Barricades Bulletin
SPECIAL EDITION 25 AUGUST

NO PEACE UNTIL UNIONISM IS SMASHED



Shot by the RUC in Great James Street, Derry: John Anthony Campbell. In spite of this clear evidence of RUC and B-Special terror, Chichester-Clark blames Catholics for starting the 'riots'.



VIEWED FROM THIS SIDE of the barricades, Mr Wilson's talks with Major Chichester-Clark, and both their subsequent appearances on television, had a total air of unreality. From where we stand we know Major Chichester-Clark to be a man prepared to condone arson, pogroms, the killing of young children to keep the Unionist Party in power.

Against this knowledge, Mr Wilson spoke to us about the pace of reforms, the re-establishment of law and order, and how upset he was to see factories burning. These discussions had nothing to do with us; we were not represented at them.

The basic conflicts were not even touched on and are too wide to be resolved by any 'splitting the difference' formula which could have been worked out at Downing Street between Major Chichester-Clark, who has to satisfy his right wing, and Mr Wilson merely anxious to placate his left.

For the fact is that the Unionist government has now stopped even trying to be liberal. It has gone back to the old 'Beat-the-Fenians-into-the-ground' routine. Why?

Some time ago, the Unionist Party under O'Neill began to look kindly on the Catholics. It wasn't that the Unionists had suddenly become nicer people. It was simply that in order to stay in power they had to make some attempt to discard discredited, sectarian slogans.

LINKS

They needed a broader, industrial base — i.e. to establish closer links with the Free State. Moreover, Great Britain and the 26 counties were drawing closer together.

The Free Trade Agreement of 1965 for example, made the United Kingdom and the Free State effectively into a single economic unit. This meant that there was increasing British pressure on the Unionist Party to reform the six county state as a means of ending Anglo-Irish antagonism.

There were other economic reasons: the increasing prosperity of the Catholics in the North, the welfare state and the growing Catholic population.

But Unionism was built on sectarianism. It was built on the idea that Catholics were second-class citizens and properly so.

Underprivileged Protestants were brainwashed to believe that only eternal vigilance against the Papist hordes could keep their community intact. Thus, when O'Neill started saying that all citizens ought to be equal he was, in effect, threatening to undermine the whole basis of Unionist power.

The Unionist machine — the party branches, the Orange Order, the Apprentice Boys — had down through the years become accustomed to their privileges. They had become used to handing out patronage in the form of jobs and houses.

It was always on the cards that they would fight to maintain that situation. Not many Protestants gained all that much from the sectarian set-up. The People of Irish Street and the Fountain could hardly be called an elite.

But some at least were conned into thinking that whatever position they held, they held it because the Catholics were kept down, that if the Catholics were made equal they would lose everything that mattered.

In this situation it was and is impossible to serve fully the interests of capitalism and at the same time to keep the support of the Unionist machine.

Caught in this contradiction, O'Neill dithered, and then fell.

He was replaced by Chichester-Clark. His initial commitment to 'firmness and fairness' was a promise to do the impossible.

He wasn't going to stand in the middle, paralysed by the opposing forces. He was going to yield to both of them simultaneously! He swung violently from the right to the centre and then back again.

It couldn't go on of course. Sooner or later the raging passions unleashed by the Civil Rights movement were going to reach such a point that a clear choice would have to be made — either to back the Party by giving free rein to its militants (the B-Specials, the UVF etc) or to defend the system by hammering the Paisleyites, buying off the CR moderates and thus winning the confidence of Wilson.

Clark took the former course. In so doing he has chosen to bring matters to the crunch. And having made the choice he has to go the whole hog.

HAPPY

He has to fight all comers to keep the party in power. And he will. At the moment he sits steeped in blood and happy with his party still in power.

We will either defeat him or be destroyed by him. There is no basis for any compromise.

We must destroy Unionism. We cannot listen to promises. We have had enough Unionist lies. What we must do is to seek out the most effective way of taking power, of smashing the Unionist state.

There should be an immediate conference representative of Labour Parties, trade unions and radical CR groups to draw up a programme for power. Such a programme should be based on policies and slogans which cut across the religious divide.

It should, for example, demand legislation for a minimum wage, equal pay for women, state take over of banks and big business in order to take control of industry out of the hands of profiteers. Thus investment could be directed to areas where it is needed. To solve the housing problem, the debts of the Housing Trust and local authorities to banks should be cancelled.

Going forward on such a programme we would still have a hope of undercutting the sectarian divide. Despite everything it is still not true that this is a fight between Catholics and Protestants. The religious division has been used to divert us from

to back page

No compromise with Stormont

The youth of Derry fight back! Young workers were in the thick of the battle to stop the Orange thugs of the RUC and B-Specials from invading Bogside. Now the police are under the control of the British troops — and their aim is to maintain the rule of the Stormont regime. When the troops go, the RUC will remain. That is why the barricades must stay — to stop the bully boys terrorising the Catholics again.

What the Unionists are good at — lies, lies and yet more lies

UNIONIST cabinet ministers are not all born liars. Some of them just grow that way. Some of them indeed work very hard at it.

Take, and welcome to him, William Craig, who used to claim that he had irrefutable evidence of the subversive nature of everything from Green Shield Stamps to the Glasgow Celtic Supporters Club.

After October 5 Mr Craig stated as a fact that Mr Cathal Goulding had been in Duke Street on that date. Mr Goulding immediately proved that he had been nowhere near the place.

Mr Craig did not climb down, apologise, withdraw or anything like that. Not at all.

Spurred

Since then we have had a sort of competition between ministers to see who could lie best, at home and abroad, for the party. Every Faulkner falsehood, every Long lie, spurred their colleagues on to greater efforts.

Even Beezer Porter, padding about parliament like a lost spaniel puppy, made a strong bid for the title when he told James Callaghan that CS gas was not being used in Derry at the time that cannisters of the stuff were flying, clearly labelled, in Rossville Street.

But Mr Porter's most spectacular lies were on Friday night when he kept telling London that the situation in the Crumlin Road area 'was under control' and that there was no need to put in the British troops, who were at the time standing by and waiting to be asked in.

On Friday night two people were killed, 74 injured and countless rows of houses burned out. This beats Craig's record for injuries on October 5.

Congratulations

It even knocks out Long's record for Burntollet.

Congratulations Beezer Porter, Unionist Liar of the Year.

The troops: back page

Troops: when the honeymoon is over ...



NO WONDER General Freeland said the honeymoon was nearly over between his forces and the people. He may have got a welcome for his British soldiers in Derry and Belfast, he's going to have a harder job with the new reinforcements just added to his command, the B-Specials.

We were pleased to see the troops. They have behaved well. For this reason some people seem to think that the troops are here to protect us.

They are not, any more than the RUC and the Specials. They are here to protect the interests of the British government in this part of the United Kingdom.

As soon as it suits the British government for them to behave differently they will do so. Already they are taking down the barricades in Belfast. When the word comes down for the British soldiers to move in on our area, they will do exactly that.

By putting the RUC and the Specials under the control of the British military commander, Wilson has made it quite clear that the function of the troops here is to re-establish 'law and order'.

CONTROL

The troops cannot stay on guard duty here for ever. When they come into the area, they will be coming to re-establish the government's control and to pave the way for the RUC.

But the return of the police is quite unthinkable. We will not have them back in this area.

We do not accept the Stormont government nor do we accept its law enforcement officers. For Wilson to go chuntering on about the pace of reforms as he did on television after his interviews with Chichester-Clark is totally irrelevant.

He said that the existence of the state of Northern Ireland was not in question. It is precisely that. We have questioned it here.

When we defeated the police we ended Stormont's control of this area. We will resist anyone who tries to enforce it.

The troops and the RUC and the Specials are now all one force intent on re-establishing the law and order of Stormont in this area. They must be resisted.

NO HELP FROM THE UNFREE STATE, JUST SABRE-RATTLING

WE HAVE NEVER got much help from the Free State government and we can expect little now. It would be very foolish to think that we could.

The sabre-rattling along the border is designed not to intimidate, nor even to influence Stormont and Westminster, but to head off the protests of people of the South against their government's inaction. It is intended simply to give the impression that 'something is being done'.

The Free State Army will not cross the border. Because if it did it would come immediately into conflict with British troops. Fianna Fail cannot allow that to happen. It is not that the Southern Army is incapable of mounting a battle against a limited British force. Indeed competent military authorities regard it as a small but highly efficient fighting unit.

Serves the state

But the Free State Army, like any army, serves the state. What it does, where and against whom it moves, is dictated by the needs of the state. And right now the 26 counties need a shooting war with Britain like a hole in the head.

Over half of all the investment which has come into the 26 counties in the last decade has come from Britain. A massive percentage of external trade is with Britain. Britain is its chief customer and chief source of raw materials.

A friendly relationship with Britain is therefore the first priority of any Free State regime which wishes to maintain the present economic system.

A bit of bluster

Fianna Fail calls itself 'the Republican Party'. It distinguishes itself from Fine Gael by its sporadic expressions of militant anti-partition feeling. So at a time like the present, in order to justify itself, it has to bluster a bit.

But it hasn't the slightest intention of doing anything. If proof were needed one had only to look at the pictures of young demonstrators outside the British Embassy being batoned by the gardai with a blood-thirsty relish which would have done credit to the Riot Squad.

There is no point in appealing to Lynch. What we need is a movement in the South for us and against Lynch — a movement which would link up the activities of Housing Action groups etc. with the demand for reforms in the North.

No paradise in the South

This would make the important point that while we are totally opposed to Ulster Unionism we do not regard the Free State as a paradise and do not aim at the simple absorption of the six counties into the 26.

Many of the injustices which we are fighting here — bad housing — unemployment — also exist in the South. And the people who demonstrate against them get treated in exactly the same way by the gardai as we do by the RUC.

Mr Eddie McAteer made recent references to our 'brethren' in the South. Let us be quite clear that those in the South who will stand with us are not the class of persons who have control over troop movements.



DUBLIN: a man demonstrating outside the British Embassy is clubbed to the ground by the Gardai. At his feet, the Starry Plough.

No peace until Unionism is smashed

from page one

attacking the real nature of the regime.

The fact that the Unionists have used Protestantism as a political ideology does not mean that Unionism and Protestantism are the same thing. We must get across to Protestant workers that 'they only rule you because they fool you'; that Unionism offers them nothing real, that its appeal, based on flag-waving and stump oratory, is designed to blind them to the facts of real life — i.e. the low wage—high rent economy.

Here, inside the barricades we must redouble our efforts and our determination. We must all be very clear that it would be disastrous to lift the barricades on any terms other than our own.

THE BARRICADES COME DOWN WHEN THE GOVERNMENT FALLS — NOT ONE MINUTE BEFORE.

Baron Waldo makes the BBC toe the Orange line

LAST WEEK Harold Jackson of the Guardian and Max Hastings of the London Evening Standard were asked to report in the BBC World at One Programme on what they had seen in the Falls and Crumlin Roads during the week. They were particularly asked by the producer in London to talk about what they had seen of the activities of the B-Specials.

When they turned up at the studio, raring to go, the BBC in Belfast told them that they were no longer needed. It appears that Major Chichester-Clark had told the BBC that these two reporters were not being 'very helpful' in the present situation and that it would really be better for everybody if the BBC did not use them.

It would particularly be better for that true blue Ulster Unionist, Waldo Maguire, who is the local boss of BBC Belfast. He personally vetoed the appearance of Jackson and Hastings on the World at One.

But this is not the first time that Waldo Maguire has been called in by the government to make sure that not only the BBC in Belfast but also the BBC in London is helpful to the Unionist Party.

Before October 5 last year it was a joke in the BBC in London that the Six Counties were Waldo's fiefdom and any British TV producer who dared to penetrate the Six Counties could only do so with Waldo's personal go ahead.

When 24 Hours made a series of seven programmes, only one was allowed to appear.

After October 5 Waldo found it harder to keep the national programmes out altogether. But he has kept trying. Here are some of the ways he has been able to help the government since October.

November The British Television Programme Cause for Concern decided to do a long feature on a Catholic family in Dungannon who were evicted from a council house while the next door house was allocated to a 19-year old single girl. When the programme was first suggested the BBC in Belfast tried to stop it because they said 'discrimination in housing is what is at the root of all this Civil Rights thing.'

The producer of the programme said 'Exactly. That strangely enough is why we want to do it.' Despite all kinds of obstructions put in their way by the BBC in Belfast, aided and abetted by John Taylor, the programme was filmed.

It was due to be shown in January just after the long march. At this stage the BBC in Belfast made very strong representations that 'the situation was very inflamed' and it would be irresponsible to show the programme.

It has been scheduled twice since. On both occasions Waldo stepped in. The programme has now been junked and will not be shown.

Noyember At the march in Armagh a Panorama reporter, Richard Kershaw, was beaten up by the police. He didn't take it very well and insisted on complaining. He was sent for by Waldo Maguire and advised not to complain.

Later when he returned to London, Waldo telephoned him and said 'You're only a reporter, I can have you sacked.' Apparently this kind of open threat works quite efficiently in Belfast.

April The day after the riot started the BBC World at One team was pulled out of Northern Ireland. They were told that in the present inflamed situation it was really better for the BBC to take the advice of the people on the spot and to use Belfast radio and television material to cover the crisis.

At the same time a directive was sent out to all departments that in the present inflamed situation all plans for programmes should be checked with the BBC in Belfast.

August Once again the BBC is acting as a publicity machine for the Unionist government. When Major Chichester-Clark's farce of a press conference was shown on the BBC we got all the clap-trap about the IRA and not one bit of the very tough questions by journalists which followed. In the present situation it has consistently mouthed the official party line.

Not even during Suez did the BBC ever have to answer to anyone for what it said, though it was often severely critical of government policy. BBC TV takes a lot of pride in the way it has resisted government pressures, particularly those of Harold Wilson. It has taken Waldo Maguire to turn the BBC into the obedient tool of a rotten government at Stormont.

We suggest that you boycott BBC programmes: refuse to pay TV licences.

Barricades Bulletin is published by members of Derry Labour Party and Young Socialists