Socialist Worker

SPECIAL ISSUE ON NORTHERN IRELAND: 1p

RELEASE ALL PRISONERS WITHDRAW THE TROOPS

THE most savage terrorism of all, that of the British army, is on the loose in Belfast. All pretence that Northern Ireland is a democracy has been cast aside.

Men have been imprisoned without charge or trial. Many will be held there for years.

The few who have been released tell of torture practised by the British army and the Northern Ireland police.

In the streets a score or more of people have been killed, most of them from the nationalist section of the population. Already, thousands of people are streaming in terror out of Belfast into primitive refugee camps in Southern Ireland.

The British government claims that it has had to introduce internment—imprisonment without trial—in order to 'clear out the murderers'. The British press has backed up Heath and Maudling by continual talk of 'terrorists'.

Most of the killing, however, has been carried out not by the IRA, but by the British army and the bigoted thugs in the Orange Order.

Two years ago, the homes of working-class people in the Falls Road, Belfast, and other areas, were attacked by crazed mobs of police and armed Orangemen. A dozen or more people were killed.

Government ministers and newspaper owners in Belfast knew full well who was responsible for those murders. Official government inquiries admitted that the police were to blame.

MURDER

No one was put on trial, let alone interned, for this indiscriminate murder.

The present arrests have nothing to do with stopping violence. Leaders of both wings of the IRA have repeatedly made it clear that they are opposed to attacks on the Protestant section of the population.

Their 'crime' in the eyes of the British government is that they have armed themselves to defend the lives of Catholic workers from attacks by armed Orangemen and that they want the British troops out of Ireland.

In a typically cynical statement on 11 August, Mr Brian Faulkner admitted that the purpose of internment was to 'flush' the IRA out into the open so that the army could defeat them in open combat.

In the name of 'peace', violence has been deliberately provoked by Northern Ireland and Westminster governments. The 20 deaths (up to 11 August) and all which follow are directly the responsibility of Messrs Heath, Maudling and Faulkner

The basis of the Northern Ireland state for 50 years has been religious hatred. By deliberately fostering a loathing for Catholics among the Protestant working class, the big landowners, industrialists and their British backers

Protestants have been given marginal privileges to distract them from unemployment and slum housing. They have been organised into bodies like the Orange Order,



Five manacled prisoners at Belfast Docks being herded aboard a helicopter for internment on the prison ship HMS Maidstone

which every few years launches murderous attacks upon Catholic areas.

Two years ago the British government was forced to introduce reforms designed, it was claimed, to end discrimination against Catholics. In doing so, it undermined the foundation of rule through the Stormont regime.

The British government, however, is not prepared to see Stormont collapse without a struggle. Every gesture of opposition to reform from the right wing of the Unionist Party and the supporters of Ian Paisley, has been greeted with concessions from the British government.

The decision to intern was taken to appease the Unionist right wing, which for more than a year has placed internment top of the list of its demands upon the government. Last April, Major Chichester-Clark, Mr Faulkner's predecessor, as Northern Ireland's Prime Minister, came to London to beg Heath and Maudling for internment.

It was refused. Chichester-Clark made way for Faulkner, who immediately invited the arch bigot, Mr Harry West, to join his Cabinet.

Once in the Cabinet, West, together with John Taylor, Under Secretary for Home Affairs, joined with William Criag and other Paisleyites on the Unionist back benches in the demand for 'tougher' action in the Catholic areas and for internment.

In the week before last, West and co redoubled their pressure for internment. West and Taylor threatened to resign from the government, and demonstrated to Faulknerthat they could command a majority in the Parliamentary Unionist Party.

On 5 August, Faulkner flew to London for talks with Mr Maudling and Mr Heath. Without internment, he said, his government would collapse, and direct rule from Westminster or Paisleyism in Ulster were the only two alternatives.

Heath and Maudling immediately surrendered. To save a bankrupt and bigoted government, plus a handful of Tory votes in the House of Commons, they gave the army permission to intern.

When British troops were moved into Northern Ireland in 1969, the stated intention was 'to keep the peace'. For several weeks, the troops appeared to do just that. They held regular conferences with the various Citizens Defence Committees, and were openly hostile to the Protestants extremists.

Gradually, however, as the British government continued to support the reactionary junta at Stormont, the troops became increasingly hostile to the oppressed minority.

ABANDONED

For more than a year now, the pretence of 'keeping the peace' has been abandoned and the troops have co-operated with the RUC, the Ulster Volunteer Force and the Ulster Defence Regiment, the newly-formed organisation of the hated B Specials.

On 3-5 July last year, the troops moved into the Falls Road area of Belfast, breaking down doors, beating up the inmates of the houses, and arresting people on trumped-up charges. The same happened in the Ballymurphy estate.

Indiscriminate beatings-up became the order of the day. On 12 and 13 June, for instance, troops from the Royal Greenjackets raided a pub in Vernar Street, Belfast, and arrested 24 youths. They were taken to Castlereagh police station and systematically beaten up. Mr. Philip Hastings, one of the men arrested, told the Irish Press:

'There were so many beatings and screamings going on that I couldn't remember anything that happened. But they took this guy who sang Faith of Our Fathers out for a while and dragged him back like a sack of potatoes. I never saw so much blood. His head and clothes were covered with it.'

The following Thursday a young Bogsider in Derry was seized by an army snatch squad. When they had finished with him, he had a deep laceration, five inches thick, down his back, and heavy bruising.

Today, there is not even a pretence at impartiality. When a gang of UVF men went into action recently in Belfast, troops lined the streets cheering them on and singing the Sash, the battle hymn of the Orange Order.

What has been the reaction of British liberalism and the British Labour Party to this flagrant breach of the 'traditional civil liberties' for which, laughably, the United Kingdom is meant to stand?

Unanimously, the British press has approved the decision to intern. Little or nothing has been allowed in their pages to disturb the solidarity between the press and the British troops.

The facts about internment have not been sought. In the rare instances where journalists, have discovered some of the truth about the internment camps, the editors have consigned their reports to the waste paper basket.

The reaction of the Labour Party had been in direct violation of everything for which the labour movement stands.

Mr. Harold Wilson is in the Scillies, apparently out of contact with the worst breach of civil liberties in the UK for a hundred years.

Mr. Callaghan, Labour's Home Affairs spokesman, has described the internment as a gamble. He obviously hopes it will succeed.

He has uttered not one word about the brutality, let alone the principle of internment. Other Labour spokesman, in particular Mr. George Thomson, have gone on radio and television with nothing to say except how marvellous are 'our boys' in Northern Ireland.

Only 33 MPs can be found who, in defiance of the Labour leadership, are prepared to ask for the recall of parliament. But Harold Wilson, James Callaghan and all the editors in the world cannot stop the resistance. In Northern Ireland, the resistance rules in the beleagured areas.

From five o'clock in the morning the streets are full of people determined to ensure that the 'snatch squads' will not surprise them again. 2000 women have demonstrated in Derry. Barricades are being erected as fast as the army can pull them down.

In Dublin, a massive demonstration has been called to unite the socialist and republican movement and to declare solidarity with the resistance in the North.

The Dublin branch of the woodworkers' union has called an all-out strike in protest against internment. The Labour Party in Co Donegal has called for a general strike.

SUPPORT

Irish people, socialists and republicans in Britain must rally to support their countrymen and comrades in the North of Ireland.

The Irish in Britain, in particular, must use their influence to push the labour movement against this final excess of British imperialism in Ireland.

There are already signs of workers' resistance. On 11 August a group of building workers at Waterloo, London, struck for two hours in protest against internment. Every support and encouragement must be given to similar stoppages.

Labour MPs should be urged to demand immediate inspection of the internment camps and the release of the internees' names.

The call must go out in every section of the labour movement, to Labour MPs, Labour constituency parties, trade union branches and especially to the TUC which meets in Blackpool in three weeks' time:

NO INTERNMENT
RELEASE THE POLITICAL
PRISONERS
BRITISH TROOPS OUT OF
IRELAND NOW

Socialist Worker

Republicans and socialists in urgent need of funds

THE latest phase of Tory terror has been directed to a large extent against the political groups operating in Northern Ireland. It is only the socialist and republican groups that can organise resistance and attempt, through their publications, to counteract the lies and distortions of the press.

There has been a unified call from civil rights bodies, socialist and repub-

lican organisations, for civil resistance to internment and to the brutality of the troops. They have called on people to cease paying rents, rates, and taxes. They have opposed any political negotiations until the last political prisoner is released.

To organise a campaign of this kind, the People's Democracy, Mid-Ulster Independent Socialists, and the Derry Young Socialists, are in immediate need of funds. Money is needed for printing, transport, publicity material, telephone bills, etc. Send donations to:

Derry Young Socialists & Mid-Ulster Socialists, c/o Cathy Harkin, Munster & Leinster Bank, High St., Derry.

People's Democracy, c/o Peter Rowan, Ulster Bank, University Road, Belfast 9.

The law Vorster admires

THE Special Powers Acts of 1922 and 1933 give the police powers of arrest without warrant upon suspicion.

Make it an offence to refuse to answer questions put by a police constable or a member of Her Majesty's forces on duty.

Give powers to suspend habeas

Empower the Minister of Home Affairs to exclude any person from the Six Counties.

Permit the internment of any person without reason given by the Minister of Home Affairs for an indefinite

Give power to prohibit newspapers, films, gramophone records, emblems, symbols, flags and colours.

Proclaim any association as unlawful.

Allow search, seizure and destruction of all types of property.

Suspend a coroner's inquest on any

Permit the police not to report the death to the coroner's court.

These acts have been invoked, and the powers used, through the 1920s, and after a period of rioting in 1935. It is often said that it was only in 1969 that the British public learned the realities of the Northern Irish situation. British politicians have also pretended not to know what was the extent of the repression and discrimination in

Yet in 1936 the National Councilfor Civil Liberties published a report
condemning the Special Powers Acts
as being contemptuous of the idea of
representative government, damaging
to individual liberty, likely to drive
legitimate opposition movements underground, and encouraging violence and
bigotry on the part of the government

and its supporters.

The Special Powers Act represents what has been called the 'criminalisation of the opposition' (Rudi Dutschke).

Mr Vorster, the Prime Minister of South Africa, has revealed the nature of the executive in Northern Ireland when he declared: 'I would swap the whole of the Suppression of Communism Act for two clauses of the Special Powers Act.'

Powers Acts have only been used sparingly in periods of civil disturbances. This is far from the case. It has been used frequently to protect the police from the publicity resulting from their action.

The notorious 'suicide' in Brown Squere police station some years ago was such an incident. A suspect being held there managed to seize and overpower three police officers, capture a .45 and shoot himself neatly through the mouth. The information did not come out until two years later, and the death was never the subject of a coroner's inquiry.

The Special Powers Act itself is only a part of a whole series of acts around the same purpose—the Public Order Act, the Flags and Emblems Act and Criminal Justice (Temporary Provision) Act. So if Stormont seems to weaken the original Act in any way it will have the same executive power incorporated in other Acts. Liberal opinion may be fooled but the people of the Six Counties will not.

Harrasment during election periods and during periods of social agitation is common. Its purpose is to identify any opposition in the minds of the Unionists' supporters with terrorism

The result of this—to the satisfaction of the Unionists and the leaders of the Orange Order—is that sectarianism is encouraged and any attack on the existing regime is seen as a threat to the position of the Protestant working class. The Special Powers Acts are an instrument of Tory-sectarian dictatorship. They exist and are used with the consent of Westminster.

The Special Powers Acts must go before any solution is possible. We demand an end to the repressive legislation. If Stormont will not repeal it, then Stormont must be smashed,

TROOPS-THE REAL ULSTER TERRORISTS



Troops in action: Derry civil rights worker Len Greene arrested as he was walking with his son

Support the fight against internment

AN APPEAL FROM BERNADETTE DEVLIN

MANY readers of Socialist Worker can only have a vague idea of what internment means. Possibly a few are even prepared to accept the argument that nothing else can be done in the extreme circumstances of Northern Ireland. After all, soldiers have been killed, bombings have taken place, property destroyed.

But the Faulkner/Heath alliance are not concerned with the lives of soldiers. They lose more sleep over the loss of property. Soldiers can be replaced at less cost to the system.

But who are the terrorists at present incarcerated in army camps? When dragged out of his home at 3am, John Bavey, who was a constituent and friend of mine, was engaged in no less a terrorist activity than looking after his four year old daughter while his wife worked on night shift.

At 10am the distraught mother finally discovered the whereabouts of her child, but not her husband. The army does not leave a forwarding address when raiding working-class homes and interning four-year-old terrorists.

The question of internment can not be seen solely in terms of individual suffering, intimidation and repression. The steps taken by Brian Faulkner in full consultation with the Tory government in London are an example of the lengths to which the ruling class will go to protect its power when it has finally crumbled and to maintain a system that has been proved to be unworkable.

Today Belfast is a burnt-out shambles Within 24 hours, at least 15 people in Northern Ireland have been killed.

Newry smoulders in flames fanned by 50 years of political repression, unemployment and slum conditions.

Derry continues to vent the wrath of a people treated like dirt on the symbol of its oppression—a factory containing, not workers but the army of British imperialism.

The responsibility for every stone, every fire bomb, every death, lies on the shoulders of the four men who met last week in Downing Street—Ted Heath, Lord Peter Carrington, Brian Faulkner and General Tuzo.

They met and callously planned the internment campaign and the banning of all marches. Their decision was a choice between peace—which meant accepting that Northern Ireland was ungovernable and that system could not be supported—or power, their power, and that of the class they represent.

They knew the consequences of internment and opted to maintain their power.

THEY are the terrorists, the hypocrites, the murderers. Let them not forget, however, that WE are the people.

We cannot be intimidated and will resist this last vicious act of repression as we have resisted all others in the past. We cannot do it on our own.

Our only friends are our fellow working class in Britain. You must come to our aid. Organise, educate, act. And if for no other than our sake, bring the government down.

It is not your government, it is not your army, It is your class which is under attack in Northern Ireland.

BETWEEN 4.30 and 6 in the morning of 10 August British troops invaded the homes of several hundred people in Northern Ireland.

They broke down doors, pulled the men of the household out of bed and, without leaving them time to dress, hauled them off to hastily organised places of internment.

In cases where they did not find the men specifically named, they took brothers, or other members of the household as hostages. At the house of Niall Vallely, a People's Democracy member in Armagh, the troops met with immediate and effective resistance from the women.

While they engaged the troops, Niall Vallely escaped through the back-door. The troops promptly seized an English solicitor, the boyfriend of Vallely's sister, shouting: 'We have orders to take every man over 17 and under 60!'

In the rural areas, the police acted entirely on the advice of the Special Branch of the Royal Ulster Constabulary, who saw internment as an opportunity to 'pay off old scores' with older Republicans.

RAMPAGE

In the cities, the police had the names, in the main, of the organised political groups and parties. Most of the people arrested were members of the People's Democracy or the Official Wing of the Republican movement. In Belfast, the troops went on

the rampage throughout the Nationalist areas, breaking down doors, and windows and terrorising the population.

Many of the Belfast internees were taken to Girdwood barracks off the Antrim Road. For what happened there, we have to rely on the evidence of those few people, most of them arrested in mistake for someone else, who are still being watched and followed, and whose names, for obvious reasons, cannot be disclosed.

One of them says: 'At one stage I was told: "Well, if you won't talk, perhaps you'd enjoy a bit of flying". I was blindfolded and taken up in a helicopter. I was told we were several hundred feet above the sea, and I was going to be thrown out.

BAREFOOT

'I was then bundled out of the plane. I fell about four feet onto the ground. I saw several internees being stripped and forced to 'run the gauntlet' of police and troops beating them with batons. Others had to run barefoot over cut glass and old tin cans.'

Testimony to these stories are the bleeding and cut feet of some of the men who have been released.

John White from Derry has already told the press of the experiences of the internees from Derry. They were fed on scraps from the soldiers' meals 12 hours after they had been interned.

Their sleep was constantly interfered with by soldiers banging on the roofs of their tin cubicles. They were questioned again and again and even offered bribes for information about the IRA.

The families of the interned men have no information of any kind about them.

Published by the International Socialists,6 Cottons Gdns, London E2. Printed by SW (Litho) Printers Ltd [TU all depts]. Registered with the Post Office.