

THE  
REAL

# ULSTER '71

5p

LARGE  
ESTATES

GROUND  
RENT

PRESERVE  
WHOSE  
HERITAGE  
??

SOLDIERS  
RIOTS?

POVERTY  
UNEMPLOYMENT  
POVERTY

FISHING  
ILLEGAL  
(IF YOU'RE IRISH)

## Recipe for Ulster '71

This pamphlet aims at truth and in so doing does not make happy reading through out. We are concerned for the future of Ulster, as part of Ireland and possibly part of the European Economic Community. We want full employment, social and economic justice for all, but we know this cannot be achieved through deceit and official myopia. We believe these objectives will only be achieved when the truth (be it pleasant or unpleasant) is faced, assessed, and analysed thus forming a basis on which radical action may be successfully taken.

Take some of the *best* of a few *half truths* and mix with a lot of hot air. Add plenty

of white wash and top with *in Ulster* the harsh realities of contemporary Ulster are glossed over as though official amnesia is all that is required to solve the crimes of unemployment, exploitation, forced migration, sectarian hatred that have bedeviled Ireland both prior to and since partition.

in a sugar coating to give a glossy appearance. Set in

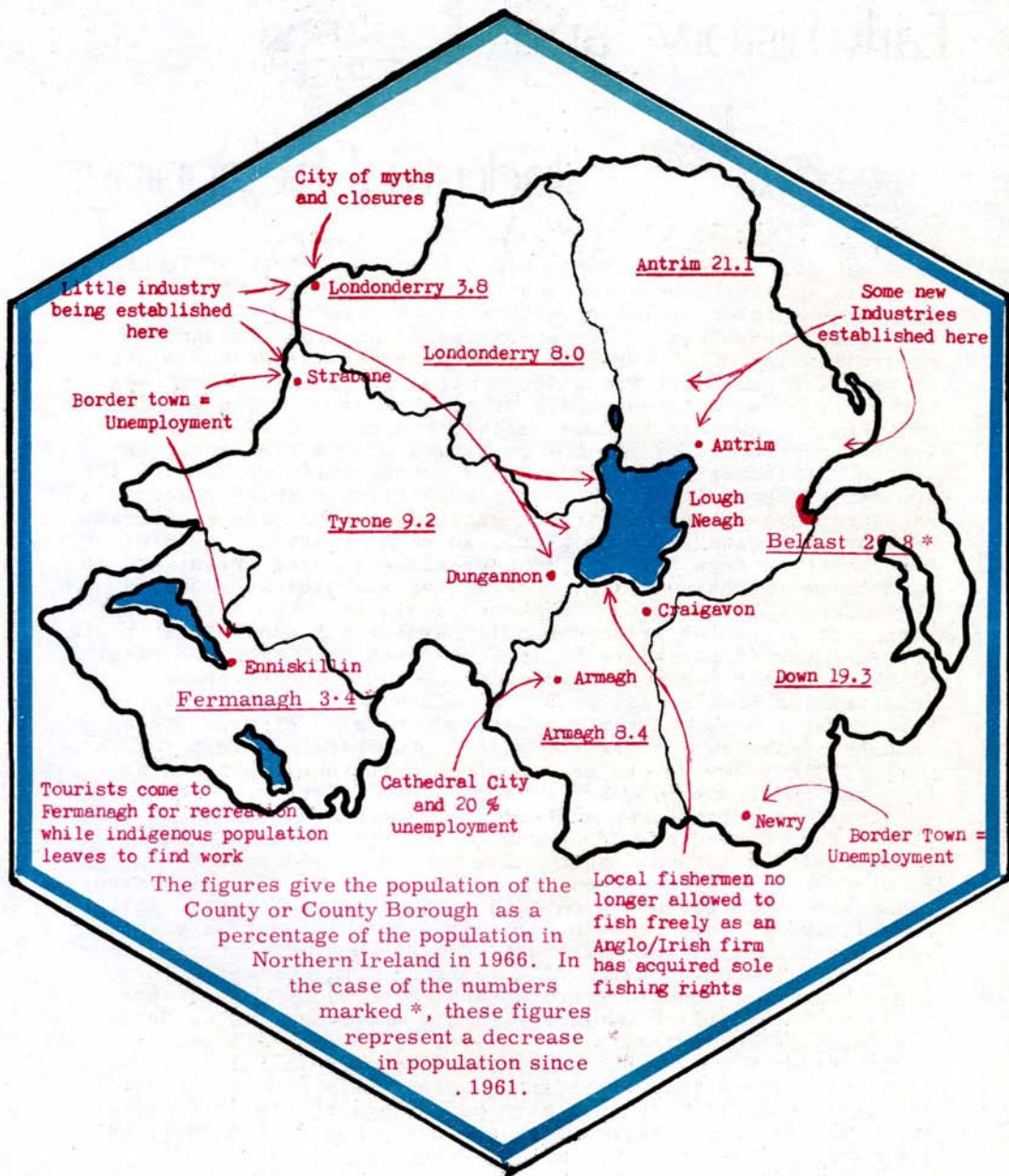
We cite certain aspects of Irish/British history to demonstrate how present conditions and attitudes have arisen. Current problems are dealt with and on this basis we look to the future.

and hope it doesn't flop.

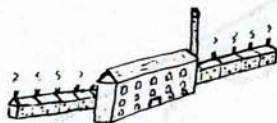
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Take with a pinch of salt.





# Early history and

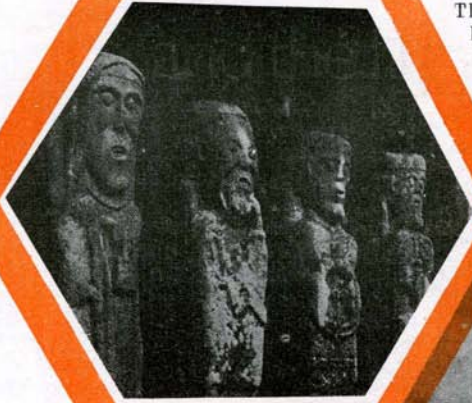


# Industrial beginnings

From earliest times Ireland's history has been that of invasion, conquest and settlement; each group of invaders being completely assimilated into the Irish culture as to become 'more Irish than the Irish themselves'. Ireland's last conqueror, England, recognised this phenomenon in Tudor times and began to counter it with the policy of Plantation. Under this system land was taken from the 'natives' and redistributed to English and Scots settlers, a few 'meritorious natives' being allowed to rent their land back at double the rent paid by the planters. It was in the latter half of the 17th Century that Ireland had its industrial beginnings. Several industries, such as glass manufacture and the wool trade, showed great promise and became serious competitors to their British counterparts. Britain here began to regard their planters also as 'mere Irish' and as such to be taught a lesson. Repressive statutes were passed forbidding the export of glass completely and prohibiting the export of any other Irish commodity except through British ports where a heavy import duty could be imposed on them. The result of this was the early strangulation of any Irish shipping industry (as trading licences were given in preference to English shippers) and the complete suppression of such other industries as could offer competition to Britain. In the 18th Century linen emerged as an industry in its own right and as this had no counterpart in Britain and so offered no threat to British interests it was allowed to develop and became in Ulster the main source of income. With the coming of the Industrial Revolution, linen mills sprang up all over the Province and with them the bleak little mill-houses which even today are still so much a part of our Ulster landscape. Mill owners divided jobs between Catholic and Protestant in such a way as to cause maximum distrust, and encouraged sectarianism to prevent the unification of workers in Trade Unions. Thus wages were kept low and profits high; high enough to finance the development of shipbuilding yards, where the labour force was manipulated in a similar fashion. So successful was this tactic, that even in the industrial boom of 1914-1918 the wages in Ulster were  $\frac{1}{3}$  lower than in Britain. This problem is still in evidence today in that a high percentage of Ulster families are still living on wages which are below the British national standard.



THE ANCIENT FORM OF PRIEST,  
POLITICIAN, MILITARY-MAN  
AND JUDGE ?



OLD DERRY WITH BOGSIDE  
OUTSIDE THE WALLS - TIMES  
CHANGE, FEARS REMAIN



What do we  
do with a  
worker ?



THE EARLY LINEN AND SHIP  
BUILDING INDUSTRIES - THE  
WORKERS SLAVED 12 HOUR DAYS  
ON STARVATION WAGES - THEIR  
DECENDANTS LIVE IN THE SAME  
HOUSES TO THIS DAY



# Ulster is being done

Progress all round - that is the report that Ulster is making to Great Britain and overseas. Money it seems is going to flow like water to attract new industries to our province. But, we ask, what happens when Britain joins the EEC? We will lose the power to give state aid to Ulster industry or special tax relief to attract foreign capital. As Ulster at present relies heavily on overseas industrialists to bring fresh employment, this could mean complete stagnation for our economy and much higher unemployment than even today.

2,000 combine harvesters and over 35,000 tractors are now at work on Ulster's 50,000 farm holdings. Thus combined, the farmer's use of inherited knowledge, modern methods and hard work has led to a spectacular productivity increase in agriculture. Unfortunately, on entry into the Common Market this increase will have to be halted. The EEC Mansholt Plan demands a reduction in the number of farmers of at least 50%, farms to be merged into larger units handled by the 'more successful' (richer) farmers bringing about a decrease in the number of holdings to approximately 6,000, and a DECREASE of 35% in agricultural output. This, to the housewife, will of course mean a substantial rise in food prices - to continental standards in fact. Why is a decrease in output needed? Why, to keep prices high of course. In the EEC at the moment they must destroy food to maintain price levels. Destroying food is wrong, so we will just scrap the farmers instead. Profits are more important than people.

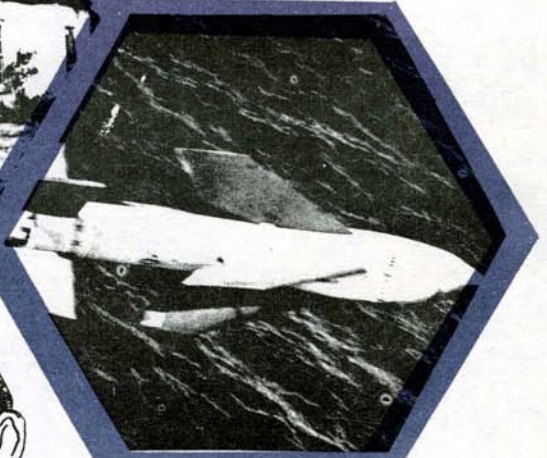
Craigavon is a town built by recommendation of the Matthew report to stop the further growth of Belfast. It is designed to balance Belfast by its size and have the facilities a modern city should offer. Families were given generous removal allowances, and a lot of propaganda was poured out to the people about the paradise they were going to. This forgets to mention the job shortage, the low wages, if you were lucky enough to get employment, the high rents (as much as £6.10 per week - nearly double what one would pay in Belfast for similar houses). Parents in Faulkner's Folly will tell you that the building timetable for schools is in ruins. At Ulster '71 the pamphlet says that Craigavon was designed with children in mind. We must ask where all the playgrounds, nursery schools, welfare clinics and youth clubs are. The only recreational facility is a Youth Club which the people themselves have got together. You may say why don't people go to Lurgan or Portadown for their entertainment, but with the sharp rise (as much as 10%) in bus fares it is beyond most working class people to do so.

The fact that the Short Skyvan has proved its worth in the small passenger/freighter class has been noted by the British Government. Their recent survey on the aerospace industry in Britain put forward a strong case for production of this aircraft to be transferred to England, along with Shorts other more profitable ventures. The fact that a condition of membership of the EEC is that a government cannot enter into whole or part ownership in any industry puts Shorts, which is over 50% state owned, under a very dark shadow and bodes ill for our 6,000 aircraft workers.



50 YEARS CELEBRATED BUT  
LITTLE HAS BEEN ACHIEVED  
FOR MANY OF ULSTER'S  
FARMERS

SHORT'S SEACAT - AN  
INTERNATIONAL GIFT ?



WORKERS ARE SOCIALISTS  
SOCIALISTS ARE COMMUNISTS  
COMMUNISTS ARE TRAITORS  
SHOOT THEM !



BREAKFAST, DINNER,  
TEA AND SUPPER

SOME OF THE LUCKY ONES

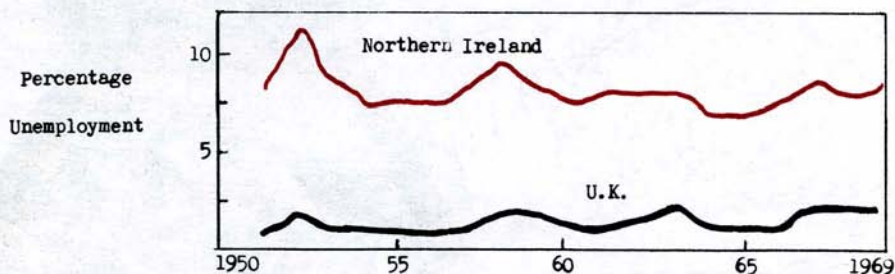
Worcester Valve Co. Started production in December 1964 in a government factory. Within a few days of the Power workers work to rule in December 1970 the management announced its consequential intention to close. A hardly credible reason considering the whole U.K. was affected by the work to rule and nowhere was power guaranteed. 80 people were put out of work.

ARMAGH Population 12,300

May '71 Unemployment 1,120

Ickringill (worsted yarns) reduced their work force recently by 80% to 22 workers. They also closed their factory at Crossmaglen. Both the factories are government owned.

At present the Government of Northern Ireland is spending at least twice as much as any other region of the U.K. to create a new job, and four times as much as England.



## GERRYMANDERING TRADITIONS

These traditions are exemplified particularly in Co. Fermanagh and Londonderry city. The tradition is designed to maintain disproportionate unionist representation where the majority is non-unionist in its political affiliations. Boxes give a breakdown of some figures. In Derry this revision of boundaries took place in 1966 (under O'Neills' retrospective "creeping" reform era), and can thus only be explained in terms of intentional rigging. The Wilson government ordered the dissolution of this corrupt council. The Fermanagh council elected on a property qualification register still rules. It has, up to 1969 allocated 1021 new council houses to Protestant tenants and 568 to Catholic tenants from a population where Catholics form 54% of the population.



# FIRMS WHO LEFT ULSTER

High capital investment grants, poor wages by U.K. standards, 75% derating of industrial premises and frequently government owned factories would appear, superficially, to be more than enough incentive to attract and keep industry here. This however is not the case.

A classic example is B.S.R. who in 1954 set up business in Londonderry, rate free, rent free and with a 45% grant towards new machinery. Ten years later (when incentives ended) they shut, re-opened a week later as Monarch Electric, re-employing the more docile of their staff, this time predominantly women and school-leavers ( at 1/10½ per hour). (1). This new firm, Monarch Electric was thus eligible for and obtained further grants. The scandalously low wages were only possible in a city with a, typically, 20% male unemployment rate. In 1967 the firm finally shut down putting 1000 out of work, having had £700,000 of public money spent on them.

More typical is perhaps the picture given by the Minister of Commerce in Stormont on 27/1/71. In the six months previous he stated that 14 factories had closed, putting 1300 people out of work. During that period only three Government sponsored firms had started production. Opposite is exemplified just one city's last six months experience, Armagh.

(1). The policy of sacking apprentices when they were due for full rates put young unemployed men on the streets who would otherwise probably have emigrated had they not obtained employment on leaving school. Much of the hooligan element in Derry stems from this policy of B.S.R.

	ANTI UNIONIST	UNIONIST	WARD
LONDONDERRY	14,125 3,173 <u>4,804</u> 20,102	1,474 4,380 <u>4,420</u> 10,274	Bogside Waterside N. Ward
FERMANAGH	PROTESTANT	CATHOLIC	
County Council Employees	10 120 88 <u>120</u> 388	0 4 21 <u>7</u> 32	Housing Education Health/Welfare Other Sectors

# The quality of Ulster life

Life in Ulster was once lived against a background of great natural beauty - wild, bare mountains and wooded glens, quiet rivers and loughs and miles of superb, unspoiled coastline. Much of this has been destroyed by British and Irish "Big Business" in a search for profit. For example Lough Neagh, the greatest body of fresh water in the British Isles, is in danger of becoming a cesspool.

The Northern Ireland Government's policy towards our mineral resources ensures that our countryside will be ripped apart to provide profit for foreign business.

Ulster has many spots of great natural beauty but the vast majority of working class people live in rural slums, without running water, or Urban ghettos divided on the basis of religion and politics and new badly planned high rise flats and suburban estates which destroy the working class community and put nothing in its place.

The beauty of the Ulster rose is seen the world over, though her main export is of course Working Class People for the construction sites and factories of England. People being driven away by poverty has had a great effect on the culture of the working class. There is hardly a family that does not have one of its members working abroad. (They are commemorated in songs such as "Paddy on the Rail Road").

Ulster is indeed famous for growing things. As well as growing roses it has even faster growing dole queues and housing lists!

Ulster has produced a number of famous writers, artists and sportsmen but almost without exception they became famous somewhere else. An exception was William Connor who died recently at the age of 83, Ulster's best known artist. His paintings are on permanent exhibition in the Ulster Museum. He was born in Belfast and he loved his native city. This shows clearly in the pictures which flowed from his brush - paintings which held up a mirror to the life of his country over more than half-a-century.

The 40-strong Ulster Orchestra brings serious music within the reach of the many. It is one of the attempts by Government Body known as the "Arts Council" to voice "Culture" upon the people. (In fact this culture is the culture of Upper Classes). This is one of the few places in the British Isles in which traditional folk culture still survives, for example, Orange and Green folk bands, surely they should be helped, else another tradition may die.





CULTURE WITHIN ULSTER

'THE JAUNTING CAR'  
BY WILLIAM CONOR



THE HIGH QUALITY  
OF ULSTER LIFE

LOUGH NEAGH EEL FISHERY  
SOLD BY THE EARL OF SHAFTS-  
BURY TO A CONSORTIUM OF  
DUTCH AND ENGLISH BUSINESSMEN



# Ulster and the future

While it may be valid to claim the symptoms of Ulster's problems have been over publicised in recent years it is equally true to note the causal diseases have been virtually ignored, diseases such as massive unemployment and extensive slum housing.

The symptoms are treated with slowly increasing doses of British Troops and additions to legislation which runs counter to the European Convention on Human Rights. (N.I legislation precludes the U.K being a full signatory). The Northern Ireland development programme (1970-75) sets out to begin to cure the disease. Clearly it is unreasonable to claim, unreservedly, that will not be fulfilled, however one only has the past and present performances of the government on which to form a view of its efficacy.

In 1963 the Matthew report plan was published and amongst its cardinal proposals were the setting up of a new town and the improvement (to near motorway standards) of roads from Belfast to high unemployment border towns such as Newry, Enniskillen and Londonderry by 1970. The new town being a spectacular proposal has been realised in Craigavon, - though its' progress falls far short of expectations as is featured else where in the pamphlet. That the less spectacular road building programme had ever existed might surprise the English Visitor particularly when travelling to Newry. The unemployment rates in these border towns have not altered significantly, still remaining high.

The development plan talks of creating 40,000 new jobs in the next five years, yet up to now the creation of new jobs have fallen somewhat short of this. Many factors have to be considered though:

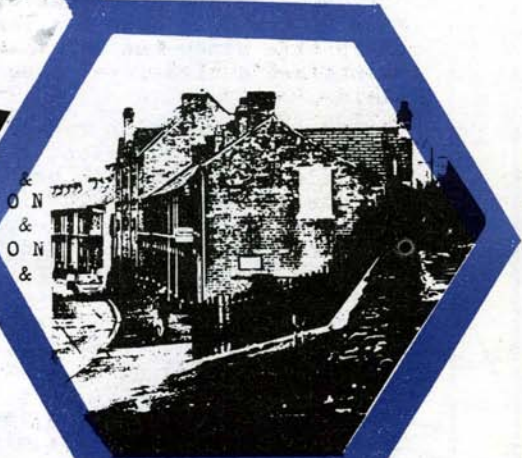
- 1) 40,000 new jobs just absorbs the present unemployment figure.
- 2) In addition many people are emigrating (7000) each year, many of whom, were work available, would wish to remain.
- 3) The graph opposite shows trends in three large employment industries which will, excepting shipbuilding, continue thus increasing the pool on the labour market in the next few years.
- 4) The plan speaks of increasing capital investment grants from 45% to 60% in certain cases. The problem with this type of grant is that it attracts capital intensive (low number of workers) industries, rather than labour intensive industries.

An example of an industry suited to Northern Ireland is food processing, given the size of agricultural production in Ireland yet only an eighth as many people, proportionately, are employed in this industry as in Britain.

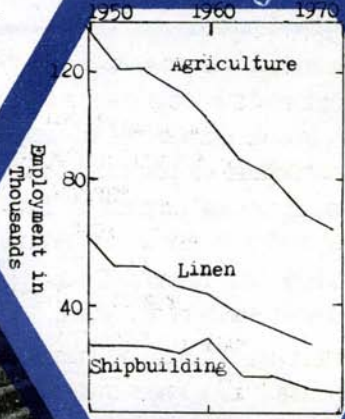


A GOVERNMENT FACTORY -  
OFTEN EMPTY MONUMENTS  
TO UNEMPLOYMENT AND  
THE PEOPLES' MONEY

MUCH OF BELFAST -  
NOT 1880, BUT TODAY



YOUR COUNTRY  
NEEDS ME



EMPLOYMENT TRENDS IN  
THREE MAJOR INDUSTRIES

CYRIL LORD RULES ?  
O.K. ? NO  
SO CLEAR OFF

**UNEMPLOYMENT:** The graph on the centre pages shows unemployment in Northern Ireland to persist at four times the rate of the U.K. despite continuous migration from the province and proportionately less people offering themselves for work than in Britain. This dependence on U.K. trends augurs badly for Northern Ireland given the unemployment rates' continuous rise in the U.K. over the last four years. This is the first time since the war that U.K. unemployment has maintained a high level over such a period, and it is still rising.

**MINING:** In the Irish republic a considerable mining bonanza has been developing whereby the low grade minerals of Ireland are being mined for processing outside the country. The Irish republic has waived all taxes to the mining companies for 20 years (more than a mines expected life). This is relevant to Northern Ireland in as far as many of the same foreign (mainly North American) companies have obtained prospecting licences at very low rates from the Government, together with financial aid to prospect. Compensation will go to landowners (such as Chichesters, Clarks, O'Neills) who "obtained" the land by bloodshed. The unemployed will, in a few cases, obtain employment for a few years until the mines are exhausted and the profits exported.

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IN SURVEYING THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN IRELAND AND ENGLAND IN THE PAST, AND THE PRESENT RELATIONSHIP OF INDUSTRY IN IRELAND TO INTERNATIONAL COMPANIES WE SEE WHY THE QUALITY OF LIFE IN ULSTER HAS BEEN, AND STILL IS, DETERMINED BY THE ECONOMIC WHIMS OF NON-IRISH BUSINESSMEN WHO HAVE NO CONNECTION OR INTEREST IN IRELAND, SAVE LINING THEIR POCKETS. IN A CAPITALIST SYSTEM IT IS INEVITABLE THAT ULSTER BEING DISTANT FROM BRITAIN'S MAIN INDUSTRIAL AREAS (AND EVEN MORE DISTANT FROM THE INDUSTRIAL FOCUS OF THE E.E.C.) WILL REMAIN POOR.

WE BELIEVE A SOLUTION TO ULSTER'S PROBLEMS CAN ONLY BE FOUND THROUGH SOCIALISM. AS A FIRST STEP TO THIS WE PROPOSE AN IRISH WORKERS REPUBLIC. ONLY IF THE IRISH MANAGE THEIR OWN ECONOMY FOR ALL THE IRISH PEOPLE CAN A JUST SOCIETY DEVELOP.

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The first person to greet us at Ulster '71 was an English parking attendant. Another 'present from England' was the British Army who had set up a watch post on an adjacent school. Perhaps they were playing the Festival Game - spot the Special Branch Man - if so every observer would have totted up a good score. The 'Black caped defenders of Ulster's heritage' were also very much in evidence, even though they merge with the crowd and look interested only in the exhibits. An army chopper did a slow reconnaissance sweep overhead and the Beatles, from a nearby loudspeaker told me "everything's alright now". The handout tells us the exhibition covers 37 acres, but if one subtracts the Botanic Gardens, the museum, etc, what is left would perhaps have made a reasonable N.I. stand at Expo '70, Tokyo. The domes range in size from the tiny Information Dome, where a bored looking couple lounged against a desk, the last resting place of 2 pamphlets on 71, through the Festival dome (not open till 4 p.m.), Disco (closed till late evening) to the larger Amusement and LEDU domes where one may choose to be fleeced by machines on the one hand or by buying plastic flowers at 60p each on the other hand. The largest and most crowded dome is the restaurant and bar where one pays hotel prices for snackery food. The main exhibition opens with a history lesson which gives us the impression that Pope Adrian's gift of Ireland to the English brought civilisation to this wild land and that the Plantation was a Sunday-school picnic that stayed. Technology in Ulster shows us Skyvan (which the aerospace industry report says should be built in ENGLAND), Martin-Baker ejector seats, (employing no one here) and Dye Lasers (to employ 12). Then we come to the two-faced, or should I say two-sided, displays on Education, Housing and Industry. A picture of a pre 1920's school shows Ulster's past (but lots of these schools exist in similar conditions today). 'Ulster really cares' is the slogan to Housing and 'Ulster means Business' that to Industry (to each one could ask the question - for whom?). On an exhibit entitled 'Fibres' I was tickled to see a sub-heading - Examples of Yarn spinning (Ulster '71 perhaps?). Next we are shown a mock-up of the state opening of Parliament, using stuffed dummies of that establishment, going on to a review of famous men and women of Ulster. One cannot help but notice that almost all of these people were forced to emigrate to foreign lands before they 'made good'. Leisure Ulster is a layout in green cloth, plastic trees and recorded birdsong to represent our countryside - one can only ask, "in the middle of Botanic Gardens...why?". Displayed for our adoration is a model of Derry Sports complex without mention that the government now only intend to build half of it. We now go through a simulated back street alley on the wall of which are painted Government 'good slogans'. Examples are: End Hypocrisy; Houses for Everyone; A Fair Deal for All; and the good old unionist - Preserve our Heritage. No comment is needed. Ulster tomorrow has us in the dark again, this time to see a screened party political programme introduced by Adrienne Corrie (of ~~Wolper~~ Room fame, and still telling fairy stories, as if to children) and David Dunseath (a television interviewer who in the past has tripped politicians on these very issues). As we tear ourselves away from this beautiful dream of Ulster's future and go towards the exit we see (behind strengthened glass) an example of a bright modern kitchen adjoined by a beautiful lounge and made up of Ulster products. One wonders though, how many working class Ulster people would be able to afford such a lounge or kitchen. We finally stagger out into the fresh polluted air and one look around the Belfast skyline is enough to bring back reality - the police, the troops, the old dilapidated houses, the jobless, the poor, the exploited-

THIS IS ULSTER '71



# THE WORKING CLASS ULSTER '71

