlike the CP slogans, it focuses on the most direct arm of state power and its role in the context of the sectarian Northern Ireland state.

Just to get it straight, we don't have any time for the argument that goes – well, the Catholics don't want the troops out *now* – that's too sudden. Look what their organisations say! As far as it matters for us, the demands of the TOM are directed *against our own ruling class*. It is up to the forces fighting for independence what tactical demands they raise – not for us to *tell* them how to fight. And anyway, both the Irish Republican Socialist Party and the People's Democracy support the demands of the TOM, and the Provisional Republican paper has given a lot of coverage to the TOM. The main reason that the Official IRA call for withdrawal to barracks is the same as their distance from the struggle – they are not leading from inside the struggle of the masses. 'Withdrawal to barracks' means nothing to the people who have been kicked around by the Army and fought the Army for six years.



Catholic youths attack armoured cars in Derry.



Another encounter with the occupying Army.

“A NATION THAT ENSLAVES ANOTHER . . .”

The struggle in Ireland is one of the most important struggles there is in relation to the fight for socialism in England today. As revolutionaries working over here, we have to have a clear idea what that struggle is and how we can best work to support it. And also how we can learn from it. For us, this means at the moment building a strong anti-imperialist movement here which can focus a campaign to get the British troops out and to allow the Irish people as a whole to determine their own future. At this point in time, that movement is the Troops Out Movement.

The importance of the struggle in Ireland

It's self-evident that, as revolutionaries and socialists, we must also be internationalists. We hate ruling class oppression, exploitation and their repressive violence wherever it occurs *and* we support all struggles against ruling class oppression wherever they occur.

Our internationalism comes from realising that the struggle against capitalism *is* an international struggle, though often fought within national boundaries. Divisions within the working class internationally – divisions reflected in the inability of the working class of one country to identify with the struggle of the working class of another – are divisions which weaken the whole struggle. The struggle for international working class solidarity *is* part of the fight for socialism now.

But we don't say that the *only* reason the working class in Britain should support the Irish struggle is because of the direct practical effects it has on the class situation in Britain. There are very obvious effects, but we have fought, and will continue to fight, over Chile, South Africa, Vietnam . . . whatever 'tangible' influence they *seemed* to have on the course of the struggle in Britain. We are working round the Irish question for some of the same reasons.

The Irish struggle has overwhelming and immediate consequences for the development of the class struggle in Britain.

The outcome of the war which has been fought in Ireland over the past six years not only affects the overall balance of forces in the world between imperialism and socialist revolution, *for us in Britain it affects the very precise balance of forces between the ruling class and the working class.* Many of the interconnections between the struggle in Britain and in Ireland are obvious: we relegate Ireland at the cost of the British revolution.

A war is being fought thirty miles off the west coast of Britain in what the ruling class still believes to be part of the United Kingdom. It is being fought against the same ruling class and the same government against which the working

class in Britain is struggling. It is being fought *directly* against the same Army which has been used twice in recent times to scab on sections of the working class in Britain (the Glasgow firemen's and dustmen's strikes). We face the same enemy.

And, just as for the working class in Portugal, for the working class in Britain the morale and political confidence of the state is of great importance. In 1972 the whole strategy of the ruling class was smashed — in Britain — by the strength which came from the mining communities and then the movement around the Pentonville Five; in Ireland, by the militant struggles of the Catholic people in mass demonstrations and the total rent and rate strikes and by the successful armed struggle fought by the Irish Republican Army. In fact, *the setting for the victories of the working class in Britain was the defeat of the British government's policies in Ireland.* In February 1972 the Tories were *forced* by the vitality of the struggle in Ireland to reverse their policies; to negotiate a ceasefire with the IRA and to abolish Stormont, the Protestants' seat of power in the Northern Ireland Constitution. Internment, military confrontation and Bloody Sunday had not achieved what the ruling class kept promising — peace on imperialist terms. So when it came to the class struggle back home, the working class here was faced with its ruling class already shaken and lacking confidence.

In the same way, it's obviously no minor point for us whether the British Army emerges from the Irish war triumphant, and practically and ideologically well trained and confident in its ability to carry out counter-insurgency, or whether it emerges from the war unsuccessful and with a rank and file demoralised and wondering what it's all about. (Though we should be clear that Ireland isn't just a training ground for Britain. Ireland's the real thing. Ireland is a training ground only in so far as one major battle helps prepare for another major battle.)

Also, the war has been fought — and is likely to continue being fought in the future — *in Britain* as well as in Ireland. In this way, the Irish struggle will continually raise issues which we cannot afford to ignore in our political work as militants and revolutionaries.

Repression

The chauvinism in the English working class has allowed a massive repressive move in the state to develop with no resistance. And whole sections of the left have reflected this chauvinism by failing to fight it hard. The reaction to the Birmingham bombings was only the most recent example of the counterrevolutionary unity between the classes in Britain. At the Birmingham British Leyland plant (Longbridge), an Irish worker was all but lynched. The Prevention of Terrorism Act has signalled a widespread use of blanket terror tactics against Irish people in Birmingham, London, Luton, Bletchley and Bristol, among other places. (Including the case of a Communist Party shop steward who was served with an exclusion order simply on the grounds of his 'political activities'.) Chauvinism ties the working class to its own bosses. It is the opposite of revolutionary socialist politics. Together with the material divisions in the working class in Britain, it reinforces anti-Irish racism against the four million or so Irish working class people living in Britain, and so further deepens the divisions within our class. On the major questions of the role of the Army and the state, it obliterates a possible clear perspective on them within the mass of the working class. The state could *unhindered* strengthen its powers because of Ireland — the Jenkins' Laws or welfare-stop legislation to break rent and rate strikes which have been a major anti-imperialist weapon. So far nearly five hundred people have been held under the Jenkins' Act for up to seven days without charge. Only a handful have been convicted of any offence.

Fascist base

Ulster provides a base for the growth of fascist and extreme right-wing groups linked to similar groups in Britain. It's no accident that Powell has chosen to base himself there, or that the National Front work hand in gauntlet with some of the most fascist elements of the Loyalists over there and over here (e.g. the UVF). This is the clearest indication of

the importance to the class struggle here. What sort of state exists off the west coast of Britain is crucial. Whether Ireland, or part of it, is socialist, bourgeois democratic or fascist is of great importance to our own struggle. We shouldn't forget how Spain is being used as a base and refuge for fascist plotting to destroy the workers' movement in Portugal. No revolutionary movement can afford to have a haven of reaction nestling off its west coast, particularly in view of the dangerous link of Orangeism to sections of the working class in Britain, especially in Liverpool and Glasgow.

The massive Irish immigration into Britain (both Catholic and Protestant), based on Britain's traditional use of Irish workers as an army of labour to be drawn on when it's needed, has led to a situation in which we should take very seriously the likelihood of a civil war in Ireland leading to some sort of mass 'political violence', spreading rapidly to cities such as Glasgow, Liverpool, London, Birmingham and Manchester.



Catholic house wrecked after Army search.

Finally, the Irish war has put great and increasing financial burdens on a state which is already economically weak. The costs of the war — both in direct military expenditure and in the subsidy by the British state to industry in Northern Ireland — are continuing to rise rapidly (currently just under five hundred millions a year).

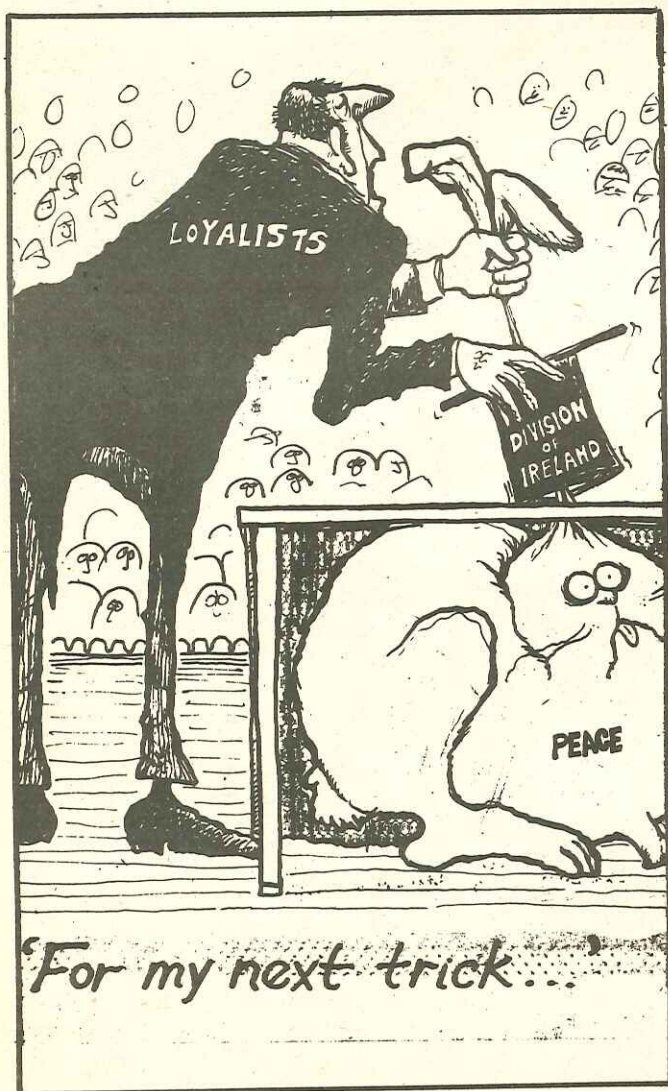
WE HAVE A GREAT DEAL TO LEARN FROM THE IRISH STRUGGLE

The Irish struggle raises directly questions of great importance for the working class in Britain. It poses answers to these questions which make the political differences between ourselves and certain others who call themselves communists, socialists, or even revolutionaries crystal clear (in the same way that Chile does, except that it's the *British* Army, and it's a bit nearer home).

The power of the community

The Irish struggle also demonstrates very clearly how the power of the working class (or sections of the working class) *does not lie exclusively with the heavy industrial working class.* (Yet it is on this basis — the ability of indus-

trial workers to withhold their labour power, organised in trade unions – that all Trotskyist groups erect their strategy for working class revolution in Britain.) The abolition of Stormont in 1972 came about as the result of a massive struggle in the North, centred in the *community*, in the Catholic ghettos. Precisely because of the state of Ulster many Catholics are unemployed. The core of this was the armed struggle, but the strength of the armed struggle lay in the mobilisation of the community around street demonstrations, rioting, total rent, rate, electricity, gas, TV bill, car tax, etc., strikes – the strategy of the no-go areas. In all these struggles the role of women and children was crucial. In fact, in general, the role of young people and women has been of great importance from 1967 on and, especially with women, has become increasingly important ever since. It was these militant anti-imperialists, so called ‘hooligans’, who formed the core of the armed struggle against Britain.



No peace will come through the division of Ireland.

Religious divisions

The Irish struggle has a *great-deal* to teach us on the question of how to approach a divided working class. In Big Flame we all recognise that the working class in Britain is divided in all sorts of ways – men/women; skilled/unskilled; waged/wageless; black/white; Irish/non-Irish; employed/unemployed; young/not young. The question is: how do we cope with this problem in the fight for socialism?

In Ireland, one division dominates the working class in the North – Loyalist/Catholic. We learn from Ireland the hollowness of simply calling for the unity of the working class. This was a lesson which People's Democracy learned early on – right back in 1968 when a demonstration calling for civil rights for all: housing, no discrimination in jobs, one person, one vote – was viciously attacked by Protestant

workers. Throughout its campaign up to that point, and for much longer, PD made calls for working class unity, for non-sectarianism, etc. What they had to learn – and what the Official IRA and the Communist Party, and occasionally IS, continue to forget – is that a call for equality, for fair allocation of housing and jobs, etc., was a *direct attack* on the privileged position of the Protestant workers. The divisions in the class were real, based on the different material interests of the different sections of the class; they couldn't just be wished away with a slogan. This divide and rule policy has been part of ruling class strategy in Ireland for years, and is a basic weapon in the arsenal of capital.

In Northern Ireland the Protestant working class has consistently and massively voted for Unionist and Conservative candidates in elections, i.e. voted Tory. The ruling class has been able to maintain an ideological stranglehold on the Protestant sections of the working class, not by trickery and propaganda simply, but by maintaining the material divisions that it has created within the class as a whole.

In learning from Ireland, we can begin to see clearly how the struggle for the unity of the working class and the fight against reformism has to be based on the struggle of those sections of the working class which are fighting against the material divisions which are the basis, in the end, for the ideological divisions. This obviously connects up with our understanding of the importance, and nature, of black people's struggles in Britain. When we support autonomous black struggles, we are in no way giving aid to the divisions in the class, but recognising the way in which the class is going to be unified, *in struggle*. We must develop our understanding of how racism has been grounded in the everyday organisations of work and the community – which means for Black and Asian workers very different conditions of jobs and life than those experienced by large sections of the 'national' British working class. If we confine ourselves to 'educating the working class' about the dangers of the divisions within it, then we will find ourselves outside the struggles which are the only ways in which the class can hope to find some real basis for unity.

Unity

And, in Ireland, it is only the independence struggle of the minority in the Six Counties that can lay the basis for a real class unity. That unity would include the formerly oppressed sections, including those in the Twenty-six Counties, but, as well, those elements of the formerly oppressive sections (especially in the Loyalist working class) who came round to it. The division of labour and power has in the process to be destroyed.

On the left in Britain there is always a tendency to look towards the slightest signs of the divided working class in the Six Counties uniting. (For example, the period of fraternisation in Long Kesh, or the brief 'unity' of Catholic and Protestant dairy workers in the recent milk strike.) They give these signs great importance. We must guard against that, understanding how the *very existence* of the statelet of Northern Ireland creates and reproduces the material and ideological divisions within the class. As long as that state exists, there can be no hope of any firmly founded working class revolutionary unity developing. As long as most sections of the working class in Britain (divided again by the international division of labour), and even most militants in Britain, remain hostile to the struggle in Ireland – then for revolutionaries there will be a real conflict between the needs of the struggle in Ireland and in Britain. For too long revolutionaries have put the temporary needs of the revolution in Britain *above* the needs of the struggle in Ireland. That is chauvinism – the victory of the Irish struggle is ours too.

Racism

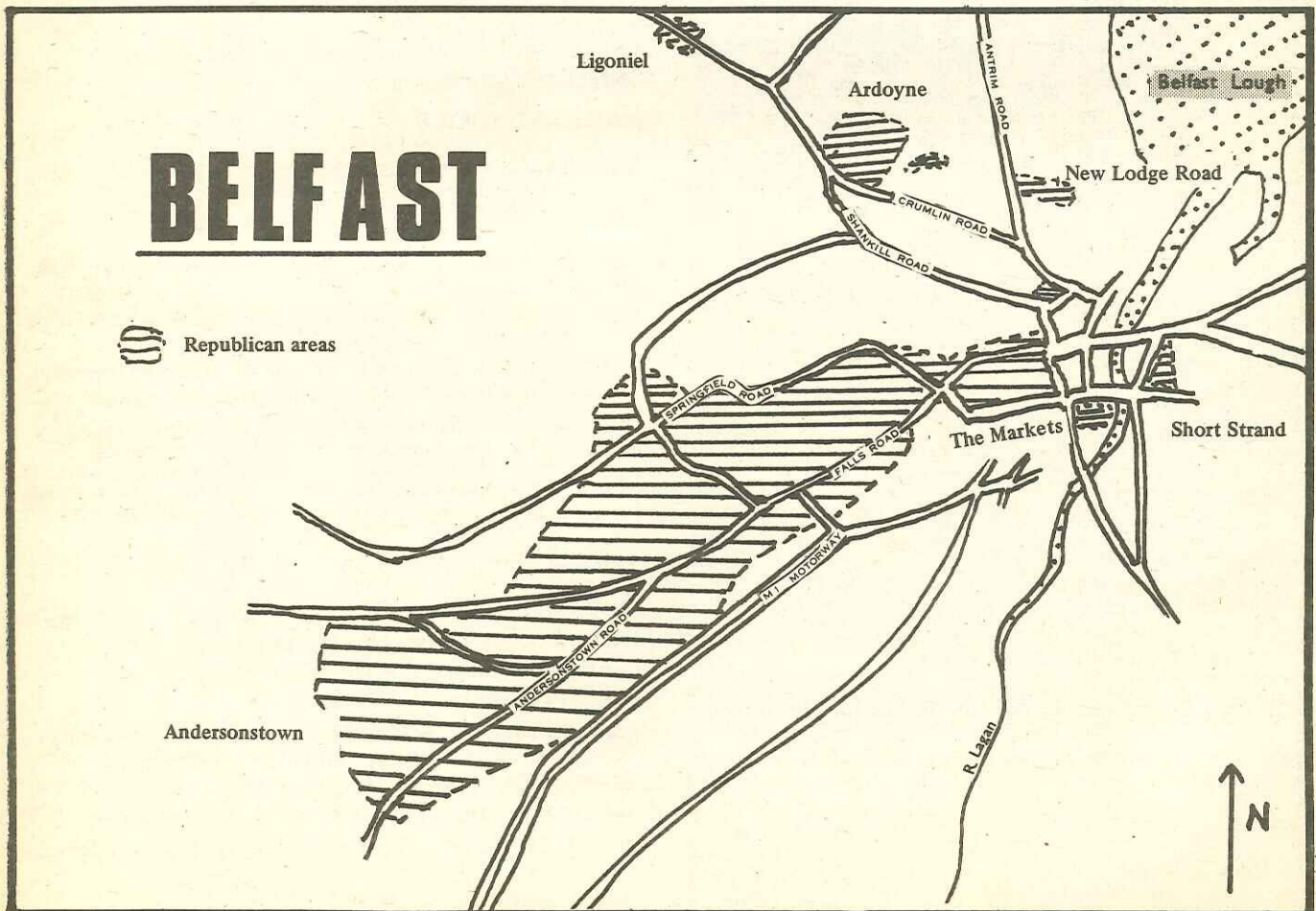
Racism and chauvinism are closely linked ideologies. Their roots both lie in the international division of labour, and in the need of capital to maintain a 'reserve army of labour'. At the moment, the ruling class is attempting to use Ireland to deepen the divisions within the working class in Britain. What Marx said has never been truer – 'A nation that oppresses another can never itself be free'.



LONG KESH

This is Long Kesh camp after the prisoners burnt it to the ground in October 1974. The mass mobilisations of the prisoners in the Kesh, Magilligan camp, Crumlin Road and Armagh jails, and the huge demonstrations of support outside marked the return of the struggle on the streets after the Loyalist victory of the UWC stoppage. In Crumlin and Magilligan prisoners attacked state property. In Armagh

the women prisoners held the male governor hostage. And riots broke out in Belfast when the Army stopped demonstrators from marching to the city centre and, later, out of the ghettos to Long Kesh itself. But the prisoners suffered for their defiance. Hundreds were systematically beaten up by the troops and dozens had to go to hospital. Yet their actions had boosted the morale of a still undefeated people.



GLOSSARY

REPUBLICAN AND SOCIALIST GROUPS

- CLANN na hEIREANN – Organisation of Irish people in Britain, linked to Official Sinn Fein.
- CUMANN na mBANN – Women's section of the Provos.
- CUMANN na gCAILINI – Youth section of the Cumann na mBan.
- FIANNA EIREANN – Youth Section of the IRA.
- IRA Irish Republican Army. Formed in 1919. Split in January 1970 into *Provisional IRA* and *Official IRA*.
- IRSP Irish Republican Socialist Party. Formed in December 1974 by a split from the Official IRA over the importance of the national question.
- NICRA Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association. Early civil rights organisation; support declined as armed struggle escalated. Now dominated by the Officials and the Communist Party of Ireland.
- PD People's Democracy. Formed 1968 during civil rights campaign. Since the early '70s has been a revolutionary marxist organisation.
- PLA People's Liberation Army. Armed group supporting IRSP.
- RCA Revolutionary Citizens' Army. Armed group supporting PD.
- RMG Revolutionary Marxist Group. Small. Irish section of the 4th International. Linked to International Marxist Group in Britain.
- SAOR EIRE Small, elite armed Republican group to the left of the Provos. Most of its leadership now in jail in the South.
- SINN FEIN Political wing of the IRA. Since the split there has been a Provisional Sinn Fein and an Official Sinn Fein. In Britain Sinn Fein is an organisation of Irish people linked to Provisional Sinn Fein.
- SWM Socialist Workers' Movement. Small revolutionary group linked to the International Socialists in Britain.

LOYALIST GROUPS

- DOWN ORANGE WELFARE – Paramilitary group led by Colonel Peter Edward Brush, Assembly Member.
- LAW Loyalist Association of Workers. superseded by the UWC
- PAF Protestant Action Force. Sectarian murder gang.
- RED HAND COMMANDOES – Sectarian murder gang. Breakaway from the UVF.
- UDA Ulster Defence Association. Formed 1972. Largest Protestant paramilitary group.
- UFF Ulster Freedom Fighters. Sectarian murder gang, probably linked to the UVF.
- UVF Ulster Volunteer Force. Founded 1912 by Carson. Re-formed 1966. Second largest Protestant paramilitary group.
- UWC Ulster Workers' Council. Responsible for May '74 stoppage which led to the collapse of Sunningdale. Made up of members of Vanguard Service Corps, Orange Volunteers and ex-LAW, and several independents.
- VANGUARD SERVICE CORPS – Paramilitary group linked to the Vanguard Party.

PARLIAMENTARY GROUPS

In the North

- ALLIANCE PARTY – Middle-class, 'power-sharing' party.
- DUP Democratic Unionist Party. Led by Ian Paisley. In the UUUC.
- NILP Northern Ireland Labour Party. Small social democratic party, based on declining Protestant trade union support.
- OUP Official Unionist Party. Led by Harry West. In the UUUC.
- REPUBLICAN CLUBS – Official Sinn Fein electoral front.
- SDLP Social Democratic Labour Party. Gerry Fitt, etc. Catholic Party pro 'power-sharing'.
- UPNI Unionist Party of Northern Ireland. Led by Brian Faulkner. Now totally eclipsed.
- UUUC United Ulster Unionist Council. Amalgamation of three parties – DUP, OUP and Vanguard.
- VANGUARD UNIONIST PARTY – Led by Bill Craig. Has own armed group, Vanguard Service Corps.

In the South

- FIANNA FAIL Erstwhile Southern Republican Parliamentarians. Led by 'Union' Jack Lynch. Totally pro-imperialist.
- FINE GAEL Pro-imperialist Southern parliamentarians. Now in government. Led by Liam Cosgrave.
- LABOUR PARTY – Led by Brendan Corish; spokesman Conor Cruise O'Brien. Part of present coalition government.

PAPERS

- AN PHOBLACHT – Provo Sinn Fein, Dublin.
- COMBAT UVF.
- LOYALIST NEWS – UDA.
- THE PLOUGH RMG.
- REPUBLICAN NEWS – Provo Sinn Fein, Belfast.
- ROSC CATHA Clann na hEireann.
- STARRY PLOUGH – IRSP
- UNFREE CITIZEN – PD.
- UNITED IRISHMAN – Official Sinn Fein, Dublin.

ARMY AND POLICE

- B-SPECIALS Protestant auxiliary police force. Disbanded two years ago.
- BRITS The British Army (term used by the Catholics in the North).
- MRF Military Reconnaissance Force. British 'dirty tricks' unit.
- RUC Royal Ulster Constabulary. The police. 95% Protestant. 6,000 men.
- RUC RESERVE Recently expanded to 4,000. Nearly all Protestant.
- SAS Special Air Service. British 'dirty tricks' unit.
- UDR Ulster Defence Regiment. 8,000 strong. Mostly part-time. Almost exclusively Protestant and heavily infiltrated by Loyalist extremist groups, particularly the 'For Ulster' group, responsible for a number of sectarian murders committed while on duty.

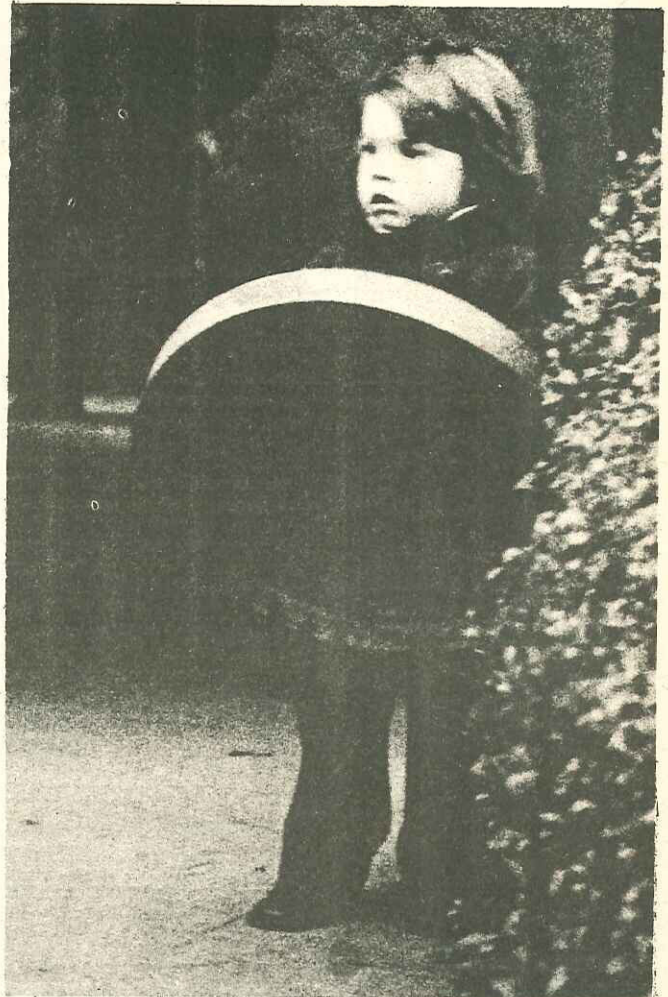
JAILS

- ARMAGH Women's prison in the North.
- CRUMLIN ROAD – Men's jail in Belfast.
- CURRAGH Men's jail in the South.
- LIMERICK Women's jail in the South.
- LONG KESH (Officially the 'Maze'). Men's internment camp near Belfast. Also has sentenced political prisoners.
- MAGILLIGAN Internment camp for men near Derry.
- MAIDSTONE Prison ship in Belfast once used for internees.
- MOUNTJOY Men's jail in the South. Site of the famous helicopter escape.
- PORT LAOISE Men's jail in the South.

CHRONOLOGY

- 1169 First main English invasion of Ireland.
- 1607 First main 'plantation' of settlers in Ulster.
- 1649 Cromwell invades Ireland to crush Catholic and Presbyterian rebels.
- 1672 James II comes to the throne.
- 1688 William of Orange replaces James as king.
- 1690 Battle of the Boyne.
- 1795 Orange Order first formed.
- 1798 United Irishmen revolt.
- 1845 The famine begins.
- 1848 'Young Irelanders' rebellion.
- 1867 Fenian uprising.
- 1875 Charles Parnell elected as 'Home Rule' MP for Meath.
- 1879-82 The 'land war' - peasants versus landlords.
- 1896 James Connolly forms the Irish Socialist Republican Party.
- 1907 Belfast dockers' strike.
- 1913 Dublin General Strike.
- 1916 Easter Rising in Dublin.
- 1921 Treaty signed partitioning Ireland and giving nominal independence to the Southern 26 Counties.
- 1921-2 Irish Civil War.
- 1932 Catholic and Protestant unemployed workers briefly unite in Belfast.
- 1936 Irish Blueshirts go to fight for Franco in Spain; IRA goes to fight against him.
- 1956-62 Sporadic IRA attacks on border targets.
- 1965 Communist Party-inspired socialists take over the Republican movement.
- 1966 Recently formed Ulster Volunteer Force murders two Catholics, wounds others.
- 1968 Beginning of Civil Rights movement in 6 Counties.
- 1969 August. Attacks by Orange mobs on Catholic ghettos in Belfast. 9 people killed and 500 houses (mostly Catholic) burnt out. British troops move in. December. IRA Army Council splits.
- 1970 January. Provisional IRA formed.
- 1971 February 6th. First British soldier killed on New Lodge Road. July 7th. Two unarmed men shot dead by soldiers in Derry. Massive rioting follows. August 9th. Internment introduced. Hundreds of people lifted. IRA operations increase accordingly.
- 1972 January 30th. Bloody Sunday in Derry. 13 civilians shot dead. Another dies later. March 24th. Stormont suspended. Direct rule from Westminster imposed as resistance continues to increase. June 26th. Ceasefire between British Army and IRA begins. July 9th. British Army attacks Catholic families in Lenadoon. Ceasefire ends. July 21st. Bloody Friday. 'Security' forces ignore bomb warnings, allowing 9 people to die in Belfast. This gives the necessary excuse for: July 30th. 'Operation Motorman' - No-go areas invaded. Set up new Army posts in schools and sports grounds.
- 1973 So far 200 soldiers and policemen have died. Over 1,000 injured. 75 IRA members dead. IRA begins to use RPG7 rocket launchers. January. First woman, Liz McKee aged 19, interned. February 3rd. 6 unarmed civilians shot dead by Army on New Lodge Road. March 20th. British announce their 'White Paper' on Ireland. New elections for Stormont.

- 1974 February. Labour government elected. Merlyn Rees becomes Secretary of State for Northern Ireland; Stan Orme, Under-Secretary. May 14th. UWC stoppage begins. May 29th. Brian Faulkner resigns. The end of Sunningdale. May 30th. UWC stoppage finishes. The Loyalists have got what they want - the end of power-sharing. June 4th. Michael Gaughan dies in Parkhurst Jail, Isle of Wight, as a result of hunger strike. July. Government White Paper planning Constitutional Convention. October 15th/16th. Long Kesh burnt by Republican prisoners. December 22nd. First ceasefire begins between Provisional IRA and British Army.
- 1975 January 10th. Ceasefire breaks down. January 16th. Ceasefire resumed. May 1st. Convention elections.



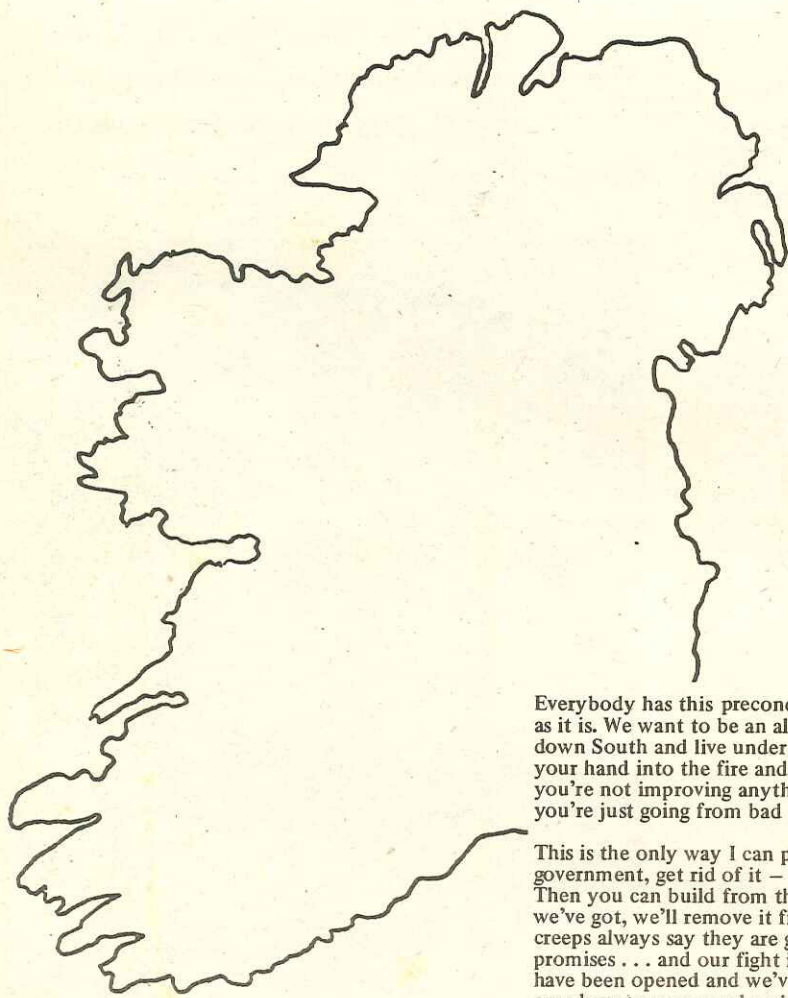
self-defence

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FROM BIG FLAME ONLY 10p



Everybody has this preconceived idea that we want to join with Southern Ireland as it is. We want to be an all-Ireland Socialist Republic – we don't want to go down South and live under the government that they have there. It's like putting your hand into the fire and then taking it out and putting it into the furnace, you're not improving anything, you're not alleviating the pain and suffering, you're just going from bad to worse.

This is the only way I can put it down to . . . Do not try to improve on the government, get rid of it – for fuck's sake get rid of it. You'll never improve on it. Then you can build from there. We'll never try to improve on the government we've got, we'll remove it first – this is what we have done. Gerry Fitt and those creeps always say they are going to work wonders for us . . . promises, promises, promises . . . and our fight is that we have lived too long on promises and our eyes have been opened and we've learned. We've had a hard lesson learned, but our eyes have been opened and we've learned what we want. We want better conditions, and we don't want some man coming down and saying, 'I'll give you a pound or two extra, but you'll have to work an extra five hours, and then I'll go off for three months out of a year at a time to the Bahamas while you, you silly poor old cow, you'll be lucky if you get a week-end away'. Well, these things aren't good enough, you'll have to destroy the system first and get rid of all the things that have oppressed you, and have oppressed the workers, the people and the women who have been oppressed by the government, and you have to build a better structure for the benefit of everybody like us in the North. We hope what comes out of all this trouble in the future will be for the benefit of everybody – Catholics and Protestants.

Eileen, Ardoyne 1975