

THE STRUGGLE IN IRELAND

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Repression in Ulster is intensified, more troops are sent in, apparently because some Irish are demanding civil rights. English people just don't know what's happening. Liberals react with outbursts of moral indignation - Parliament is able to perform the amazing constitutional acrobatic of enthusiastically hailing Bernadette Devlin while sending more troops.

Because of the great lack of analysis and information, RSSF have produced a preliminary discussion of the forces at work in Ulster. The strategic importance of Ulster and the events of the last weeks make it clear that we are about to see a major political struggle going on on our doorsteps, in one of the last outposts of British imperialism. We must prepare ourselves for that struggle with an intensive campaign of education and militant action - this paper is just the beginning.



DERRY OCTOBER 5TH 1968

The crucial date in the history of the movement and PD is October 5. Until Bernadette's parliamentary victory press coverage of the situation in Ulster had been desultory with occasional articles saying 'What a strange scene - how Irish etc.' Now police brutality, Joan of Arc, explosions, British troops and O'Neill's resignation call for the full treatment and we have got it. But the British press don't like to analyse social contradictions, preferring to displace attention onto the surface manifestations especially 'violence'. So to understand the significance and problems of Ulster's Civil Rights Movement and People's Democracy, both committed to non-violence we must cut our way through the new-grown verbiage of publicity.

In France and Italy, the United States and Spain force is experienced as the normal means of state control and therefore as a natural part of the language of freedom. Only in Britain it seems, has the reality of oppression been successfully exported. And to nowhere has it been more successfully and ruthlessly exported than Ireland. Ireland, conquered and broken, had its nascent industry destroyed in the early nineteenth century, and was depopulated of most of its able-bodied men after the British refused to relieve the Great Famine. Every elementary freedom was denied it; as the Empire steamed towards imperial grandeur and the Times thundered out its usual

shit, the principles of the free press were established in liberal England. These press cuttings, culled by Karl Marx and reproduced in his article 'The English Government and the Fenian prisoners' show how principles of the free press were actually applied.

Mulcahy, assistant editor of the Irish People, condemned for participation in the Fenian conspiracy; had a chain put around his neck, and was hitched to a cart loaded with stones in Dartmoor. O'Donovan Rossa, publisher of the Irish People; left in a gloomy cell for 35 days, hands chained behind his back day and night; was not released from his fetters at all, even at mealtimes when his food - thin soup - was placed on the floor for him.

The suppression of the Fenians, the shelling and destruction of Dublin, the Black and Tans... the tradition of violence in Ireland was a direct inheritance from and response to the British ruling class.

The Civil Rights movement is attempting to snap the fratricidal response to arms that has kept Ireland and the Ulster working class divided. In this they are supported by the IRA, some of whom, incredibly, put down their guns before marching to the ambush at Burntollet last January.

ORANGES AND GREENS

In 1690 William of Orange defeated James II at the Battle of the Boyne. They were disputing the throne of England, and in his attempt to win it James, a Catholic, felt the support he could rally in Ireland would be decisive.

In 1969, Captain Terence O'Neill and his opponents within the Unionist Party have been competing for the decisive support of the Protestant working class in Ulster. Superficially, the factions represent competing opinions of how the Catholic masses should be dealt with. After some manipulation the Protestant workers have responded dutifully. The nature of the appeal has been almost identical. How has this continuity been maintained? And why has the present proved a decisive period for its verification?

1. plantation

1690 meant the dispossession of the Catholic landowners, and the redistribution of the loot to adventurers in William's following. In the north there was little land to be redistributed, only a century-old Protestant ascendancy to safeguard. This had arisen through the plantation of this particularly rebellious area of Ireland by Scottish and English yeomen, artisans and peasants. They were planted in the richest agricultural areas and confirmed their superior status through developing the same cottage industries as had been the backbone of their economic existence in Britain. By the late eighteenth century their status was that of a comprador class. To protect its interests it formed secret defence organisations, one of which was used by the colonial regime in 1798 to inflict upon the Catholic supporters of a non-sectarian bourgeois revolution a fearsome reign of terror. This organisation was the Orange Order, and the consequence of its action was the division of the peasantry along religious lines.

In response, the Catholics (penalised from having an autonomous political expression of their own) were driven into the arms of their priests, who, acting as their political representatives, thus reinforced the 'loyalist' definition of their politics as instigated and articulated by the agents of Rome.

Cultural differences between the groups, reinforced by economic competition, prevented the Protestants from henceforth identifying with the Catholic mass movements of the nineteenth century. Economic competition rapidly developed into opposed class interests. The settlers, who from the beginning had treated the indigenous population as a sub-human threat, became closely identified with the Anglo-Irish colonialists whose career of exploitation involved rendering Ireland a nation of starved or half-starved paupers, and Ireland's land Britain's own potato patch.

The rack-renting, absenteeism and so on that this process involved produced an independent gombeen class whose aspirations to industrializing the homeland were expressed in the programme for legislative autonomy and protective tariffs of the Nationalist Party, which in demanding Home Rule commanded the support of the demoralised and de-politicised peasantry.

2. home rule

What was Home Rule and what did it mean? For the nationalists it meant the possibility of creating in Ireland a Gaelic Manchester. The tools of this creation would be a legislative autonomy and tariff protection. This was incompatible with the passage of events in Ulster. Belfast, by now a sizeable modern seaport, had its industries and trade irrevocably linked with the markets, materials and credit arrangements of the industrial areas of England and Scotland. Not only this, but its big and middle farmers, who had escaped the worst turmoils of the Famine and soil exhaustion in the south, were capitalized in much the same way as their English counter-parts. Home Rule, which would mean the annihilation of the commanding position of these groups, was thus opposed resolutely by them. They found staunch allies in the English Conservatives, who were prepared to use the issue in order to mobilize allies in defence against the Liberal attacks on the power of the House of Lords. They also found allies in the Ulster Protestant working class as organised through the Orange Order.

The Order, the 'loyalist' ally of 1798, has been discredited in the 1830's, and by the Home Rule period was badly fragmented, though still tolerated. It was swiftly revived to fill the role of focal politico-cultural opposition. Though being based on local church congregations representing workers and petit-bourgeoisie, it could articulate a

comprehensive mediatory bastion of hegemonic rule. It restored politics to their sectarian boundaries of peasant expression, and provided the manpower and ideological basis for the local struggle against Home Rule. The retotalization of politics in the north could have, in the absence of a strong and independent labour movement, only one consequence for the Catholics there, whose embattlement in the Six Counties corresponded to the embattlement of the Protestants in Ireland as a whole. They set up their own religiously based defence organisation - the Ancient Order of Hibernians - whose appearance was greeted by Protestants as further evidence of rampant Popery, and by the Catholic hierarchy with the undisguised delight of the knowledge that its defensiveness could be used as a lever to steer the Nationalist Party in the South into a more moderate position.

The AOH allowed the Protestants' leaders to keep awake the fear of Catholic intrusion and domination, greatly reinforcing the Protestants' ideological retardation. While in the south the intervention of the AOH in the Nationalist Party was by-passed by every militant element opposed to the continuation of British Rule. This separation weakened the Catholics in the North still further and helped to make partition possible, while the militants formed an uneasy alliance and prosecuted the national liberation struggle of 1919-21

3. civil war

The coalition broke over the question of the status of the new 'Free State', and there followed a civil war (1921-3) in which the republican petty bourgeoisie and small peasantry fought unsuccessfully against the national bourgeoisie which had provided much of the political leadership of the struggle of the previous years. The revolutionary socialism of James Connolly became submerged with him in the national liberation struggle itself, and was not to reappear for almost half a century. The defeated elements of the opposition in the civil war split, and there followed a period of almost incredible stagnation.

Those who took the Parliamentary road under De Valera captured state power, and with it the support of the important sections of the class they had fought against. Those who remained in extra-Parliamentary opposition were destined for an undistinguished oblivion broken only by occasional dosages of repression (from both their former allies and enemies) and by desperate attempts in England and the North at propaganda by deed. Yet this Republican opposition retained considerable support in some rural areas. When the strategy of Sinn Féin was eventually to change after 1962 such areas in the North were to play a vital strategic role as organisational and material bases for the Civil Rights movement.

4. civil rights

The Civil Rights movement entered a stage already set for an explosion in the cemented, but not fused, ruling Northern bloc. Since the early Orange days political leadership in Ulster had been the traditional preserve of the effete and remote landowning class. The Business-class was frequently excluded from the major positions of power by the organic hegemonic link of the landowners and the Protestant peasants and workers which was enforced by the structures of the Orange Orders. If that class was to capture power from the landowners, and thereby impose its own solution to the mismanagement of affairs by them (a mismanagement which had grown progressively more acute) it would have to detach the Protestant working class from the ruling complex. The dispute over the way to deal with the Rights movement afforded it an ideal opportunity, and a pressing necessity too, as that organisation threatened to display the capacity to accomplish this task on its own behalf. Thus Craig, as a representative of the business class, declared the Civil Rights movement as another papist plot precisely when it seemed that O'Neill was moving towards a mild accommodation of it. He declared that its marches were passing through 'loyalist' areas, which in Dungannon and Newry he had to invent, purposely to inflame fundamentalist Protestant feelings. In this sense Craig created Paisley, not only as a stick with which to beat O'Neill, but in order actually to polarise and realign the class forces within the Unionist Party. The Civil Rights movement was itself unprepared to be used as a whipping-boy and resisted resolutely. This gave more ground to Craig and his faction and led them to assert their strength in a series of direct challenges to O'Neill's leadership. O'Neill, the most important section of his base undimmed, had to fall back upon his wealthy cousins, and ultimately to Wilson. The first served to increase the class polarisation of his party, the second to inflame

once more old, latent, 'loyalist' responses.

The future pattern seems almost inevitable: O'Neill's deposition, a business - class takeover, further repression to consolidate its working-class base. Already the struggle within the party has gained its own autonomy. For a time it will be unnecessary to drive the Catholics back into their ghettos. The question remains of what happens when they emerge of their own free will.

5.global awakening

In considering this we must briefly turn to the situation in the South. The economic conditions in the North have been progressively worsening (unmodernisable industry, depopulation of the land) and the South faces just as intense difficulties, which have forced her into almost complete accommodation with Britain. The stagnation of her politics has been paralleled by economic stagnation. Yet, slowly, opposition is emerging in a coherent fashion which threatens to defeat this tendency, and with it, the Fianna Fail Government. In particular, two levels of activity in Ireland; the local actions of the Dublin Housing Action Committee, the Galway Civil Rights movement; and the Pan-Irish opposition launched by the Peoples Democracy Easter march; may open the way to a global awakening of the revolutionary forces North and South, to the truth that any intervention must be their own, unified strategically by its parallel presence on both sides of the border.

This would provide the necessary and sufficient conditions for a full-scale British involvement, an involvement which in the North alone is likely to remain only partial while Wilson sorts out his relationship with the emerging new regime. If it does occur on the scale which we have indicated is possible, then the working-people of Ireland will be entering a struggle familiar to them and with a far less mystified idea of what must be gained from it.

FINN MCCOOL

THUG



The following Gardai are accused of brutality and will be considered for the title "BRUTE OF THE YEAR":

City Hall, Dublin, Housing Demonstration, 1968: Sergeant (C28) O'Sullivan. Shelbourne Hotel, September, 1968: R.A.F. Celebration: A18; A211; A127; A314; A344.

O'Connell Bridge, January 18, 1969: B283; B125; B273; A60; E8; H88; G36; E93; B345; K71; F122; E66; F123; L100; C196; C8; K41. Also Branchman Maurice Kavanagh, who repeatedly punched Michael Betts in the face while the latter was being held by Gardai.

Cork Housing Action, February 15, 1969: Sergeant No. 46; Sergeant No. 106; Garda No. 3.

Lest the United Irishman be accused of following the example of "B.L.E." in recognising partition in Irish competitive events, the following names have been submitted for our national "Brute of the Year Contest." It must be emphasised that the dearth of entrants from the North is due neither to partitionist policy on our part or lack of local talent on the part of the R.U.C. It is rather due to (a) natural modesty on part of the force; (b) an allergy to cameras and witnesses which inhibit their public performances or at least prevent them from being reported; (c) a uniformity in performance and versatility which makes it difficult

to select the most outstanding performances. However, it is felt that the following contestants should raise the standard of the competition.

(a) Constable McNair, stationed at Downpatrick, at Newry on January 11, gallantly assisted in the arrest of a cripple, Mr. Francis McCann, a night-watchman at Quinn's wine-store, Newry. Mr. McCann was hung face-first on the floor of a glass-strewn tender and the door closed on his crippled foot. He was then forced to sit, face and hands bleeding, for an hour and a half in the back of the tender.

During his sojourn Constable McNair butted him in the stomach with his steel helmet. He also, heroically, at fearful risk, and by a sheer superhuman effort, physically prevented Mr. McCann from smoking during his 90-minute ordeal. Moreover he proved his versatility by dutifully perjuring himself in court. Not bad for a young brute only 18 months in the force.

(b) Sergeant Niblock ably assisted his subordinate on the same occasion. A veteran thug (26 years a peeler), he gave corroboratory perjury against McCann, contradicted himself liberally, and referred to defendant as "a most obnoxious creature."

(c) Detective-Sergeant Laird (Special Branch) for sterling use of fist and boots outside the Whittla Hall (Q.U.B.), November, '68, during an anti-O'Neill demonstration. Also threatened to bring a Republican Club member down to the station and "beat — out of you."

(d) Constable No. 127. At the Diamond, Derry, on October 5, valiantly kicked, batoned and beat a Young Socialist demonstrator while some of his gallant R.U.C. comrades watched.

(e) Detective-Sgt. Cecil Patterson, who has maintained a glorious tradition of beating up political detainees in Brown Square police station.



(CONTINUED FROM FRONT PAGE)

1968. The Civil Rights Association, a middle-class civil liberties liberal and CP organisation was invited by locals to lead the first march, at Dungannon in August 1968. The march was arbitrarily turned from the town centre by Craig; a march in Derry followed - on October 5th - and was brutally repressed. Local Civil Rights Associations sprang up in all the towns of Ulster as the Catholic middle-class attempted to contain and use the rapidly growing militancy of its working class which had at last found a way of expressing its grievances: - one vote, one job, one house. Young socialists from Queen's University Belfast were also batoned at Derry, and led a protest march from the university when they returned. This too was stopped and went back to Queen's; Peoples Democracy was born from the discussions that followed; peoples democracy to distinguish it from students' democracy. And this difference also distinguishes PD from other student movements, loosely modelled on the Nanterre libertarians' March 22nd movement. PD rapidly became a national force, fighting the Stormont elections in seats that it couldn't win, it prevented O'Neill from integrating Catholic and Protestant middle-class behind him.

The latent contradictions of an unstable and distorted society were opened up, by the massive Paisleyite response to the Republicans and above all by the fact that Civil Rights, led by PD socialist militants united all classes of Catholics and sprung the Unionist trap. They forced their way into Ulster politics - Catholics can no longer be viewed as an armed Fenian threat from across the border.

The importance, and the uniqueness of PD is that as a student organisation from the only non-sectarian institution in the country, led by socialists it has combined the militancy to mobilise the Catholic working class, the principle of non-sectarianism and the example of bravery. Now its participation in the elections has given it a national presence and at the same time removed it from its university base. The last meeting of PD was a chaos of interruption by the University Rugby club and previous ones have been rent by disagreement between the anarchists and the revolutionary socialists.

The situation in Ulster has escalated to such extremes and PD has done such little work amongst Protestants that their only hopes to create a united working class movement are now non-existent. To this extent the Unionist strategy of violence has succeeded in reimposing sectarianism on Catholics and Protestants alike. Now PD can deepen its contacts with the Catholic working class and sever their primarily religious consciousness, but only if it transforms itself and decisively breaks from its loose student form of organisation.

Peoples Democracy, a unique student movement born from one university, has snowballed into national life and must now face up to its name. To untie the knot of sectarianism it must link the great Irish tradition of rural insurrection to a working-class strategy that can exploit the contradictions which will open up within the ranks of the Protestants if Ulster's economic depression remains unresolved. Above all they must produce their own paper which can be read by workers and farmers of both groups, before they can even hope that the Protestants will listen to them. While struggling against repression which may have originated from England but has now been taken up by the Irishmen of the Orange Order, they must produce a socialist press which will allow them to survive in and then depass the religious base that they have already liberated from the pre-history of suppression.

demography

The total population of Ireland is about 4,500,000, with about 1,500,000 in the north. Although there is a fairly high birth-rate, the figures remain fairly static due to the high emigration rate. Between 1951 and '61 about 92,000 left the north, and already there are about 1,000,000 settled in England. This has left an unbalanced age-structure in Ireland, especially in the north, where the 20-40 age group is very badly represented. Population distribution is difficult to map because of the permanent migration from the land. This and the emigration from the cities roughly balance out so that the population figures for the cities have changed very little in the last fifty years. Also emigration leaves an unbalanced population, with an excess of females particularly in the over 30 age group. This is born out in the unemployment figures eg in Derry the total unemployment figure is 19% but for men it is 22%. The three counties west of the Bann have a much lower population than the eastern counties eg Fermanagh has 50,000 people while Antrim has 317,000.

derry

85,000 population.
36,000 Catholic.
18,000 Protestant.
Unemployed are 19%
2,000 Catholic families homeless.
very few Protestant without homes.
Free Derry - 5 day street commune in
Mid January, 69.

dungannon

Recent Survey revealed: 64.6% of new lettings post war to Protestants, 24.4% to Catholics.
69% of Catholics already in Coalisland ghetto.
80% of all houses allocated to Catholics are situated in 6 electoral divisions of Dungannon with already anti-Unionist majorities.
Catholics are 52% of the population.

religious geography

(All figures based on 1961 census.)
Catholics are the largest proportion of the total Irish population, 25% of the North and 95% of the south. In the north the distribution varies widely, from 8% Catholic in the north of Co. Down, to 75% in Co. Armagh. A quarter of Belfast is Catholic, 85% of Newry, 58% of Armagh, 67% of Derry. In the South, distribution varies very little from 71% in parts of Monaghan to 99% in most places west of the Shannon. Both Dublin and Cork are about 95% Catholic.

north and south

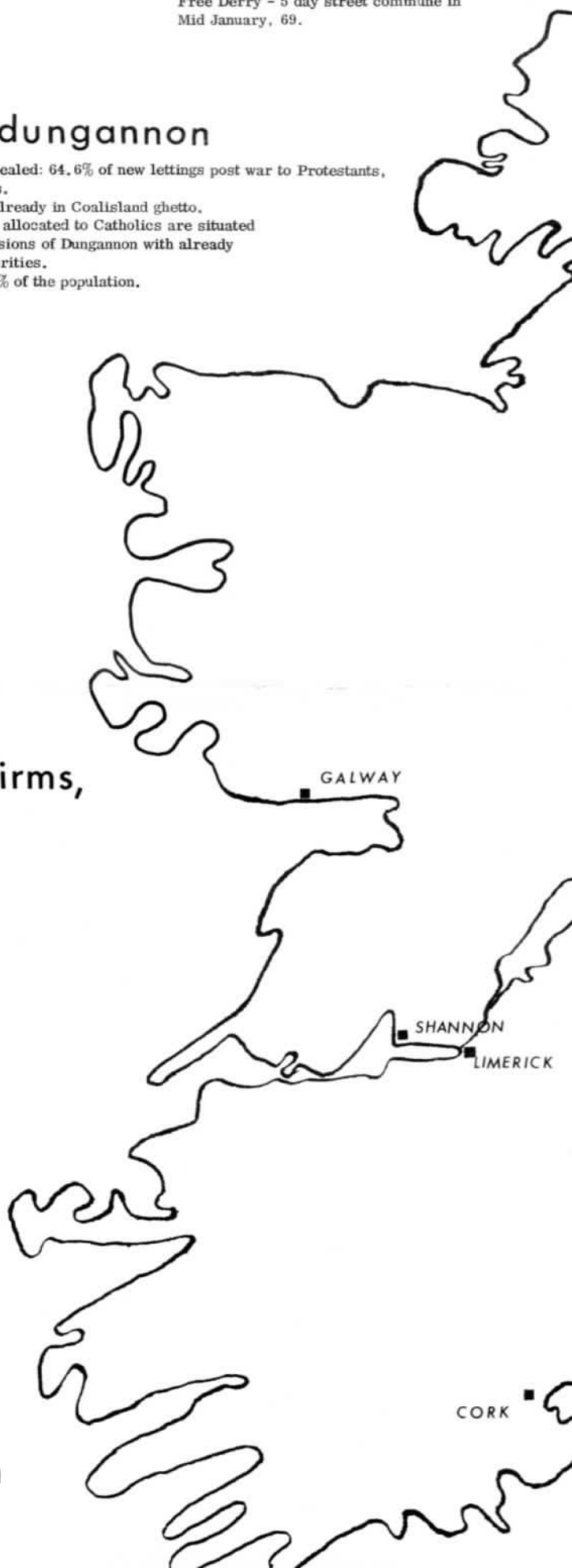
the ulster economy

Indigenous industry is declining: number of ships launched has halved in the last decade; linen output has dropped by a third and rayon is also declining. Some jobs provided by the new foreign industry lured in by heavy subsidies. North and South compete for foreign favour. Capital intensity means rising unemployment. 250 foreign firms have moved into the north in the last 20 years, attracted by government built factories, cheap if not free rents, free rates, outright grants of 40% for new plants, training grants, grants for initial operating costs and tax-free profits for export for the first ten years. Ulster receives £100 million direct from

major foreign firms,

Goodyear Tyres
French Aircraft at Dublin
Metal Box
German Engineering Cos
U.S. Corrugated Paper
Enkalon Fibres
Dupon
Courtaulds
Celon
I.C.I.
Klingers
National City
Bank of Nova Scotia
Krupps cranes at Harland and Wolff
Gallahers
Michelin
British Oxygen
Marathon Oil
Gulf Oil
Gortdrum (Canadian) Mining
Mogul Oil
Magnet Cove Barium (U.S.)
Rio Tinto Zinc
Consolidated Fields
Foreign banks are exerting control:
Citibankers
Chase Manhattan
Charterhouse
Ansbacher
Julian S. Hodge
Lombard and Hill
Samuels

north and south



belfast

Population 398,000.
250,000 working population,
12,500 unemployed.
7,000 families homeless.
18,000 houses unfit for occupation.
252,000 adults, but 57,000 (23% of adult population) have no vote because not householders.
About 25% of Belfast's population is Catholic.

fuzz

Royal Ulster Constabulary - 3124.
Ulster Special Constabulary - 103.
Part Timers - B Specials - 10,342.

unemployment in the north

Structural unemployment is high, at 43,000 (8.4% of work-force), in the North. It is higher in the western counties than in the east eg Strabane, 21%, Inniskillen, 17%, Derry 19%, Lisburn 3%, Craigavon 5%, Belfast 5%. Male unemployment is higher than female eg Inniskillen 21%. Only

16 of the 111 new factories built up to 1965 were in the western counties. Major economic reports published in the early 60's revealed that unemployment would rise for the next decade. Cyclical unemployment is compounded by close dependence of Ulster on Westminster: a 1% rise in British unemployment creates a 6% in Ulster.

standard of living in the north

Houses over 80yrs of age.	GB 25%	NI 40%
Officially overcrowded.	3.8%	10.3%
No cold tap.	1.7%	19.3%
No W.C.	25%	49%

The highly respected official Family Expenditure Survey for Northern Ireland in 1967 covered 375 families.

Under 5 pounds per week - 74	
5-10	152
10-15	131
15-20	128
20-25	98
25-30	34
30-40	39
40-50	8
50+	11

agriculture

There are 40,000 farm units, 18,000 of which are so small that they are not economically viable. 9000 of these provide occupiers with their only source of income which is often less than £500 pa. In the last ten years 35,000 people have left the land, a forty percent decline in a decade. The Land Purchase Acts of 1870 - 1925 enabled tenants to buy the land they occupied with the assistance of government loans. Most of the loans are still being paid back to the Ulster and Westminster Exchequers.

the republic's economy

20% of the land is arable, and even some of this is used for orchards. Meadows and pasture account for 48% woodland for only 2%, and significantly almost 30% of the land is defined as 'waste, city and other'. UK is in crisis with a balance of payments deficit of about £300-£500 million

on a total trade of £10 - £12 thousand million. Eire runs a deficit of about £100 million on a total trade of around £400,000,000. Exports and imports are equivalent to 60% of the Republic's gross national product. Her only export is food; while she imports coal, industrial fibres, minerals, iron and steel, fruit, vegetable oils, wood, etc. The only heavy product at the moment is electricity. Over twice as many people are employed in agriculture and fishing as there are in manufacturing. The service sector, a standard index of affluence and modernity, employs only 40,000 out of a total working population of

in the north

republic's penetration by foreign capital

300 foreign or part-foreign enterprises have come in since 1959. They are mainly export-orientated. 40% of these firms are British, 20% German, 16% American and 5% Dutch. Foreign firms account for 80% of all new investment in industrial enterprise.



IRELAND'S ECONOMY

1. inter-war economy

Even a preliminary sketch of the problems posed by the current situation in Ireland requires the recognition of two levels of analysis. Take, for example, the question of discrimination in housing and employment. On the surface there is hardly a need for analysis: the demands are quite straightforward – an end to discrimination. However, beneath the surface level there are crucial questions to be answered.

If, for example, religious discrimination could be ended and universal suffrage were to be introduced for Stormont as well as local elections, would unemployment remain high in eastern areas, and amazingly high in the western counties? Would enough houses be built to relieve the pressure? Put like this, of course no-one could answer in anything but a severely qualified affirmative.

However, at the moment, talk to the PD and the CRA in Ulster, and what one finds is that the second level of questioning is not being fully articulated.

The second level of analysis concerns what can be crudely termed the economies of north and south. Both are half in the modern world and are half in the world of pre-industrial peasantry, while in the Six Counties there is a whole sector located in the world of inter-war depression. There are still tenant farmers, dying heavy industry, a dying textile industry, and, more recently, a complex of advanced corporate ventures in capital intensive manufacturing. Alongside the 'modern' sector is a developing service infrastructure with new tech colleges, a new university, motorways, new urban complexes, and new training centres. Each moment of economic development has its sectoral consciousness, and, in theory, each consciousness can be articulated in a strategy. The question to be asked then is what prospects do the strategies offer the future of Ireland?

To answer these questions we need to look back at the domestic policies of the metropolitan bourgeoisie. Harold Wilson borrowed neo-capitalist intervention, planning and growth maximisation from the EEC, and the Unionists or at least some of them, have borrowed neo-capitalism's outer forms from Westminster. The central reason for the interest in maximising all the production forces of an economy is that the grand concession of capital to labour in the post-war world – call it, for brevity, the welfare state, – has eaten into the economic surplus the maximisation of which is the *raison d'être* of the system. In order to offset the burden on their own surplus, the capitalists have sought to escape the high costs imposed by their weapon of unemployment by increasing the amount of their surplus through the use of all society's productive forces. This is why post-war unemployment has been short-run, dictated by budgetary adjustments, rather than permanent. This is why one sees massive attempts throughout Europe to overcome structural unemployment. In short, the retention of political hegemony for advanced bourgeoisies has necessitated maximum use of productive forces, because the bourgeoisie themselves have been paying the cost of concessions to labour out of their own economic surpluses. This is the logic behind growth economics, redundancy payments, regional development, motorway-building, educational expansion provided by the state, and social insurance.

2. foreign capital

On the surface, both Irelands appear to be going for a neo-capitalist growth policy. The question is: Is it in fact a real strategy and can it work? Can this sort of option provide houses and jobs and a growing economic surplus?

The answer lies in the specific class formations in Ulster and the south, though the case of Ulster shows features which make the north and south separate places. It is no accident that the crisis has come to a head in Ulster, while the south remains relatively passive.

In Ulster, the ruling class does not pay for the welfare state out of its own economic surplus. Westminster, which in 1968 gave £100 million to Ulster, pays for its industrial renovations, unemployment benefits and industrial training. What this means in simple terms is that the Ulster rulers are not subject to a direct necessity to harness to the full the productive forces of the province. In a truly advanced economy, the cost of unemployment comes out of the bourgeoisie's accumulated funds. In Ulster this is not the case.

The alleviation of unemployment as far as Ulster's rulers are concerned is a simple matter of relieving political pressure, and since the resources and the requisite social force (a modern capitalist class) are not present, 17th century religious divisions come neatly to hand again and again.

On the other hand there are new industries in Ulster, and there is a developing modern infrastructure. The point about this is that it has become necessary in order to attract a substitute for the absent advanced domestic capitalists. Foreign capital is the substitute (see map on centre pages for detailed information).

But the problem with foreign capital is that it comes to Ulster with a level of economic development that is far too high. The new industry is capital intensive, employing less labour proportionately than is being released by the declining industries, and hardly affecting the ranks of the unemployed at all. The new urban complexes are in the east, not in the west. However, these are minor instances of the direct irrelevance to foreign capital of the problems of the domestic ruling class. The crucial irresponsibility – need one mention Latin America, Africa etc. – is of course that foreign capital does not have to pay the costs of its existence: its economic surplus is exported. Foreign capital does not pay for houses, nor does it need full employment, so long as its immediate demands are satisfied. In Ulster, the immediate needs run to ten years, which is the period of heavy subsidisation. After ten years, international corporations move out. In short, Ulster's advanced economic sector is not politically responsible to the society in which it operates, and its economic surplus is not available to pay for political concessions and the continuation of rule with calm. In summary, Ulster's own bourgeoisie are not subject to the necessity to maximise productive forces because it is not their economic surplus which is paying for the 'welfare state'. Ulster's advanced capitalism is foreign and neither responsible for any political costs nor subject to the need to mobilise productive forces throughout the economy. The forms of neo-capitalist development – new towns, new industries, motorways, advanced education – are mere forms: the essential necessity of the strategy is absent. The domestic bourgeoisie falls roughly into four categories: 1) traditionally landed rentiers; 2) pensioned inter-war industrialists; 3) modern maverick entrepreneurs involved in financial ventures exploiting such disparate hopes as tourism; 4) classic middlemen, notching up margins without creating employment, without investment of any significance, without vision. (The south imports car components and assembles them, the north imports finished cars only). The unemployed remain festering in Derry, the housing expansion remains subordinate to structural stagnation. Divide and rule on religious lines remains the only real option of political control. Stagnation is necessary, Orange and Green are necessary, and there is no known strategy which has any real prospects of taking root. These are the conclusions of the second level of analysis.

3. political conclusions

What then are the political conclusions? The underlying crisis which comes from an economically backward and irresponsible bourgeoisie, an economically foreign sector and an absent post-war phase of industrial development which have smoothed the hiatus between the 30's and the 60's, can be seen as specific and new. The traditional strategy of alternate repression and sponsorship of religious strife, combined with stunted measures of national determination would seem to be unequal to the crisis. Nevertheless, the forms of consciousness which the crisis has evoked so far are highly mediated – civil rights and of course sectarianism. Further, the argument suggests that behind the mediated consciousness and behind the impossibility of any bourgeois strategy there is a necessary class consciousness whose expression in strategic practice would be a socialist transformation. In other periods in Ulster's history, this conclusion might not have been valid.

Within the mediated consciousness, glimmers of a necessary consciousness often emerge. As Bernadette Devlin said during the by-election in mid-Ulster, the peasants are socialists in their specific demands, but if you call it socialism they won't vote for you. Perhaps someone ought to start preaching the doctrine of two levels of analysis, though of course it would have to be expressed in popular terms, and might involve at some point the sacrifice of Connolly's name when our Ulster comrades talk about socialism in the north.

WHAT CAN BE DONE

This special RSSF paper is the direct result of a decision taken by the last conference to give every assistance to the revolutionary forces in Ireland, North and South, and to help ensure that any repression in Ireland will meet with determined opposition in the rest of the so called British Isles.

We have little enough experience, even of student struggle, and on the Irish question almost none, except for the forty or so RSSF comrades who went on the Easter march from Belfast to Dublin. So any suggestions on what we can do remain tentative and untested ideas. One thing should be said though, for special reasons the conflict in the North is more explosive than here, although the socialist left there is weak and disorganised, and the best way we can help them is to advance our own situation and strengthen our positions. The very proximity of the Irish question makes it closer to the English revolution.

Within the universities, the obvious need for study groups and courses in the history of Ireland and for literature on the subject can be partly met by forming Irish Societies which can call meetings and debates on Ireland North and South. In regard to Union debates and motions P.D. have asked us to concentrate attacking the Public Order Amendment Act which is up before Stormont at the moment, and which will, on top of the notorious Special Powers Act ban demonstrations and sit-ins, which will carry with them a six month jail sentence. If the Act is passed it will become a test case for the legislation that LSE governors have demanded from Westminster. The problem with opposing this new and unbelievable repressive legislation is that there is no date for its passage and therefore we have no idea when it will become law, if at all. Further, P.D. and the civil rights movement are in desperate need of money as fines and lawyers fees to fight arbitrary arrests are mounting. So that too could be added in large sums to Union motions and sent to Civil Rights Defense and Aid Fund c/o Vince McCormick, 43 Sandhurst Drive, Belfast 9.

Work among the Irish in England is difficult, as Jo Martin describes

over the page. The demand that links their present situation with the Civil Rights Movement is their right to a house and job in Ireland. But before launching into a campaign to whip up the paddies we must research the local areas and discover friends among them. The RSSF office, (59 Fleet Street, E.C.4 FLE 5735) will be in touch with



various groups and will help co-ordinate and pass on experience. National organisation to assist the P.D. is forming, now that a London group of P.D. members is in operation. Demonstrations such as stopping Ulster weeks, must be more than symbolic. And above all we must prepare to oppose any attempt to pass the Public Order Amendment Act.

Demands We must insist on the removal of British troops who are now serving to bolster up the regime and its police force. The RUC must be disarmed and the 'B' Specials disbanded. But we shouldn't demand an end to British subsidies, which feed the catholic unemployed in Ulster, nor demand the unification of Ireland at a level which, though it might satisfy the national bourgeois will frighten the protestants with the bog of Roman rule. What we want and must work for is a United Farmers and Workers Socialist Republic.

political parties

THE GOVERNMENT

1 The Ulster Unionist Party. Branch of English Tories. Held power since partition. Alliance of Protestants of all classes, integrated through the Orange Order. Now in process of splitting up. Factions include O'Neill (landowners) Craig (Business) and Paisley (see below)

2 The Protestant Unionist Party.

Political wing of Paisleyite church, demonstration-fodder wing of UUP. Opposed to O'Neill but absolutely loyal to Unionism. Support from petty bourgeoisie, lumpen proletariat, peasants. No MPs.

THE OPPOSITION

1 The Nationalist Party. Same party as was led by Parnell. Now Ulster's official Catholic

clerical conservative opposition. Only remaining strength in backward rural areas. Disintegrating.

2 Northern Ireland Labour Party.

Branch of Transport House. Only tenuous links with Unions. Pro-partition. On the decline in Belfast, on upsurge in Derry, where it has been taken over by revolutionaries.

3 Republican Labour Party. Split not from NILP, but from Irish Labour Party (see below) Represented by Gerry Fitt at Westminster. More militant than NILP, but holds common position with it on almost all issues except

4 Republicans The Republican party - Sinn Fein, is banned, along with its military wing, the IRA, but Republicanism still very strong amongst semi-urban poor. Pursues policy

of 'absentism' - standing in elections but not taking seats through refusal to recognize parliament. On an upward swing having been revitalized.

5 Civil Rights Movement Nationally, an alliance of opposition leaders plus Catholic bourgeoisie. Locally, far more representative and radical. Important sections are Derry Citizens' Action Committee (2 MPs) which has managed to stand above NICRA's splits, and the Peoples Democracy, based on Belfast University, which has provided local CRAs with radical impetus.

6 National Democratic Party Ulster Liberals, anti-partition, have become progressively less important since struggle developed.

7 Liberal Party branch of British party. Pro-partition, support negligible.

BOOKS

A. Introductory

The Northern Ireland Problem, Barritt and Carter - OUP 1962. Written late '50's. The Unionist apologia.

Indivisible Land, F. Gallagher - Gollonez 1959. Nationalist analysis.

Labour in Irish History, Connolly - New Books 1910. Connolly's 18th Brumaire.

B. Periodicals on the Current Situation

NLR 55 "Ulster, the dialectic of Religion and Class", Pete Gibbon.

I.S. 36 "Ireland and the British Left", John Palmer & Chris Gray.

The United Irishman, Monthly mag. of Sinn Fein, 1/3 inc. postage from 30 Gardner Place Dublin 1.

Rampart, Monthly journal of Derry Labour Party, 10d from 44 Westland St Derry City

Northern Informer, new weekly paper 12 sides 1/- or 10/- sub: to John Gray Flat 7, 258-60 Cold Harbour Lane Ldn SW9.

Irish Socialist, Journal of Connolly Assoc. 1/4 from 238 Grays Inn Rd London

Socialist Comment, Journal of Dublin Labour Party students, 2/- from Earlsfort Terrace, Dublin 2. Quarterly.

C. The Background

Irish Nationalism & British Democracy, Erich Strauss (Methuen 1951) Only full length class analysis of Irish history.

The Irish Question, N. Mansegh (Allen & Unwin 1965). General bourgeois history.

The Irish Republic, D. Mac Ardle, Irish Press 1951.

Colonies and Social Class, H. Davies, Science and Society vol 29

Economic Geography of N. Ireland Isles &

Cuthbert HMSO Belfast 1957

Marx: Capital Vol I pp697 - 713

On Colonialism, passim

Engels: History of Ireland

For a general introduction to these texts see Fox: Marx, Engels and Lenin on Ireland IPC, New York 1940.

Connolly's selected works are published in 4 volumes as:

I Labour in Ireland

II Socialism and Nationalism

III Labour and Easter Week

IV The Workers' Republic

21/- per volume from New Books, 16a

Pearse St., Dublin 2.

Greaves: James Connolly: his life and times Lawrence and Wishart, 1961.

The Irish Communist Organization have a number of Marx and Engels texts otherwise not available from Murphy, 75 Cromwell Ave, London N6.

MORE PADDIES EVERY YEAR

My driver pointed at the big Wimpey sign on the Hammersmith headquarters and shouted back to me "What do you think that means, Pat? WIMPEY - We Import More Paddies Every Year!"

In England there are one million Paddies. They are by far the largest immigrant group. In Birmingham alone there is an estimated 100,000 strong Irish community. Can the current Civil Rights movement have any significance to them?

There are at least three main areas where work is badly needed among the Irish people

in England. Firstly, solidarity with the Irish civil rights movement, particularly in the six counties, must be encouraged. On a simple level this means supporting or organising protests, leafleting at demos and churches, and if possible selling a civil rights newspaper.

Since most of the Irish living in England come from Southern Ireland, the poverty, non-existent social services, high emigration and repressive legislation in that part of England should be pointed out as an equal denial of civil rights. When Irish emigrants sense that they themselves should never have been denied their right to a house and a job in Ireland they can cease to be mere sympathisers and become directly involved.

Potentially they pose an enormous threat to the Southern Irish Government. Every year, 1,700 emigrate from the south and 8,000 from the north.

Secondly, English-based civil rights supporters would be hypocritical and unrealistic if they did not become involved in the very real problems faced by Irish people in England. Accommodation is high on the list. At present, in Birmingham, we are campaigning for money from the southern Ireland Government to build a hostel. Birmingham Corporation's housing programme is hopelessly inadequate. Young families have to pay high rents (£6 and £7) to landlords for



grubby rooms for maybe six years or more. Most Irish still work on building sites. Building labour in the Midlands is very poorly organised. Sub-contractors of as many as 600 men are known. They make about £2 per day from each man and usually leave him uninsured against accident, sickness or bad weather. Irish tinkers are chased from pillar to post with scant sympathy from so-called leaders in the Irish community.

Thirdly, Irish people here must be educated through the civil rights movement as to the nature of capitalist society. The parallel between religious and racial discrimination is obvious as is their common, reluctant immigrant status along with communities from other countries.

These then are the three main areas where we can work constructively - solidarity with Ireland, direct involvement here and aptly illustrated political education. In Birmingham we found that it was not possible to work on these lines within the four-year old Birmingham branch of the Campaign for Social Justice in Northern Ireland. In a short time we were expelled. However since then we feel confident that through our recently formed Birmingham Ad Hoc Civil Rights Group with some twenty active supporters we are moving more certainly if less dramatically in the right direction.

JAMES CONNOLLY

James Connolly was born in Edinburgh in 1868 of Irish immigrant parents. He spent only 20 years of his life in Ireland; the first seven when he was in the British army which he joined when he was 14. Between 1889 and 1896 he was active in Edinburgh politics, where he met Eleanor Marx and undoubtedly read and discussed Marx's works. He was invited to Dublin in 1896, where he founded the Irish

Socialist Republican Party and started his famous paper "The Workers' Republic". Through his writings on Ireland he became known in America, and in 1902 he was invited to tour the States to recruit Socialists among the Irish of America. After a successful 4 month tour Connolly returned to Dublin to find the ISRP in chaos, and wrangling over petty corruption. It was decided to discontinue "The Workers' Republic", he resigned and the party split. That was the end of ISRP.

Connolly returned to the States, and spent 7 years in extreme poverty. He finished "Labour in Irish History" and "The Re-Conquest of Ireland" and after acrimonious debates with the American Wobblie De Leon, established his own socialist position. He was glad to go back to Ireland in 1910 at the invitation of James Larkin and the Dublin Socialist Party. He was offered a salary of £2 a week as secretary of the Irish Labour Party, but in 1911 he took on the much more important job of Belfast Organiser of the new Transport and General Workers' Union where he was responsible for Ulster during the great lock-out of 1913-1914, when the port of Dublin was closed for 6 months. This strike, which Connolly described as a draw, nearly broke Larkin who in turn went to lecture in America, and Connolly took on the management of the Union which they had created. In 1914 the Home Rule Bill became law and shortly afterwards war was declared.

Connolly was prepared to use the opportunity of inter-imperialist war to start an uprising, but was pre-empted by Irish Nationalists and was forced to join their insurrection before the working class had been fully mobilised. He seems to have known that the rising could not succeed. The failure to collect a cargo of German arms left the workers badly supplied with weapons; the provincial risings had not been properly co-ordinated, and his Citizens' Army, which had grown out of the 1913-1914 strike, numbered only a few hundred trained men. Connolly directed the struggle, and led the capture of the GPO and was severely wounded. He was shot by a British firing squad in Dublin Castle in April 1916.

All his life Connolly argued the necessity for a Socialist Republic, and every political programme he drew up stressed the particular means for achieving this in Ireland. The ISRP manifesto of 1896 includes demands for nationalization of the railways, abolition of

private banks, a minimum wage, and insisted that "mere schemes of state and municipal ownership if unaccompanied by this co-operative principle, are but schemes for the perfecting of the capitalist government". Through his writings Connolly did much to realise the aim of the Workers' Republic (1896): "to unite the workers and to bury in one common grave the religious hatreds, the provincial jealousies and the mutual distrusts upon which oppression has so depended for security."

Without reading Lenin, Connolly developed Leninist ideas on the national question. The geographical isolation of Ireland and the fact that it experienced capitalism largely as imperialist exploitation, led him to conclude that socialism and nationalism were particularly linked in Ireland. "If you remove the English army tomorrow and hoist the green flag over Dublin Castle, unless you set about the organization of the Socialist Republic, your efforts would be in vain. England would still rule you. She would rule you through her capitalists, through her landlords, through her financiers, through the whole array of commercial and industrial institutions she has planted in this country". These views brought Connolly into conflict with the Irish capitalists and the Home Rulers. And he distinguished his idea of nationalism from theirs; "every oppressor of the poor, every enemy of progress and champion of reaction feels perfectly safe in Ireland as long as the cry of 'national unity' paralyses the hand of the friend of progress, and forbids open war against the Irish oppressor and reactionist who shelters ... behind green and orange flags"

James Connolly, who was only two years older than Lenin, is actually comparable to him. Both were Marxists, who had great organizational powers, and grasped the importance of theory, both founded revolutionary papers and led military insurrections. But Connolly, unlike Lenin, did not make the critique of economism which provides a basis for the formation of an autonomous revolutionary party: perhaps this was due to the extreme isolation of the Irish revolutionaries of 1916 as well as their lack of a socialist tradition. They were not supported by the British workers during the lock-out or during the rising. Although he taught himself French, German and Italian, Connolly's contact with European Socialists was negligible. Above all, he was isolated from Ireland; born in Scotland writing in America, he lived out imperialism's systematic dispersal of Irish labour. But whatever the controversy that surrounds Connolly's failure, one thing stands out. He may not have developed Marxism as Lenin or Gramsci did in any original way, he did however achieve the greatest material task of Marxist theory; he applied it with great scholarship and understanding to the specific and concrete problems of Ireland's history and the Irish Revolution.