

The Red Mole FOR THE IRA



**NO
INTERNMENT!**

James Connolly and the Irish Revolution

JAMES CONNOLLY, who was born just over 100 years ago (1868), is recognised as one of Ireland's great revolutionaries and in these islands. One of the leaders of the transforming the Irish left from an within the Irish revolutionary movement

With Big Jim Larkin, he helped to bring back to Ireland what Irish emigrants had created abroad—the industrial union—the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union. 1913 found Connolly acting as lieutenant to Larkin in the General Strike (and lock-out) which raised the poorest of Dublin's poor from their knees, and transformed them into dignified, class-conscious workers. This struggle gave birth to the *Irish Citizens' Army*—the first Red Army in modern Europe—as Lenin called it.

With the other European revolutionary movements, the Irish left suffered a setback at the outbreak of the First World War when the majority of the working class rallied to the bourgeois governments and deserted internationalism. However, unlike the social democratic leaders in other countries, the leaders of Irish labour met the challenge posed by the war, openly denounced it as an imperialist war and fought against recruitment policies. In December 1914, Larkin's 'Irish Worker' was banned, just after he had left for the USA. Connolly took over the leadership of the movement. While never neglecting the struggle between the ITGWU and the Dublin Employers' Federation, Connolly set about the task of training the Citizens' Army. Liberty Hall, the facade flaunting the slogan 'We serve neither King nor Kaiser', became the focus of resistance to the British government and its Irish adherents—the master clan and their subservient press. In May 1915, Connolly founded a new paper, 'The Workers' Republic'. While the labour leaders of Europe abandoned the policy of class struggle to support the war, this paper steadily reminded the working class of the need to struggle for their own emancipation. 'In the long run,' wrote Connolly, 'the freedom of a nation is measured by the freedom of its lowest class.'

The Irish left used every industrial dispute to increase the strength of Dublin's Red Army, until on 24 April, 1916, they joined forces with the radical middle-class *Irish Volunteers* to challenge the might of the British Empire on the barricades. The Volunteers did not rise as a body because of a countermarching order from their Chief of Staff. Less than 1,000 came out in response to the orders of Pearse and Connolly. They fought for five days, but in the end, the insurrection was crushed by the British Army.

The end of the revolt led to a wholesale execution of the leaders by order of the British Cabinet, which included, of course, a representative of the Labour Party. In answer to protests against the apparently unending list of executions and a demand for their ces-

sation, Asquith stated that he intended to stop the shootings. At this stage Connolly was still alive. The next day the organ of the Irish bourgeoisie, the 'Irish Independent' owned by W M Murphy, chairman of the Dublin Employers' Federation and one of the principal targets of the 1913 Dublin strike, clamoured for Connolly's blood. In a leading article entitled 'The Clemency Plea,' it wrote:—'When, however, we come to some of the ringleaders, instigators and fomentors not yet dealt with, we must make an exception to the clemency plea. If these men are treated with too great leniency, they will take it as an indication of weakness on the part of the government and the consequences may not be satisfactory. They may be even more truculent than ever and it is therefore necessary that society should be protected against their activity... weakness to such men at this stage may be fatal... Let the worst of the worst

of the ringleaders be singled out and dealt with as they deserve.' On 12 May, the last two signatories of the Proclamation of the Republic were executed by firing squad. The crippled SEAN MACDIARMADA, bus conductor, Left Republican and militant trade unionist, met his fate standing. The wounded Connolly, too ill to stand, or even sit upright, was shot strapped in a chair. The executions then stopped.

For all this, it is the Connolly of 1916 that is remembered today. The Easter Rising of 1916, was like the Cuban Revolution today. It was a real and heroic revolutionary drama, in which Connolly played a leading role. Yet, the military failure of the insurrection was a signal not for acts of solidarity with the insurgents, but for attacks on Connolly for his part in it.

The conference of the British Independent Labour Party at Newcastle-upon-Tyne that year, recorded its condemnation of militarism, but included among the 'Militarists'—Connolly and the Irish Red Army.

Heavily chauvinist, then as now, the party of British 'socialism' was unable

to make a Marxist estimate of Easter Week. But even some spokesmen of the Zimmerwald Left took the position that the insurrection was a 'putsch'. 'The term "putsch", Lenin wrote, 'in the scientific sense of the word may be employed only when the attempt at insurrection has revealed nothing but a circle of conspirators, or stupid maniacs and when it has roused no sympathy among the masses... A blow delivered against the British imperialist bourgeoisie in Ireland has a hundred times more political significance than a blow of equal weight would have in Asia or Africa... The dialectics of history are such that small nations, powerless as an independent factor in the struggle against imperialism, play a part as one of the ferments, one of the bacilli, which facilitate the entry into the arena of the real power against imperialism, namely the socialist proletariat...'

That was Connolly's perspective too. At the start of the war he had written, 'Starting thus, Ireland may yet light a fire which will not burn out 'til the last capitalist bond and debenture will burn to ashes on the grave of the last

war-lord.' In 1916 the Ultra-Left typified by the Socialist Labour Party in the US and the ILP in England, regarded Connolly as a deserter from socialism to petty bourgeois nationalism. Today the same tendencies are typified by the Communist Party, and the Socialist Labour League who attack as dissenters those who defend Cuban and Vietnamese revolutions with anything more than a revolutionary rhetoric.

There is, and was a sharp contradiction between the revolutionary socialism of Connolly, and those who subscribe to that Ultra-Left view of society which reduces everything to the worker-versus-boss conflict for higher wages, who in fact portray workers as mere animals. But there were no contradictions between the revolutionary marxist tradition and Connolly's actions in 1916. Both treat the national struggle of subject nations as an element leading up to and fusing with the workers' revolution.

To defend Connolly is not to overlook his mistakes or the weakness of some of his positions. In his polemic against Bebel on the question of women, he

was wrong Citizen's number 1 seize the the 'Irish' Murphy to use the propagand meetings failure to and Trin failed to and clout Above al stand the acting as working company knecht, I Trotsky, this ques that on h able to r struggle, and betra of Conn establish i tached st Connolly ject of a Ireland r recalled tain: the changed,



58 years ago The Betrayal of August 1913

On the last Sunday in August 1913 James Nolan and John Byrne were bated to death in the streets of Dublin by members of the Royal Ulster Constabulary. A further four hundred working people were injured as the police broke up a meeting addressed by Jim Larkin. Later Michael Byrne, an IT & GWU secretary, was tortured to death in a police cell; young Alice Brady while walking home with her strike allowance of food was shot down in cold blood by a scab; drunken police broke into homes in the slums of Corporation Street bludgeoning the women and children of strikers. Such brutalities were commonly inflicted then, as today, on the Irish working class in struggle.

The Bogside and Belfast have recently experienced the ravages of drunken mobs of police and trigger happy Specials, while in Dublin workers have been clubbed into the ground. But British socialists should remember the strike breaking role of our own TUC and Labour leadership in Ireland in 1913. It will then be not so difficult to understand the deafening silence among the ranks of the labour aristocrats today when the most exploited section of workers in the British Isles face the prospect of an even bloodier repression than did the Dublin men and women in 1913.

The Irish general strike of 1913 was a decisive landmark in Irish history. The employers were out to break the Irish Transport and General Workers Union that had practised a unionism which went radically beyond the conservative form of new unionism in Britain. From 1911 the IT & GWU under Larkin's leadership had used the sympathetic strike in every industrial dispute in which their fellow unionists were involved and had won a whole series of victories for

other unions and immeasurably strengthened the fighting strength of the working class movement. The employers, led by William Murphy the owner of the Dublin Tramways and of three powerful newspapers, organised to fight the Irish TGWU. They began in early August when Murphy locked out the IT & GWU tram workers. By September 400 firms had fallen behind Murphy and demanded the signing of the notorious document which forbade membership of the IT & GWU, as a condition of employment. Rather than sign it, 30,000 workers marched out from their factories in solidarity with the IT & GWU comrades.

This brave resistance of the Irish workers was met by the full force of the police and military on the streets. Baton-charges, killings, savage prison sentences dealt out by magistrates who were shareholders in Murphy's Tramway company; and repression of meetings and free speech. But all over Dublin they chose to fight rather than sign the document. Connolly wrote in October of 'Glorious Dublin', 'Baton charges, prison cells, untimely death and acute starvation—all were faced without a murmur, and in face of them all, the brave Dublin workers never lost faith in their ultimate triumph, never doubted but that their organisation would emerge victorious from the struggle. This is the great fact that many of our critics amongst the British labour leaders seem to lose sight of. The Dublin fight is more than a trade union fight; it is a great class struggle, and recognised as such by all sides. We in Ireland feel that to doubt our victory would be to lose faith in the destiny of our class'.

The murder of Byrne and Nolan on 31st August made Dublin the centre of international labour struggle. The response of British workers in support of

their Irish fellow unionists was immediate. The TUC, which was in session, sent a delegation to reassert the right of free speech and public assembly. Special relief ships were organised and carried food and provisions to the strikers paid for by British trade unionists.

For the first few weeks the strike was well supported, British trade unionists held meetings for Larkin and raised funds for the strike. But the TUC leaders were already beginning to vacillate. While they had so strongly condemned the August massacres they had been careful not to express support for the aims of the strike itself. Soon the Dublin workers were to face the barefaced treachery of the British labour leaders.

British TU support for the strike was crucial. British unions organised large numbers of workers in Belfast, and the ability of the employers to move their cargoes in Dublin depended on the support of seamen, railwaymen, dockers, and ferrymen, members of British unions. Here was a clear demonstration of the validity of the sympathetic strike policy of the IT & GWU. Without a blockade of the Irish ports the strike was doomed. Unless British workers were prepared to strike with their Irish fellow unionists, not only would the strike be defeated, but they would turn their own unions into direct strike breaking organisations.

Early in the strike the British TU bosses had attempted to go over the heads of the IT & GWU to find a compromise with the employers. By November they had opened up a major attack on Larkin. Thomas Ashton, secretary of the Miners Federation, complained that Larkin was using his 'Fiery Cross' tour of England to cause strife between the trade unionists and their leaders. Larkin, released from prison in mid-November, was attacked by J. H. Thomas of the NUR and Havelock Wilson, president of the Seamen's and Foremen's Union, for appealing to British workers for

strike action. Snowden and Smillie of the NUM also joined in the opposition to sympathetic action.

The final confrontation came at a special congress of trade unions on December 9th. Here, Arthur Henderson, Sexton of the Dock Labourers Union and Gosling, President of the Transport Workers Federation, joined with Wilson and Thomas in defeating the proposal for a blockade. It was left to the gasworkers union delegate, supported by the compositors, to raise the flag of proletarian internationalism. He declared that the Dublin employers should be told that while labour was prepared to exhaust the possibilities of a peaceful settlement, it was equally prepared to exhaust the possibilities of war. When Larkin replied to his critics, he declared bitterly that he thought he'd come to a conference elected by the rank and file, and pointed to at least one delegate who had scabbed on the Dublin workers. When it came to a decision the capitulators tried to cloak their deeds by saying that they had no mandate from the union rank and file, despite the fact that the conference had been three weeks delayed by the same gentlemen claiming the time to do precisely that.

This sell-out of the Irish workers was carried out in the face of strong sympathy among British workers for the Irish struggle. Huge amounts of money were collected, and Irish boats blacked. But in both Dublin and Belfast, men who refused to scab were told by their union officials that other union men would be brought over in their places, and when dockers refused to load & consignment of Guinness at Sligo it was sailed to Derry where Sexton's members loaded it. In November, 216 branches of the NUR representing 100,000 members demanded the calling of a special meeting of the executive to discuss the calling of a strike of miners, railwaymen and transport workers as

STREET FIGHTING—

SUMMARY

JAMES CONNOLLY

In the military sense of the term what after all is a street? A street is a defile in a city. A defile is a narrow pass through which troops can only move by narrowing their front, and therefore making themselves a good target for the enemy. A defile is also a difficult place for soldiers to manoeuvre in, especially if the flanks of the defile are held by the enemy.

A mountain pass is a defile the sides of which are constituted by the natural slopes of the mountain sides, as at the Scalp. A bridge over a river is a defile the sides of which are constituted by the river. A street is a defile the sides of which are constituted by the houses in the street.

To traverse a mountain pass with any degree of safety the sides of the mountain must be cleared by flanking parties ahead of the main body; to pass over a bridge the banks of the river on each side must be raked with gun or rifle fire whilst the bridge is being rushed; to take a street properly barricaded and held on both sides by forces in the houses, these houses must be broken into and taken by hand-to-hand fighting. A street barricade placed in a position where artillery cannot operate from a distance is impregnable to frontal attack. To bring artillery within a couple of hundred yards—the length of the average street—would mean the loss of the artillery if confronted by even imperfectly drilled troops armed with rifles.

The Moscow revolution, where only 80 rifles were in the possession of the insurgents, would have ended in the annihilation of the artillery had the number of insurgent rifles been 800.

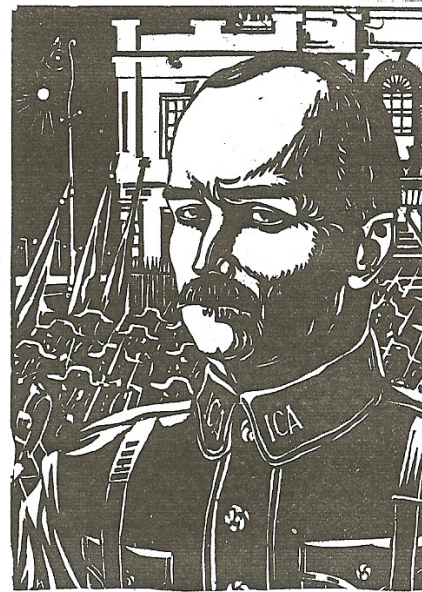
The insurrection of Paris in June, 1848, reveals how districts of towns, or villages, should be held. The streets were barricaded at tactical points *not on the main streets* but commanding them. The houses were broken through so that passages were made inside the houses along the whole length of the streets. The party walls were loopholed, as were also the front walls, the windows were blocked by sandbags, boxes filled with stones and dirt, bricks, chests, and other pieces of furniture with all sorts of odds and ends piled up against them.

Behind such defences the insurgents poured their fire upon the troops through loopholes left for the purpose.

In the attack upon Paris by the allies fighting against Napoleon a village held in this manner repulsed several assaults of the Prussian allies of England. When these Prussians were relieved by the English these latter did not dare attempt a frontal attack, but instead broke into an end house on one side of the village street, and commenced to take the houses one by one. Thus all the fighting was inside the houses, and musket fire played but a small part. On one side of the street they captured all the houses, on the other they failed, and when a truce was declared the English were in possession of one side of the village, and their French enemies of the other.

The truce led to a peace. When peace was finally proclaimed the two sides of the village street were still held by opposing forces.

The defence of a building in a city, town, or village is governed by the same rules. Such a building left unconquered is a serious danger even if its supports are all defeated. If it had been flanked by barricades, and these barricades were destroyed, no troops could afford to push on and leave the building in the hands of the enemy. If they did so they would be running the danger of perhaps meeting a check further on, which check would be disastrous if they had left a hostile building manned by an unconquered force in their rear. Therefore, the fortifying of a strong building, as a pivot upon which the defence of a town or village should hinge, forms a principal object of the preparations of any defending force, whether regular army or insurrectionary.



In the Franco-Prussian War of 1870 the chateau, or castle, of Geissberg formed such a position in the French lines on the 4th of August. The Germans drove in all the supports of the French party occupying this country house; and stormed the outer courts, but were driven back by the fire from the windows and loopholed walls. Four batteries of artillery were brought up to within 900 yards of the house and battered away at its walls, and battalion after battalion was hurled against it. The advance of the whole German army was delayed until this one house was taken. To take it caused a loss of 23 officers and 329 men, yet it had only a garrison of 200.

In the same campaign the village of Bazeilles offered a similar lesson of the tactical strength of a well defended line of houses. The German Army drove the French off the field and entered the village without a struggle. But it took a whole army corps seven hours to fight its way through to the other end of the village.

A mountainous country has always been held to be difficult for military operations owing to its passes or glens. A city is a huge maze of passes or glens formed by streets and lanes. Every difficulty that exists for the operation of regular troops in mountains is multiplied a hundredfold in a city. And the difficulty of the commissariat which is likely to be insuperable to an irregular or popular force taking to the mountains, is solved for them by the sympathies of the populace when they take to the streets.

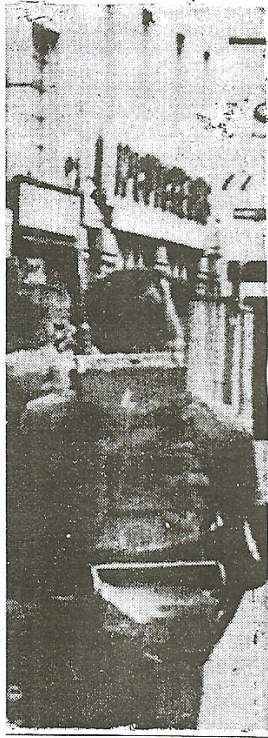
The general principle to be deducted from a study of the example we have been dealing with, is that the defence is of almost overwhelming importance in such warfare as a popular force like the Citizen Army might be called upon to participate in. Not a mere passive defence of a position valueless in itself, but the active defence of a position whose location threatens the supremacy or existence of the enemy. The genius of the commander must find such a position, the skill of his subordinates must prepare and fortify it, the courage of all must defend it. Out of this combination of genius, skill and courage alone can grow the flower of military success.

The Citizen Army and the Irish Volunteers are open for all who wish to qualify for the exercise of these qualities.

24th July 1915.

A study of the role of the... ny in the Rising reveals a mistakes: The failure to rinting presses, particularly Independent' of W. M. Ireland's Axel Springer) and e for the printing of mass... The absence of mass Republican-held areas. The seize the Bank of Ireland / College. The rebels also size and ration foodstuffs g in republican-held areas. Connolly failed to under- concept of the combat party a 'general staff' for the uss (Connolly was in good n this error—Karl Lieb- sa Luxembourg and Leon kewise failed to understand n at that time.) This meant death the middle-class were e the waves of the national size the leadership, behead the revolution, and in place y's Workers' Republic est- the present semi-de- 2. writings have been the sub- great revival of interest in cntly. His works are being r the prophecy they con- nless the social system is tle will change.

GERRY LAWLESS.



e only way to end the Dublin dispute, and the orthwall Dublin NUR branch demanded a similar eting to stop blacklegs being brought over. Both quests were refused.

Following the London conference the NUR dered its men in Dublin back to work. The NUDL f the Seamen's and Firemen's Union rapidly llowed, ordering its men to unload and man ships, aded by scabs. Immediately the news was out, the employers knew they had won and had nothing to fear om the British trade union movement. The strike ntinued till February when the men gradually went ck under conditions which denied them the right to e the sympathetic strike. By isolating Dublin the tish labour leaders had helped the employers beat e strike, and all but destroy the IT & GWU, inflict- g a blow on the Irish labour movement from which has not to this day recovered. Nor was this the first t of strike breaking by British trade union leaders. xton had broken the fragile unity of Catholic and ostant workers built by Larkin in the 1907 Belfast rike, had expelled Larkin from the Union, and omed the labour movement in Belfast to sectarian ligious division. Taken together these two acts were scisive in dividing the working class and tipping the alance of Irish politics in favour of reaction in the orth and conservative nationalism in the South.

BERNARD REANEY



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Cathal Goulding, Chief of Staff, Official IRA

NO INTERNMENT : SOLIDARITY WITH THE I.R.A.



Sean Mac Stiofain, Chief of Staff, Provisional IRA

As the first wave of the upsurge which greeted internment recedes, it is necessary for British revolutionaries to understand what is happening and what its implications are for us.

Why have Faulkner and his British masters now introduced internment? Essentially, it is an act of desperation on their part, and a tribute to the increasingly successful urban guerrilla campaign conducted by the IRA over the past year. Why has the IRA been so successful? Firstly, it has of course greatly improved its military technique. Secondly, and much more important, it clearly possesses now a mass base in the nationalist population of the Six Counties. The IRA is no longer, as in the '40s and '50s, a small body of heroic men whose exploits may have had the passive sympathy of many of their compatriots, but who were basically seen as coming from the outside, and with whom the mass of the population did not really identify. For that reason they could easily be isolated, hunted down and defeated. In those days internment could work. Today the IRA is clearly the armed vanguard of a mass anti-imperialist movement among the nationalist population. Therefore it cannot easily be isolated from that population. Its fighters come from the people, are assisted and protected by the people, and can melt back into the ghettos when pursued by the army. Because of this, the attempts over the last few months to isolate the IRA from the nationalist population have been completely counter-productive. In order to hunt down the IRA, the Army has had to use methods of terror against the population which shelters it, that have completely alienated the nationalist minority. Now the authorities have attempted to behead the resistance to imperialist rule by introducing internment. In thus attempting to isolate and neutralise the militants, they have produced a reaction which has demonstrated the total solidarity with the IRA of the population in which it operates. The events of the last week in the Six-Counties can only be described as a popular insurrection against the British Army of occupation.

In response to the continued resistance to their rule, Heath and Faulkner are being driven inexorably towards a policy of trying to smash completely the organisations and the will to fight of the nationalist population by a campaign of terror. This in its turn means they are forced to turn more and more for help towards the Orange stormtroops. It is noticeable that not a single Orangeman was among the 300 interned. And this despite the fact that there are plenty of guns and gunmen in the Protestant areas. Furthermore, the Orangemen have not been nearly so quiet in the last few months as the silence of the British press would indicate. They have been active intimidating Catholics—and they have been on the streets this week. Not all the casualties have been caused by the British Army in the last few days. What is more important, the Army has at best been turning a blind eye to their activities and at worst actively collaborating with them. Noone in

Belfast believes any longer that the Army is any kind of a neutral, "peace-keeping" force. As it turns more and more to a policy of terror and intimidation against the Catholics, it turns also towards those who have been engaged in that business for many years.

The decision to introduce internment was not an easy one. It has obvious military advantages—even if they are mainly in the short-term. But it also has disadvantages. In the first place, it has deepened the gulf between Britain and the minority, as has been seen by the reaction it produced. It is the latest stage in a developing policy of repression which will not end with internment. To crush the resistance of the nationalist population will require more and more drastic measures—curfew, martial law. Not only does this virtually eliminate the prospect of reconciling the minority to British rule, but a policy of continued repression does not even have any guarantee of success. There are not enough troops in the British Army to impose a curfew on Belfast. Secondly, there is the effect in the South to be considered. The more Britain is seen to be pursuing a policy of out-and-out repression in the North, the more difficult it becomes for Lynch & Co. to collaborate with that policy. It is clear that Britain wanted Lynch to introduce internment in the South before it was introduced in the North—not only to limit the ability of the IRA to use the South as a base, but to confuse and disarm politically the minority in the North. Lynch has not done that because of the increasingly explosive situation in the Twenty-Six Counties—again, the situation is different from the '40s and '50s. Dublin may yet be forced into a policy of repression against the Republican Movement, but it is desperately trying at present to get Britain to make some concessions which will cool the situation in the Six Counties.

What are the perspectives for the future? The policy of British imperialism in Ireland is in ruins—demolished by the continuing resistance of the minority in the North and in particular of the IRA to the Orange State. The idea of using the British Army to stabilise the situation while an accommodation was worked out between the Unionist ruling class, the Catholic middle classes and the Southern bourgeoisie. "Stabilising" the situation now means crushing the minority in the North, thereby ruling out such an accommodation. Having created the Orange monster, British imperialism now finds it trampling all over its carefully nurtured strategy for a gradual and peaceful reunification of Ireland as a British client state in the context of a capitalist Europe. British policy is now in an impasse. The struggle in the North will continue and deepen, the crisis will inevitably extend to the South, and the "Irish Question" will loom larger and larger in British politics.

For revolutionaries in this country, it is imperative that as the Irish revolution enters a new stage we redouble our efforts in solidarity with it. We must continue to inform the British working class as to what is really going on in Ireland and to mobilise the maximum forces in solidarity actions. Let us have no illusions—this will not be an easy task. To give complete support to the armed struggle of the IRA against the British Army will expose us to all sorts of chauvinist hysteria and repression. Nevertheless we must continue to say that we are for the IRA, for the defeat of the British Army—and to explain to the British working class that the liberation of Ireland is one of the prerequisites for social revolution in Britain.

*Solidarity with the IRA!
No Internment!
British Troops Out NOW!*

—David Cameron

IRISH SOLIDARITY CAMPAIGN

As the situation in the North of Ireland becomes sharper, the work of the Irish Solidarity Campaign (ISC) becomes more necessary. ISC today is the only organisation which is mobilising both Irish and British militants in action against British imperialism in Britain.

During the last months ISC has built up an incredible record of activity. Not only has the campaign participated in, and initiated, demonstrations, pickets, etc., it has recognised the very real need for education and propaganda to explain the political situation in Ireland. This is evidenced by the highly successful series of Forums organised in London; ISC is the only organisation which has offered a platform to both Provisional and Official Republicans to explain the policies of their movements. There have been two issues of its newspaper, *Irish Citizen*; the first print of the second issue sold out a few days after it came off the press. Both issues have contained striking and dramatic posters.

With the involvement of Scottish troops in the Six Counties, the work of Glasgow ISC has a special significance, and despite the ever present threat from local Orange extremists the branch has never let up in its activities. Its meetings at the "Barrows" (Glasgow's equivalent of Petticoat Lane) have regularly attracted crowds of up to 200, and have become a feature of political life in the city. When the British Army launched a recruiting drive to get more unemployed young Scotsmen for use against the Irish people, ISC countered with a leafletting campaign.

In October ISC plans demonstrations in both London and Glasgow. The Glasgow one will take place on October 16th, and the London one on the 24th. Speaking tours are being organised to publicise them, and working up to the demos. there will be a series of smaller demos. and pickets.

If you are interested in ISC and want more information, please fill in the form below and post to: ISC, 22 Duncan Terrace, London N.1.

Name
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Occupation

Those who profess to favour freedom yet deprecate agitation, are men who want crops without ploughing up the ground; they want rain without thunder and lightning. They want the ocean without the awful roar of its many waters.

... Power concedes nothing without demand. It never did and it never will. Find out just what any people will quietly submit to and you have found out the exact measure of injustice and wrong which will be imposed upon them, and these will continue till they are resisted with either words or blows, or with both. The limits of tyrants are prescribed by the endurance of those whom they oppress.

—Frederic Douglas
West India Emancipation Speech, 1857.