

NATIONAL UNION  
TAILORS & GARMENT WORKERS,  
78, DUBLIN ROAD,  
BELFAST, 2,  
PHONE 18337

# TRADE UNIONS BID FOR PEACE IN NORTH

By Michael McInerney

I. C. T. U.  
Northern Ireland Committee  
CONGRESS HOUSE  
236 ANTRIM ROAD  
BELFAST BT15 2AN



Reprinted from the Irish Times Price 1/6

# Trade Unions Bid For Peace in North

By Michael McInerney

THESE ARTICLES assess five sectors of the Northern crises. First, Britain's new analysis of the North; second, the Wilson Government's policies to meet that new assessment; third, the unique position of the trade unions and Labour Movement in the North, its association with the British, Irish and world movements; fourth, the description of the battle of the Protestant and Catholic union shopstewards in Belfast shipyards and elsewhere to prevent the August, 1969, riots from spreading, and, finally, the relationship of Ireland, North and South, to each other and to Britain and a long-term look at ultimate Anglo-Irish relationships.

The articles also give a picture of the social conditions in the North, the economic and political forces at work, and ideas for North-South co-operation and friendship, in itself a form of the modern United Ireland. Their conclusion is that all Labour and democratic forces must identify the enemy as the growing Craig-Paisleyite wing of Unionism and the smaller but fanatical sectarian Catholic wing, both dangerous to peace and progress.

The issue for Northern Ireland is a settlement by these forces, which would be a settlement of the grave, or a victory for the Liberal, democratic Labour forces, which would create a modern social democracy. This is the perhaps, over optimistic aim and hope of the writer, but as the Paisleyite forces make gains against the fragmented forces of peace and progress there are signs of a closing of all ranks against those who incite fear and hatred of worker against worker.

Reprinted from *The Irish Times*

# Britain's New Look at Ireland

Britain is taking a new, long, hard political look at Ireland, North and South, after 50 years of complete neglect. She had hoped that it would go away of itself but the problem is clearly demanding attention, not just on immediate, but on long-term, questions.

It could be said, of course, that this neglect by Britain has been shared by Dublin, that Stormont's neglect of its own problems was pathological and, indeed, one Whitehall sage has declared that "the trouble with the North in the wake of the recent reforms is that it has not yet got over the sheer shock of any Government at all actually doing some governing in the area". There is some truth in the remark.

The questions now being asked by Britain, however, are basic, and almost primitive, an index of the neglect. They include such questions as: What is Northern Ireland today? What has—and is—happening there? What did that 1920 Act result in? What is the North's future, both in its own area and in relation to the rest of the country? And very pertinent to all this, what is the future of Anglo-Irish relations, a question about which Britain is quite concerned and one on which soundings already have taken place—quietly between Whitehall and Dublin.

The situation in the North, of course, is changing all the time in these active months, as new legislation is going through, creating new problems and circumstances and causing new alignments within the Unionist Party where the basic struggle for power will largely influence the future. British Ministers, their advisors, their socio-political scientists, and British parties, therefore, have to keep on their thinking caps all the time. They must be able to identify the precise situation at any particular time even as it is changing, to clarify the central issue or issues as they develop so as to shape new policies, where necessary. A big task is to identify the key forces for peaceful progress, as well as the forces opposed to peace and, perhaps, also to keep an eye on the Republic's attitude to the North.

## The Labour Movement

One quite overwhelming impression that one gets from Westminster and Whitehall in these hectic months is the exceptional appreciation that exists in London of the part played by the 215,000-strong Labour and trade union movement in the North. In particular its influence in containing sectarianism in the shipyards, factories and docks. In a State where everything is sectarian, the union organisations, they say, emerged as the "third force", a fact that Mr. Callaghan, Home Secretary, seems to have been the first to recognise.

The action of a few young shipstewards in the Queen's Island shipyard, former breeding ground of sectarianism, in holding the fort for peace in the midst of the tragedies in the North was a light in the sectarian darkness. It was this incident, apart from general union organisation, that seems to have impressed Callaghan with the trade unions as a valuable instrument for peace. In the problems of the future it is easy to see that this

force will play a part; perhaps it is as a result of recent events that Callaghan and his Labour Party Executive are now planning to move Labour's political troops into the North after the military contingents.

As a journalist who covered most of the political crisis aspects of the British intervention in the North during the past four months I have had opportunities of getting behind the minds of some key British and Northern figures and to hear them think aloud about Ireland. An approximation of such views may throw new light on old problems and may also help to stimulate discussion about some of our own attitudes in relation to the North.

## View of Islands

It is always, however, most interesting to hear British views about the whole island of Ireland and its relation to the old enemy (although now a new friend to the Falls road), but some of the ideas in relation to the North, particularly, may be startling to Irish readers because none of us has done any thinking at all about Northern Ireland, or perhaps about how we stand with Britain. On Anglo-Irish problems London holds the surprising belief that there is full agreement between the Dublin and London Governments that these two islands comprise one complete, single, distinct economic unit and that its resources could be most effectively organised to produce the greatest national wealth as one, single economic unit. Much remains to be agreed within this agreement but the British feel that the tragedy of Ireland is that the form of organisation cannot be agreed on. To them it is fantastic that it takes three Governments to govern the two States of Ireland—Britain, Stormont and Dublin—instead of a single federation or some other form. While Britain would like to see a United Ireland it just is not on at present because of the political situation and that is why she favours some loose form of federation, confederation or condominium at least in the economic field. But the trouble is that the whole environment is created by political organisation and this is the dilemma. How to get over this is the question occupying British minds and it appears that there is some very novel scheme being worked out at present which no-one will talk about but which they think the Irish would be very interested in, or be agreeably surprised about; it would not affect the North's position. It is remembered in London that Mr. Seán Lemass had some ideas, about ten years ago, about "economic union", an idea which was rejected by Conservative administration. Perhaps Mr. Lemass paid too much attention to agricultural gains. And, of course, forms of consultative machinery are inherent in the Free Trade Area Agreement, including the North, and these could be developed.

## Note of Urgency

The approach of Common Market entry brings a note of urgency to the creation of machinery that might both improve the planning of the economy and, perhaps,

also provide political forms. One notes always some regret at the repeal of the External Relations Act and the Declaration of the Republic in 1948-'49. One gets the impression in London that world competition and the Common Market seems to spell federation and the word is being heard quite often in London, Dublin and Stormont. The Taoiseach, Mr. Lynch, for instance, on September 22nd and October 22nd envisaged links between Dublin and Stormont but with the latter maintaining economic and financial links with the United Kingdom. Taking the hint a few days later on September 24th, Major Chichester-Clark sees the North as some kind of bridge between these two islands. Mr. Callaghan, sometimes talks about confederation. This troika concept seems to be doing some travelling these days. But everything has changed since 1921 and even since 1949, and today in Ireland two modern industrial States are growing to maturity. The old forms of exploitation with Ireland as a cattle-ranch are gone and new forms must take into account that Ireland as a whole now has more than £2,000m. G.N.P., divided about evenly, compared with a G.N.P. of a paltry £150m. in the Free State of the 1930s. Even the Twenty-six counties have become an industrial country, and both British and Northern entrepreneurs are aware of a new market on their doorsteps, and some Northern ones are not averse to crossing borders. But if the incentives are high enough new forms of Anglo-Irish relations will be found even if it means some economic concessions by Wilson, if only because of his really deep interest in Ireland. But Northern Ireland still poses big problems.

How does Britain see that Northern situation with 1970 glasses? Apart from economic changes Britain sees some things which were quite invisible in 1921 or later: in 1920-'21 the *raison d'être* of the Northern State was to protect the Protestant minority, and the British failed to see that in doing so they created a new minority. For today Britain has a new definition of Northern Ireland. It is no longer one community which was the former theory in which one political party represented the majority and other parties represented a minority. The new definition is that Northern Ireland consists of a State which has two distinct and separate communities—Unionist (Anglo-Irish) and Nationalist or Republicans (native Irish). There are two Northern Irelands.

## Two Minorities

But it is even more complicated than that. Another new definition goes even further and declares that Northern Ireland also is a State which contains not a majority and a minority but a State in which there exists *two minorities*. The Unionists are, it is true, a majority in Northern Ireland, but they are a minority in the context of the whole island. The Nationalists, while a minority in the North, are part of the great majority in the whole country. Whereas in 1920-'21 only the Protestants needed protection according to the British, today the Nationalists—as a minority in a twilight zone—also need protection. Somehow or another these two communities, two minorities, have to be welded into one State within the United Kingdom and policies must be devised to try to affect that objective.

British Ministers today will concede that they inherited a dubious legacy, and that what came out of the 1920 Act was more a monster rather than a modern State—an artificial monstrosity; and that probably it was never meant to last. (The Civil War and the I.R.A. here helped the Unionists.) It is admitted that rioting was almost an integral part of that 1920 Act. It provided legitimately for the protection of 1,000,000 "Unionist Anglo-Irish" but then proceeded to include such a huge minority as 500,000 "Republicans". It was asking for trouble. It is now generally conceded that the Treaty of 1921 would never have been accepted by even Collins and Griffith except for the tricks played on them by Lloyd-George about the Boundary Commission. Yes, it is a dreadful legacy, no doubt; but it does exist and even

to create two Northern Irelands now, based, say, on the "peace lines" and within the United Kingdom borders would cause a bloody civil war. Perhaps the present British Commission on regional government which is making a special study of Northern Ireland could come up with some ideas that might confirm the brutal recognition that there are two Northern Irelands. But there is a limit even to what moderate Unionists can take, much less the extremists.

## The Division

How does the British idea of two communities "living cheek by jowl", and "all mixed up with one another", measure up? It is argued that it is a society where almost all the organisations, institutions and cultures of one side are matched by the other. There are separate "Anglo-Irish" and "Irish" institutions or organisations in business, finance, religion, professions, sport, even art and culture, newspapers and periodicals, recreation, and education, apart from the university.

There are Protestant and Catholic districts, separate Protestant and Catholic middle classes, lower-middle classes and working classes, and intellectuals, Protestant atheists or humanists and Catholic atheists and humanists. There are Unionist and Republican doctors, lawyers, architects, accountants and others; it is true that there are only Unionist landed estate owners; there is only one Government and Parliament and that is a Unionist-dominated Parliament; and Government, with its own legislative executive and judicial by-products.

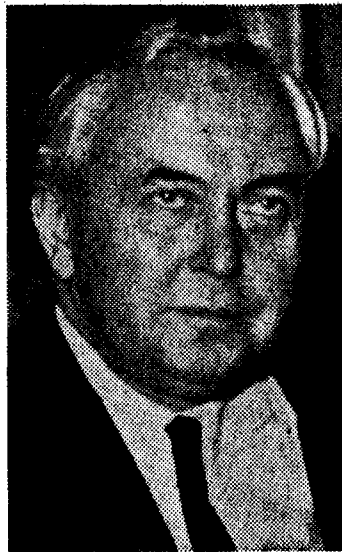
Indeed all the coercive organs of power are Unionist-controlled. But then Republicans, or many of them, do look to the Dublin Government, and, at least at times, they have had the active support of the I.R.A. Some positive features, however, that are seen are that modern youth tends to be brought together by commercial culture, recreation and music, and perhaps by television, and that greater industrialisation has created a more powerful and expanding trade union movement not divided, as in some Continental countries, into Protestant and Catholic organisations.

This two-community concept does not appear to have been held by Britain before and, at least, discloses some attempt at study in depth. Neither has it been generally accepted in the Republic (they are all Irish, but some are more Irish than others) although an article about the barricades in this newspaper on September 1st, went close to it, and of course at that time the Republicans behind the barricades did have their own laws, government, police force and "army". The borders, now the "peace lines", were well defined. Some writers, like Desmond Fennell, urged "cantons" as a solution, and Crowther might take note.

But "brutal" British scientists looking at Ireland believe it could be said that the Northern Ireland Unionists are a community. They have been left behind by history, by the pace of political events. They are all that remains of the colonial parliaments set up, first of all, by King John in 1297 in the Dublin Pale, to conquer Ireland, secure it as the first colony and at the same time share the loot. (Of course in those days of 1297 to 1550 or so there was not the complication of Catholic against Protestant, only owners against landlords). All the parliaments since then, with some variations, were Anglo-Irish institutions with the same aim of conquest and dividing the loot. The aim of the British from 1800 to 1921 was to confirm the conquest. Perhaps that was to be the rôle of Stormont in 1921 but it certainly is not the rôle today. That aim has disappeared and the Unionists—or their Right wing—are all that are left of the British Empire. They are the last of the imperialists, without an empire, as George Bernard Shaw so nearly forecast in his *John Bull's Other Island*. The Anglo-Irish Unionists are no longer required to hold any part of Ireland for any empire. (Republicans have conceded co-



**JAMES CALLAGHAN**  
First to recognise the  
"third force."



**HAROLD WILSON**  
A real deep interest  
in Ireland.



**SEAN LEMASS**  
Too much attention to  
agricultural gains.

operation in defence if Ireland were united and free.) The task that Britain would like the Unionists to accomplish today is to reach some form of *modus vivendi* with the Republic, some working agreement. But then England does owe the Unionists some debt, and Unionists or some of them are determined that she should pay up if even at the price of a civil war.

The other concept of two minorities, however, is even more surprising, and it is evident that Major Chichester-Clark has already cottoned-on to the idea from his reference to it of December 11th. Perhaps it is Britain's defence of the illogicality of the 1920 Act which, in purporting to protect one minority, created another which went unnoticed. But it has some credibility. The Unionists are a majority in Northern Ireland, but as a minority in the whole of Ireland they feel menaced and surrounded by the huge majority of Nationalists in the whole country. Indeed, Chichester-Clark's reference to a Unionists minority is an interesting, if backhand, recognition of the essential unity of the country. The theory does give some slight idea of the problem that would have to be faced within a united Ireland in the sphere of confidence and equality. If, with all their present powers and the backing of the British Army, the Unionists now feel insecure, what would it be like if those powers were lessened, even slightly.

## Way of Life

The Nationalists are a minority—no-one denies this—in Northern Ireland, but to the Unionists they are part of the 3,000,000 supporters of an Irish Republic—or the Roman Catholic religion—throughout the whole island, who do not accept the Unionists or their way of life and who are only awaiting a favourable opportunity to destroy them and their power. The Republicans would force them to accept "an alien, hateful culture and way of life". (Speeches by Mr. Blaney or Mr. Kevin Boland do not help to remove such fears which, at least among some sections of the Unionists, are very genuine.) In the whole of Ireland, that majority has its own Government with its own coercive forces, and although the Unionists have the backing of the British their confidence in that backing has received a rude shaking recently. They see all the British political parties desert Unionist aims, even their old allies, the Tories. They have heard, even, in the Queen's Speech, proposals for reforms which mean the phasing out of the B Specials, the disarming of the

R.U.C. and the abolition of the Special Powers Act. The ordinary Unionist also feels that even his own Unionist leaders are acting strangely and against Unionist interests, with men like Chichester-Clark pursuing policies which seem to favour the old enemy (when some Unionists become civilised at last, they are unrecognisable). The local authorities are to be disrupted and many other privileges are being threatened. And with all these reforms the "Republicans" are insatiable and are now seeking to change even the judicial system. These fears may seem exaggerated but on a recent visit to Belfast I heard a Belfast woman, who was normally accepted as a "Protestant agnostic", saying: "These Catholics will crush us all into the ground before they stop." I know that the remark came as something of a shock to some liberal and Labour people who heard her.

But it is only when one thinks about that concept of the Northern Ireland Unionist as belonging to a minority that one begins to get a glimmering of the fact that the whole Unionist fanatical attitude is created by the feeling that they are under a state of constant siege. One can imagine some fear-driven person being capable of some of the atrocities committed. Paisley's deliberately evil words create fear, and then fanaticism. Fear is one emotion that takes man back to primitive stage. Was it Voltaire, as well as Nasser, who said that men are not interested in democracy, or civil rights, when their city or country is under siege? These Unionists are convinced that they are fighting for their very existence, and of course very clever professional and religious haters encourage them in their beliefs. We find their unreason hard to swallow, but they find some of our religious and political practices equally difficult. Yet we look upon these as something not thought about at all; indeed we are hardly aware of them, they are things as natural as air or water, they have been with us for 1,000 years or more; from the dim days of feudalism. We are unaware of incongruity.

## Other Fears

Perhaps indeed, the only way to understand the North is to accept the terms "Protestant" and "Catholic", as political and philosophical rather than religious terms. The description Protestant stands for a completely different philosophical and political outlook than the description Catholic. The deep gulf between the two is political mainly, an utterly different world outlook.

But if the "Protestants" have these fears while backed by Britain, and their own Government and semi-official forces, what must be the fears of the Catholics who have endured 50 years of blatant misrule, and bigotry, incitements at hatred, even by Prime Ministers, accompanied by periodical riots, involving murder, burning of houses, deprivation and poverty. Their fears are not abstract fears. They are terribly real. Deserted by their supposed friends in Dublin and with British democracy turning a deaf ear to their pleas, they were driven at last to make their own desperate and determined protests. But the fatal blunder by right-wing Unionist Ministers, like Craig, in meeting peaceful protests with terrible brutality, brought the plight of the Northern-Irish minority to the attention of the world. At last an awakened British democracy forced its Government to act.

This is an approximation of how the Irish problem is viewed in Britain at present and one can see the reasoning, therefore, in the immediate proposals for reforms that were made by Mr. Callaghan and Stormont last October 8th and 9th. They are designed to meet the problems of two communities, both of which feel they need protection. So we get a more firm declaration than ever before on the sanctity of Northern Ireland bound-

aries within the United Kingdom, accompanied by reforms which should ensure that, within those boundaries, equal rights will be given to all citizens, and which should ensure also that the forces of law and order are no longer—sectarian partisan forces—measures to wipe out the preaching of religious hate, and guarantees about housing and jobs. It can be taken that these are interim measures to meet an immediate situation.

In the meantime, where are the forces for peace? It is interesting that Westminster, in studying the forces for peace in Northern Ireland, has discovered that the modern trade union and labour movement in the North is one of the most vital—if not the only—effective instrument for securing peace and progress in the North. The unions not only organise men and women of all religions in the North, but they also stretch over the border in affiliation with the Irish Congress of Trade Unions. The unions in the North also have close associations with the British labour and trade union movement. Was there wisdom in James Connolly's words: "in our labour movement, North and South (Protestant and Catholic), will again clasp hands. But, first, we need a labour movement—one that has coherent industrial and political wings.

## Battle for Peace in the Shipyards

The Northern Ireland trade unions and their Northern Committee of the Irish Congress of Trade Unions organise about 215,000 members and are in affiliation with the all Ireland I.C.T.U., giving a total membership of more than 500,000. Both bodies, and all unions in the North, have close affiliation or association with the British Labour and trade union movement, on which the British Government and Labour Party are based.

The Northern Committee was reorganised about 10 years ago (when the I.C.T.U. was reformed) with full autonomy to act for Northern Ireland members, but the North has about six members on the national executive of the I.C.T.U.

It will be seen that these bodies could have had—and did have—exceptional influence in the recent events in the North, not just because the unions existed but because of quite remarkable activity when the whole organisation was involved. Perhaps, however, its now quite remarkable reputation in Whitehall and Westminster stemmed from one day of unbearable tension in Belfast on August 15th when an event known as the battle for the Queen's Island Shipyard took place. It was not a violent battle in the physical sense—it was a battle for men's minds and hearts—but had the 8,000 men in the yard been lost to sectarianism, then not even the British troops could have easily brought a truce in Belfast. It could be said indeed that while the troops brought peace to the streets the trade unions and the shop stewards brought peace in the vast shipyard—and also in the factories and docks. The Shipyard became the key question on that terrible day of August 15th.

The story of that drama has not been fully told, but it is full of tension and sheer moral and physical courage. The significance of its outcome was very fully appreciated in Whitehall by both the Prime Minister and the Home Secretary—and by the Stormont Cabinet—by Labour M.P.s in Westminster and by Dr. Conor Cruise-O'Brien and others in Dublin and Stormont who consider it so vital that they are seeking to have the Nobel Peace Prize awarded to the leading figures. One, Mr. Sandy Scott has been awarded the M.B.E.

Indeed both the Commons and the Lords already have spoken in praise of the men. But the general, indeed the national, importance of the event was that it marked the emergence of a very new power in Northern Ireland, a power that was above the deep, wide sectarian mists, a new vigorous trade union organisation which did not exist in the riot situations of the 1920s and 1930s. In 1969 the yard had a militant Shop Stewards' Movement, led by Shipwrights and Boilermakers (trades which in the past had been bitterly sectarian), which had been built up by the unions and their Northern Congress Committee over a period of 30 years.

One of the factors which enabled the unions to play a positive part in the present crisis was that almost on its re-organisation in 1959-'60 the Northern Committee began a campaign to establish civil rights for all in the North. Its members, therefore, were aware of its policies long before civil rights became an issue and could not accuse it of joining the Nationalist bandwagon. They knew the unions had been seeking more jobs, more homes, justice, civil rights and equality of opportunity for all citizens. These claims were made at public meetings, conferences, on deputations to Parliament, to the Stormont Government and efforts were made to get British M.P.s interested. When civil rights associations were formed, however, the unions decided to remain independent while supporting the general idea. Similarly when counter-rights organisations such as off-shoots of Unionism arose they remained aloof, but tried to win Unionist tradesmen to trade union policy. The Northern Committee felt that, representing all workers. Catholic or Protestants, or both together their approach could be more objective and more effective.

### Unionist Establishment

Before telling the story of the Shipyard men it might be useful to give the unions' own analysis of the Northern problem. For 30 years the Northern union leadership has been quite radical and progressive and non-sectarian, having allegiance to British and Northern Labour parties

—and indeed other left-wing bodies—and not to the Unionist Party. Efforts of the Unionist Party to promote sectarian trade unions were fruitless. There was therefore a genuine effort to work out policies of general interest to all workers rather than to sections.

The tragedy of the North, to a union man, is that while men are trade unionists on the job, they literally become different men when they go home. On the job they are asked for their union card, not their religion, but in their home environment they become Catholics and Protestants, particularly in the less well-off areas. Their streets, their houses, their wives, children, relatives, their religion, leisure pursuits, their newspapers or periodicals, their M.P.s, councillors are either Protestant or Catholic. Their children's schools are of one or other religion, as are their play mates and teachers.

As their women spend almost all of their time in the home—or church-area and its atmosphere—particularly at a time of riots many become even more fiercely partisan than the men: pressure from such a source can be intimidating. So when the men go to work they take that atmosphere with them, particularly at a time of crisis. The emotions penetrate to the job and, quite often, only dedicated activity by shop stewards can counter it.

The anomaly of all this is that while good wages and conditions have been won by acting together in the job—there have been a few strikes in Belfast recently—conditions in the working-class areas of Belfast, where men divide into Catholic and Protestant, are pretty bad: it is not so easy to organise for serious union work and unite Catholics and Protestants there, as it is on the job. And then again all factories are not as big as the aircraft factory or Shipyard and unions find trouble in distributive trades, and in public-houses also, which are almost all owned by Catholics and manned by Catholics. Several hundred barmen were casualties in the recent riots.

But religion apart, living conditions in some working class areas in Belfast are not conducive to calm living. Belfast housewives have a reputation for cleanliness, and their homes are spotless, but the houses are small, 100 or 150 years ago. Housewives in both the Shankill and the Falls also are wonderfully hospitable: their griddle cakes—Protestant and Catholic—are luscious.

## Exploit Situation

Streets are narrow and monotonous and, because of the ghetto outlook of many Unionist councils and Governments, and sanitary facilities almost nil. Belfast lacks the modern working-class housing estates so familiar in the periphery of most big cities today. Where efforts at this have been made, shop stewards tell me, Catholics and Protestants live together without any bother. But in the ghetto atmosphere, factory workers become alienated, even from themselves, becoming Catholics or Protestants as citizens, fathers, tenants and voters. They are then easily swayed by those who make a profession of incitement to religious hatred. Under such pressures on religion, and creation of fear, grown men revert to primitive man or to the mind of a child where most men's religious development seems to stagnate, no matter how sophisticated they may be otherwise. Some of the young—and old—Unionists, mainly in the professions, illustrate this, among some of the "Young" Unionists for instance.

Trade unions have an interesting point on rioting. Not even the hardliners feel really at ease if Unionists attack Nationalists. Such rioting is not a sign of happiness. It is a clear expression of fear, discontent, a sign of social sickness, among sections of the Unionist working-class areas. It is held that, apart from religious incitement, the real discontent is the deplorable living conditions, the insecurity of employment, lack of useful and adequate leisure, perhaps worry about the children's future career or education. The sight of working-class people rioting surely is a sign that a better life would eliminate it. The affluent society also peeps out in Belfast

working class areas—the workers' cars—but affluence also has its consumer ad-mass tensions while income disparities also show up more among both sections. Monotony at work is not improved by monotony at home, for many nor by the failure to fight elections on social issues.

But union men now are hoping to draw men into activity to secure full employment, better housing, amenities and leisure facilities and if they succeed then most of the North's problems will be solved: if they can develop the same unity as citizens as they do as workers. The unions are unique in the North in that they genuinely recruit both sections in serious aims. Almost all other organisations are divisive and sectarian and even provocative.

## Spread of Ideas

This is an approximate idea of the background of the Belfast worker at a time when riots had inflamed the vulnerable riot areas of the North and from it one may appreciate the value and extent of the victory that was won by the unions and shop stewards in the Belfast Shipyards on August 15th, 1969, bearing in mind the tradition of the Yard as being the very breeding-ground of sectarianism 35 years ago. In those days the Yard was noted for its sectarian societies and propaganda, and sometimes its rioting was the signal for a general outbreak.

During the 1939-'45 years, however, employment in the Yard rocketed from a few thousand to 30,000, and new radical and Labour ideals and ideas spread. A powerful shop steward and union movement was built up and is very strong today. But because of that old sectarian tradition, the feeling on August 14th and 15th in Belfast was that everyone was waiting for the Yard to decide. It was the point of decision for war or peace. If the Yard were won for sectarianism then all hope of peace would vanish for a long time, even in the face of the British Army's intervention.

During August there had been a gradual building up of tension among the 8,000 workers in the Belfast Shipyard as the riots spread to the city. On August 14th Belfast streets became more and more involved, but although there were no actual incidents in the Yard, leading shop stewards and union men like Mr. Sandy Scott, Shipwright, and Mr. James McFall, Boilermaker, could tell me that they could feel the tension everywhere. After all men lived behind barricades. Shop stewards on August 14th were being stopped all over the Yard by men asking what was going to happen, what were the unions doing, were they going to give a lead? Still other, older men, and some "die-hards" were urging drastic action against the "Papists".

At about 3 p.m. that day, shop stewards suddenly began to drift to their usual meeting place near Mr. Scott's shed and began to discuss the situation. Nobody had called a meeting but somehow, spontaneously, the stewards gathered. The situation itself called them together. The story from then on is told by shop stewards themselves,

## Formal Meeting

As the 50 stewards began talking it was suggested that there should be a formal meeting. Mr. Sandy Scott, chairman of his Steel Workers Flexibility Group (combining Boilermakers, Shipwrights and the "Black Trades") and Yard Steward, although not chief steward, was elected as chairman of the meeting. Somehow, stewards told me, Mr. Scott had emerged clearly as their spokesman, as their leader "if you like". All the men looked to him for guidance because of his consistent union work. His chief colleague was Mr. James McFall, a boilermaker of the same union, both married, both Protestant background: Mr. Scott as a young man, had been a member of a progressive Presbyterian group under the

Rev. Mr. Thompson, renowned for his liberal views in Belfast.

These two men and others knew that there were elements in the Yard who were trying to exploit the situation in favour of "right-wing militant Unionists", but some Unionists favoured peace. Indeed, these were helpful to the stewards. The meeting, however, showed itself in favour of doing something, but none knew what action to take. Mr. Scott reasoned that if nothing were done the situation "would not go away of itself", and there would be a repetition of the terrible deeds of the 1920s and 1930s. He did not want that to happen for many reasons apart from loss of employment—and loss of blood—also because it would destroy the great union and shop steward organisation which had been built up. Already on that day rumours were being spread around the yard, falsely, that many Catholic workmen employed by a building contractor on the new dock were looking for trouble and were going to knock off work and stage a parade "with Papist flags" for the traditional A.O.H. day of August 15th, the very next day. The false rumour said also that these Catholic workers were preparing to attack workers' buses. This was mentioned at the meeting and refuted, but the rumours had heightened the tension. Finally Mr. Scott decided it was up to him. They had to take responsibility for trying to maintain peace and so he proposed that a mass meeting of the 8,000 shipyard men be called on the following day at mealbreak so that the stewards could give a lead. At first, there was some hesitancy at what seemed, to some, a mad idea at such a time, but gradually there was agreement that perhaps it might work; yet there were terrible dangers in calling 8,000 men together. The alternative of doing nothing, however, was even worse. By unanimous resolution they decided to hold the meeting to give a lead for peace and to withdraw labour on the same afternoon as an industrial gesture and expression of their concern for peace. The meeting would be held under the auspices of the Works Committee, and managers, foremen, office staff and all other workers would be invited to attend.

## Great Risk

Almost immediately after the shop stewards' meeting on August 14th, Mr. Scott was warned by very serious friends that he was taking a really terrible risk: something dreadful could happen even from the very tension created by the meeting itself, even by some boisterousness that it would inevitably cause: the "extremists" were bound to exploit such a glorious opportunity, some friends said. There was even some Government apprehension and some orthodox Labour men were not too happy about a mass meeting at such a time. But Mr. Scott and his men held firm and he, and some of his colleagues, drew up the resolution which they intended to put to the meeting. It read: "This mass meeting of shipyard workers calls on the people of Northern Ireland for the immediate restoration of peace throughout the community. We recognise that the continuation of the present civil disorder can end only in economic disaster. We appeal to all responsible people to join with us in giving a lead to break the cycle of mutual recrimination arising from day-to-day incidents. We recommend to this mass meeting that there should be a token stoppage at 3.30 p.m. today as an expression of our concern and determination to maintain peace and goodwill in the yard and throughout the province."

## Voted in Favour

"Furthermore, we demand that the Government and the forces of law and order take stronger measures to maintain same." (Perhaps this was an intuitive hint to call the Army to Belfast that day, a suggestion which, if implemented, might have prevented the riots that night).

The resolution indicated a complete break with the past sectarian tradition of the yard, but yet all the

stewards voted in favour of it. This time the "Yard" was giving the signal for peace, or so Mr. Scott, the new type of non-sectarian shipwright, was hoping. But he and his fellow stewards decided to leave nothing to chance. They invited the Minister of Commerce, Mr. Roy Bradford; the Lord Mayor of Belfast, and the Rev. Eric Gallagher, of the Grosvenor Hall Mission, and a well-known progressive to address the meeting along with Mr. Scott. They also won the support of shop stewards and others who supported the moderate Unionist wing. This gives an idea of excellent strategy in a single aim. But all of these guests were told they would be under the orders of the stewards. They were told also, more or less, what they were to say. There was no fuss. But the stewards were in complete command. The guest speakers were no better or no worse than the shop stewards. Too much was at stake: no politics.

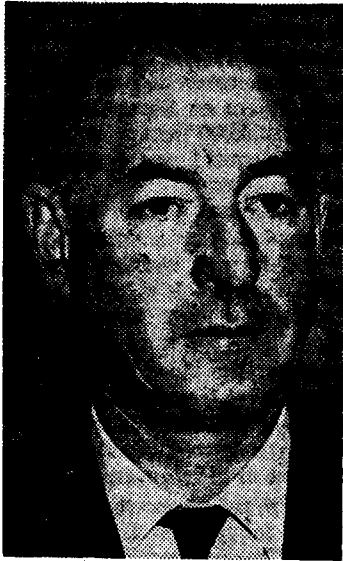
On the night of August 14th, however, all hell broke loose in west Belfast. It was a night of murder, looting, arson and terror. Nothing, it seemed, could now stop civil war in the North, nor stop the rioting from spreading to the yard and all industry. As Mr. Scott and his work-mates arrived at the yard the following morning, he was advised again not to hold the meeting. "It is now certain that it will lead to a terrible explosion," one friend said. All that morning right-wing extremists were trying to stir things up in the yard, reports told Mr. Scott. But he determined to go on. The meeting, he decided, was now more necessary even than before. Workers from other factories told me that throughout Belfast all that day in every kind of job rumours were flying thick and fast about the yard, about R.U.C. men being shot, about I.R.A. activity, of the U.V.F., of new riots, but somehow in spite of this, people in other factories held back. The shop stewards held the forts. They were going to take their lead, this time as before, from the yard.

## Assembly Point

The meeting had been called by notice, battery-hailer, word of mouth, telephone, grapevine and by many methods peculiar to the yard. By 1.30 p.m. the Queen's road assembly point was black with a full attendance of 8,000 men. It was noticed that there was a strange quiet among those 8,000 men. They hardly spoke a word. There was a deep fear that something dreadful could happen. The stillness prevailed the Yard as Mr. Scott and his fellow-stewards, Mr. Bradford and other speakers climbed on to the roof of a building which was to act as a platform. It would take some controlling. Mr. Scott thought as he gazed over the crowd and as he noticed some provocative Union Jacks and banners with slogans such as "no surrender", his heart quailed a little. He was the chairman and so he gave the word go. There was quiet as he rose to speak. They all knew and trusted him, and even the tension had to give away to the seriousness of the meeting. He told them that it was the most serious meeting ever called in the shipyard and that peace, not alone in Belfast, but throughout the province, would depend on its decisions. He denied rumours that fighting had broken out in the yard. "The shipyard men are determined to maintain the peace and set an example to the province," he said.

He told them that if violence broke out in the yard its whole programme would be jeopardised. Orders would be seriously threatened and there would be a catastrophe from which the yard could not recover. Orders amounting to millions of pounds could be called into question. Already the disorders had caused work to be transferred and ships (for repair) to be re-routed. Then, having appealed to their commonsense, he asked them to act as serious people, as people with dignity, to act with thought and as trade unionists. "If we all act as workers irrespective of our religions," he said, "we can hope for an expansion in work opportunities and a better life." He stressed the special role of leadership which other workers expected from the Queen's Island men. It must be responsible leadership, he declared.





STEPHEN MCGONAGLE



JAMES McFALL



SANDY SCOTT

After Councillor Elliott, acting Lord Mayor, had read out an appeal for peace from the Lord Mayor and Mr. Bradford had spoken of the relationship between peace and employment, the Rev. Eric Gallagher rose. "His was a most valuable contribution," Mr. Scott told me later. "His speech was poetic and even romantic, somehow, but it went down very well." He spoke of "our beautiful land of Northern Ireland" and of how all should work for the welfare of its people, of the need to act in the interests of common humanity and with the highest standards of human behaviour; to act as brothers. There was silence as Mr. Gallagher spoke. He was in complete control. He concluded his speech, movingly, by asking the men to join him in a prayer for peace. To the astonishment of everyone in that atmosphere of hard work and toil the men responded and joined him as he said a prayer for peace in Northern Ireland and for all to be inspired to work for brotherhood and happiness. Somehow, Mr. Scott said, the way the men listened to that prayer brought home to him more than anything else their seriousness. "I was proud of the way the men responded," he said.

Mr. Scott then had the toughest job of all. He had to put the resolution to the meeting, ending up with the words "as an expression of our concern and our determination to maintain peace and goodwill in the shipyard and throughout the province". But the battle was over. It was passed unanimously with all men raising their hands, and somehow then the provocative "no surrender" and other banners looked limp in the breeze. Reason had triumphed over emotion and sectarianism.

## No Discussion

There had been no discussion during the meeting, a shop steward told me after with a smile. They were too determined to maintain control throughout. A single mistake, a single wrong word, could have been disastrous. At such times in the North there is blood in words. The stewards paid high tribute to Mr. Watt, works manager of the yard, and to other executives. The management had made a welcome gesture too in not deducting any money for the token withdrawal of labour on that day. They also praised the work of the unions, the Belfast Trades Council and the Northern Ireland Congress Committee for its general advice and guidance and organisation during the whole day.

Mr. James McFall, discussing the unions in the yard generally, told me that men were voted in as shop stewards because of their work on the job and in the branch rather than because of their religion. The right-wingers, he said, were not prominent in that kind of work and so could not have any influence or leadership

among the men. The trouble in previous riots, he said, was that there had not been a shop-steward movement in the yard.

Much credit was due to those stewards who built the movement during the '40s and '50s, both in the yard and throughout Belfast. Belfast workers spoke to me about those early stewards. Names like Malachy Gray, (the first Steward Convenor with a Catholic background) Gideon Close, Andrew Boyd (now author and lecturer), Jimmy Morrow, Johnnie Higgins, Ned McMaw, Val Morahan, Bob Finlay, Sam Williamson, Sammy Gardiner, Sam Orr, Bobby Craig, Jimmy Graham, Billy Sinclair, Ted Morrow, Billy Wallace, Andy Barr, Harold Binks, and Jack Macgougan are still remembered for their work by the veterans of Belfast. The late David Scarborough, the original of Sam Thompson's hero in "Over the Bridge" is still a hero of earlier riots. He will be remembered forever. He was the pioneer of the shop stewards in the yard. It was through him that Mr. Malachy Gray became the first Catholic Socialist Chairman of the yard's shopstewards. Scarborough suffered defending workers in a pogrom and wrecked his health in trade union work. Self-educated he was an intellectual, cultured-Socialist.

## Peace Committees

Perhaps, however, the greatest sign of solidarity—and Christian charity—by those 1969 heroes was in their action in relation to Catholic workers who had not reported for work on the preceding night. Either the Catholics were nervous or they decided to stay at home to protect their families. Mr. Scott, Mr. McFall and others that night went up the Falls road and other Catholic areas and climbed over the barricades—not the safest exercise at that time—to call to the homes of those Catholic workers to tell them to report back for work the next day. Somehow the work of the stewards had penetrated to the Falls and the single password "Scott and McFall, yard shop stewards", got them admission at every barricade. Mr. Scott and Mr. McFall told their workmates about the meeting that had taken place that day and said that all danger of rioting was now passed. They should come back: if they didn't, they would be letting the stewards down. They did return.

Mr Scott and his shop-steward colleagues, including some Unionists, put their decisions of the meeting into action in another way that night, and the following night by joining the all-religion vigilante peace groups in east Belfast, where there were grave fears of violence after some militants had arrived from West Belfast to stir up trouble,

The stewards also helped to form the peace committees in that area and held meetings with their organisers. They were made welcome by all sides, for it was known that their leadership qualities and the reputation of the men themselves would be most useful.

Mr. Scott was very appreciative of the work of those committees, which were so representative of the whole area, Protestants and Catholics. "The Churches and their clergymen did a great job during those nights of dread, really heroic work." He praised also the many laymen including Mr. David Bleakley, former M.P., who was chairman of the East Belfast Peace Committee. Peace was maintained in east Belfast, the most dangerous area of all. Several Northern Committee members also joined the province's peace committee, men like Mr. Stephen McGonagle, Mr. Cecil Vance, Mr. Brendan Harkins.

It was interesting to get the views of the shop-stewards about their famous meeting. The Right-wing militants had been out-manoeuvred in their efforts to whip up religious feeling, they said. One steward believed that much of the trouble was caused by rival Unionist politicians trying to be more militant than others, particularly in west Belfast where the Labour Party had done so well in 1964.

Sectarian incitement was begun to get the seats back again and it succeeded. But the reason for the success in the shipyard meeting was that the stewards had firmly grasped the nettle in time: they managed to make a broad appeal and in this they were helped by progressive moderate Unionist stewards, like Mr. Harry Fletcher and others who saw the importance of peace for the workers. The diehards had lost their influence as workers began to see that they were irresponsible. None was ever elected to office as they were not much good at union work or in "fighting for better wages or conditions".

## Barricades

Union offices went to men, whether they were Protestant or Catholic, if they were good as shop stewards or at union work. There would not have been any danger of trouble developing in the yard although men were coming in, many from behind the barricades, or from the scene of the fighting, unless it was incited.

Men felt ten feet tall in the days and weeks after the meeting, Mr. Scott says, as all the notice boards were filled with letters and telegrams of congratulations from Prime Ministers, union chiefs, chambers of commerce, Confederation of British Industry, the Economic Council and from Whitehall. A letter from Yugoslavia promised a big order. In the Commons and Lords tributes were paid by Mr. Callaghan and other Ministers. M.P.s and Unionist Lords. Catholic and Protestant stewards were featured together in television discussions. The outside world had been a bigger idea of the significance of what had been done than the shipyard men themselves,

But the successes were not quite over yet. A few weeks later some Right-wingers again tried to disrupt the yard by placing big barricades near its entrance, but they were soon disposed of and the stewards had no trouble in dealing with its aftermath. Again on September 30th the Rev. Mr. Paisley called for 100,000 workers to strike and parade to Stormont as Parliament was opening to put through the first reform legislation.

On this the Northern Committee of the I.C.T.U. was active—as it had intervened to stop a strike called by Nationalists in Derry—and warned workers against heeding the call. Out of 8,000 men in this shipyard only 185 went to Stormont; altogether only about 3,000 instead of 100,000 attended.

Again on October 11th after the Hunt Report and the phasing out of the B Specials were announced, when there were riots—and deaths—in the Shankill road involving the R.U.C., the British Army and Shankill militants, there were no repercussions in the shipyard.

It is of interest that in shipyard elections for shop stewards a few weeks later Mr. Sandy Scott and his colleagues, including Mr. Harry Fletcher, received an increased vote. Mr. Scott has a big hand for Harry Fletcher. The gift of Mr. Scott to identify the precise enemy in a situation—and not just taking on everyone—is worth studying. It is interesting also that the same shop stewards concluded productivity agreements with the management which will mean more money for all if new shipyard plans progress.

It is clear from this story of the Queen's Island that there are very powerful sections of men in the North who favour peace and who are under the umbrella—whether Catholic or Protestant—of the now very powerful trade union movement. That movement moved into the national arena as never before in a unique situation.

It is just possible that the work of the shopstewards brought that movement to the notice of Mr. Callaghan as one that could be relied upon to formulate policies that would be in the general interests of all, not loaded on the side of either Protestants or Catholics.

In the sense that the policies of the Labour and trade union movement did play a key role in the Northern crisis then, the victory of the shipyard men had significance far outside the engine-shops, the sheds and the docks of the Queen's Island Shipyard. A signal had come from the yard that the former old, tired, rather sectarian, and small, trade union movement of Northern Ireland was becoming a most important instrument for stability and justice. That the worker to lead the shipyard men should have been a Shipwright is of special significance. Until Mr. Tommy Cochrane, a Socialist succeeded the late Mr. Willie Grant, (a former Unionist Minister) as President of the Shipwrights, the Society had been the corner-stone of the Labour-Unionist Association. It was now part of the broad radical movement.

# Decisive Role of the Trade Unions

The shipyard victory, however, was not obtained by the Shipyard men on their own. The Northern Ireland Committee of the Congress of Trade Unions, the union headquarters, Belfast Trades Council, shop stewards throughout the province—and even many managements and Church leaders—maintained what could be described as “a chain of command”, a province-wide liaison through Mr. Billy Blease, Northern Secretary, Senator Norman Kennedy, A.T.G.W.U. and Mr. Bob Allen, chairman of the committee, at Congress headquarters.

Almost daily there was communication right from the top to the factory or shipyard floor. Trouble at Short's aircraft factory, for instance was diverted by the ready work of shop stewards like Mr. Billy Wallace, and Mr. Stanley Ewart at International Computers. At Belfast docks, Mr. Jos. Meehan and Mr. Charlie Taggart of the I.T.G.W.U. did great work. The stewards all over the North kept things right when tension was mounting on August 15th.

The Northern Committee and union chiefs made certain also to keep in touch with many key women shop stewards throughout Northern Ireland. Mr. Billy Blease spoke highly of their work in the crisis and he paid a special tribute to 30-year-old Miss Gretta Heuston of the Grundig factory in Lisburn for her prompt work in preventing trouble. The shipyard decision had helped greatly to steady the whole situation.

The work of the Northern Committee had to be done without any publicity, as somehow or another a consensus had to be maintained or the unions could have been disastrously split as old wounds were opening afresh.

Indeed 25 years before when big Irish unions in the South broke with the Irish T.U.C. there were strong voices in the North in favour of a separate Northern T.U.C. Heroic work by Northern union officials like Mr. John McAteer, Mr. Ted Morrow, Mr. Dawson Gordon, Mr. Billy McCullough, Tom Watters, Sean Murray and Bob Thompson, and others at that time had preserved the links with the depleted T.U.C. in Dublin; they knew a separate Northern T.U.C. would inevitably divide Northern unions into Catholic and Protestant. In the event more Northern Unions than ever before joined the T.U.C. In 1959 when the Dublin split was healed, the separate Congress ideal arose again in Belfast but again the united pattern of Irish trade union organisation was preserved. It is always cheering to hear Derry and Kerry voices mingling and often agreeing at annual conferences of the I.C.T.U.

In view of this background, union men were ever conscious of the need for that consensus and, therefore, civil rights policies agreed on in 1962-'63 for Northern Ireland were based on the “maintenance of the Northern Ireland Constitution unless a majority of the people of Northern Ireland wish to change”. But this basic conservative policy now, however, accepted generally in the South was more than compensated for by most militant demands to make Northern Ireland into a just prosperous society. Programmes included: plans for full employment, better housing (and the ending of the ghetto system), civil rights for all and equality of opportunity.

## Out of Politics

The strategy inherent here was to take the Border out of politics but to put social problems in. The proposals indicated a bold, courageous policy but won unions'

approval. From the beginning tactics were to involve all organisations in the campaign so as to win these demands. Co-operation was received also from Church bodies, from the Labour Party, from Unionist Party groups, and from employers' associations.

The policy was adopted by the annual conference and taken up by the Belfast Trades Council which at that time led by Miss Betty Sinclair, was very active and concerned about making civil rights, jobs, homes, discrimination, the central issues in the North.

A deputation from the Northern ICTU Committee to Captain O'Neill in April, 1966, urged him to accept the basic principle “that equal citizenship should confer equal civil rights”. Captain O'Neill's Government declined to accept that principle, but six months later O'Neill informed Stormont that business votes would be abolished and rejected all the other items on the Congress programme.

In November, 1968, after the October events in Derry, a deputation reiterated the demands, warning, that unless granted, the whole situation would escalate. They declared that the whole responsibility for disorders would rest on O'Neill. The case to the Government on that occasion was put by Mr. Stephen McGonagle, chairman of the Northern Committee (a Catholic) who based his argument on the basis that no trade unionist would claim anything less than equal rights of citizenship with his colleagues in Britain.

He bitterly complained that Congress pressure over the years for civil reforms had been ignored by the Government and that Government neglect was responsible for the recent disorder.

## Decisive Role

“The Government must now move quickly to satisfy public opinion that it means to guarantee equal rights to all citizens; take action before time runs out for the province,” he stressed, and how right he was. Other main points concerned employment, particularly west of the Bann, speedier house building, more aid for the Northern Ireland Economic Council. Rather cynical of the Government's reaction at that time, the Northern Committee at last turned its fire on the real power resting at the Westminster Parliament and Government, on the British T.U.C., Scottish T.U.C. and British Labour Party. The Northern Committee kept up a constant stream of correspondence briefing British trade union and Labour chiefs on the urgency of the Northern Ireland situation. Congresses and British unions began pressure on Whitehall for action. At this time also there was close action between the headquarters of the Irish Congress of Trade Unions in Dublin and the Northern Committee. The committee, however, kept up its pressure all through 1969 on all Church, political, social and cultural bodies in the North to win their co-operation in securing the aims of the Congress programme. Wilson was always informed by Congress Labour friends before he met Captain O'Neill.

It seemed, however, that all efforts had been in vain with the grave riots in Bogside on August 2nd and 12th and “the night of terror” in Belfast on August 14th-15th. But even then Congress representatives were active at once in securing talks with Mr. Callaghan, the British T.U.C. and Labour Party to get them to press ahead at once on the specific points of Congress Programme; to get the Government in Whitehall to act. Indeed when Mr. Wilson addressed the nation on August 19th it was seen that Congress and Government policies differed

little. Senator Norman Kennedy and others had done good work in London. It is interesting that in those terrible days also there was liaison with Dublin's Congress headquarters.

In statements both Belfast and Dublin agreed that "the only way to maintain peace on a permanent basis is by the introduction of full democratic and civil rights for all citizens", a highly inflammable point in those days of frenzy but yet again unanimously accepted by Northern unions and shopstewards.

Following telephone calls and visits to Whitehall, Congress's full policies on civil rights were placed in British Ministers' hands. Congress felt that everything would depend on announcements to be made by Mr. Callaghan when he visited Belfast for talks with the Stormont Government on August 27th, 28th and 29th. During that visit Congress representatives spent useful hours with the British visitors and there was satisfaction when Mr. Callaghan announced his charter of reforms. But they rather doubted Stormont's strength or willingness to implement the programme.

To meet that danger a three-pronged campaign was planned in those August days. First, extra pressure on London (Government, Labour Party and Trade Union Congress); second, continuous pressure on Stormont and the Unionist Parliamentary Party) and third, mobilisation of all possible allies in Northern Ireland to bring pressure for drastic reforms on both Westminster and Stormont.

## Very Serious

The first step in this new campaign was to produce a programme to meet the now very serious and decisive stage of the struggle. This required constant meetings of the Northern Committee, sub-committees on policy were in almost continuous session, one meeting lasting from 9 a.m. to 11.30 p.m. From this until October 10th Congress representatives got no rest. The whole trade union movement was alive and ablaze with new fire.

But during late August the 'Programme for Peace and Progress' was completed. Consisting of 2,000 words 30,000 copies were printed, attractively produced and were sent to every unit of the unions in Northern Ireland, to every Government Minister in these islands, to every M.P., every political party and to all cultural and business bodies. It is worth quoting for its influence was quite apparent when the Whitehall-Stormont Reform Charter was announced on October 10th.

The programme claimed that the Northern Ireland Committee of the I.C.T.U. represented 215,000 trade union members in Northern Ireland "and is the most representative body covering all sections of religious and political opinions"

Though its primary purpose was to improve wages and working conditions it also existed to promote economic and social progress through full employment, equality of opportunity and rising standards.

Realistically the programme accepted that the Constitutional position "cannot be changed except by the democratic decision of the majority of the people of Northern Ireland". All citizens—whatever their political views—should reject the use of physical force but all should be free to advocate changes by democratic means.

## Grasped the Nettle

Then having got that off their chests, the Congress grasped the nettle by stating that the United Kingdom Government (rather than Stormont) should have the responsibility for security; appointment of an Ombudsman and local government commissioner, an effective community relations board and the prohibition of incitement to religious hatred, the setting up of a public appointments commission, reconstitution of the civil service commission; a central organisation for house-building and allocation with the aim of 20,000 houses a year.

Positive steps should be taken to avoid segregation

in new housing projects: this is of paramount importance," the programme said. More and effective plans were urged to secure increased employment with a separate Ministry of Employment and Training, the Economic Council to prepare positive proposals; redrawing of ward boundaries in local elections so that the number of electors is the same in all wards; the abolition of the Special Powers Act. The United Kingdom to make special financial arrangements to meet the costs of the disturbances and to expand employment. The powerful Confederation of Engineering and Shipbuilding Unions backed the employment Plan actively.

The programme also had the interesting suggestion that to widen participation in public affairs the basis of representation in the Senate, Privy Council and on public boards should be considered. The programme concluded by urging all trade union members to work for the implementation of the proposals.

With Mr. William Blease, Northern Secretary of Congress, acting as centre of the campaign, the committee spent the next weeks—after Mr. Callaghan's visit—in organising deputations to meet Northern Ireland M.P.s from all parties: they even obtained the approval from a meeting of the Unionist Parliamentary Party for the programme, although all were not present. Shrewdly they sought and received co-operation from management bodies. Church bodies and public men.

The most fantastic feature of all about that programme was that 90% of it would have been accepted by all supporters of civil rights, apart from the stand on the Constitution. Yet the programme was approved almost unanimously by the trade unionists of the North.

Not one single recrimination was received from any of the affiliated unions in which about 150,000 were Protestants and only about 65,000 or so Catholics. Indeed the reverse was true and individual unions did their own campaigning to get the programme implemented by Westminster and Stormont.

## Tense Period

And British unions which predominate in Northern Ireland have much influence with the British T.U.C., and the Labour Party to which they are affiliated. Through them they influenced the British Government. Usually trade unions are sluggish, slow-moving rather conservative bodies, sticklers for the strict letter of the rulebook. Only after continuous pressure from their members are they inclined to move and then with the minimum of effort and after all procedures have been completed. But the Northern Committee of the Irish Congress of Trade Unions is a different kind of animal. Of course it is very young, having been reborn in 1959, and it moves very quickly indeed.

For instance, during the 84 days between August 2nd and October 2nd it held 12 full meetings, dozens of sub-committee meetings and one full Northern Ireland Union Conference to approve its programme and to secure all pressures from members for implementation.

During that time also, several of its members, including Mr. Robert Allen, chairman; Mr. Cecil Vance, vice-chairman; Senator Norman Kennedy, Mr. Brendan Harkin, spent as much time in London on joint Labour Party deputations, as they did in Belfast, lobbying Ministers, Labour leaders, T.U.C. chiefs and receiving great help from Lord Stonham, Miss Alice Bacon (Home Office) and Mr. Callaghan, and perhaps Mr. Wilson himself.

In a desert of sectarian organisation Britain was clutching at the one really objective view representing general rather than sectarian attitudes.

Between August 30th and October 10th was a tense period when everyone was suspicious of everyone else, but it was during this time that Congress produced that radical programme, and yet obtained a consensus. Even more remarkable, however, was the consensus reached by union leaders of all outlooks on Congress recommendations to the Hunt Committee on Police Reform.



WILLIAM BLEASE



BETTY SINCLAIR



GRETTA HEUSTON

A deputation consisting of Mr. Allen, Mr. Vance, Mr. J. Harold Binks and Mr. Blease met Lord Hunt.

They urged that the police should be under the control of a new central police authority representative of all sections of the community; that the police should be based on British procedures and lines, that the men should have a trade union, the police should be independent of party political control, should be organised as a civilian force, with security forces separate and distinct, and police relieved of all para-military duties; security to be handed over to the Army, the "British Bobby" being the model, the police phased out, to be disarmed, and the B Specials to be reserve constabulary used for normal police duties like traffic control; there should be a more comfortable uniform of a different colour with change of attire in warmer months.

These were quite remarkable submissions. The final Hunt Report was seen to contain almost all these proposals, exactly. They were produced by deep study of the problem by the men concerned and approved by Congress. This accord on the police is yet another miracle. The programme of reform produced by Mr. Callaghan and Major Chichester-Clark on October 10th surprised all trade unionists because almost the entire programme of Congress was conceded after a campaign of about 10 years. But lobbying at Westminster, Whitehall, Stormont and co-operation with all M.P.s, including Mr. Gerry Fitt, Mr. Patrick Devlin, Mr. John Hume and Mr. Ivan Cooper, not to mention British Ministers and party chiefs helped.

It is calculated that Congress people spent more than 12 hours with Home Office people stressing the vital importance of the proposals to ensure peace in the North. But almost all this activity was private except to leading members and also to Church, business and economic bodies who poured in their tributes to Congress offices.

No wonder Congress welcomed the joint Whitehall-Stormont communiqué of October 10th. Congress was aware that it was the work of thousands of civil rights people and others that had obtained the gains. There were the sacrifices of 14 martyrs of those months, the burning down of 572 homes, the temporary loss of 5,000 homes, the loss of 16 factories, 2,500 jobs and destruction of property estimated at £21m.

## Collaboration

However, Congress had obtained its consensus for action to change a society which created an under-privileged class, as its documents stated.

"We condemn all those who seek to incite bitterness by perpetuating bigotry and sectarianism and who are determined to keep workers and community divided," a Congress statement said, as far back as 1964. Only three days after Belfast's night of terror, Congress published a statement stating "that peace could be won only by the introduction of civil rights for all citizens".

What was the power that won such response among Northern workers? It was not the strength of the Northern unions alone, not a new force confined to Northern Ireland, but the coming to full strength of something that was only barely evident in 1921 and which helped to stop the Anglo-Irish War of that time. It was the combined giant strength of three movements. It lay in the most continuous and active collaboration than ever before between the Northern unions, the Irish Congress of Trade Unions and the British Labour Movement, including its Government, its nation-wide Labour Party more aware of Ireland than ever before and the British trade unions and their T.U.C. also more informed and active on Ireland than before. But the unions of the North and the I.C.T.U. had the responsibility of leadership not only for its own 215,000 trade union members of the North, but also for the British Movement.

## Still Unchanging

But, I think it is true to say that there was one other thing: the new dynamic of a modern trade union organisation, the Northern Congress, born into the North, ten years before at a time of the most modern industrial revolution in Britain or in Ireland. This force, supported by a government of British Labour, was able to persuade the Northern Unionist Government that it could continue to exist as a civilised state with the exercise of modern democracy, but not otherwise. But the new three-pronged weapon is there to be used again in the interests of all people in the North.

But even with those victories behind it the Northern Committee of Congress was still slightly apprehensive about a decision to hold a conference representing all Northern Ireland trade unionists within only two weeks from those terrible events of October 11th when thousands of Unionist Party militants distressed, bewildered and frustrated at the turn of events about the B Specials and other shocks, marched against British troops in West Belfast.

Still careful, the Northern Congress decided to hold its conference in private—just in case there were outbursts and also to get positive ideas rather than flights of oratory. Conference representing 215,000 mem-

bers unanimously endorsed policy and all activity. Not a single recriminating voice was heard. Both Protestant and Catholic delegates praised the work done. The three-power strength of Congress was shown at the conference with delegates and officials present from the North, from the South and from Britain—and also from the British Government and Stormont.

The Northern Prime Minister heard a resolution passed unanimously pledging determination to ensure the implementation of the reforms. He told them that the union movement "did a magnificent job for industry", that the Government programme was framed in the interests of everybody.

Messages were received from dozens of unions, from Post Office headquarters, Union of Students, Swedish Democratic Movement, the Churches' Industrial Peace Council, the Presbyterian Church, Methodist Conference, the N.I. Chamber of Commerce, the N.I. Region of the Confederation of British Industries and letters from M.P.s at Westminster and Stormont.

Mr. Blease told them all that while unions were interested in wages and conditions they were also interested in the quality of life. He told the Prime Minister that if the unions had been listened to three to 10 years ago disaster could have been avoided. He told of how they had maintained their independence in the face of pressures of right and left so that policies could be based on the general interest of their members.

## Greatest Triumph

Perhaps the unions' greatest triumph was that mentioned by Mr. Allen, chairman of conference, that they had been "able to transcend the narrowly-held party-political divisions and bitterness of religious sectarianism". The sentiment was echoed by the I.C.T.U. Delegates that sectarian divisions should not affect the unity and solidarity of the movement.

Conference welcomed statements from the Government Ministers present that the Government was "wholly committed to carrying through, before Christmas, the bulk of reforms promised". Peace, and progress hopes were echoed by fraternal delegates from Irish, British and Scottish trade union congresses.

By resolution conference endorsed policies and actions and pledged to work for the removal of any legitimate causes of fear, distrust and injustice. It supported the announced measures to improve the economy, to implement the reforms and to give all the opportunity to have jobs, homes, prosperity and peace. But warned that it would press for early implementation of reforms, for full employment and a speedy and big housing programme.

Mr. Ruaidhri Roberts, general secretary of the All-Ireland Congress concluding stressed: "We live in each others shadow—what diminishes one, diminishes all. The unions displayed a political power that had transcended political affiliations of trade unionists, had cor-

rected Government decisions and ensured that the rights of the people were upheld."

But the future still created a great challenge to unity and solidarity. All must work to ensure implementation of the programme.

This sketch of the work of Northern unions in the recent crisis is completely new. Almost all its work was carried out in private because of the nature of the tensions. I am not saying that the work was decisive but it can be said that it was very important particularly because of Labour's links with the Government which had to take the ultimate responsibility. The movement also was unique in that since 1935 the trade unions in the North had doubled their membership, had changed its character, doubled the affiliated membership it had in 1935 to the Irish T.U.C. of those days.

## Changed Radically

The North, the South and the British Labour Movement have changed radically since those days of the '30s. Today unions are as much concerned with men as citizens, as fathers, as tenants, as voters, as interested in houses, schools, hospitals, career opportunities and in leisure, as they are in wages and working conditions: more aware of the quality of life—and they also have more to lose by riots and sectarianism. At last they are no longer concerned about a wage increase alone when they have a new world to win. For these differences much is due to deep economic changes that have taken place in the North—and the South.

Much of the influence of the unions was due to national and international publicity caused by police brutality, to Government U.N. action and to the new courage and confidence of the nationalist population; circumstances which enabled the unions to act. But in those circumstances the trade unions were both a listening post for Britain's Government (whose former intelligence came only from Unionist sources, or some Nationalistic sources) and also a formidable pressure group on that Government and the whole British Labour Movement on which the Government is based.

The unions also had the decided advantage of having close consultation with the unions and Labour Party in the Republic—itsself also pressing Britain—and thus was able to work out a policy which became a national policy on the North for the whole of Ireland. In these circumstances the Northern Congress Committee was decisive.

Without its policy and drive the reforms would have been deeply influenced by right-wing Unionist sources. They would have been half-hearted, inadequate and therefore useless for securing the much-needed consensus for a solution. It is important therefore, that the rôle of Northern Ireland Labour, quiet though it was kept, should be made public.

It will have a big part to play in the coming months when the big question will be: can peace—and progress—be won.

# Nowhere To Go Except U.D.I.

When discussing the Northern events and the prospects for peace with Westminster spokesmen recently, one of them surprised me by suddenly quoting from Shakespeare's *Titus Andronicus*. But as I listened, somewhat dazed, I realised quickly that the lines were strictly relevant to the subject. They are from Act V of the play and are spoken by Marcus, brother of Titus, a Tribune of the People. They "tell the story of that baleful burning night" of some 2,000 years ago. Marcus is preaching peace after war:

*You sad-fac'd men, people and sons of Rome  
By uproar sever'd, like a flight of fowl  
Scatter'd by winds and high tempestuous gust:  
O, let me teach you how to knit again  
This scatter'd corn into one mutual sheaf,  
These broken limbs again into one body;  
Lest Rome herself be bane unto herself,  
And she whom mighty kingdoms court'sy to,  
Like a forlorn and desperate castaway,  
Do shameful execution on herself.*

The quotation indeed is most apt, for to the serious mind of my informant on that evening, the one single, central issue in the North at this moment is whether Northern Ireland will "knit again this scatter'd corn into one mutual sheaf" or —and this is still a danger—"do shameful execution on herself". It would seem that the quotation is probably more sombre than the actual situation in the North, although the real danger still remains that a people could be "sever'd" or "scatter'd by winds and high tempestuous gusts", unless leadership and statemanship prevail.

## Responsibility

My informant went on to make a good case to prove that at least as much responsibility in this most serious situation rests on the non-Unionist Opposition —inside and outside Stormont—as on the Unionist Government. The view is that by wrong tactics such for instance as the presentation of a new unjustified list of demands, the Opposition could not only make the mistake of "looking the gift-horse . . ." but kicking its very teeth in. Wrong tactics by non-Unionists could enable the right wing diehards to snatch the strong support that has been won among moderate Unionists throughout the province for the reforms. Good policies by all Progressive Northerners now could ensure that the reforms are just and democratic, not only in form but also in content life, and 'spirit.'

It is conceded that the task of forging new forms of Opposition is difficult after 50 years' experience of right wing Unionism and "colonial" rule. These few weeks, however, might provide a breathing space for a real attempt at a reassessment of what has happened in the past 50 days inside and outside Stormont. More reforms have gone through that Parliament in 50 days than went through in 50 years, and it is legislation that is guaranteed by both Westminster and Stormont: Westminster's men are still in Stormont to help to ensure that there is full and generous implementation.

The danger seen is that the Opposition may not be able to identify the new situation and the vast change so quickly achieved, and thus fail to move into a new and higher gear for new social and political tactics. It is believed that to succumb to the idea that the Opposi-

tion should just wait to see how the reforms are implemented would be a grave error. There is the dangerous implication in that attitude that it is the Unionists who have—or are—"bestowing" the reforms, with the people in the rôle almost of passive supplicants. This could be a fatal mistake, because the reforms really were won by the people of the whole province, by all the progressive people in Northern Ireland and in the United Kingdom against the opposition of a strong Unionist right wing. The progress gained could continue only if the same progressives were able to maintain a positive momentum by helping to ensure that the reforms are clarified, developed, studied, so that they can be implemented with benefit to all sections, Unionists and Nationalists alike. The continuation of a mere anti-Unionist Opposition only would benefit the right wing and could lead to disaster. It would be even more serious if the fight against Craig and Paisley were left to Chichester-Clark alone. He needs the conviction of the non-Unionists.

## Study Strategy

It was further suggested that a study might be made of the strategy and tactics of the Queen's Island shop-stewards last August when they won as allies all who favoured reform, whether they were Unionists, Labour, Republicans or Orangemen. They, thus, were able to isolate the small group who oppose reform and who might prefer strife. A similar strategy might work nationally. Indeed, if the enemy had been correctly identified during the past year, Captain O'Neill's efforts might not have been defeated; but he could not win a two-front battle; he fell in attacks from both the left and the right wings, in a battle against an unholy alliance of those who wanted change and those who opposed it, a unity of opposites, of enemies, defeated O'Neill.

To the scepticism which still exists among some non-Unionists that the reforms will be gradually whittled down or that Government changes in Westminster or in Stormont could invalidate all that has been achieved so far, the reply from most important quarters at Whitehall is that "this is just not so". The position is that Westminster and Stormont Parliaments have entered into a solemn contractual agreement to put through the reforms. That agreement must be and will be honoured by both Parliaments. The coming to power of new Governments would not be allowed to interfere with the reforms either, because a most serious Constitutional Convention exists that a new Government carries out all solemn agreements made by an outgoing Government with a separate Government. That Convention also binds the Northern Ireland Parliament. It might be stated also as proof of intent that these reforms were announced in principle by the British Prime Minister, Mr. Wilson, on August 19th last year. Ten days later, Mr. Callaghan was in Belfast to agree to those principles with Stormont and five weeks later he was back to announce the agreed communique: more than 90% of those proposals have now been included in legislation, or decided on otherwise where legislation was not necessary, as in the case of the immediate disarming of the police. The sceptics should be reassured by this consistency. The reforms are going through in full. They are guaranteed by Westminster which believes that most of the Unionist Front

Bench sincerely wants the reforms and that the majority of people now want them also. Those opposing are a small minority compared with the whole population, unless someone gives a real provocation for further incitement.

It is interesting and also reassuring, that it is now general knowledge among M.P.s at Westminster that—contrary to expectations—Mr. Callaghan and his advisers did not have to do any “arm-twisting” of the Stormont Government last August, September and October. They were quite surprised to find that the Government was very willing to discuss Callaghan’s proposals or any others that might be put forward apart from the “B” Specials proposal. Indeed by that time the Government had realised that the reforms were not just the demands of non-Unionists but that life itself in Northern Ireland made change inevitable.

## Reforms

So the present Stormont Government of Chichester-Clark is more likely to implement the reforms fully and fairly than any other Unionist Government, provided there is active support, but whatever the change, it is stressed that the reforms are per- to analyse the composition of the Unionist Party inside and outside Parliament. They would find that it consists of many “parties” and interest groups, some of which are modern and progressive and some of which are not, but that they all cling together under general are not, but that they all cling together through fear, when they are attached as one tribe.

Policies should be based on this truth—that there are decent Unionists and right-wing Unionists—so that the real enemy of peace and progress is identified and fought.

When one is confronted with a summary of the tion has been passed, it is quite formidable. Their passing must make a profound difference to the North. Surely all records must have been broken in the passing through Parliament of so many Bills in such a short time as 50 days, and most controversial legislation at that, and in a Parliament which had passed hardly any important legislation in 50 years.

The following list shows the extent of the “revolution”:

1. The establishment of the Cameron and Hunt Committees and their reports, and the work of the Scarman Tribunal.
2. The disarming of the R.U.C., its training time reduced from 18 to 12 weeks on the abolition of arms drill. A new Inspector-General, from London appointed, and reorganising.
3. B Specials are being phased out. All security command will be in care of the G.O.C.
4. The Special Powers Act is going: both Westminster and Stormont have given guarantees on this when “order, peace and quiet” (Wilson) are restored. The fact that the Public Order Act has been introduced confirms this as new laws are required.
5. Minister of Community Relations appointed: Commission established under Roman Catholic chairman.
6. Ombudsman appointed for Parliament and also Commissioner for local authorities.
7. Full commitment to the establishment of the Central Housing Authority and extra British finance for housing at £275m. guarantees that houses will be allotted fairly.
8. Votes for all of equal value at 18 years of age: business votes abolished.
9. Parliamentary Committee for re-drawing of local boundaries for elections.
10. Review Body for administration of local authorities.
11. Police Bill, to reorganise the force into a civilianised service, passed. New police authority to be established with Catholic representation,

12. Grants of £45m. to be made this year for industry and grants to encourage investment in Northern Ireland raised by 5% to 45% or 50% of capital costs. Retention of Special Employment Tax income by Northern Ireland to help industry.

13. Re-constitution of the Civil Service Commission.

14. Compensation to be paid for damage caused by disturbances.

15. A sum of £2m. allocated this year to provide seasonal work for 2,500 persons.

16. Abolition of discrimination in public (including local) appointments.

It is certainly a formidable list and it is certain that it goes even further than the most optimistic civil righter had even dared to hope even up to some months ago. Yet substantially it is the programme which Mr. Harold Wilson spelled out on August 19th this year, including the phasing-out of the B Specials. Most people were cynical then about Wilson “keeping his options open” I think there is no doubt now that Britain intends to keep its promise whether by design of from the force of its own and world public opinion, and of its own Labour Movement. Britain certainly is determined to implement equality of citizenship. This was the key phrase and first principle decided in August by Wilson and on this there is certainly determination. Britain wants to, and believes she and Stormont can, solve the North’s housing problem. She also wants to, but is not certain that she can, solve the problem of securing full employment, but all effort will be made with particular stress on areas west of the Bann: investment in industry will increase.

All these reforms would transform Northern Ireland from a Protestant democracy into a liberal, if not a social, democracy. What now are the prospects for peace? Where, apart from Opposition tactics, does the danger lie? What are the forces for peace?

Short of another outbreak it is certain these reforms will go through and be implemented. But where does the danger of real trouble lie? In the Unionist Party: in the U.V.F., the I.R.A.? Not in the U.V.F., which it is believed has no actual organisation apart from scattered groups. These could be a nuisance and do some nasty damage but it is not an effective counter-revolutionary force. It has nowhere to go except to declare U.D.I. and, in this event, all the powers of the 1920 Act are automatically withdrawn and three counties could opt out of Northern Ireland. Subsidies also would go.

What of the I.R.A.? It is assumed that the new Socialist leadership, or even Republican leadership, would be unlikely to move in the present situation, even if it could. Shrewd politicians as some of them are, they would perceive that a move now objectively would favour “Right-wing reaction” in the Unionist camp.

There could be irresponsible action by some fringe groups but Catholic public opinion would be strongly opposed.

What of the Unionists, their Parliamentary Party and their Government? Unless fear of a “Papist” take-over is instilled again at some favourable opportunity, it is believed that the mass of the people now, Unionist and others, favour peace and progress. It is true, of course, that progress has been made in some Unionist constituencies by the Right-wing and this could be dangerous politically, but as sabotage, and not as really serious policy that serious people would support. They, like the U.V.F., have nowhere to go except U.D.I. The Parliamentary Party, between elections, holds the real seat of power. Paisley and the right-wing could have limited success which could cause temporary halts to progress.

## Forces for Peace

The situation still has dangers. Some law-court trials, some anniversary, some desperate effort by some Right-wing militants, some success at by-elections by the Rightists, perhaps fuss over the new Central Housing Authority or other electoral legislation could spark off



something. But it is believed that the worst and highest jump has been cleared, that of the B Specials. Nothing as serious as that remains. But the task will require help of non-Unionists as well as progressive Unionists to maintain peace and ensure progress.

A great hope for peace and progress lies in the fact that all the most influential forces of the North are for peace and these include both sides of industry, the employers, managers, and the trade unions, the business and commercial associations like the Chambers of Commerce, engineering and industrial confederations, banks and commercial interests, the big farmers, the churches, the civil service, and of course the army and police. The leading figures against reforms, and most of them as professional people such as lawyers, are prominent only in politics: not even Lord Brookeborough supports them, and no prominent orthodox church leader apart from the Paisley groups. All the great personalities who either egged on riots before or who publicly incited Protestants against Catholics, such as Carson, Craigavon, Brookeborough, Andrews, and many others, have no counterparts today. The Unionist Government indeed is preaching the opposite, as are the churches.

The really important change—and fact—in Northern Ireland—is that formerly the Establishment there favoured a policy of sectarian repression and rioting but, today the Establishment, both in Britain and in Northern Ireland, favour peace and co-operation. This is the really decisive change compared with say the 1935 riots.

It is important to note these differences between 1969 and any earlier period of Northern trouble. And some minds have been trying indeed to identify what did actually happen in the North. They first point out that the whole economic base of the North has changed since 1920. In those days the great families of the landed gentry, the shipyards, the linen mills, transport and shipping, and some engineering concerns, wielded enormous economic and Governmental power, for these were the only important industries in the North, which was then outside Belfast mainly an agricultural province. All of these industries and occupations have declined, about 60,000 having left the land and leaving still at the rate of about 3,000 a year, with hundreds of farms a year closing. Instead of employing 30,000 as in its great days, the shipyard employs 8,000, while linen has lost about 30,000 since 1920. The power of these families has now passed to the managerial society in the North as industries like man-made fibres replace them and have absorbed up to 70,000 or 80,000 new workers. All these industries are computer-automated and are large; man-made fibres alone employ 10,000 and the North has the largest man-made fibre centre in the United Kingdom. Now with promised extra grants from Britain, the pace will quicken. The whole base of the economy has changed radically. New forces, new men, new ideas, new outlooks are coming forward. Even the shipyards, linen, engineering and agriculture itself are becoming modernised. The men who control the economic North are different. They do not confine their thinking to Northern Ireland; they think of world markets.

But as society changed all round them, the Northern right-wing Unionists and their Government went heedlessly on with its colonial and repressive regime. As Britain discarded its great Lords of the 1920's, ended the domination of the Army by Ulster families, and began the foundation of the Welfare State, the North's administration stagnated. Nothing changed on top. But Northern Ireland is part of the United Kingdom and so the Welfare State spilled over into Northern Ireland. Britain's economic plans applied to the North, production increased in value, about 50,000 more were in employment, income was higher, workers were able to buy television sets, take holidays, improve their homes, dress better, some of them even to buy cars or motor-cycles, indulge in the new youth fashions, buy pop records, paperbacks. New relations were established between workers and management. A new and powerful trade

union movement developed. Britain's new Education Acts applied to the North.

Around about 1960 the first stream of a new generation, secondary educated and university students entered the life of the North, including Miss Bernadette Devlin and Mr. John Hume, and many other thousands demanding a better life. The number of intellectuals grew quickly. T.V. and progressive newspapers like the *Belfast Telegraph* under the late Mr. John Sayers helped the new outlook and the youth of the North were brought close to the radicalism of the world's youth. At the same time population rose by about 300,000, production doubled in value in spite of the decline in the traditional industries, productivity arrangements changed ancient crafts and altered industrial relations. The new demands reached the North. Young people were marrying early and were determined to have a good life. The Republic, the next-door neighbour, also was doing well in industry and Northern businessmen looked across the border at that market.

## O'Neill begins

The whole of life was changing beneath the Unionist Government, but it was still unchanging. People with new and different ideas were joining all political parties, or becoming interested in politics, as in the university: they were joining the Unionist Party and obtaining leading positions. With such development changing attitudes were inevitable. Perhaps Lord Pirrie of shipyard fame was the first Unionist rebel and even Brookeborough was an improvement on Andrews in 1943. But then it happened, and it happened to the Unionist Party, causing, later, its deepest split and a crisis for the North: Captain Terence O'Neill came to power in 1963. This surely was a representative of the new North.

It has been said that O'Neill came before civil rights, before the revolution and that by taking the lid off the repression he let the new life through. But it was life that had forged the change. Something like a *coup d'etat* on behalf of the "New Ulster" had happened in the Unionist Party, and it seemed that O'Neill had allies in his Government, although also enemies. His new words of peace and friendship were strange coming from a Unionist Prime Minister, as were his talks with Lemass, and it seemed the people supported him.

It is important to remember that this was the beginning. The new demonstrations in the North were utterly different to anything before. New social services made local government councils and boards more powerful and valuable. Civil Rights marches and meetings were not sectarian, they did contain non-Catholics, but even as Nationalists they were marching for civil rights within Northern Ireland: they were determined to secure some of the new welfare State favours. There were no political or religious flags or slogans, they were slogans calling on Governments to grant equality of rights. The marches were not provocative, as older marches were, they were not designed to seek out or to taunt Protestants. This also is important. The demands were social, civil and economic. They were demanding United Kingdom rights, not an Irish Republic. They were not religious marches, but the back-lash forces they created among diehards used the old, traditional well-tried anti-Catholic, sectarian slogans—helped by police brutality and some Government members. These slogans had proved successful for 100 years in keeping people divided; again they were successful in labelling Civil Rights as Catholics. But only one side this time was sectarian, in a predictable reaction against any lessening of privileges. But by the time that civil rights and life itself had caused the North to explode, the leading Unionists had realised that the old way had to go. Even the Bourbons did learn something. Everything had turned upside down: Nationalists were welcoming British troops: Conservatives and the House of Lords were demanding civil rights too. Important also was that the industries of the North held: areas of conflict were confined.

This analysis shows that life itself is now on the

side of change and peace in the North. In such an environment it should be possible "to knit again this scatter'd corn into one mutual sheaf, those broken limbs again into one body." There are still hopes for really wonderful developments in Northern Ireland. But what of relations with the Republic, or have the Unionists been asked to give too much in too short a time? No wonder that out of confusion and frustration a Paisley arose—the residue of a former sectarian regime.

What then are the new factors which will change Anglo-Irish relations and work towards peace and progress in Northern Ireland? First, I think, is the new peace policy of the Establishment and the new "British presence" in the North, the opening of a United Kingdom Government office there.

Second is the massive reform legislation, and other civil and social progress that has taken place. Third, the rapidly changing economic base of the North. Fourth, the new strength and character of the Northern Committee of the I.C.T.U. and the trade union growth generally, and fifth the new concepts which Britain now entertains on Northern Ireland, the two communities, two minorities idea, and the need to cater for those concepts and her obvious determination to support the progressive and peace forces in the North.

Of the British anxiety to clear up relations with the Republic there is no doubt and obviously the incentive here is the Common Market. Talks have been going on both through officials and through visits of Irish Ministers to London. It is clear that the pre-1969 friendly relations have been restored after the U.N. indictment of the U.K., although the Government here is adamant that no link with Britain is possible if it would lessen Irish sovereignty in any way. But Mr. Callaghan's confederation idea after all did imply confederation of sovereign States and it was a long-term thought.

Another important factor could be a decision by the Dublin Government to establish a special section or division within the Department of External Affairs, under Dr. Patrick Hillery, with special responsibility for study of Northern Ireland affairs. This could lead to the opening of an Irish office in Belfast as an extension of the Irish Embassy in London in the form of a consular service. This would follow as trade between the two areas increases through the Free Trade Agreement or through the Common Market—which would mean that the two islands could become an economic community within the E.E.C. Another factor for peace is the strong statement of Mr. Lynch, Taoiseach, that the Twenty-Six Counties will never use force to solve Partition. His recognition that 1,000,000 citizens in Northern Ireland want union with Britain is a most significant advance.

There is no doubt that Britain is determined to maintain her new interest in the North or, to put it in another way, to fulfil at least her full obligations and powers under the Government of Ireland Act of 1920. Up to the autumn of 1968 Britain had, globally, ignored Northern Ireland, in so far as restraint of injustice was concerned. While individual Ministries had their offices in Belfast there was no office or official representing the U.K. Government as a whole, apart from the passive, formal, non-executive presence of the Governor of Northern Ireland. There has been no Ministry in Whitehall either, responsible, as a whole, for Northern Ireland or its "way of life". Now it seems that the Home Office, which had some limited responsibilities for the North, will be, in future, the co-ordinating Ministry for British responsibilities in Northern Ireland. For the present, at any rate, "Ulster" has become a United Kingdom province of six counties. A Whitehall co-ordinating committee was appointed last September, under Mr. Callaghan, to oversee Northern Ireland. The new U.K. Government in N. Ireland, Mr. Ronald Burroughs is directly under the orders of Mr. Callaghan.

Mr. Wilson, of course, as Prime Minister, will be fully informed of events, and those close to him have told me that there is no doubt of his really serious

interest in Ireland as a whole. This springs from his "life-long interest in and deep sense of history" and, also, from the push of his own constituents. He would like to initiate a permanent Irish settlement. I understand he has not entirely given up his idea that it might yet be necessary to appoint a Minister of State for Northern Ireland. But already there has been, in effect, the opening of the first U.K. office in the North: the office will remain.

The U.K. office in the North already has taken some interest in North-South relations on Whitehall instructions, and this is a clear indication that such matters in future will be very much the concern of Whitehall. It will be taking over that part of foreign, or Commonwealth, affairs concerned with relations between the North and Dublin. It is realised at last that bad relations between Stormont and Dublin can seriously affect law and order in the North and thus affect internal United Kingdom security. Slanging matches about the Border between Stormont and Dublin Ministers should be reduced as such matters become the concern of Whitehall and Dublin, and as security becomes the total concern of the U.K. Government.

This British presence in Northern Ireland has importance both for the whole question of Anglo-Irish as well as for North-South relations. It is known that the British officials in the North have a responsibility on Anglo-Irish relations and that some overtures to Dublin already have been made. An extension of such activity could serve the useful purpose of acting as a bridge between Stormont and the South and between both and Whitehall. A good-neighbour policy by Britain could reduce tension between the two areas, and give a greater understanding to both. It would seem that the old British policy of letting the Irish work it out for themselves has now been abandoned; as Britain created the problem, or accentuated it, she feels a responsibility to try to resolve it. Callaghan may yet convince Stormont that Dublin cannot help but be interested in the future fate of at least the 500,000 "Catholic" Irish in the North and that it should be invited to contribute ideas, working towards a better life for all Irish people.

It is not beyond the bounds of possibility that this new British presence in the North could initiate the North-South link. Now that Britain is studying the Government of Ireland Act of 1920 again and is most anxious to have regular consultation with Dublin both about the North and about relations between the two countries there could be new ideas about that Council of Ireland clause of the 1920 Act which was to provide a safeguard for the minorities in Ireland. That clause, which became a dead-letter when Stormont went out on its own, could be given the kiss of life in view of the new problems. There could be no objection to it having an eye on minority problems in both areas as cases are beginning to arise where non Roman-Catholics in the Republic feel they have grievances. There are also the itinerants—and the old. The Council could provide a safeguard and also a link between North and South, and with Britain. The Council might even discuss the Crowther Report when its recommendations are known, or set up working parties on social or economic questions of common interest. As Irish Labour put forward in a delegation to London that "if there could be no argument against the Unionist minority seceding from the Free State in 1921 so there could be no argument against a Nationalist minority seceding from the Unionist State"—even within the United Kingdom. And at the same time Dr. Conor Cruise O'Brien welcomed British troops to the North and declared that Partition was not an issue. It was a courageous statement at a time of Republican and Irish Government panic.

There is rejoicing in London, however, about the Irish Government's policy of peaceful persuasion rather than force as a means of ending partition and this could create goodwill in other spheres relating to the North, for Whitehall realises how sensitive the new policy

can be in restoring peace. Here at last, it is said, is an Irish Parliament which realises that it is useless talking about a united Ireland until the two communities in the North can learn to live together as a community. The material to be worked on is the population in Northern Ireland and this, it is held, is a task today for three Governments, all of which want friendly relations with the other. So far talks on the North and on new links with Britain have been friendly. The Irish are happy enough now, and feel Britain has done all she can to restore peace and to end discrimination in Northern Ireland. The British were impressed with the Irish representative they met in Dublin—"a deeply cultured, thoughtful man who does his own thinking on the situation as it is, not as it was," but yet determined about the full maintenance of Irish sovereignty: this was one British comment.

In the face of the Common Market, however, there are many forms of "association" which might bring advantages in negotiations for the E.E.C. and in working with it. An Anglo-Irish Benelux could be formed. Here it is recalled that the Free Trade Area provided opportunities for Northern Ireland and the Republic to work out agreements separate from Britain, probably the first economic agreements ever worked out between North and South. Northern Ireland representatives also have attended trade talks in London between the Dublin and London Governments. Such consultations could be developed into regular tripartite machinery. At the same time, the O'Neill-Lemass type of fraternal visits could be developed more concretely as a means of a North-South link. But the big factor is that Britain will play a greater part in Irish affairs. Indeed, it now seems clear that Britain's new interest began with Mr. Wilson. He and Mr. Lemass completed the Free Trade discussions in mid-December, 1964; a month or so later Mr. Lemass passed through the gates of Stormont, and the movement for civil rights was born anew. But the stronger links between Whitehall and Northern Ireland, it is stressed, do not mean a new desire to take a tighter hold on the province. All recent measures were taken because necessity demanded them. Fundamentally Britain would like to see agreement towards some form of united Ireland, or at least friendly relations between both Governments. A step towards that also might be helped by the new development in Dublin—indicated by the Taoiseach's statement in December—that civil servants are working out changes that might be required for a potential united Ireland situation some time in the distant future. But new thinking in Dublin on a United Ireland defines it as "One Irish nation—two Irish States both working in friendship and in co-operation and both with full civil and democratic rights for all their people, and in friendly association with the U.K."

## Special Responsibility

The Dublin Government has decided, like Whitehall, that it cannot afford to neglect Northern Ireland for another 50 years. What is now envisaged is a separate section or division within the Department of External Affairs that would have special responsibilities towards problems affecting Northern Ireland, that would initiate special studies on the North in the universities or otherwise and make the Government aware of the need that policies should be formulated with the area in mind. One could envisage that some time in the seventies the Government might come round to the idea of opening in Belfast an extension of the London Irish Embassy in some consular form. There could be no formal recognition, even if Dublin wanted to do so, as Northern Ireland is still part of the United Kingdom with which we have diplomatic relations and recognition is implicit in that already; a consular office in the North could be opened in agreement with London. But certainly the whole field is open again and there are all the favourable possibilities for regular and friendly Anglo-Irish (and

Northern Irish) consultations on all problems. All could be related to the internal problem of the way of life in Northern Ireland itself.

But there are also the other new factors in the North which seem to favour peace, mainly, and progress. These are the reforms, the wish for peace among the power groups like unions, industry, commerce, Government, Churches, as well as Northern labour's special relation to Britain's labour movement and Government and to the Irish labour movement, now also building new links with British labour. The social and cultural changes which are being created in the North by the affluent society also could be most important in breaking down sectarian banners as could the fact that social and economic questions will remain dominant for some time. There is still a 7% unemployment rate, the equivalent of 1½ million unemployed in Britain; a 13% rate in Derry, the equivalent of 3 million unemployed or 19% unemployment rate among male workers in Derry, 40% unemployment rate in Ballymurphy, Belfast. Perhaps that is the real crunch of the whole problem, but there seems to be a serious desire to tackle it. The extra 5% will bring industrial grants to 45% and 50% of initial costs, the retention of the selective employment tax-income will help a good deal. State services also may be introduced, and Whitehall is confident that housing problems can be solved. But it is perhaps on this question of the housing that failure to act on promises made can be a dreadful incitement to new riots.

## Assurances Given

Britain, therefore, would seem to have three aims in Ireland. First the maintenance and development of peace, democracy and prosperity in Northern Ireland; second, the improvement in Anglo-Irish relations generally; third, the winning of co-operation between North and South. The broadly worked-out policy to secure these aims includes reassurances to the two communities, the two minorities. There is the new and stronger declaration—and measures—to defend the Border and Constitution, to reassure the "Protestants". The safeguards on equal rights and opportunities as citizens in homes, in work and in participation in all public boards, are to reassure the "Catholic" minority. With that reassurance will go the efforts to establish better relations North and South and between Dublin and London. There will be a British diplomatic presence in Northern Ireland to help these aims on.

It is hoped that the ambitious programme of reform and other measures, plus the presence of 8,000 British troops in the North, will maintain peace long enough for the reforms to begin to operate generally, both in the letter and the spirit, so that people will see that life will be different, better and much fairer. At least progress could be made in this way towards securing ultimate co-operation between the two communities, and the banishing of fear from both. In such a North the political freeze might begin to thaw and new political forces arise. The New Ulster Movement might develop, the British Labour entry to Northern Ireland could help, the trade unions could, at least, form a powerful, non-sectarian political wing, there could be a development of the Civil Rights movement into something of great political influence, the battle within the Unionist Party could be resolved. The new declaration of "no force" by Dublin also could have a stabilising effect, as will the presence of British Government representatives in Belfast.

## Labour on Move

But perhaps the greatest new factor in the North is the trade union and labour movement's growth, its objectivity, grasp of issues and, also important, its links with Dublin and with London. In 40 years' observation and study of the British labour movement I have never

known it so alert, so militant and so well-informed and interested in Irish affairs. This was evident at the British T.U.C. conference in Portsmouth this year, and in interviews I had with trade unionists. It was most evident too, at the Labour Party Conference in Brighton; for four hours all delegates seemed interested and concerned. Northern Ireland's link with that movement could be—and was—all important. There is the fact that almost all the Northern unions are affiliated to the I.C.T.U., and that a new liaison is being formed between the political wings of London and Dublin. This kind of organisation also helps to ensure correct policies by Britain.

The workers education movement begun by men like Jack Dorricott and Ned Browne and carried on by Andrew Boyd and the T.U.C. also is an important factor.

If the fates are kind, therefore, the reforms should go through—with Opposition participation and labour insistence—and Northern Ireland could become a modern social-democracy like Britain. Such changes in the North could profoundly affect life in the Republic. For 50 years we have had a Catholic democracy in the Twenty-six Counties and a Protestant democracy in the Six. With a social-liberal democracy in Northern Ireland the Republic would have to end in that direction. We would have to pull our social socks up, and politics would centre on social issues. We would have to start to get rid of the feudal remnants which still exist without even an awareness. Life itself in the Republic would demand changes on top. Perhaps we could start by drawing up a model constitution for a future Irish social democracy.

But the key is still with the North. Is the task too great for a Unionist Government, with a non-Unionist Opposition on the left and diehard Unionist Opposition on the right? Can Chichester Clark stand up to his Right-wing? As the *Financial Times* said last September the question is: Can the Unionist Government assert its authority over its more extreme supporters? Can the non-Unionists enter into the reforms or was there just too much in the past for them to forgive. If they do participate they could make the reforms a reality. From that base much could develop. But it is a long road still, through barbed wire and armed soldiers in the streets of the North. But whether Britain will have to do the job in the end or not, there is now no turning back. Northern Ireland has changed for good and in doing so once more will change the whole of Ireland as that Ireland becomes a member of the E.E.C. and, in effect, forms an economic unit with Britain itself a form of federalism an Anglo-Irish "Benelux". But the forces of peace, including the trade unions still have a tough road to "harmony and quiet", democracy and prosperity in the North.

## Anglo-Irish Relations

The whole spectrum of Anglo-Irish relations is complicated and many-sided. There is the North-South problem, linked with the ever-present question of Anglo-Irish relations which remains without a solution while North-South questions are unsolved. There is the added complication that with the establishment of an Irish Office of the United Kingdom in the North. Britain is now more firmly and more publicly than ever part of the Government of Northern Ireland and inevitably will be a party to any talks on North and South. In this she will act the role of the friendly foe.

Over and above all there is the delicate subject of Northern Ireland's relationship to the United Kingdom. And all the questions are inter-related.

But still paramount is the question of peace and progress in the North. How to help in ending Protestant fears of domination by the South and to secure an appreciation that the South really means peace and wants genuine friendship? How to end Catholic and Protestant fears of more violence? Soldiers are not enough.

The speeches of the Taoiseach and the decisions of the Dail and now of the Ard Fheis will have done much

to reassure the Unionist Government, and thousands of Unionists, for last August's Irish troop movements had aroused old fears afresh. Mr. Lynch's tributes to Callaghan and Chichester-Clark—"a sincere man"—also rang true and would have an effect.

They were exceptional statements and rank only with Mr. Lemass's tributes to the Irish soldiers who fell at the Somme in 1916. Even Mr. Boland will have helped with his remarks on the need for some concessions (however reluctantly made). Mr. Blaney's offer of co-operation on economic matters was positive. More care will be taken that no provocative speeches are made here about the North.

All Dublin Ministers would be keen to participate in schemes for mutual advance and indeed even through the black months of last summer, Ministers from both areas met and discussed problems. It has been suggested to Mr. Faulkner, Minister of Development, for instance, that with the advent of the E.E.C. an All-Ireland Economic Council could be set up.

There are possibilities, however, of an Anglo-Irish Council, a kind of Anglo-Irish Benelux. Dublin is also prepared to offer ideas on turf development.

There is a wide field also for greatly expanding trade between North and South. At present Republic imports from the North are only 3% of total imports and Republic exports to the North are only 13% of total exports. The figures are £25m. Northern imports and £35m. exports from the Republic. In a market worth about £700m. each in both areas the figures are ludicrous.

## Embassy Branch

On the diplomatic field there is now the most serious consideration being given to the idea of opening a Northern branch of the Irish-London Embassy. There is also some enthusiasm for an Anglo-Irish Council (along the lines of the 1920 Act) to safeguard minorities in all parts. The idea here is that though we are not as rich a country as Britain, we could be rich in ideas if all started, with the will, to think about the North's problems.

The aim must be the winning of people, and avenues must therefore be opened North and South. Not alone have we been divorced from Northern Unionists for 50 years but we have been divorced also from Northern Nationalists. Could the new section on Northern Ireland in the Department of External Affairs become a Northern Office where visitors from the North would be welcomed be they Protestant or Catholic, and their views and experiences heard. The tourist board might even start a campaign to get Southern people to spend their holidays in the North. All T.D.s and Ministers could set an example here. Another idea, from a Labour source, is that Britain could be persuaded to help with or endow the foundation of a special faculty in, say, the University of Ulster on the problem of North-South relations with studies of geographical, historical and sociological, not to mention, economic problems.

Government Ministers are proposing that the co-operation of Stormont might be won for the tourist, planning and cultural zoning of Derry and Donegal as a region where Donegal people could be encouraged to study at Magee College or at Coleraine. Another idea is an Irish historical council composed of Northern and Southern historians to bring out an objective history of Ireland.

Another idea being developed is that the experience newly gained of building small industries in the west might be useful if the Unionist Government agreed to an Anglo-Irish Council that might plan a scheme for the whole of the west of Ireland, including the north-west.

If, however, optimism could be generated in this pessimistic situation and if the aim of genuine ecumenism between North and South could arouse enthusiasm then the genius of a people in action might break through. The field is wide and on cultural co-operation ideas are stirring already. All Ireland is united in its pride in the country's contribution to the world of art, science and

music. Folk songs today straddle political or religious borders. Gaelic and Anglo-Irish literature alike have added to the cultural heritage, and also incidentally added to English literature. We are all proud of Merriman, Goldsmith, Swift, O'Grady, Wilde, Burke, Joyce, Synge, Yeats, Somerville and Ross, O'Casey, Kavanagh, O'Connor, O'Donnell, McGill, O'Flaherty, O'Faolain, Behan, Cruise-O'Brien, de Vere White, John McGahern and the well-loved Sam Thompson. We could include artists like Willie O'Connor, George Campbell, Dillon, Yeats and the Abbey and Gate Theatres. The Group and the Arts Theatres. The names of Larkin and Connolly evoke pride everywhere, while William Thompson, Ireland's first socialist, a forerunner of Marx, would have many admirers in the North.

Surely there are organisations which could initiate fraternal projects. Could the Abbey and the Gate not have regular seasons in Belfast and Derry, Coleraine and Portadown, Ballymena, Ballycastle, Ballymoney, or even Larne? Could the R.T.E. orchestras not have such seasons? Could there be more co-operative television between R.T.E. and B.B.C. (N.I.) and U.T.V.?

Could our Government not enlist the aid of historians, political scientists and sociologists to study the present moments of history, to discover the present as well as the past for us, in new forms of Thomas Davis lectures. Could artists like Campbell and Dillon aid the Labour groups in Belfast now organising workers' art exhibitions for May Day? The Churches, sports organisations, dramatic and literary and musical societies could think about co-operation in their fields.

There are other links, of course, economic and geographic, between the rest of Ireland and Britain. There are those hidden links of life that bind neighbours.

So in the end, all the problems are one problem—relations between these two countries. In the meantime, the North is preserved for peace in the streets by thousands of British soldiers. But with those soldiers, with the now solid backing of the Establishment there for peace, with the power of trade unions and management, the absence of the B-Specials and armed R.U.C., the extension of local and national electoral democracy, and what seems a massive housing plan, peace, apart from occasional disturbances should prevail, but the price of peace, like liberty, is eternal vigilance.

It would seem to be the time for continuous serious thinking and taking stock between Britain and Ireland. Only in agreement in that area can the peace be developed into progress and the North into a modern, social-democratic State with all that can mean for progress in the Republic.

The Labour movement here has an especial interest in the North, and its way is made easy by the close association between Labour, North and South. Could

the I.C.T.U. not hold more of its conferences in the North? Could trade union branches, district committees, trades councils not adopt their opposites in the North and mutually inform each other about their problems.

Could we not have an Irish inter-Parliamentary Union of Northern M.P.s and T.D.s with visits to Stormont and the Dail?

I suppose the question is how to win friends and influence people to whom we were formerly hostile or indifferent?

## Britain's Role

But it is vain making gestures if the North also has not the political will, and it is here that the new British presence, with its influence on the North, could begin to play a part. Relations with Britain, therefore, are important, indeed vital.

In this situation where the British seem genuinely anxious to help, where the North's Establishment and some Republicans—formerly rabid bigots—now want peace and friendship, where Boland and Blaney offer concessions and co-operation and where radical Constitution change is planned, almost anything is possible. One might even dare to begin to dream of Thomas Davis again and to quote from him or paraphrase him: "This country must be neither Catholic nor Protestant, but both; neither Celtic nor Teuton, but both; neither Gaelic nor Saxon, but both."

In a fuller paraphrase: "Irish nationality must contain and represent all the races of Ireland. It must not be Celtic, it must not be Saxon, it must be Irish. The Brehon Laws and the maxims of Westminster, the cloudy and lightening genius of the Gael, the placid strength of the Sassenach, the marshalling insight of the Normans, a literature which shall exhibit in combination the passions and idioms of all . . . a native Government—these are the components of nationality."

And Davis was not speaking only to Protestants: Gaelic bigots might also exist. And in the end whether we are in the Shankill or the Falls, the Bogside or Fountain Street it is to the ideas of Davis, the Protestant Liberal and Connolly the Socialist workingman to whom we shall have to return for amity and security and peace. Davis put his trust in unity, Connolly in his Democratic-Socialism and the Labour Movement. In these he once united Northern working men from whom his fathers came. Could we hope that those inheritors of Connolly, the Northern trade unionists will come together again in Congress aim of peace, work, homes, security and enrichment of leisure. Could we add to that aim the means used by Sandy Scott M.B.E. in the shipyard on August, 15th, 1969 in welcoming to his side every man who favoured peace.



**Title:** Trade Unions Bid For Peace in North

**Author:** Michael McInerney

**Date:** 1970

Downloaded from the Irish Left Archive.

Visit [www.leftarchive.ie](http://www.leftarchive.ie)

*The Irish Left Archive is provided as a non-commercial historical resource, open to all, and has reproduced this document as an accessible digital reference. Copyright remains with its original authors. If used on other sites, we would appreciate a link back and reference to the Irish Left Archive, in addition to the original creators. For re-publication, commercial, or other uses, please contact the original owners. If documents provided to the Irish Left Archive have been created for or added to other online archives, please inform us so sources can be credited.*