

FREE CITIZEN

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HUNT MEETS DEMANDS specials to be disbanded

BENEATH THE CIVIL SERVICE JARGON? THE POLICE SERVICE CHAT? THE PLATITUDES THROWN IN TO PLACATE THE HARDLINERS? THE HUNT REPORT STRIKES AT THE VERY HEART OF THE TRADITIONAL UNIONIST MACHINE. THE POLICE FORCE CAN NO LONGER BE THE MILITARY WING OF THE UNIONIST PARTY. THE RESIGNATION OF MR. PEACOCK ADD HIS REPLACEMENT BY SIR. ARTHUR YOUNG SHOWS THAT A COMPLETE CHANGE IS ON THE WAY. SIR ARTHUR WILL DEFEND PROPERTY? HE WILL ACT RUTHLESSLY AGAINST SOCIALISTS AND ANARCHISTS (THOSE ARE THE ENEMIES HE KNOWS IN LONDON) BUT HE WILL OPPOSE WITH ALL HIS HEART RELIGIOUS DISCRIMINATION AND HE WILL NOT TAKE POLITICAL ORDERS FROM THE UNIONIST GOVERNMENT.

The B-Men should be abolished, that is the effective message of the report. True a new border reserve force will be recruited, BUT:-

1. The report recommends that the strength of the new force should be about half that of the B-Specials.

2. The force will be under the command of the G.O.C. Northern Ireland.

3. One third of the Reserve Force would be replaced every three years, and no officer would exercise command for longer than three years.

The report recommends that the Special Powers legislation should be repealed. It says "some of the regulations for example those dealing with explosives may well be necessary, but could be covered by ordinary legislation. We believe that the task of the police would be made easier if the few essential provisions were provided for under ordinary legislation and the acts were repealed."

If the report is accepted, R.U.C. will be controlled by a Police Authority representing a variety of bodies, few if any of which are progressive, but which taken together represent different religious interests. The force will be liable to annual inspection from England.

The report is outspoken on the use of weapons by the R.U.C. It says

1922 TREATY FOR BETTER B-MEN!

Reform of the B-Men is no new issue. In March 1922, Sir James Craig, Winston Churchill, and Michael Collins signed a Treaty designed to end hostilities in the North.

Terms included detailed measures to ensure an impartial police force in the North. Article 3 clause 4 stated "All arms and ammunition issued to police to be deposited in

"certain vehicles of a warlike character are inappropriate to a civil police role we recommend that the armoured cars now in use should cease to be a part of police equipment" "We recommend that the present policy of general issue and carrying of arms should be phased out as soon as possible, and in our view this can begin immediately in most areas of the province."

The report has rightly been welcomed by the opposition. It says much for its quality that Albert Anderson, M.P. for Derry was the first diehard Unionist to condemn it.

barracks in charge of a military or other competent officer when the policeman is not on duty, and an official record to be kept of all arms issued, and of all ammunition issued and used." The precise measure hesitantly introduced by the Westminster Government six weeks ago only 47 years late, and after the pogroms and random killings of the 30's, 50's and 60's.

Consider the other proposals agreed to in 1922 by Sir James Craig:- they should make today's Paisleyites stop and think:- Article 3 Clause 1 "Special Police in mixed districts to be composed half of Catholics and half of Protestants, special arrangements to be made where Catholics or Protestants are living in other districts. All specials not required for this force to be withdrawn to their homes and their arms handed in."

Article 3 Clause 2 An advisory committee composed of Catholics to be set up to assist in the selection of Catholic recruits for the Special Police Article 3 clause 3 "All police on duty except the usual secret service to be in uniform and officially numbered".

THE AD WE WOULD LIKE TO SEE



ECONOMIC WAR NOT HOLY WAR

"Holy War" that is the popular description of our riots in Belfast. It is in fact a continuing struggle between working people of different religions for an inadequate supply of houses and jobs a battle at first sight over religion, really a struggle for economic survival. A struggle which while it may mean temporary gain to one or other religious group, has always meant gain to Ulster's rich.

Look at the background. Belfast's population explosion occurred because landlords discovered that a bullock was a better friend than a human tenant, the bullock gave higher profits.

Penniless and destitute tenants driven from the land flocked to Belfast. They provided just the type of cheap expendable labour required by the textile and shipbuilding industries. The labour had to be expendable, these industries suffered wide fluctuation, thus jobs - the very means to life itself were at risk. Industry paid the bare minimum to keep the worker alive, there was virtually no public expenditure on social amenities for the working people. Terrible over-crowding in the slums of the Pound, Shankill and Sandy Row added a further dimension to the struggle for survival.

In circumstances as grim as these any slight advantage gained by any section of the working people of Belfast was priceless to that group.

Belfast was a plantation town, protestants were always in a majority and in particular tended to have a monopoly of jobs in the securer trades and at more skilled levels. The employers trump card was to convince the protestant semi-skilled worker who lived in a better class slum firstly that he was in fact an Aristocrat, a fortunate man who owed all to his employer and his religion, and then that he had nothing to fear but his fellow worker the Roman Catholic.

There lay the basis of the so-called "Holy War" and the same factors operate today.

Shankill and Falls have some of the worst housing in the U.K., these areas now at war with one another represent the pool of unskilled labour traditionally exploited by the Belfast employers. Protestants still tend to have better positions. In many mills the "staff" are predominately protestant. The workers on the floor are catholic. The distinction is one of degrees of poverty, and yet the division is enough to serve the employer's interest, enough to divide the working people.

Why has the new crisis arisen?

The truth is sectarianism is no longer necessary to Ulster's new managerial elite. New industry employs more skilled men, the work force is more widely divided, the firm pays higher wages. Religious hatred is no longer required to discipline the workforce - they can be exploited more effectively in other ways. This new feeling was the force behind O'Neillism

O'Neillism and the forces behind it in turn led to the explosive development of the Civil Rights Movement. Propaganda about the New Tolerant Ulster meant this to Catholics, equal rights over jobs, equal rights over votes, equal rights over housing Nobody really asked whether it was a question of more jobs in total, more houses in total. Protestant working people have been quick to realise that equal rights (i.e. more for Catholics) must mean less for them if there is no total increase in the number of jobs and houses. Traditional Protestant employers paying low wages and using backwood methods realise that if sectarianism is broken down they will no longer have a servile labour force. When there is no privilege left in being Protestant beyond spiritual comfort, there will be no privilege in working in bad conditions for a Protestant employer.

Thus we have the alliance on the right between Protestant working people, who see a serious economic threat in the Civil Rights Movement, and Protestant Employers who see their ability to exploit their Protestant and Catholic workers threatened by any new tolerance.

Now one thing the flames on the Falls have ensured. The Westminster Government has decided that sectarianism must end - it does not pay. Every factory that burned convinced the British more and more that to safeguard their economic interest here they had to end what they considered as religious war.

Here comes the problem. If unemployment remains at its present level, if the economic situation in Ulster does not change. Civil Rights cannot be granted without a prolonged struggle. Civil Rights will mean a redistribution of power from the badly off (Protestant Working People) to the worst off (Catholic Working People) - there lies the whole strength of the Protestant backlash.

Opposite we explain how Ulster's free enterprise economy cannot satisfy the demands for jobs.

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**SAID THIS
ABOUT
ULSTER**

"IF I COULD DEVISE A SPLIT IN SOCIETY WHICH ASSURED ME THE SUPPORT OF THE MAJORITY OF THE WORKING PEOPLE AND BY FAR THE GREATER PART OF THE PROFESSIONAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE CLASSES, AND ALSO SOME OF THE TRADITIONAL LEADERS OF THE COMMUNITY WITH THE SUCCESS WITH WHICH THE GOVERNMENT OF ULSTER HAS ACCIDENTALLY BEEN BLESSED, THEN OUR EMPIRE WOULD STRETCH TOWARDS ETERNITY.

MUSSOLINI 1929

**WE HAVE
FRIENDS**

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HOW UNIONISTS LOSE MILLIONS

Mr. Callaghan has announced massive new aid to the Ulster economy. He has recognised that unemployment will be a major obstacle to peace. Opposite we argue that sectarian strife may continue if Civil Rights are granted and there is no increase in the number of jobs available. Yet the measures which Callaghan has promised are doomed to failure.

The Unionist government believe in free enterprise, the system which allows them to indulge their expensive tastes at the cost of the community. They claim that only free enterprise and private industry can bring the necessary jobs to Ulster. Mr. Callaghan apparently agrees.

The Unionists are able to give huge development grants to any private industry coming here. Some firms come, but the Unionist government does not have any control over their investment decisions. When the firm is here the government cannot determine that it acts in the best interests of the community.

Let us give a few examples of how the policy has worked in practice. Many a Derry "hooligan" once had a hope of a secure future at B.S.R. Hundreds of Bogsiders were thrown out of work when that firm went bankrupt. At no time did the government have an inkling of what was happening, of where their money was being spent.

On 29/12/59, the then Minister of Commerce, Lord Glentoran, said that B.S.R. was achieving "a very creditable performance", that he was "reasonably optimistic about the future" and that "there is no suggestion that I have ever heard of the firm leaving the area."

Two years later (7/12/61) his successor, Mr. J.L. Andrews announced that he was holding consultations with Dr. McDonald about "the expansion of the firm."

On 12/12/63 Mr. Brian Faulkener said: I have been in discussion with Dr. McDonald about "his interest in obtaining work for a factory which he has in Derry and which he is expanding". By January 1966 the factory had closed, never to re-open.

Consider the case of Cyril Lord, the man who used to nip across to Scotland in his speedboat for an early morning cocktail. A man who lavishly entertained Captain Terence O'Neill and other government ministers.

He was eulogised in Stormont as having "altered the economic life of North Down in 4 short years".

Hardly remarkable when we consider the assistance he received. In 1957 the government gave him £902,730. The Ministry of Commerce paid out an additional £2,700,000 for purpose built premises at Bangor and Donaghadee, they threw in an advance factory at Carnmoney for good measure.

In all 26% of the company's assets were provided by the government. From 1965-67 the firm made a profit amounting to 87.2% of the capital employed, huge dividends were paid out to English shareholders, and then the firm collapsed.

Remember the Senozip case, directors ran off with tens of thousands of pounds of government money, and received sentences of a type normally handed out to those who fiddle a few shillings on the assistance.

The Public Accounts Committee, has condemned this indiscriminate handing out of cash by the government. The Chairman reported on 17/12/63 "Where the Ministry of Commerce in its industrial development was concerned, we found the greatest difficulty in understanding how the millions of pounds it was accounting for had actually been spent. At one point in the deliberations we noticed that the Ministry accounted for £4½ million in four lines. A million a line is rather a difficult way of explaining one's financial policies. The Ministry of Commerce did suggest that it was not the policy of the Ministry to be too precise -----."

Mr. Callaghan has now agreed to increase these development grants by 5%, it will be even easier for corrupt businessmen to make a quick killing in Ulster. Mr. Callaghan has also agreed to spend £2,000,000 on relief work to provide employment for 2,500. This shows the absurdity of the situation. If the government intervenes directly to employ men it knows how the money is being spent. But apparently it can only use these methods in the field of roadmending or forestry.

Both the Westminster government and the Unionists fear the real solution which is to set up government factories in which Ulster's unemployed can find satisfying work.

STATISTICS MISS MEN HIT BY RIOTS

In many areas of "Free Belfast" unemployment rose by as much as 15 per cent as a result of the troubles. Those who carried out sample surveys to find the dimensions of the problem were amazed when local unemployment figures for show any marked rise in unemployment at all. One obvious body to check with seemed to be the T.U.C. --- surely they would know how serious the problem was at grass roots. They replied that there had been no serious increase in unemployment, in fact they said their whole problem was to get the figures from the Ministry of Commerce. Thus the Ministry of Commerce see no problem, the T.U.C. look at the Ministry of Commerce statistics in order miraculously to come to the government's conclusion. Meanwhile both the government and the T.U.C. have failed to note the seriousness of the situation.

AND NO-ONE GETS A JOB

SAY NO R.U.C YET army is best

SIT-DOWNS AND PROTESTS OVER THE NEW PACKAGE OF REFORMS HAVE BEGUN. PROTESTANTS HAVE BLOCKED YORK STREET, THE SHANKILL RD. AND THE CRUMLIN RD. THERE MAY STILL BE A MORE VIOLENT REACTION.

In these circumstances, those who support the reform proposals should offer no provocation. They should be on guard, but in Belfast at least can rely on effective military protection.

Mr. Callaghan's call for an immediate return of the R.U.C. to the Falls is in these circumstances ill-timed. In the issue of the Protestant Telegraph out today (II/IO/69) there is an account of a meeting of 400 angry "loyalist" policemen on sept. 25th. At this meeting the men carried a unanimous vote of no confidence in the Police Representative Council, because of the progressive proposals which it had made to the Hunt Committee. Thus one third of the Belfast police are opposed to reform --- no wonder Unionists on the corporation were anxious to push for the formation of a City police force. It might well have mirrored the bigoted and ill-disciplined City force which so discredited the R.I.C. in the City in the 1840's and 50's.

The question of the rule of government law and order no longer arises, the Citizens Defence Committee admitted the "redcaps" of their own free will. As they rightly said it was in their interest to put an end to incredible tales of hordes of I.R.A. gunmen.

DUBLIN MEETING

The People's Democracy from the North, members of the Dublin Housing Action Committee, and the Irish Labour Party from the South, held an extremely successful meeting in Dublin on Tuesday night. Over 700 attended and appeared to enthusiastically support the theme of the meeting - - the fight against Tories North and South.

Plans are already afoot for more co-operation between the P.D. and these groups. These plans may include the production of a monthly paper.

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BUCKSHOT ACROSS THE BORDER

Mr. Donegan, Fine Gael Front Bench T.D., is a curious gentleman. Here in the North he is known only for his consuming interest in Civil Rights. Many in Bogside heard him voice his horror at the oppression of the R.U.C. thugs, who had even fired at innocent civilians etc. etc. Indeed Mr. Donegan carried his concern beyond the shores of Ireland to the Council of Europe in Strasbourg where he raised the question of Northern Ireland once more.

Meanwhile south of the border near Monasterboise terror reigned. Innocent itinerants covered as bullets whistled through the air. Where was Civil Righter Donegan, waiting the chance to fly to Strasbourg, to protest about this new outrage against humanity. Not so Mr. Donegan was firing the gun, we were delighted to see that Mr. Donegan was fined £20, and will just add this, if Mr. Donegan turns up here in the North again spouting about Civil Rights we will give his hypocrisy short shrift indeed.

UTV BLUNDER AT ARMY EXPENSE

Heard on the U.T.V. News ----
" - and later we will be looking into the conditions under which the security forces live and will be asking the question are we too kind to our animals."

B-SPECIALS Not so very loyal

B-Specials still guard vital installations, and one of the more recent of these is Dr. Robert Simpson, the new Minister for Community Relations.

One would have thought that the B-Men would have rejoiced at the honour of guarding the new minister's home -- surely a sign of government confidence in their loyalty and effectiveness. Not so -- a local officer of the B-Men reports "none of the boys were going to guard his house, we had to read the riot act to get them out". So even "moderates" in the Unionist Party live insecurely while the B-Men patrol.

OUR ADDRESS.

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AIDAN CORRIGAN.

In "Free Citizen" No. 1 we suggested that Mr. Corrigan had abandoned the North as soon as trouble blew up. This is quite unfair, he has in fact behaved with considerable courage. Our disagreement with him is not on a personal level, it is over his particular type of Nationalist politics

