

UNFREE CITIZEN

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9th June 1975

LOYALISTS SET UP ARMY COUNCIL



ON THE BRINK

UNITE AND FIGHT

FASCIST MURDER GANGS

ERUPT

IN ARGENTINA



ISABELITA DELIVERING SPEECH (1973)

Argentina is a big country and the American capitalist companies operating in Argentina in particular and the rest of Latin America in general, reap very big profits from the over-exploited land and labour. In fact it is accurately estimated that for every American dollar put in the American and foreign capitalists, including Britain, take out ten dollars in return. Not bad when you consider it is all 'tax free' - an added incentive from the corrupt Argentinian government which is headed by President Isabelita Peron (wife of the deceased President Juan Peron who died in July 1974). Like her husband she is totally dedicated to ensuring that the big businesses of all countries and herself, reap big profits also.

Just now there are elections going on, geared solely to the interests of the bourgeoisie and big businessmen of Argentina as many socialist and progressive groups are officially banned from participation and have been declared enemies of the (fatherland) State.

Take this year alone: From January over 250 people have been murdered (and that is a govt. estimate, it is more likely double that). A very high proportion of those murdered are Socialists and members of Trade Unions. Most of these murders are claimed by the totally fascist anti-communist alliance (A.C.A.).

These fascist murder gangs are very similar to the U.V.F., U.D.A., U.F.F. here in Ireland today.

Generally they use almost identical techniques and tactics to those that the Orange fascist murder gangs use in Ireland - primarily cowardly, brutal assassinations of any socialist or socialist sympathisers. THIS WEEK alone 10 people have been assassinated by these fascists going to and from work or answering knocks at their doors.

The fascists act with complete impunity as the Argentinian police and army turn a blind eye and regard the group as an unofficial ally. A couple of weeks ago 20 people were murdered including 2 priests whom the fascists claimed were Marxist-inclined. One of the priests was actually murdered in his chapel when a hand grenade was thrown at him by a member of the congregation during a weekday mass.

The two main socialist groups operating there are called the Montoneros and the peoples Revolutionary Army (ERP) who are marxists. These two organisations are at present engaged in Urban guerrilla warfare in most of Argentina's main cities but mainly in Buenos Aires the Capital. This year they have killed over 200 police, army and high officials of the government, their most spectacular coup being when

they killed the top general of the Argentine armed forces on the outskirts of Buenos Aires early this year. He was in his yacht at the time. They also engaged in shooting known fascists who are behind most of the assassinations, but recently they have been hit hard by police raids, curfews and now the Peron Govt. has brought in martial law and Internment for any member of these organisations. The fascist groups of course are encouraged to wipe out the radical left.

In Argentina like Northern Ireland these fascist groups and murder gangs are left alone and not hindered in any way by either the police or army, but in the meantime the Left keeps fighting on despite massive U.S. aid to head off the serious economic crises looming in the country. The C.I.A. is known to be deliberately manipulating the fascists for their benefit and great encouragement has also been given to the fascists by their counterparts in Chile. Hints on how to annihilate their class enemies have been passed on namely murder, murder and more murder. Typical of anti-communist alliance techniques was another brutal murder on 19/4/'75 in La Plata a northern town which has seen much activity from the ERP. Alberto Gersianik who was a doctor, aged 31, was murdered in his home.



GHETTO IN BUENOS AIRES

Apparently the fascists broke down the door with axes and shot him 86 times as well as murdering his wife and one year old child who was asleep in her cot. According to the Argentine police in La Plata this was a motiveless murder. We seem to have heard that line used before somewhere namely from the R.U.C. here in Ireland when Catholics (anti-Unionists) are assassinated by orange fascists.

THE BAILIFFS SWOOP

P.D. Member's Car Seized over RATES STRIKE

Stormont and Westminster Govts. have tried many tactics to break the Rent and Rates strike in the North, including SDLP-member Austin Currie's notorious 25p a week fine on Rent and Rates strikers. But now they're trying a new tactic. Two weeks ago, in the first move of its kind in Belfast, bailiffs seized a P.D. member's car because he is on Rent and Rates strike. This is a peculiarly vicious move because for many people a car is essential for their work and to be suddenly deprived of it could put them out of a job. Moreover the car would be sold for far less than its value at a hole and corner bailiff's auction - usually to some of the bailiff's mates - and so the unfortunate victim loses a couple of hundred pounds over and above his Rent or Rates arrears.

Four Bailiffs acting on behalf of the Ministry of Finance (Rates

Division) and backed up by armed RUC men and British soldiers, arrived at the P.D. member's house in Dermot Hill which is in the Ballymurphy/Turf Lodge area at 7 o'clock in the morning of Thursday 22nd May and demanded payment of £155.00 owing for rates which was being withheld as a protest against internment. When informed that the money would not be paid they gave our member a receipt and proceeded to take away the car valued at £450.00, informing him he had seven days to pay up, or the car would be auctioned off at Portadown. Ironically the car was being bought on hire purchase and so was technically the property of a finance company, who are now suing the Ministry of Finance.

This incident should be a warning to the anti-unionist population that the British authorities in the North

feel confident enough, under cover of the ceasefire, to increase their harassment and to attempt to demoralise the anti-unionist population. During a period when we are disorganised and feuding amongst ourselves, the Loyalists are consolidating their position of power and are forming a united military force against us. Unless we shake ourselves from our complacency now and demand unity of all anti-imperialist forces North and South, we will face another fifty years of Orange Supremacy in a sectarian Six County State, with guaranteed increased repression. There may be a military ceasefire in existence now, but that does not mean that there should be a political ceasefire as well. Far from it, we should be using the ceasefire period to organise the anti-unionist workers in the North around the issue of

the Loyalist takeover and we should demand an end of incursions by the RUC into anti-Unionist areas. In the south united political action is urgently required to inform the people of the 26 Cos. of the impending crisis in the North. We must agitate in the South around the issues of Collaboration, Common Law Enforcement, Special Courts, Political Prisoners, etc. and prepare the population to come to our aid in the event of a civil war.

NOTE FOR THOSE ON RENT AND RATES STRIKE

Property on hire purchase cannot be sold for money owed for rents or rates. If such property is seized, inform the H.P. Company immediately and contact a solicitor. The H.P. company can retrieve the property and return it to you or you can cancel your agreement with them.



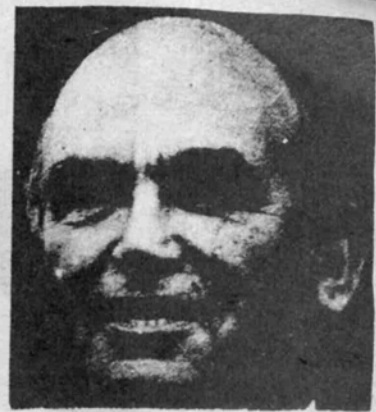
● Glen Barr



● Andrew Tyrie



● William Craig



● Harry West

ON THE BRINK

The Rev. William Arlow certainly stirred things up in the North with his statement about a British withdrawal — which means different things to different people. It provoked the Loyalists into showing their hand and the unanimity of their reactions showed that they were talking about a pre-prepared plan.

Paisley said that in the event of a British withdrawal "the Ulster Majority will have no other option but to establish and defend their own government". John Laird of the Official Unionists — just back from a trip to the Aran Islands and Co. Mayo at the expense of Aer Arann — said the statement had "forced people to see the formation of our own government as the next priority in the event of the Convention breaking down and a British Army withdrawal". And Vanguard, the most clearly Fascist of the 3 UUUC parties, made the most detailed statement: "the only alternative for the Ulster Loyalist population will be to set up a Provisional Government that will from a position of strength, directly negotiate a constitution with Westminster".

"The Ulster people must prepare to use all means that are necessary to maintain and defend our British heritage and way of life. If that means setting up a Provisional Govt. to govern and defend our Province then so be it".

GLENN BARR SPELLS OUT HOW FAR THE LOYALISTS HAVE GONE

Just how far the Loyalist have gone along this road was revealed by Glenn Barr when he said they had already made detailed plans for a Provisional Government and selected their Cabinet Ministers. The most sinister statement of all however came from Andy Tyrie, Chairman of the U.D.A. at a dinner to commemorate the fall of the Executive last year. Tyrie announced that the U.D.A. and 5 other Loyalist

gangs, including the still illegal Red Hand Commandos had set up an Ulster Army Council. Officially the U.A.C.'s function would be to hold and defend the 6 Counties in the event of a British withdrawal. In practice they are talking of seizing power in a coup d'etat and making a Unilateral Declaration of Independence like white Rhodesia. Either way the U.A.C. is pledged to accept the leadership of the UUUC and two of the UUUC leaders, Craig and Harry West, were guests of honour at the dinner where Tyrie made his announcement and evidently approved.

THE U.A.C. WOULD BE THE MUSCLE OF ANOTHER U.W.C. LOCK-OUT

Craig had already threatened, before the Convention election, that the Loyalist would call another U.W.C. Lock-out if necessary, to get their own way. The Ulster Army Council is obviously intended to provide the muscle to back it up. And there would be no opposition from the "security forces". Even Ivan Cooper of the SDLP claimed recently that the R.U.C., U.D.R. and R.U.C. Reserve were no longer loyal to Westminster and would back a Loyalist Provisional Govt. There would certainly be no opposition from the British Army. Arlow is right about them intending to withdraw. They

mean to withdraw alright but they also mean to hand over to a safe pro-imperialist, anti-Republican, anti-Socialist Government and that can only be the UUUC.

WE ARE ON THE BRINK OF SAVAGE REPRESSION

We are on the brink of a Loyalist takeover in the North which would put Craig and Paisley in power, give the assassins of the UDA etc. a free hand, and institute the most savage system of repression since the 1920's. It can still be resisted and defeated but it must be resisted NOW while there are still tensions between the Loyalists and the British and among the Loyalists themselves, and before they get their hands on the reins of power.

Some Republicans argue that a Loyalist Independent "Ulster" without the physical backing of the British Army would be easy to overthrow but they have forgotten Israel where a small but utterly fanatical population, strongly backed by Britain and America has held out successfully for over 25 years against tens of millions of Arabs all around them.

Loyalist must be defeated now before it consolidates its hold. To do that the anti-imperialist population must learn from the Loyalists example and build a united

political and military movement to resist the Fascist menace. We can start in the North by forcing the SDLP out of the Convention where they are only providing a respectable front for the Loyalist take-over and by re-building a mass campaign on internment by August 9th its 4th anniversary. In the south we can begin by defeating the Common Law Enforcement Bill now going through the Seanad. But we will have to move quickly from a united front on political issues to unity by all the anti-imperialist military groups as well. Time is running out.

Unite to resist the Loyalist takeover.

NOTE:

The Sunday World on June 1st named what they claimed was the Loyalist Provisional Government poised to take over the North if the British pull out. It was: ANDY TYRIE, Chairman of the U.D.A.; GLENN BARR, U.D.A. Inner Council member and Chairman of the Ulster Loyalist Co-ordinating Committee which unites the para-military groups and the U.W.C.; JIM SMITH, spokesman for the Ulster Workers' Council; WILLIAM CRAIG, head of the Power-Workers section of the U.W.C.; SAM MC CLURE, a leading U.D.A.-man in East Belfast; JOHN MC KEAGUE, head of the still-banned Red Hand Commandos who have been responsible for some of the worst sectarian killings; HUGH PETRNE, a leading figure in the L.A.W. and the U.D.A. in Shorts Aircraft Factory and for a time Craig's personal bodyguard; COL. EDWARD BRUSH old-style imperialist and head of the Down Orange Welfare Group, JACKIE SCOTT a leading figure in the U.W.C., GEORGE GREEN head of the former B Specials Association, BOB MARNÓ head of Vanguard's para-military wing the Volunteer Service Corps and BILL HANNIGAN head of the Orange Volunteers the Orange Order's para-military group.

Anyone who thought we in P.D. have been exaggerating the danger of a fascist take-over in the North should read that list carefully. It would be a terrifying prospect if power were in the hands of men like McKeague and Tyrie who have been

P.D. MEMBER CHARGED

P.D. member Paddy Brown was stopped in West Belfast on his way to work by the British Army on May 26th. The military took him out of his car, gave him a body search and found a list of numbers and descriptions of cars used by S.A.S. and M.R.F. plain-clothes patrols in the Belfast area which he was about to give to 'Unfree Citizen' for publication.

The British were very alarmed that P.D. had such detailed information on their movements and promptly arrested Comrade Brown and handed him over to the R.U.C. who charged him with possession of information relating to the security forces and which might be of use to terrorists.

But the R.U.C. were even more concerned at another document found on Cde. Brown — an invitation to P.D. to take

part in a major demonstration in Lisbon in Portugal in solidarity with the revolutionary movements of Portugal and the former Portuguese colonies of Angola, Mozambique Guinea. When Paddy Brown applied for bail in the Belfast High Court the Crown prosecutor Robert McCartney — a notorious Loyalist hack — solemnly told the Court that not only was Cde. Brown actively working for revolution in Ireland but he was in league with revolutionaries all over the world, especially in Portugal.

For once in his time-serving, blood-sucking career McCartney was right. P.D. is in contact with revolutionary groups in other countries and we welcome their support for the Irish struggle just as we support their struggle. And the RUC were right to be alarmed. If the Portuguese people could

overthrow the Fascist dictatorship which had oppressed them for 50 years then we can overthrow British Imperialism and Loyalism in Ireland. Indeed the R.U.C. should take warning from Portugal where the jails, once overflowing with anti-Fascist political prisoners, are now filled again — this time with the torturers, murders and thugs of the PIDE the Portuguese secret police. The R.U.C.'s day will come as well.

WE LIST THE MURDER SQUADS:

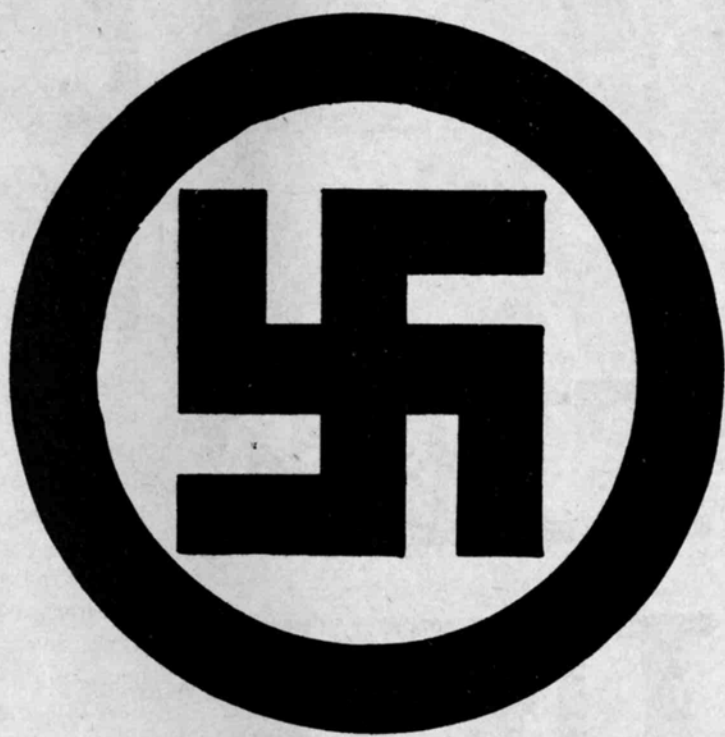
The R.U.C. were careful to keep hold of the document seized from Paddy Brown listing the SAS/MRF cars but Unfree Citizen has obtained a copy of it from another source.

Remember Paddy Mc Veigh and Daniel Rooney, both murdered by British Army plain-clothes murder squads cruising around

the Catholic ghettos in unmarked cars looking for victims? Then beware of these cars often driven by men dressed as camera-men but sometimes by men or women in denims or hippy clothes. These are SAS/MRF plain-clothes spying teams or murder squads.

Red Austin 1600	HO1 759
Red Fiat 124	HO1 6024
Brown Vauxhall	DIJ 5116
Silver Ford Escort	GIA 4648
White Mini 850	GO1 8562
Blue Ford Transit Van	AIJ 6914
Blue Ford Escort	GIA 3630
White Datsun	HO1 4405
White Escort Station Wagon	FIJ 9348

WE LIST MURDER THE SQUADS



UUUC

SWEET

BOA

ANALYSIS OF THE RESULTS OF

As we had constantly predicted in UNFREE CITIZEN the Northern Convention election was a foregone conclusion and the UUUC won a sweeping majority giving it an overall majority of 16 in the 78-seat Convention. But the detailed results indicated some important trends. First of all the UUUC won a small overall majority (54.1%) of the total vote for the third election in succession showing that their crushing victories in the Westminster elections last year were no flash in the pan.

The main feature of the election was the contest between the UUUC and Faulkner's UPNI for the traditional Unionist vote and their joint total of 406,956 was very close (given a lower poll) to the joint total of the Faulkner Unionists and the Loyalist Coalition (429,710) in the Assembly election of 1973, showing that few Unionist votes had gone to other parties. In fact the UPNI was ignominiously routed, getting a mere 50,891 First Preferences while the UUUC vote was up by 110,000 on the 1973 figure and they got a total of 356,065 First Preferences. Obviously nearly three quarters of the Faulkner vote in 1973 had transferred to the UUUC giving them seven eighths of the traditional Unionist Party vote and the support of an overwhelming majority of the Protestant population in the North — meaning a shift from supporting an old-style Conservative party to supporting a Fascist or neo-Fascist party of the ultra-right.

STRENGTHENING OF EXTREME RIGHT-WING IN UUUC

At the same time there has been a shift in power within the UUUC and a strengthening of its extreme right-wing elements. Despite the fact that Harry West's Official Unionist Party

put up far more candidates than the other groups they only won 19 seats compared with 14 for Vanguard and 12 for Paisley's DUP giving a clear majority to the wilder elements. And, apart from the UUUC's formal links with the Loyalist para-military gangs, the para-militarists have strengthened their direct representation in the Convention. Eight of the 46 UUUC representatives are known members of para-military groups and two are leaders of their groups — George Green, head of the ex-B Specials Association and Col. Peter Brush, head of the secretive Down Orange Welfare group — while Glenn Barr is believed to be on the Inner Council of the U.D.A. and Herbert Heslip is Deputy Head of the Down Orange Welfare group. Two others, Frank Millar and Clifford Smyth of the DUP are connected with the mysterious Tara group, while David Trimble of Vanguard and Hugh Smyth, an Independent Loyalist, are closely connected with the U.V.F. and Alister Black, Official Unionist is connected with the Vanguard Service Corps. The para-military flavour is also strengthened by the fact that 3 other UUUC members apart from George Green, are ex-members of the B Specials — Douglas Hutchinson and Michael Armstrong from Armagh and Robert Reid from Co. Down. The outright sectarian tone of the Loyalist group is also strengthened by the addition of a third Protestant Minister, Martin Smyth, head of the Belfast Orange Order, who joins Paisley and William Beattie.

THE SITUATION IS EXTREMELY SERIOUS WITH UUUC MAJORITY

The UUUC represents the most vicious, sectarian and thuggish elements of Ulster Unionism and they have won a substantial majority. The situation is extremely serious. The UUUC campaigned on a clear platform of no power-sharing, no Irish dimension and a return to majority rule with control over security. Craig spelt it out during the election campaign when he said: "I make no apology for campaigning for the return of the old Stormont system." Their victory in the election has made them more arrogant than ever. In his speech at the opening of the Convention, West made it clear that there would be no compromise and no concessions: "Whatever others may consent to do we are not going to be responsible for allowing the hand of such a person (anyone who believes in a united Ireland, even far in the future) to be laid on the actual steering wheel of state". And the Loyalists have given an indication of how they will run the Convention by their attitude in the Steering Committee to draw up Standing Orders. They used their majority to vote through a provision that the Convention can only produce a majority report, there can be no minority recommendations. It is clear they'll also use their majority to quickly vote through a demand for a return to the old Stormont system.

S.D.L.P. BEG FOR CRUMBS

Faced with the stark realities of the situation the S.D.L.P. have vacillated between fawning on the Loyalists and begging for crumbs — Gerry Fitt said he thought West's Convention speech left doors open for co-operation — and frantically appealing to Westminster to block

the Loyalist takeover. But they can't have listened to Wilson's speech in Belfast at the end of March when he said "No solution (the Convention devises) is excluded." and warned the minority not to refuse to work with the majority.

What's happening is as clear as daylight. Westminster is going to hand over power to the Loyalists subject only to them offering the S.D.L.P. a couple of powerless but well-paid sinecures as Chairmen of Committees. Wilson may stall a bit for appearance sake but if he stalls too long Craig has already warned that they'll stage another U.W.C. Lock-Out. And a lot of the handing over has been done already anyway. The R.U.C., now 93% Protestant, and the R.U.C. Reserve and U.D.R., 97% Protestant, are firmly controlled by the Loyalists.

FASCISM CANNOT BE STOPPED BY THE BALLOT BOX — IT CAN BE STOPPED ONLY BY THE PEOPLE

The psychological conditioning for the take-over has begun already. The editorial in last week's Fortnight, a liberal Unionist magazine in the North, advocated a UUUC government with a Bill of Rights as "the best and most viable long-term solution to the N.I. problem". They justified this on the grounds that power would make the Loyalists responsible i.e. give a Loyalist assassin a police uniform and a licence to murder and he'll be more selective in who he kills. After being routed at the polls the soft "moderate" centre in the North are trying to rehabilitate themselves by actually advocating a Fascist take-over.

On the anti-Unionist side there are still a few liberals like James Kelly of the Sunday Independent, who refuse to believe the evidence of their

U.C.

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THE CONVENTION ELECTION



own eyes and console themselves by reflecting that the UUUC vote was down on their total in the last Westminster election and arguing that 54% of the vote in a low poll is not a sound enough base for a Fascist coup. They forget that the Nazi vote in the March 1933 election which put Hitler in power in Germany was down on the two previous elections and that the Nazis only got 43.9% of the total vote – they hadn't even got an overall majority in the German Parliament.

The Convention Election demonstrated beyond contradiction that Loyalist Fascism in the North can't be stopped by the ballot box. It won't be stopped by pleading to the London or Dublin Governments either. It can only be stopped by the people themselves – the Northern minority and the Southern masses – in the streets, and by physical force. The election results give some encouragement to that prospect. The SDLP vote was almost constant: 156,000 First Preferences against 159,173 in the 1973 Assembly election but that reflects a recent growth in militancy by the minority population. The Assembly election took place at a time of fairly high morale and support for militant resistance. Since then the Sunningdale Agreement had won over many anti-Unionists and when it collapsed the minority was demoralised and hopeless. Now, faced with the Loyalist threat, morale and the determination to resist are back at the level of 1973. There was undoubtedly a substantial boycott. Compared with anti-Unionist totals in recent Westminster elections the SDLP vote was down by 13,000 in Mid-Ulster, 10,000 in Fermanagh-South Tyrone and 13,000 in West Belfast. Those figures represent a hard-core Republican-minded population in those constituencies which could be mobilised to resist the

Loyalists.

THE S.D.L.P. MUST BE FORCED OUT OF THE CONVENTION

In the meantime the ineffectual and opportunist job-hunters of the S.D.L.P. must not be allowed to lend a veneer of respectability to the Convention farce by continuing to participate in it. Their presence can only facilitate the Loyalist take-over. Their presence can only facilitate the Loyalist take-over. Their departure would embarrass the British and help to awaken the people of the 26 Cos. to the gravity of the situation here. They must be forced to get out of the Convention.

The election also saw the humiliating defeat of the Official Republicans who had based their whole strategy on winning a couple of seats in the Convention. Instead they got 2.2% of the vote. It is evident there is no future for reformism in the North. The Officials' policy is now in ruins. It has already led to the break-away of the IRSP. The Officials' leadership is irrevocably committed to the reformist road but it is time what remains of their rank and file abandoned a decaying carcass and joined in the coming struggle. It may be their last chance to do so.

THE ELEVENTH HOUR – RESISTANCE OR TOTAL DEFEAT

We are at the eleventh hour. A Fascist victory would result in pogroms and police terror for the foreseeable future. It must be resisted. We must re-create a mass movement like the one which brought tens of thousands onto the streets after Bloody Sunday and we must back it with the united strength of all anti-imperialist military organisations. That way we can triumph.

The the S.D.L.P. out of the Convention. Re-build the anti-imperialist mass movement. Unite to resist the Loyalist take-over.

FOOTNOTE:

Prize for the craziest comment on the Convention Election must go to 'An Phoblacht', the Sinn Fein paper. In a banner headline it proclaimed "70% IN NORTH OPPOSE BRITAIN". This figure was arrived at by adding together those who didn't vote (taken as Republicans who boycotted the poll) and those who voted UUUC on the grounds the the

UUUC was "against British plans" and "opposed to British dictation to Ireland's North-East." The idea of an alliance between Republicans and Orange extremists dies hard. How many Catholics will have to be assassinated before An Phoblacht realises that the Loyalist murder gangs and their political masters are their deadliest ENEMIES? The UUUC are not anti-British. The difference between them and the Westminster Government is that the UUUC is more imperialist and pro-British than the British themselves.

COOPER'S EMPTY WORDS

IVAN COOPER who's currently out of favour with his colleagues in the S.D.L.P. has got himself a bit of publicity recently by announcing that the RUC, RUC Reserve and UDR are no longer loyal to the British government and would be prepared to back a Loyalist Provisional Govt. if the UUUC give the go-ahead. Cooper is absolutely right and we have been pointing this out for the last year in Unfree Citizen.

Hugh Logue, another SDLP member, backed Cooper up but the question arises:

if this is true and the Loyalists are preparing to take over, what are Cooper and Logue doing sitting in the Convention giving the take-over a veneer of respectability and giving the impression that a section of the minority are acquiescing in it?

Cooper and Logue and the rest of the S.D.L.P. should put their money where their mouths are, stop collaborating with the Loyalists and get out of the Convention now. After all their salaries are secure now they've attended the first session.

VIETNAM

30 YEARS OF STRUGGLE



The total victory of the liberation movements in Vietnam and Cambodia in recent weeks have been an inspiration to revolutionaries everywhere. If Indo-Chinese peasants can defeat the world's greatest super-power and its local puppets then victory is possible in every struggle. If we tend to be disheartened by the length of the struggle here in Ireland we should remember that the Vietnamese people have been fighting imperialism for the last 30 years. This article gives the background to the Vietnamese struggle.

Vietnam in the late nineteenth century was a densely populated country of 20 million people, mostly peasants, who lived in object and extreme poverty, mainly growing rice in the thousands of paddy fields that span the country. War hasn't been unusual to the Vietnamese who in the fifteenth century struggled against Chinese invasion from the north. Until the French arrived there were innumerable strains and stresses of every kind, which ranged from tribal warfare to peasant uprisings. France proclaimed Vietnam a French protectorate in 1885. Soon afterwards an uprising followed, mainly in response to appeals by nationalist mandarins (governors of provinces). This was known as the scholars revolt. It was eventually crushed by bloody repression from the French but it sowed the seeds of further violence, and other rebellions followed one in 1908 and another in 1916. But they were all crushed by brutal force.

Nationalism very sharp in Vietnam

Nationalism in Vietnam, like most countries under foreign occupation was always very sharp. After the last revolt of 1916 secret societies sprouted up all over the country, in the main they were only small groups of conspirators detached from the broad mass of the people. They mostly engaged in individual acts of terror against the French colonial officials, but on the whole they were blinkered by extreme nationalism and blind to any ideology. They were

concerned exclusively with evicting the French invader. Often these societies were tinged with extreme racialism towards the French in particular and all Europeans in general.

To deal with these groups France opened one of the first concentration camps ever in Indochina. It was located in the Indian ocean on a small island. Anyone unlucky enough to be detained there often died from the extreme conditions enforced there though usually anyone suspected of being in any of these secret societies was instantly executed.

It is not unusual therefore that anyone born and bred in this vicious atmosphere of oppression should set out with an intense hatred of France and all it stood for.

Ho Chi Minh - Guerrilla Leader

One man born in this atmosphere was to have a long term political effect and eventually to lead a successful guerrilla war against the French, his name was Ho Chi Minh. Born south of Hanoi from peasant stock he grew up with intense hatred of French colonialism, particularly as his father was continually persecuted by the French officials for being politically active. He eventually died in jail for political activities against the French. Ho instead of racing towards blind vengeance against the French decided that like

Lenin and the Bolsheviks in order to liberate your country you would need a strong revolutionary party. He was a founder of the Indochinese Communist Party in 1919. After this he too was continually hounded by the secret police. Escaping deportation and the guillotine ten times, he fled to France where he worked as a Comintern agent for 30 years travelling to London, Moscow and Peking.

Until the late thirties the Communist Party in Vietnam were on the whole ineffective, as oppression was total and all kinds of sporadic terrorism was going on which was having a negative effect. Then in 1940 a decisive thing happened. A large contingent of Japanese troops arrived in Vietnam to back up the Vichy French there. At this opportunity, Ho Chi Minh slipped back into Vietnam after an absence of 30 years.

Ho Chi Minh persuaded the central committee of the Vietnamese Communist Party - at a meeting held in a bamboo hut - to ally with non-Communist progressive and nationalist groups in a united struggle against the Japanese and Vichy France and so the Viet Minh (Vietnamese Independence) movement was formed. The Viet Minh won widespread support for a very modest programme of nationalist independence

BACKGROUND TO THE PEOPLE'S VICTORY

a democratic Republic and re-distribution of the land from large estates. Indeed, in keeping with Stalin's policy in the 1930's of allying with bourgeois Parties in Popular Fronts, Ho Chi Minh's party deliberately refrained from making more radical demands thereby holding back the consciousness of the people somewhat.

However the Viet Minh soon began to build up a strong anti-imperialist movement. At first emphasis was laid on propaganda units (at that time regarded as being more useful than short term military operations) and to extend propaganda operations southwards. Finally in the Spring of 1943 after three years of agitational and propaganda activity the guerrilla war against the Vichy French and Japanese troops began in earnest.

War of resistance against the French

De Gaulle meanwhile residing in London and leading a section of the French resistance against German occupation, made a speech maintaining that the new France must dominate and control all of Vietnam. From this point onwards the Viet Minh began stressing not only resistance to Vichy French and Japanese occupation but they maintained that they would resist the up and coming Gaullists who were obviously planning to reconquer Vietnam. The guerrilla war was escalating and occasionally the Viet-Minh were joined by small groups of French troops, fighting the Japanese. This news spread like wild fire and several major garrisons deserted to the Viet-Minh also.

The fighting continued until 25th August 1945 when shortly after the surrender of the Japanese the Viet Minh seized control in a brief and bloody struggle in which many French settlers were killed. Relations with France grew strained and a leading Gaullist general Seclerc made a number of blatant imperialist speeches culminating in the return of his forces to negotiate a compromise, despite much Viet Minh talk of exterminating French troops if they ever set foot in Vietnam again.

British involvement

Meanwhile the British in the South who took over control of Saigon after the Japanese began to gradually withdraw in order to let the French forces back in. (In a remarkable demonstration of imperialism at its most cynical the British had actually released and armed Japanese P.O.W.s to help them gain control of Saigon from the Viet Minh).

Ho Chi Minh was reluctant to fight the French and hoped to negotiate independence without bloodshed. He was soon to find that nothing could be gained from negotiations with the imperialists. Viet Minh delegates, head by Ho, arrived in France but after many months of talks nothing concrete evolved.

The French seemed to be using the talks for a breathing space in order to consolidate their forces in Vietnam particularly in the cities.

**continued
on page 7**

TROOPS OUT MOVEMENT

BRITISH LEFT MUST BLACK LOYALIST REGIME

On Saturday May 24th the Troops Out Movement organised the largest ever delegate conference of the British Labour Movement on the Irish question. Over 300 people, delegates from trade union branches, trades councils, shop steward committees, Labour Party branches and NUS branches attended.

The success of this conference is an indication of the growing demand within the British Labour Movement for British military disengagement from Ireland. Up until recently only the Marxist element in British politics supported British withdrawal. But increasingly with the British economy in a perilous state even the centre elements of the Labour party are supporting withdrawal. Seo Abse MP for Pantypool expressed the feelings of many British people when he said "The British people are no longer prepared to endure the violent economic consequences of anachronistic religious prejudices". If Britain declared will for power-sharing in Northern Ireland is again to be frustrated by strikes, threats of pogroms and by the subsidising of a Constitutional Convention, then it is time to re-examine the economic parity principle of the 1938 agreement between Ulster and the U.K."

In other words Abse is saying either the Loyalists toe the British line, or the British will withdraw. Abse also states:

"Our generation cannot indefinitely take responsibility for the follies of their fathers".

Abse wants Britain to wash its hands of the Irish problem. So does P.D. which is why we are active in the T.O.M. through our London Branch. We are totally



opposed to imperialist interference in Irish affairs.

But Seo Abse's attitude to Ireland we regard with disquiet. He is after all a Labour M.P. he is supposed to represent the British working class. That class has a historical obligation to the Irish people.

British imperialism through exploitation of colonial countries such as Ireland, was enabled to provide its own working class with a high standard of living. British workers

benefited from imperialism. Yet Abse's attitude seems to be based on the narrowest self interest - Britain is in economic difficulties - they can save £600 million by withdrawal from Ulster where the Irish can not agree anyway - so pull out and incidentally save our soldiers lives.

This chauvinistic attitude must be combatted within the British Labour movement. The internationalist element in the British labour movement must be strengthened. Certain

sections have an honourable record in respect of oppressed people. They must be strengthened.

The British Left must ensure that British withdrawal is not a prelude to a loyalist fascist coup. They can concretely aid the Irish peoples right to self-determination by calling for No Concessions to Loyalists and - Total British Withdrawal and in the event of a Loyalist coup BLACKING all military aid and all trade between Britain and the 6 Cos. - as they have done in regard to Chile.

Marx said "a nation that enslaves another can never itself be free". The British workers would enormously aid their own struggle for socialism by doing everything in their power to weaken loyalism and withdraw British troops. For they must recognise that a strong fascist state in Ulster would greatly strengthen the reactionary elements within Britain itself.

The immediate threat facing the catholic working class in the north is of a fascist take-over. The withdrawal of British troops could be only a prelude to that take-over UNLESS that withdrawal is FORCED by the combined resistance of Northern and Southern workers against imperialism and Loyalism and by the demands of a strong Troops Out Movement utterly opposed to any semblance of British imperialism in Ireland.

P.D. will continue to campaign vigorously in the T.O.M. and inside Ireland for total British withdrawal and the smashing of the Loyalist six-county state.

**Withdraw British Troops,
Black all supplies and trade with any
Loyalist Regime!
Self determination for the whole
Irish people!**

VIETNAM (contd. from page 6)

Finally things came to a head provoked by certain French generals eager for action and also filled with intense hatred for the Vietnamese. This provoked serious clashes resulting in many lives being lost mostly vietnamese - 3,000 died in a single day. In once such incident in Haiphong Harbour a Vietnamese ship unloading fuel was searched by French paratroopers, resulting in 100 crew members being shot dead. Reacting to this the Viet-Minh opened fire on the French which sparked off 3 days of bitter fighting. Over 500 French soldiers were killed.

Meanwhile Ho Chi Minh and his delegation arrived back in Hanoi to try and cool the situation but seeing the attitude of the French Army he could do nothing else but start an offensive against them. The French Army secured control of all major cities and drove the Viet Minh back into the highlands and jungles.

So it can be said that the French Indochina war began on December 19, 1946. The French at first had about 20,000 troops and there were fewer than 50,000 Viet Minh. But by the time the French decided to transform what had been a colonial war into a civil war, by setting up a

puppet Vietnamese government under their direct control in March 1949 the war had grown to 150,000 French troops and nearly a quarter of a million men on the Viet Minh side.

At this point the Vietnam war had become part of an overall western policy of containment of Communism in Asia, which eventually led the U.S. into the war at the side of the French. The war had never been popular in France especially as casualties mounted, culminating in the complete bloody defeat of the French forces at Dien Bien Pru on May 8, 1954. After this great victory for the Vietnamese forces who were directed by general Giap who still lead the North Vietnamese army today. The battle of Dien Bien Pru was a political and military triumph. As the battle entered its final phases a new peace conference had already begun; this was known as the Geneva Peace Conference. The French at this time were trying to wriggle out of a disastrous political and military situation. The ceasefire which followed was the best the French could achieve despite the total defeat in the North where the Viet Minh were strongest militarily. At this point also the Viet Minh under

Ho Chi Minh were under strong from Molotov of Russia and Chou en lai of China to come to a political agreement with the French. Instead of backing the Viet Minh's claim to rule the whole of Vietnam Molotov and Chou en lai were ready to counsel compromise, at least for the time being. The Viet Minh agreed to accept a regroupment of opposing forces and the temporary division of Vietnam on the understanding that during 1956 an election would be held throughout Vietnam to decide on reunification.

The Viet Minh believed that the election would actually be held. During the years 54-'56 a substantial number of political cadres had remained in the southern areas after the withdrawal of main-force units to the North. By this time France which was supposed to play an essential role in making sure the 1956 elections took place, decided to be rid completely of responsibility for Vietnam.

The shaky regime which had been set up in the South after Geneva now had a new protection - the United State. With U.S. support and encouragement the South Vietnamese President Dinh Diem refused to participate in joint elections in 1950.

The Diem regime was corrupt to the core. It was also entirely Catholic despite that only 15% of the population of South Vietnam were Catholics. The rest were Buddhists. (Catholics in Vietnam tend to represent those Vietnamese who completely conformed to the customs - and religion - of their French masters. They were the most pro-imperialist element in the country).

It was now certain that the Vietnam war would begin again. Between 1956 and 1959 many village chiefs loyal to Diem were killed in South Vietnam, and there were ambushes on soldiers and police and sabotage in the major cities.

The National Liberation Front of South Vietnam and the Viet Cong, their military arm, were officially set up on December 20th 1960, the 14th anniversary of Ho Chi Minh's uprising against the French. The rest we now know. Diem was assassinated in a CIA-backed military coup in 1963 and President Thieu eventually took over American military intervention followed on a massive scale, lasting 12 years until the total defeat of the U.S. Imperialists and their local puppets in April 1975.

E.E.C. REFERENDUM

CORRECTION

The last issue of UNFREE CITIZEN carried an article urging people to Vote No in the EEC Referendum in Britain and the North. This was based on P.D.'s long-standing opposition to the EEC as an imperialist and monopoly capitalist super-power. On this basis we campaigned for a No vote in the EEC Referendum in the 26 Counties 2 years ago. However the P.D. Central Committee considered the British E.E.C. referendum in a different light and decided to urge a boycott of the Referendum in the North — though still as firmly opposed to EEC membership as before.

The Central Committee urged a boycott for 2 reasons (1) It felt the Referendum, which could have no real effect on the North's position anyway as this would be decided in Britain, was a distraction from the central issue in the North, the impending Loyalist take-over. Anti-imperialist organisations like the Republican Clubs, Sinn Fein and the IRSP who were putting their energy into the Referendum campaign were evading their primary responsibility in the very grave situation in the North, the responsibility to warn the people of the Loyalist threat and prepare them to resist it. None of these organisations seems willing to take a clear stand on the central issue of Loyalism and instead spend their time on side-issues or in politically sectarian party-building.

(2) The fact that the Referendum votes were to be counted separately for the 6 County area and that campaigns were being mounted on a 6 County basis tended to give credibility to the idea of the 6 Counties as a viable self-sufficient political entity.

To encourage this notion is extremely dangerous at a time when Loyalist politicians are contemplating and openly discussing UDI and an Independent "Ulster". The Peoples Democracy does not accept that the 6-County area has any right to decide on its own future or its international links. The Six Counties are part of Ireland and all decisions about their future must be taken by the Irish people as a whole.

(3) A No-Vote in the Referendum in the North would be based overwhelmingly on the sectarian anti-Catholic campaigning of Ian Paisley and on National Front-style British chauvinism and racialism. It would do nothing to further the cause of genuine socialist opposition to the EEC. It would only help to revive the fatal illusion of Republican-Loyalist unity which is the Loyalists best ally in lulling the Northern minority into accepting a Loyalist take-over without resistance.

In Britain on the other hand there were no such complicating factors and the P.D. Central Committee decided that in Britain we would urge people to Vote Against EEC membership under the slogan "Vote No — Fight for Socialism". This was to distinguish socialist opposition to the EEC from that of Enoch Powell and the National Front.

The article in the last issue of the Unfree Citizen was written before the Central Committee decision and published inadvertently. We regret the apparent confusion.

MARCH TO



WOMEN'S PRISON

On Sunday the 25th May the Committee for the Defence of Women Political Prisoners held a very successful march to Limerick Prison in support of Rose Dugdale and Rita O'Hare.

On that day Rose Dugdale who is serving a 9 year sentence had completed 30 days on hunger strike — WITHOUT GETTING A WORD OF PUBLICITY FROM THE GOVERNMENT CONTROLLED NEWSPAPERS.

Over a hundred people travelled from Dublin to Limerick to take part in the march and several hundred people from Limerick, Tipperary and other surrounding counties took part in it.

This demonstration was also a milestone in anti-imperialist unity among the various political organisations on the left in the 26 Counties. The only organisation who did not officially support it was Sinn Fein Kevin S: although one cumann was represented and carried a banner and also many rank and file members attended. Considering both Rose Dugdale and Rita O'Hare are members of the Republican Movement it was nothing short of a disgrace that Provisional Sinn Fein did not instruct all their members to attend and to officially take part in the committee.

The meeting was chaired by Marie Mac Mahon of Peoples Democracy and the speakers included: — Mary Dempsey from the Irish Civil Rights Association; Ann Speed from the Revolutionary Marxist Group; Nell Mc Cafferty from the Womens Liberation Movement;

Des Derwin from the Socialist Workers Movement; Andreas O Ceallachain from Sinn Fein and Pat Quigley from the Peoples Democracy.

After the meeting many people in the crowd came to the platform offering to help organise more demonstrations and pickets in Limerick and the mood of the meeting was that no effort would be spared to ensure that Rose Dugdale would not have to die to get her demands.

This march was the culmination of several weeks of agitation around the country which included a leaflet and poster campaign. The Committee for the Defence of Women Political Prisoners was solidly supported by the organisations named above excluding Sinn Fein (except for the Cumann mentioned above).

A few days after the March the Govt. granted all the demands that Rose Dugdale was on hunger strike for and after her brave solitary battle she came off the strike.

It was of course Rose Dugdale's own determination and spirit that was the main factor in winning but the solidarity which had been built around the Committee played a big part as well. It is a lesson to us how important it is to unite over issues that we can agree on.

The campaign does not end here however. The womens committee will continue to agitate around the case of Rita O'Hare who was framed by the Special Criminal Court until her appeal when we intend to ensure she at least receives full publicity while on trial.

P.D. MEMBER

ON EUROPEAN TOUR

P.D. Central Committee member Fintan Vallely is currently on a 6-week speaking tour of West Germany organised by the Ireland Solidarity Committee in Germany. This is a major opportunity to put across our Marxist and anti-imperialist view of what is happening in Ireland and counter the lying propaganda put out by British Imperialism and by the collaborationist Govt. in Dublin. This speaking tour will take in every major town in West Germany as well as a number of meetings in Holland, Belgium, Austria and Switzerland.

The Ireland Solidarity Committee which is organising the tour is a united front of a number of left-wing groups in Germany and are doing



excellent work in winning support for the Irish struggle there — support that may be all too necessary in the coming months.

Representatives of Provisional Sinn Fein and the IRSP are also taking part in this speaking tour.

'U.C.' BI-WEEKLY

Readers will have noticed that the last few issues of UNFREE CITIZEN have been at fortnightly intervals. P.D. is the only organisation which has a comprehensive analysis of what is happening in the North and we believe warning people of the coming Loyalist takeover is of crucial importance throughout the 32 Cos.

For this reason we are doubling up on the areas we sell our paper in so that as many people as possible will be able to read it.

However by the end of the Summer we hope to have expanded to these new areas and we will be returning to a weekly paper in October.

JOIN P.D. NOW

If you are interested in joining People's Democracy and fighting for a 32-County Workers Republic, fill in the form below and send it to.

IRELAND: Connolly Bookshop, Avoca Park, Andersonstown, Belfast 11.

BRITAIN: P. Doherty, 134-136 Kingsland and High St. London E8.

Name

Address

LETTERS AND QUERIES TO PEOPLES DEMOCRACY

When contacting us for literature, information or when applying for information on membership, please try to do so through 'Unfree Citizen' sellers as much as possible. When sending money for contributions, papers, pamphlets etc. cross all cheques and postal orders. Do not send cash. Our post is very often held up and it will speed up replies and returns if the procedure above is followed.

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