

United Irishman

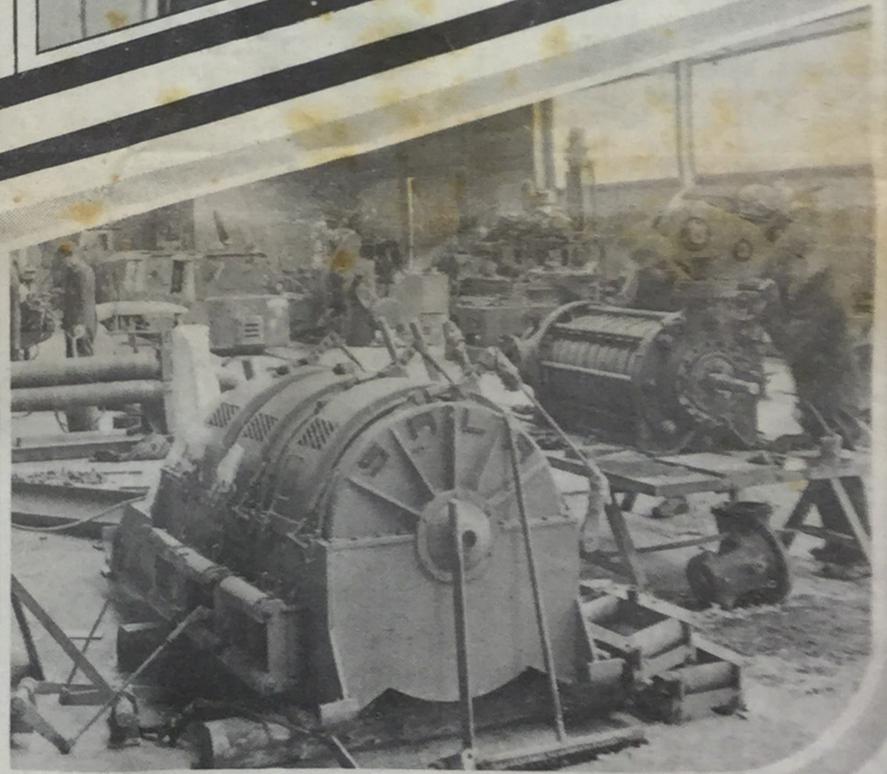
**Tribute
to Liam
Mac Maolain**

PAGES 8/9



**The jobs
are there!**

PAGE 16



**This
Month**



CONVENTION ANALYSIS

ANTI-EEC CAMPAIGN

CONRADH NA GAELIGE

CRIMINAL LAW BILL



The North honours McCann

Pictured above is a section of the 1,500 people who attended the Joe McCann Memorial, in the Markets, Belfast, Sunday, April 13. The platform party included Liam McMillen, Frank and Rebecca McGlade, Gerry Dunlop, Cllrs. Sullivan and Montgomery, Ethel McAllister, Kitty O'Kane and special guest Mrs. Ann McCann. Speakers were Sean McConnell and Des O'Hagan.

Mr. McConnell in the course of his oration referred to the work which Joe McCann had done for the people of the Markets district as part of his constant enthusiasm for every aspect of Republican policy. As a personal friend of Joe's and a co-founder of the Mellows Republican Club in the area, Sean McConnell was able to relate to the audience the strength of McCann's commitment and dedication to the Republican cause.

"Joe", he said, "followed no man. He believed in certain principles in certain forms of action. His life was spent as a member of the Republican Movement because the Movement had and has the right policies. There are some who say that to-day he would have gone this way or that way. This is nonsense, Joe McCann could only have followed the one path, the road on which he died, the road towards the Socialist Republic."

Young republican killed

The following is the text of the oration given by Director of Education Des O'Hagan at the funeral of Paul Crawford on Monday, April 14. Paul was murdered by members of the IRSP while selling the United Irishman at the corner of the Springfield Road, Belfast on the previous Saturday.

Once again we are gathered to mourn the murder of a young member of the Republican Movement.

Vol. Paul Crawford (23), eldest of his family of seven, was shot down by cold-blooded killers as he stood with his comrades selling our party paper, the United Irishman.

Our hearts are filled with sadness and we join with his family in their grief. No words can convey to them how much every member of the Movement shares their loss. We offer them our deepest and sincerest sympathy.

To his comrades in the Sean South Republican Club in Beechmount, we reaffirm the solidarity of the Movement in their work of spreading the Republican philosophy.

Our sadness is tinged with anger and there are many standing here whose hearts and minds are filled with the desire for vengeance.

But this is not the Republican way! Have we not resisted the vicious, inhuman demands to engage in tit-for-tat sectarian killings? Have we not opposed the anti-civilian bombing campaign which has caused so much unnecessary death, and widened the gap between Irish workers? We can be proud of the fact that our organisation, because it had members like Paul Crawford, has kept the record of true Republicanism free from stain.

But we do demand justice! I have been asked to state by the IRA that the series of cowardly and murderous attacks mounted

OPEN THE GATES

LONG KESH SENTENCED PRISONERS
 B. Trainor, 5 years
 D. Russell, 6 years
 J. Goodman, 8 years
 G. Loughlin, 12 years
 E. McQuillan, 3 years
 F. Weir, 10 years
 J. J. McAuley, 5 years
 T. McGarry, 3 years
 P. O'Hare, 7 years
 M. Mallon, 7 years
 M. Donnelly, 5 years
 B. Macklin, 12 years
 S. Curry, 6 years
 T. Smith, 3 years
 P. McFarlane, 6 years
 M. O'Hagan, 7 years
 J. Shanks, 17 years
 G. Duff, Life
 B. Turley, 5 years
 S. McVeigh, 5 years
 J. McLaughlin, 5 years
 B. O'Hagan, 7 years
 G. Heatley, 5 years
 S. Colhoun, 5 years
 P. J. Monaghan, 6 years
 S. Magee, 10 years
 A. Cassin, Life
 J. McCathery, 8 years
 D. Lagan, 4 years
 K. Higgins, 6 years
 C. Wisdow, 6 years
 L. McAnoy, Life
 B. McDermott, 15 months.

P. J. Kelly, life
 M. Lambert, 5 years
 T. Russell, 3 years
 J. Smith, 15 years
 J. Higgins, 6 years
 R. Steenson, 4 years

L. Lynch
 B. Stewart
 D. Knockart
 J. Tamey
 J. Magee
 J. McCann
 E. Meek
 D. McGeough

LONG KESH REMAND PRISONERS

J. Kearney
 J. O'Neill
 A. Clarke
 K. McLoughlin
 F. O'Connor
 J. Clarke
 C. Brady
 T. McDermott
 P. Griffin
 P. Smith
 T. A. Breen
 A. McDonagh
 B. Toal
 S. Hannon
 L. Corr
 J. McGuinness
 R. Hassan
 A. Reading
 L. O'Reilly
 W. Campbell
 T. McDonald

LONG KESH DEAINED

James McLaughlin
 D. O'Hagan

ENGLAND

Noel Jenkinson, 30 years
 Bob Gallagher, 6 years
 Michael Egan, 4 years

PORTLAOISE

Ronnie Deehan, 4 years
 Roland Giles, 6 years
 John O'Neill, 5 years
 Ray Lynch, 5 years
 John McCartan, 18 months
 John Murphy, 18 months.

NOW!



CABHAIR

Irish Republican Prisoners Defence and Aid Fund

30 GARDINER PLACE, DUBLIN 1.

Funds urgently needed for:

Republican Prisoners Welfare

Legal Aid

Aid for their Dependants

Noel Jenkinson Strasbourg Appeal

ALL CONTRIBUTIONS WILL BE ACKNOWLEDGED

by the IRSP on members of the Republican Movement will be resisted with all the means at their disposal. The people who direct and organise these killer squads cannot expect to be permitted to continue with their crimes.

At this time there is clearly a hate campaign, not only physical, being carried on, but also through sections of the media against the Republican Movement. Certain newspapers and journalists motivated solely by hate for our republican, socialist commitment, distort, slander and attack our organisation and its activities. They provide a platform for such wanton, malevolent groups as the so-called Women's Peace Group in Turf Lodge. Their desire for peace rings hollow in our ears. Their silence during the worst excesses of the Provo anti-civilian bombing campaign speaks louder than their shrill voices now.

At the same time, major republican commemorations such as the Joe McCann ceremony in the Markets are ignored by some newspapers in favour of meetings attended by a handful of political opportunists.

The significance of this coming together of poison-filled pens and terrorist gunmen was anticipated by the Republican Movement. It

is no accident that those who believe that they can change history by random killings and individual acts of terrorism should see the Republican Movement as their greatest enemy.

No matter what ideology they proclaim, no matter how socialist-sounding their phrases, they serve the same purpose as the British Army — to destroy the revolutionary organisation of the Irish people.

We are, comrades, in a more dangerous period than at any other time during these past six years.

But we have not built our



● Paul Crawford.

EOLAS THE INTERNATIONAL NEWSLETTER OF THE IRISH REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT

Over 1,000 copies of EOLAS sent monthly to political groups and individuals in 48 different countries.

Place YOUR order for EOLAS now! It will keep you better informed on the Irish people's struggle against British Imperialism.

Name

Address

Amount Enclosed.....

Subscription Rates: Britain £1. Europe/Asia/Africa, £2. America/Australia/New Zealand, \$5. All orders to: International Affairs Bureau, Irish Republican Movement, 30 Gardiner Place, Dublin, Ireland.

Annual Wolfe Tone Commemoration. Bodentown June 22, 1975. Local Committees should now organise.

Duleek Irish Wolfhounds

Specialising in Breeding Irish Wolfhounds.

Exporters to the Continent and the U.S.A.

IRISH WOLFHOUND PUPPIES FOR SALE

Details from: Michael Madden, Athcarne, Duleek, Co. Meath, Ireland. Phone 041-25226.

organisation from Cork to Belfast, from Newry to Galway, to permit its destruction by a handful of ultra-left terrorists. We have outlined the path to revolutionary victory. Paul Crawford was playing his role in that struggle; foremost in Housing Action in his area, he died because he was engaged in one of the most important dimensions of revolutionary activity — education, bringing the Republican understanding and solution to the people.

As we grow in strength and determination, as we move along the road to true freedom in a peaceful socialist Ireland, the enemies of Republicanism will ever be seeking new means to destroy us.

But we cannot be destroyed for our organisation is firmly based on the aspirations and needs of the Irish people. Our struggle is the struggle of every Irish man and woman for homes, schools, work for equality and peace.

Paul Crawford died for a Democratic, Socialist Republic. We would rather have him alive and working as he did, for the people. We do not glorify death — we deplore the waste of this young life — but we rededicate ourselves at his grave to his goal of a unified, peaceful, Socialist Ireland.

Galway eviction

The Union of Students in Ireland condemned the recent eviction, from her home in Oughterard, of Brid Fahy, a student in University College, Galway and a member of USI.

Ever since the time some years ago that Commander Burgess (the owner of the house) began to make renewed and concerted efforts to remove the Fahy family from the home they had occupied for a century, USI and particularly students in the Galway area have opposed the designs and actions of this latter-day absentee landlord. Also, with other groups and individuals we have joined in attempts to arouse public awareness on the issue in the hope that the threat of eviction to the family would be removed and that their right to continue to live in their home would be guaranteed.

However, the events of last week — confirmed for us by a visit of the full-time Officers of the Union to Oughterard at the weekend — have demonstrated that the basic human rights of the family and also the

broad support given to them by others have been ignored by Commander Burgess.

The relieving of an eviction scene complete with doors being broken down and possessions being turned out onto the road is a distasteful spectacle. That uniformed Gardai and Special Branch men, however, should be present in support of the evictors makes the whole business even more obscene.

USI would like to question the role of the police force in this State being used in this way to evict a young girl from her family home by force and in the interests of a wealthy English landowner.

SEAN FOX

Strong shoulders bear with heartfelt pain,
That of a comrade's last remains.

A man who lived and loved and fought,
By senseless action now is brought to nought.
Despite the cowards, with minds ill formed,
Venceramos Sean, Venceramos Sean.

Cut off from life, and a struggling creed,
That brooks no short cut for liberty's seed,
To flower and flourish replacing the pain.
Where Ulster's loss is reaction's gain.
Your one less brother to carry on,
Venceramos Sean, Venceramos Sean.

Too many martyrs, too many dead,
Too many workers life's blood shed.
Too many men of orange and green,
Are laid beneath the carpet green.
But the red flags folds, sing loud your song,
Venceramos Sean, Venceramos Sean.

The unthinking brain with ideas half spun,
Relies alone on the bomb and the gun.
With never a thought for the premier class,
Scientific ways the socialist path.
For Connolly's dream is yet to be won,
Venceramos Sean, Venceramos Sean.

They cut you down they laid you low,
Committed now to the sod below.
But you'll not lay easy, or rest in peace,
Till the splits and divisions are over and ceased.
Unity's fight is hard and long,
Venceramos Sean, Venceramos Sean.

Five young children, a wife bereaved,
A memory to cherish, a loss to grieve.
Five young hearts can live in pride,
For the noble cause their father died.
Their path and ours will unite as one,
Venceramos Sean, Venceramos Sean.

Rod Shearman, March 1975, London.

McAlinden-Rowntree
Commemoration

Newry, Co. Down

Sunday May 18, 3p.m.

Oration Des O'Hagan

National Book Service

<input type="checkbox"/>	Ground Rent is Robbery	27p
<input type="checkbox"/>	Sinn Fein Ard Fheis Report '73	37p
<input type="checkbox"/>	The Republic of Ireland, by D. R. Lysaght	£1.25
<input type="checkbox"/>	Civil War in Ireland, by E. Neeson	57p
<input type="checkbox"/>	The Course of Irish History, Ed. Martin & Moody	£2.00
<input type="checkbox"/>	Tragedies of Kerry, by D. MacArdle	20p
<input type="checkbox"/>	Divided Ulster, by L. de Paor	50p
<input type="checkbox"/>	The U.V.F., by C. Boulton	60p
<input type="checkbox"/>	Michael Collins: The Lost Leader, by M. Forester	£3.00
<input type="checkbox"/>	Connolly and Irish Freedom, by Schuller	27p
<input type="checkbox"/>	British Imperialism in Ireland, by E. Burns	47p
<input type="checkbox"/>	The Republican Congress by G. Gilmore	30p
<input type="checkbox"/>	Ireland Since The Famine, by F. Lyons	£2.00
<input type="checkbox"/>	Ireland Her Own, by T. A. Jackson	£1.25
<input type="checkbox"/>	The Life and Times of James Connolly, by C. D. Greaves	£1.25
<input type="checkbox"/>	Liam Mellows and the Irish Revolution, by C. D. Greaves	£4.25
<input type="checkbox"/>	Axe to the Root, by James Connolly	32p
<input type="checkbox"/>	Workshop Talks, by James Connolly	20p
<input type="checkbox"/>	Labour in Irish History, by James Connolly	37p
<input type="checkbox"/>	The Reconquest of Ireland, by James Connolly	25p
<input type="checkbox"/>	Erin's Hope and the New Evangel, by James Connolly	17p
<input type="checkbox"/>	Republicanism, Part I	30p
<input type="checkbox"/>	Republicanism, Part II	30p
<input type="checkbox"/>	Imperialism and the Irish Nation	20p
<input type="checkbox"/>	The Revolutionaries, by S. Cronin	42p
<input type="checkbox"/>	The Cattle Crisis and the Small Farmer, by R. Crotty	35p
<input type="checkbox"/>	Gola—Last Days of an Island Community	70p
<input type="checkbox"/>	10 Days That Shook The World, by J. Reed	£1.25
<input type="checkbox"/>	Lenin: On the National Question	27p
<input type="checkbox"/>	Lenin: On the National and Colonial Revolutions	10p
<input type="checkbox"/>	Fascism and Big Business, by D. Guerin	£1.60
<input type="checkbox"/>	Marx: The Grundrisse	£1.50
<input type="checkbox"/>	Marx & Engels: Selected Works in 1 Vol.	£1.75
<input type="checkbox"/>	Marx & Engels: Selected Works in 3 Vols.	£5.00
<input type="checkbox"/>	Last to Leave: Portuguese Africa	35p
<input type="checkbox"/>	My Fight for Irish Freedom, by Dan Breen	57p
<input type="checkbox"/>	Guerrilla Days in Ireland, by Tom Barry	47p
<input type="checkbox"/>	Revolutionary Movements of the Past, by J. de Courcy Ireland	35p
<input type="checkbox"/>	Let the Nation Stand, by P. Yeates	47p
<input type="checkbox"/>	The Special Courts, by Mary T. W. Robinson	35p
<input type="checkbox"/>	Peadar O'Donnell, by M. McInerney	£3.70
<input type="checkbox"/>	The Irish Police, by S. Breathnach	£1.00
<input type="checkbox"/>	The Guinea Pigs, by J. McGuffin	50p
<input type="checkbox"/>	An Alien Ideology, by D. Kellegher	25p
<input type="checkbox"/>	The Story of Irish Labour, by J. McDonnell	35p
<input type="checkbox"/>	Ireland in the Eighteenth Century, by M. Johnstone	97p
<input type="checkbox"/>	Labour in Irish Politics, by A. Mitchell	£3.95
<input type="checkbox"/>	The Irish in Britain, by K. O'Connor	72p
<input type="checkbox"/>	Six Red Months in Russia, by L. Bryant	£1.45
<input type="checkbox"/>	Hidden From History, by E. Rowbottom	85p
<input type="checkbox"/>	The Sovereign People, by Padraic Pearse	15p
<input type="checkbox"/>	Chile's Days of Terror, ed. J. Yglesias	85p
<input type="checkbox"/>	The Blueshirts, by M. Manning	£3.25
<input type="checkbox"/>	Women and Employment in Ireland	£1.25
<input type="checkbox"/>	The Ownership of Personal Property in Ireland	20p
<input type="checkbox"/>	Study War No More: Military Involvement in British Universities	25p
<input type="checkbox"/>	N.I.C.R.A.: A Bill of Rights	37p
<input type="checkbox"/>	The Farm Modernisation Scheme	27p
<input type="checkbox"/>	Spies in Ireland	25p
<input type="checkbox"/>	The Fenian Chief, by D. Ryan	£2.50
<input type="checkbox"/>	The Prevention of Terrorism Act: NCCL Report	37p
<input type="checkbox"/>	The Irish Workers by R. Deeny	£1.60
<input type="checkbox"/>	Ireland in the 20th Century, by J. Murphy	£1.17
<input type="checkbox"/>	Modernisation of Irish Society 1848-1918, by R. Lee	£1.17
<input type="checkbox"/>	The Prison Diary of Ho Chi Minh	49p
<input type="checkbox"/>	Vietnam Story	£1.00
<input type="checkbox"/>	Portugal's War in Africa, by R. First	25p
<input type="checkbox"/>	South Africa: The Imprisoned Society	47p
<input type="checkbox"/>	Arms Trade with the Third World	£1.15
<input type="checkbox"/>	The Condition of the English Working Class, by F. Engels	75p
<input type="checkbox"/>	Ireland Before the Famine, by G. O'Tuathaigh	£1.17

All above prices include postage for Ireland and Britain only.

Cheques and P.O.s should be made payable to P. Yeates.

We regret having to withdraw the order list for Long Kesh goods. We hope to provide an alternative list shortly, which will also include material made by political prisoners in Portlaoise.

Records

<input type="checkbox"/>	Smash Internment	£1.75
<input type="checkbox"/>	Men Behind the Wire	£1.75
<input type="checkbox"/>	M. O'Cadhain	£2.50
<input type="checkbox"/>	Fleadh Night at Mark McLoughlin's	£2.00
<input type="checkbox"/>	Songs of the Irish Republic	£2.00
<input type="checkbox"/>	Songs of the Irish People: The Long Kesh Ramblers	£2.25

Please send me the items marked

AINM

SEOLADH

Enclosed is P.O. value £.....

Send orders to the United Irishman Office, 30 Gardiner Place, Dublin 1.

The United Irishman

12 Months for £2.00

Continent of Europe £3.00.

U.S. and Australia \$10 annual subscription.

Cheques or postal orders should be made payable to:
THE UNITED IRISHMAN, 30 Gardiner Place, Dublin 1.

NAME

ADDRESS

United Irishman

STRUGGLE

The tragedy of Liam McMillen's murder occurred on the day that the heroic Vietnamese people finally overcame their last enemy. As the flags of liberation were flying over Ho Chi Minh City (Saigon) cowardly murderers were plotting the death of one of Belfast's leading working class Republicans.

Liam McMillen had spent almost all his life, in fact from his early teens struggling against the same sort of enemies as the Vietnamese have finally routed. His life resembles in many ways the lives of the revolutionary soldiers of the Vietcong. Imprisonment, disappointment, continuous bitter struggle and finally death, dreams of a people's victory unfulfilled. And yet they are borne along in the certain knowledge that what they have been building cannot be exterminated by a bullet whether fired from a Yankee gun or out of a miserable assassin's hand.

It is worth once again spelling out the nature of that goal and the direction in which our long march is taking us. For at this time of confusion when some may despair, others weaken and a few fall away, a clear understanding is needed of what Liam McMillen and the Republican Movement are fighting to achieve. That clear understanding and the determination which surely comes with it is the monument which is best built to the memory and revolutionary life of Liam McMillen.

The goal of a Democratic Socialist Republic is a society in which political, economic and cultural power will be in the hands of the Irish working class. No other type of society can replace that goal. Advocates of a 32 county Free State, sectarian dominated twin states or an Ireland dominated by international big business are clearly not on the side of the Republican Movement.

There are others who would say that their aims are the same but that their methods are different. They expose in the main a sectarian civil war as the way to end British imperialist domination of our country. No matter how disastrously wrong they are in fact and that is self-evident, they are clearly not in the Republican tradition.

To argue that freedom, real freedom can be obtained through a sectarian holocaust is anathema to Republicans. Liam McMillen lived and ultimately gave his life because he was rooted in the Republicanism, of Tone, Orr, McCracken, Pearse and Connolly. It is that tradition which will carry the Irish people to final victory.

In the context of the struggle for women's equality, Hanna Sheehy-Skeffington belongs to the tradition of the liberal bourgeois activist. While affiliated to the socialist movement at the turn of the century, she viewed the question of women only as a basic civil rights demand, seeing all women, regardless of class, oppressed equally by the lack of the franchise. She held no analysis of the women's question nor its connection to economic development, though she was active in both the Franchise League and the National struggle.

For the majority of politically active people at that time, there was no one force that knitted them together; there were numerous organisations such as the Gaelic League, the Franchise League, the Irish Citizen Army, Sinn Fein and the trade union movement, but there was no broad front that was capable of combining the energies and political aspirations of the

WOMEN OF THEIR TIME

politically conscious into a single party united for socialism in Ireland.

Hanna Sheehy-Skeffington's involvement during this period is typical of her contemporaries; while she contributed actively, she remained a single-issue organiser, involved in the national and the women's question. She was motivated by her humanitarian concern for the oppression of people and nations, but saw no further.

She was a product of a Republican separatist background and a convert to feminism. Influenced by



CIVIL RIGHTS THE MAIN QUESTION

Two civil liberties bodies issued important documents last month. The first was issued by the London based National Council for Civil Liberties and was an examination of the first four months operation of the so-called Prevention of Terrorism (Temporary Provisions) Act 1974. The second which was issued by the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association was the text of a comprehensive Bill of Rights for Northern Ireland.

On November 21st last, 20 people were murdered in two Provisional bomb explosions in Birmingham pubs. A week later the British Home Secretary, Roy Jenkins introduced the Prevention of Terrorism Bill.

The Act brought home to Britain the emergency legislation which had governed the North for 50 years. The Prevention Bill — of which it appeared that a draft had been prepared well before the Birmingham bombings — was based in part on the Emergency Provisions Act currently in force in Northern Ireland. It also drew on the Prevention of Violence (Temporary Provisions Act 1939), when a previous Government had responded to an earlier campaign in Britain by introducing expulsion, prohibition and similar powers of detention. That Act although "temporary" stayed on the Statute books for over 10 years.

The Prevention of Terrorism Act has three sections. First there is a ban on "the Irish Republican Army". Secondly under the Act the British Home Secretary has new powers to exclude from Britain any person suspected of "terrorism". Thirdly the British police can hold a suspect for questioning for up to 48 hours, followed by a further 5 days on the Home Secretary's authority. The new powers of arrest can be applied to

Hanna Sheehy — Skeffington

Francis Skeffington, whom she later married, and the English liberal John Stuart Mill, Hanna likewise understood the position of women solely in terms of their oppression, disregarding the fact that while all women are oppressed, only workingclass women are both oppressed and exploited. Her failure to recognise the class basis of society forced her to superficially tackle only women's lack of suffrage, and oppression. While her activity throughout this early period was indeed progressive, her shortsightedness blinded her from the economic realities. She remained trapped in a social-democratic vision and politically confused.

She approached the Home Rule Bill in 1908 from this position. The Irish Women's Franchise League which she helped organise grew from the political climate surrounding Redmond's refusal to include a clause for women's equal rights. The constitution of the Irish Citizen, the organ of the I.W.F.L., was concerned only with winning parliamentary representation. "Our aim is simple and inclusive: to win for men and women equally the rights of citizenship. It stands for the fullest development of a complete humanity". She did not delve into the broader implications of the Home Rule Bill or, indeed, question in what kind of society men and women would have equal rights of citizenship.

Though aware of the need for men and women to work together, her involvement with the trade union

movement, especially the support she gave to the Women Workers Union, founded in 1908, was an extension of her suffrage work. In both cases she was drawn into the political arena by her overwhelming concern for the oppressed. Thus, as she involved herself firstly in the secondary teachers union, and then much later in the NUJ, her primary interest was, as the trade union movement as a whole, with working conditions and their reform. As a member of the teachers union, she was dismissed from her position at Alexandra College for her trade union activity, and was reprimanded at Rathmines Commercial College for the same involvement.

With the advent of World War I, the suffrage question became a non-issue. Hanna's main political activity has been concerned only with the suffrage, and when its passage seemed apparent at the war's conclusion, she shifted to concentrate on the national struggle. Her support for the 1916 Rising was sincere but lacked a theoretical basis. Both herself and Francis were willing to support the humanitarian aspirations of the Rising, as it would bring relief to an oppressed nation, yet neither of them involved themselves in the political organisations. Immediately after the death of her husband, Hanna left for America to propagandize about her husband's activities and to appeal to the power of the United States.

In a pamphlet written in 1917, entitled "British Imperialism in Ireland, or British Militarism as I have



Francis Sheehy-Skeffington: murdered by the British.

known it," Hanna Sheehy-Skeffington demanded that the Irish question be raised at the proposed Hague Conference on the rights of small nations. "The lesson of the Irish Rising and its suppression is that our small nation, Ireland, has a right also to take its place in the sun. We look to the United States particularly to help us in this matter — At the end of the war, we hope to see a United States of Europe on the model of the United States where each state is free and independent yet all are part of a single federation."

Her pamphlet was romantic, appealing to the Irish Americans to save their homeland. While she clearly recognised that American economic interest, had been involved in the war since 1914, she was incapable of

extending this further to the realisation that America would follow the path outlined by her corporations. She worked alongside pacifist groups condemning American entry into the war, yet she viewed America's entrance as preserving the sanctity of small nations.

Disregarding Connolly's condemnation of the war as imperialist, she further failed to realise that the struggle for economic territory was not restricted by national boundaries and that Ireland could not escape imperialism just by independence. While it is risky to make projections into the future, it would be safe to say that her idea of a United States of Europe would be synonymous to today's European Economic Community.

She opposed the treaty in 1922 and remained faithful to the Republican cause, resigning from Fianna Fail when De Valera took the oath in 1928. She also continued to support trade unions, and wrote numerous articles on the oppression of women. She died in Dublin on April 20, 1946.

Indicative of her democratic beliefs, she supported the republican side of Spanish Civil War, and associated herself with and was sympathetic to the left-wing of the Republican Movement. She campaigned for the release of Frank Ryan from Franco's prisons. Equally indicative she maintained her independence (standing as an independent in the Dail election of 1943) and did not submit herself to the formal discipline of a party structure.

any person suspected of "terrorism" in any connection. The Act must be renewed every six months.

The Report says of the section giving the Home Secretary power to make exclusion orders against suspects that it is the most objectionable. By the 9th April 45 exclusion orders had been made. Of the 11 who had made representation against the orders 5 had been successful. The procedure for making representations against an order is a travesty of any normal procedure. No charges or evidence are made known to the suspect, the solicitor in the case is forced to produce a written refutation of charges of which he is ignorant, legal representation is not permitted during the interview with the Home Secretary's adviser.

The conclusions of the NCCL are that "The operation of the exclusion order is analogous to that of internment in Northern Ireland. In both cases the absence of evidence which would stand up in court leads to an application by the police for an executive order which cannot be challenged in court."

Briefly the NCCL sees the Act as derogating from fundamental standards of the rule of law, as adding weight to demands for increased police power and a further erosion of the rights of suspects. The NCCL understandably calls for the immediate repeal of the Act.

NICRA have stressed the need for a Bill of Rights for Northern Ireland since 1968. Although many political parties have now taken up this demand none have been prepared to spell out exactly what rights should be guaranteed.

Firstly the Bill would guarantee equal rights for all political aspirations in the North. This is particularly important in light of the UUUC's current dominance.



● Harold Wilson: will he now grant Civil Rights?

Equal rights as spelt out in the Bill should not be confused with "power sharing". Equal rights as spelt out in the NICRA Bill would put Republicans and Socialists on an equal footing in the eyes of the law as Unionists and Social Democrats. Power sharing was able to co-exist with internment.

Secondly the Bill would guarantee freedom of thought, conscience and religion and the freedom to express, seek, receive and impart information and ideas of all kinds.

Thirdly the Bill would guarantee full equality for every citizen in Northern Ireland regardless of race, colour, sex, religious belief, political belief, language, birth or other status. It would extend the Race Relations Act to cover Northern Ireland.

Fourthly the Bill would permanently guarantee that the PR system of elections was the electoral system for Northern Ireland. Again in view of the UUUC often stated objective of getting rid of this system such a guarantee is extremely important.

Fifthly the Bill would seek to outlaw all forms of religious discrimination and sectarianism. The long overdue measures recently announced by the Westminster Government are inadequate in this area.

Sixth the Bill seeks to outlaw many of the grave breaches of human rights which have resulted from emergency legislation and the operation of the so-called security forces over the past number of years in the North. These provisions are at the core of the Bill and are an attempt to find ways to stop the torture and ill-treatment of arrested persons which has been such a feature of the past few years.

Finally the Bill proposes the establishment of a Constitutional Court which would implement the Bill.



CONVENTION ANALYSIS

The results of the Convention elections have indeed been a disappointment, particularly to our members in the 6 Counties who put so much work into it. Our low vote can be attributed to three major factors.

a) The effect of the Provo bombing campaign, the Loyalist counter campaign of assassination and the British Army murder and torture has been to escalate sectarianism, bigotry and the carnival of reaction about which Connolly spoke. In this situation, the people have little time for progressive politics and for anti-sectarian parties.

b) The IRSP/PLA murderous campaign against the Republican Movement combined with a well-planned and conceived propaganda campaign of lies and distortion created a false image in the public mind of Republicans feuding with each other. This of course was added to by the media to such an extent that even the foul murder of Liam Mc Millen in election week was politically damaging to our prospects in the election as it was treated as a continuation of the "fued between warring Republicans".

Two of our members were murdered during the course of the election, and many others were shot or had miraculous escapes. In these circumstances it was an extraordinary achievement by our members particularly in Belfast, to have carried through an election campaign at all.

c) The fact that this was the sixth election to which the people of the North were subjected in two years and that none of these elections had any effect on the situation created great apathy on this occasion. The

Loyalists, whom the civil rights campaign had sundered, were bombed back into a solid "no surrender" mass and were determined to "bring back Stormont" as their ads. declared. These opposed to the Union, who had been united as never before by the Civil Rights campaign, were bombed apart and are now in a state of hopelessness nearing despair.

In this situation the call by Fr. Faul of Dungannon to boycott the election was heeded by many as he was widely respected for his exposure of British Army and RUC murders and tortures. The Provisionals also, mounted a boycott campaign and distributed some of Fr. Faul's leaflets as well as some of their own.

It's difficult to say what effect the boycott campaign had on voters because a low poll was inevitable anyway. It did have some effect in West Belfast, Derry and South Armagh and undoubtedly there was some intimidation in some areas.

One thing however, is already becoming clear. The policies we pursued during the election campaign in regard to Policing, and a Bill of Rights are the only ones which are relevant now. With the prospect of continued direct rule, a Loyalist takeover looming in the background, power sharing and a Council of Ireland discarded, the British Government must be forced to introduce major democratic reforms.

A hundred steps backward have been taken in the past five years. We might yet succeed in taking one step forward. If we do it will be one step away from massive civil war.

Tomas Mac Giolla

All parties were affected by the disinclination to vote in many areas including the U.U.U.C. whose poll fell by over three per cent from the sweeping gains of the last Westminster elections in October '74. At the same time in the two constituencies where our candidates did best, Mid-Ulster and Armagh, Councillor Francie Donnelly and Mal McGurran, the Republican Clubs stayed in third place behind the Unionists and the S.D.L.P. No small feat when it is considered that it was in these districts that the Provisionals mounted the strongest boycott. A fact which undoubtedly cost Paddy O'Hanlon his seat.



Craig, hopes to dictate.

Raymond Blaney's vote of just over a thousand in the northern part of the South Down constituency is a welcome sign of the growth of Republicanism in that area and a tribute to the hard working Downpatrick club. While equally Kevin Smith's performance in the tough South Antrim constituency must be recognised as a good beginning.

Greatest disappointment must be felt in the West Belfast fight where

the hard work of Councillors Sullivan and McDonagh went unrewarded. The gun attacks on Republican personnel outside St. Comgall's School Divis Street, on two occasions during election day must have deterred many voters from risking a vote.

In spite of the hopes of most political pundits, the Craig, West and Paisley team "skated" home, 47 seats to the good with the S.D.L.P. (17), Alliance (8), Faulknerites (5) and N.I.L.P. (1) trailing behind. It should be noted also that the N.I.L.P., managed a seat on .9 per cent less of the vote than the Republican Clubs. An index of the total decline of the Labour party and the increasing vacuum on the left, a vacuum that must constantly be kept in mind by the Clubs. For as quoted elsewhere there are signs that the constant explanation of the Clubs non-sectarian, socialist policies are beginning to seep into the minds of some.

What of the future? The Convention is nothing more or less than a talking shop and it is clear at least in their public statements that the Unionist Big Three intend to make sure that they do all the talking. Yet it would be wrong to totally identify Craig, Paisley and West as being absolutely agreed on tactics and strategy. Craig at his most lucid is a



Faulkner will he retire?

dangerous potential, fascist dictator. West is content to see Faulkner relegated to the minor league. But Dr. Paisley is certain to oppose any attempts by Craig to create a civil war situation in which Craig would seize power.

And that is the very real danger at the moment, that the interest of the ultra-right (Craig) and the ultra-left now coincide. After direct rule Craig toured the North beating the sectarian drum encouraging the idea of "Protestant war of liberation". There are those who would follow him down this path. On the other hand the increasing signs of links between the I.R.S.P., the P.D. and some dissident Provisionals supported by foreign ultra-left wing groups points to the real threat, the counter force to Craig. It is well known that there are "theorists" in all of this motley collection who see sectarian terrorist violence as the road to socialism.

Secondly a constant demand for positive Trade Union intervention to save the lives of Northern workers is vital. It is only a militant trade union movement which can resist the attempts of Craig and his henchmen to turn the North into a cauldron of sectarian violence. Recent signs are that the Trades Unions are beginning to recognise that there can be no sitting on the fence while the fascists prepare to unleash a civil war of immense proportions.

Thirdly, Britain's claim that the British Army must stay must be constantly exposed as the oppression that it is. Like all the repressive legislation on the statute books it is simply a means of pushing the Northern people in a direction in which they have constantly refused to go — a fake form of power sharing.

WE WERE RIGHT THEN WE ARE RIGHT NOW

Republican opposition to the Common Market goes back to the time when the idea was first mooted, some time after the Second World War. But the reality of the current Nine and its desire to crush individual national aspirations is something of comparatively recent origin. Yet there is no basic difference between the Treaty of Rome and the old Iron and Steel Federation which linked France, Germany and the Benelux countries in a super economic state. The name of the game is the same. The creation of a super state in which the welfare of the "wee man" would be not of secondary consideration, but totally ignored.

That super state is the European Economic Community. To what extent is it true to talk about the Nine as comprising a super-power? The supporters of the Common Market would obviously say that *this is a myth. Their argument runs something like this:*

The EEC is a group of countries like the USA or the USSR who have united in the interests of all who are prepared to abide by the rules of the game. And there would on the surface appear to be nothing wrong with that. That is until the question is asked about the nature and content of the rules.

And that, as the current saying has it, is Catch 22. For the rules which surround membership of the Common Market are designed to benefit those who have most. Hence the increasing use of the term "a rich man's club". Rules, for example, which make it impossible to control the price of food or to prevent capitalists moving money wherever they wish. Rules which say that new industries in a country disastrously affected by unemployment cannot be protected from foreign competition. Imagine the effect that this has, for example, on the clothing industry in the North. Workers thrown out of jobs simply because a crew of faceless men in Brussels decide that their rules are more important than hundreds, thousands of livelihoods.

That very same attitude prevails

in relation to one of the most important industries in the country — agriculture. Housewives and workers of other types know the percentage of the wage packet which is increasingly going in food. And it is not as if the massive increase in prices was going into the pockets of Ireland's small farmers. The rules apply here also. The rich ranchers get richer and the small farmer is forced off his land.

The idea here is that the family farm is uneconomic, so the man who has tilled his land for generations must go to make room for the wealthy beef producer.

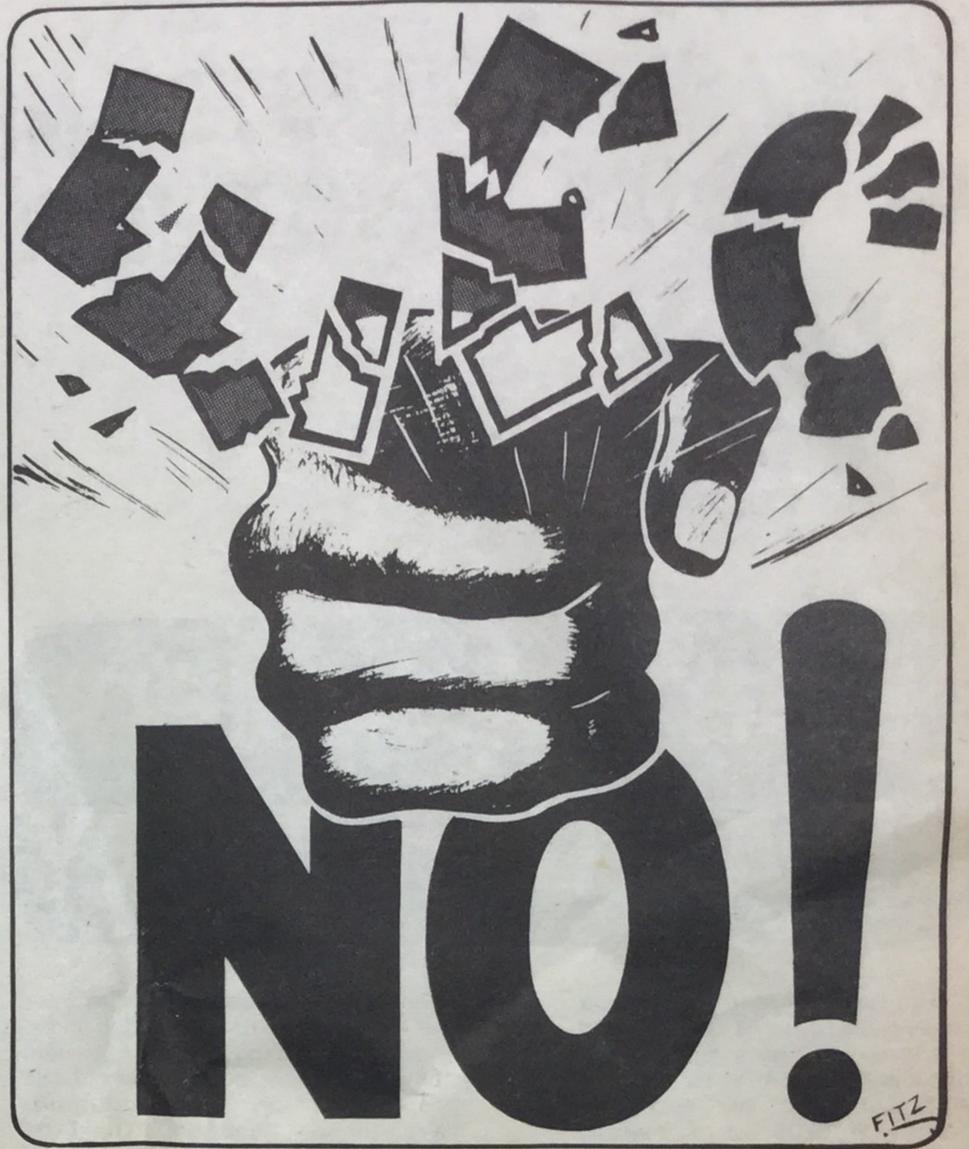
Overall being in the Common Market is against the interests of the ordinary people. It puts the future of wages, employment and prices in the hands of a Brussels bureaucracy, whom nobody elects and whose names we do not even know. It stands for merciless competition and for driving smaller, weaker firms to the wall, with loss of jobs. It aims to run down the farm population, in the guise of "farm modernisation", and concentrate farm production in a few giant industrialised farms or "agro-businesses."

It does **not** aim at a Europe of free self-governing nations, regulating their mutual intercourse on the basis of equality. It aims rather at a single multinational State, governed by a faceless bureaucracy in the interests of the multinational firms, where people do not matter and where ordinary folk cannot influence or control those who take the real decisions.

But it is more than an economic conspiracy of the owners of wealth

THE UNITED IRISHMAN

AN t-EIREANNACH AONTAITHE
Bealtaine (May) 1972. Iml. XXVI. Uimhir 5. Leach 5p (U.S., Canada and Australia 25c.)



against those who work for a living. It is a political conspiracy against the poor countries of the developing world, who are faced by a joint front of the former colonial powers. It supplies the NATO alliance — with its war bases, giant armies and huge military spending — with its political prop.

The Common Market and internment and repression in Northern Ireland are all part of the same Heath-Wilson Tory policy of putting the ordinary people of both Ireland and Britain under a Brussels dictatorship which is elected by nobody, in the interests of big business and the multinational firms.

Getting out of the Common Market will drastically weaken the position of all those in Britain who wish to keep Ireland dependent and divided. That is why the Tories and the Rees-Jenkins wing of the Labour Party leadership are desperately anxious to keep Ireland and Britain in the market. In England it is the Trade Union Movement and in Scotland and Wales it is the Nationalist Parties who are most strongly opposed to membership of the EEC.

By joining the Common Market and signing the Treaty of Rome, EEC Member States give formal recognition to the validity of one another's frontiers. In the Common Market Partition is thus recognised for evermore. In the Twenty Six Counties referendum in 1972 the people were told the country stood a better chance of being reunited in the EEC. There are no signs of this. Instead a Dublin Government Minister recently promised a new Irish Constitution which would have the effect of recognising Partition as permanent. The same Minister plans to broadcast BBC 1 throughout the whole of Ireland. This is part of the attack on national roots and loyalty and identity which is essential if people are to give allegiance in future to the EEC.

The Irish Congress of Trade Unions, Republicans and labour people, strongly campaigned against EEC membership for Ireland in 1972 and their warnings have been fulfilled in the Twenty Six Counties as they foretold, whereas the promises of the pro-Market people have been shown to be wholly false.

FACTS ABOUT THE MARKET

Food prices rose by 40 per cent during the North's first two years in the Common Market. In March, 1975 beef, lamb, butter and cheese could all be bought more cheaply outside the E.E.C. than inside it. The E.E.C. price of beef is £21 to £24 per live cwt. While outside the E.E.C. the price is as low as £8 to £10.

Agricultural production in Ireland has fallen, half of Ireland's beef output is put into the E.E.C.'s "beef mountain", to keep it off the market and to keep prices up for consumers. Farm incomes are down by one third over the past year and it is only the big farmers who are benefitting from grants

and aids in order to push the small farmer off the land.

The E.E.C. is a major threat to all of Ireland's rich natural resources. Fishing is to be open to anyone in seven years time and Ireland's mineral wealth and potential oil and gas resources cannot be developed in such a way as to put the Irish people first for this is against the rules of the E.E.C.

It is notable that since the Twenty Six counties joined the E.E.C. unemployment is at its highest level since 1942. One worker in every ten is without a job. There are over 40,000 unemployed in the North and it is almost certain that if we remain within the

E.E.C. that figure will rise.

Membership of the E.E.C. means that the power to make decisions on a range of economic matters is placed totally in the hands of bureaucrats in Brussels. The rules of the Common Market deprive a member state of the right to make agreements with other states, e.g. on agricultural matters only the European Commission can make or authorise such agreements.

Membership of the E.E.C. only makes sense if you accept that the world should be divided into rival regional blocks using their power against one another and the poorer countries.

N LET THE ORANGE LILY
BE YOUR BADGE
Y PATRIOT BROTHER,
EVERLASTING GREEN FOR ME
US FOR ONE ANOTHER."



● Liam McMillen fighting the Westminster election in 1964.

Liam McMillen REVOLUTIONARY

The Ard Chomhairle of Sinn Féin on learning of the murder of Liam McMillen issued the following statement at a press conference in 30, Gardiner Place, Dublin on Tuesday, April 29. The press conference was addressed by Tomas Mac Giolla, President of Sinn Féin.

Mr. Liam McMillen was a lifelong Republican, a member of the Ard Chomhairle of Sinn Féin for the past ten years, he was one of the architects of the present policy of the Republican Movement. He was totally committed to the anti-sectarian struggle and one of the foremost in promoting dialogue between the Northern Roman Catholic and Protestant communities and peoples' organisations on a wide range of issues from housing conditions to saving individual lives. He opposed with all his ability both the attacks of the British Army and the efforts of the Provisionals to involve the Republican Movement in the mindless anti-civilian bombing campaign of the Provisionals. He stood above all others in the Six Counties as a bulwark against the Republican Movement being drawn into a situation which would ultimately end in the destruction of the Movement and postpone for years the chance of genuine national political and economic emancipation.

In the past there have been attacks by the British Army and the Provisionals on members of the Republican Movement. Liam McMillen himself was the object of such attacks. But in recent months the IRSP has been responsible for the murder of Sean Fox and Paul Crawford, the attempted assassination of Sean Garland, Des O'Hagan and numerous other members of the Movement. The IRSP has issued a statement strenuously denying responsibility for the murder of Liam McMillen; however, that denial is put in question by a number of lying statements in the past and by a number of lies in the most recent IRSP statement.

First of all, the IRSP continue, despite all the evidence, to deny that they are a military organisation.

This fact is now dawning on at least some of the media. The Irish Press in an editorial poses the question: "how does the non-military IRSP propose to be more militantly revolutionary than the armed Officials?". This so-called political organisation has one member of its National Executive in prison awaiting trial for bank robbery and possession of arms, numerous others are on remand for assorted charges ranging from possession of explosives to attempted sectarian murder.

With regard to the statement itself, the IRSP claim that there were developments in the "dispute" between the IRSP and the IRA. The truth is that Jim McCorry contacted a member of the Alliance Party in Turf Lodge asking for talks with the IRA and the PLA. In fact, the PLA is the IRSP. The statement by the IRSP that their members were not involved simply means that the killing was done under the name PLA. The attacks on our membership over the past few months have been carried out by full-time paid killers, mercenaries, whose purpose is to smash our organisation.

These killers travel quite openly in cars, carrying weapons, unhindered by the so-called Security Forces. This is the most sinister and dangerous organisation that has ever appeared on the Irish scene. It is no coincidence that they appeared on the scene at the time when the Provisional military campaign was being wound down and an opportunity was open for our organisation to play a major political role.

Sinn Féin is now convinced that Seamus Costello and Bernadette McAliskey are caught up in some Kitsonian plot. We call on the press and all progressive people's organisations to condemn this brutal murder and the campaign of terror being carried on against the members of the Republican Movement.

Sinn Féin is determined to press forward with its political policies and the pursuit of a democratic socialist republic. We sincerely hope that there will not be a series of reprisals which would feed the flames of hatred in the North.

For 35 of his 47 years Liam McMillen was a member of the Republican Movement. His introduction to Republicanism in the Belfast of the early 1940's was a harsh one and steered him for the life of struggle ahead.

Born into a family of committed Republicans, Liam had the benefit of a mother who in her youth had worked for James Connolly during his period in Belfast. Those who knew Liam will remember how proud he was of that maternal association with the leader of Irish Revolutionary Socialism.

His early life was typical of many of the young men from the lower Falls, Belfast; work in the Mills, imprisonment without trial, struggling to learn his native language and develop the Republican Movement. Not only did he know the Prison Cell but he was forced at one time to experience compulsory emigration. The difficulties of his life did not weaken him but moulded him into the dedicated Republican Socialist that he was.

He knew the people of Ireland from the back streets of the Falls and the Shankill to the cottages of Connemara and Donegal. His desire for cultural economic and political freedom was no romantic attachment to flags or symbols nor to some nostalgic celtic twilight. He developed into a revolutionary figure of stature which will remain unsurpassed in our time.

Liam McMillen joined the Republican Movement at a time when the Unionist Party was at the zenith of its power. Because of its importance to the British War Effort, Stormont had been given a free hand to crack down on Republicans. The entire apparatus of state repression was employed in an attempt to crush the Movement. Belfast Republicans bore the brunt of this policy. Only the most determined came through this period with their Republicanism unscathed. Liam McMillen was one of them.

Liam McMillen was to write in his later life, "The Republican Movement must at all times have clearly stated aims and objectives, all members of the Movement should be totally aware of what these objectives are and that the political development of the movement and its members should go hand in hand with the military development in order that volunteers may take the fullest advantage of every situation.

For Liam McMillen there could never be any question but that these objectives would be in the interests of the working people of Ireland. As he declared at Bodenstown in June 1973, "Whenever there is conflict

An appreciation

between the masses and the interests of the ruling few, between capital and the value of human life, the Republican Movement will take its stand with the people to educate, agitate, organise and fight so that the people may go forward in dignity and consciousness to the final success - ownership of their resources, control of their own destiny.

Liam McMillen was a man born and reared among the Belfast working class. Thus he knew at first hand how sectarian divisions prevented that working class from claiming their own. For McMillen the Republican and Revolutionary Socialist, the eradication of sectarianism was a vital part of the struggle for the democratic transformation of society. As he said in Bodenstown: "Divided and opposed we can only benefit the rulers who have gained from our divisions in the past and who will sell you out just as soon as their interests require it."

These were no empty words for as Stephen Preston writing in the Sunday News May 4, says about the Republican Clubs "they have always sought to build a bridge across the sectarian divide, impossible a task though that may have seemed." It was under the guidance and direction of Liam McMillen that the first genuine efforts were made to build those bridges.

There are certainly many in Belfast Shankill Road who feel somewhat more desperate about the future with the death of Liam McMillen. Those who knew him from that area may not have agreed with his politics but they appreciated that he was a man who was genuinely concerned for all the Irish Working Class.

Liam McMillen's life was a life of unrelenting struggle. His vision of a Socialist Republic capable of satisfying the material and spiritual needs of the Irish people sustained him through internment, imprisonment, harassment and a number of assassination attempts. The murder of Liam McMillen has lost Ireland a great working class leader and a fine and noble example of the type of revolutionary militant who will take the axe to the root and build the new world.

● Mrs. McMillen and friends watch the coffin leave her home.



BEALTAINE

The funeral of Liam McMillen, O/C Belfast Command Staff I.R.A. took place on Wednesday, April 30. Thousands lined the route from his home in Earls Court Street to the Republican Plot in Milltown Cemetery.

A guard of honour drawn from different units of the I.R.A. led the funeral procession after a volley of shots was fired over the coffin outside his home.

Organisations represented at the Funeral of Liam McMillen were Sinn Fein, Republican Clubs, Republican Clubs of USA and Canada, Clann na hEireann, England, Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association, Connradh na Gaelge, the Irish Transport & General Workers Union, the Amalgamated Transport and General Workers Union, Farmers Defence Association, and representatives of community organisations throughout the North.

Also present were public representatives from throughout the 32 counties.

The oration was delivered by Mr. Cathal Goulding who said:

Laoch

"Taimid anseo chun cáineadh ar Laoch Ghaelach, Liam aluinn Mac Maolain agus is dubh do-bhrónach an curam sin. Mar níorbh ghnath fear ata da nadhhlachadh againn fe lathair. Ach sar fhear ar gach bhoth, sar treorai cliste calma go raibh mor-taithi aige ar gach cursa reabhlaoidéach, sar laoch i gcogadh, loach cliste crionna mar rialtoir reabhloideach. Sar cosantoir cearta coismhuintir Ghaeil, Sar abhchoide ar dteangean agus ar gcultúr duchais, duine lach, croiuil, cinnealta.

Liam McMillen lived, worked and died in Belfast. He learned here the lessons of Republicanism that were taught by Tone and Pearse, he learned the lessons of socialism that were taught by Hope and Connolly, but not from any book or from any teacher did he learn more than he did from the streets and the lives of his people.

“When the time was right to lead the Republican Movement in a new direction it was Liam McMillen who stood in Belfast for radicalism, that the time and the people of the Six Counties demanded. When the pressure was heaviest on the Irish Republican Army to engage in action that would have been disastrous for the workers of the Six Counties, Liam McMillen stood and argued and reasoned and maintained the discipline that was needed to prevent that action.”

Experience was Liam McMillen's tutor, imprisonment his education, compassion, tolerance and humanity his guide. He knew, with a depth of knowledge that few men have, the viciousness of sectarianism. He recognised that whoever won or lost the futile struggle that set worker against worker it was the people of the small streets of this city who paid the price.

And Liam McMillen, our comrade, has paid the price of his vision. He was coldly and savagely murdered by men who were inspired by hatred of that vision, who believed that to destroy it, they had to destroy him, by men whose only philosophy — if you can call it that — is the philosophy of bigotry, by men whom later generations will remember, if at all, only because they murdered him.

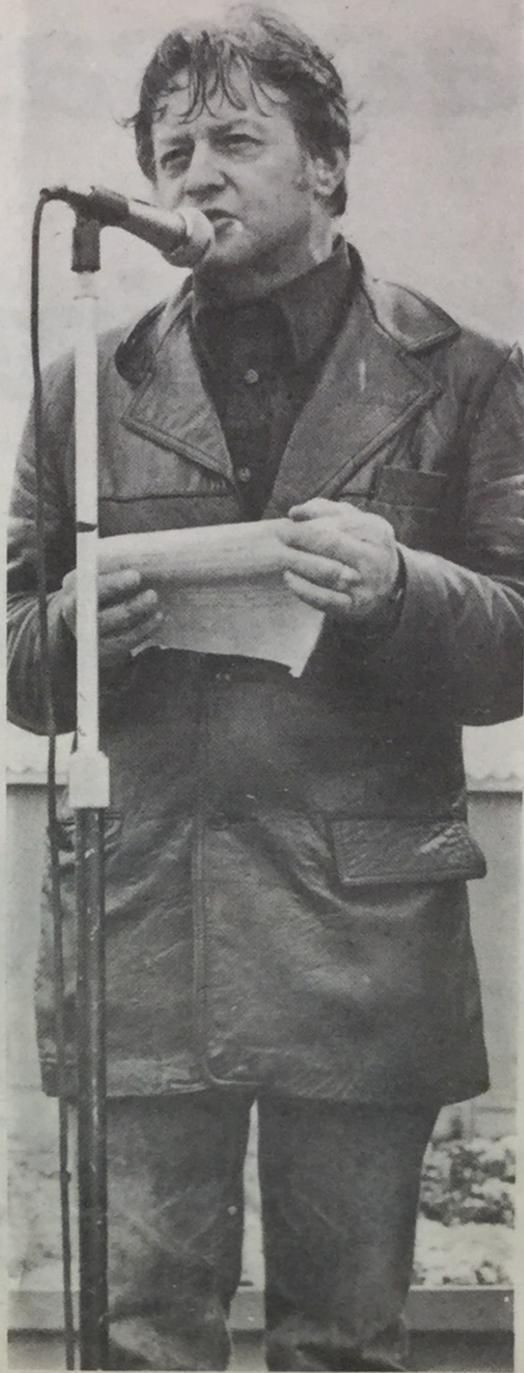
Murdered

Liam McMillen's place, even now, is secure in the history of Ireland, rooted in the traditions of socialist republicanism, alive in the hearts of the Irish people, and a bare recital of his achievements is no measure of the insight, the courage and the resolution of the man. To list the forces that sought his downfall is to tell the story of his success.

He recognised that the first and greatest enemy was British imperialism and he fought for separation. But he also saw the failure of blind nationalism and he struggled for civil rights. He felt the need of the people of the Six Counties for peace and he maintained a ceasefire. He heard the demand for political action and he died on his way from election headquarters. He recognised the dangers of sectarian civil war and he was murdered by those who would, as coldly and cynically as they shot him, start the sectarian conflict that would consume the working class. They stand condemned by their action in the sight of the people of Belfast and the world, enemies of the people and allies of imperialism as surely as if they wore the uniforms of the British Army.

An Orange junta sent Liam McMillen to prison because he fought for separation. The Provisional Alliance attempted to assassinate him because he held his socialist principles and fought for civil rights.

Joe Doherty will be resuming his historical appreciation of the 1940's next month. Due to circumstances which readers will understand we have been compelled to hold over his copy yet again this month.



● Cathal Goulding at Milltown Cemetery, Belfast.

The RUC and the British Army of occupation harassed and hounded him because he was a socialist republican. A small, mad band of fanatical malcontents, the sewer rats of Costello and McAliskey who finally laid him low.

“The only way that Liam McMillen would have recognised a mourner for him here, or in any other place, is by the strength of his determination to carry on the fight he fought. The dying wasp of lunacy may sting its sting of death but it will surely die even while we are here. And those throughout the country who learn from the example of Liam McMillen will pledge themselves to survival, to struggle and to his final victory.”

When the time was right to lead the Republican Movement in a new direction it was Liam McMillen who stood in Belfast for radicalism, that the time and the people of the Six Counties demanded. When the pressure was heaviest on the Irish Republican Army to engage in action that would have been disastrous for the workers of the Six Counties, Liam McMillen stood and argued and reasoned and maintained the discipline that was needed to prevent that action.

Radical

When there was an opportunity to promote co-operation between the Shankill and the Falls, Liam McMillen, the son of ancestors who were both Catholic and Protestant, took that opportunity and won the

respect of the radical activists of the Shankill Road. When organisation was needed to help the old, the young, the poor and the underprivileged he worked night and day to make it succeed. When the time came to defend these gains he was the leader and inspiration of defence.

Let no man call him coward, for he was the commander in charge of the defence of the Falls when British forces attempted to crush the people of the area into submission. Let no man call him weak, for he withstood the fury of the misguided and the onslaughts of the bigoted. Let no man dare to call him fool because he devoted his life to the struggle for which he died; because that struggle, the struggle of the working people of the Six Counties, of the people of Ireland, for full freedom, will continue and will succeed.

Victory

The only way that Liam McMillen would have recognised a mourner for him here, or in any other place, is by the strength of his determination to carry on the fight he fought. The dying wasp of lunacy may sting its sting of death but it will surely die even while we are here. And those throughout the country who learn from the example of Liam McMillen will pledge themselves to survival, to struggle and to his final victory.

Working class people of Belfast, you have suffered a great loss. The Irish Republican Army has lost a great comrade and a great leader. The grief we feel at the grave of Liam McMillen must be matched by our determination to honour this leader, who is dead, by our lives, by our organisation, by our work, and by our belief in the beliefs he held.

Socialism

We are here to mourn no ordinary man. For our friend and comrade, Liam McMillen, was the authentic voice of working class Belfast. A man of whom it was possible to say — he speaks for you, the working people of this city, struggling to be free. His life was yours, his murder is your tragedy, it is for every Irishman to mourn his death.

Saol sasuil

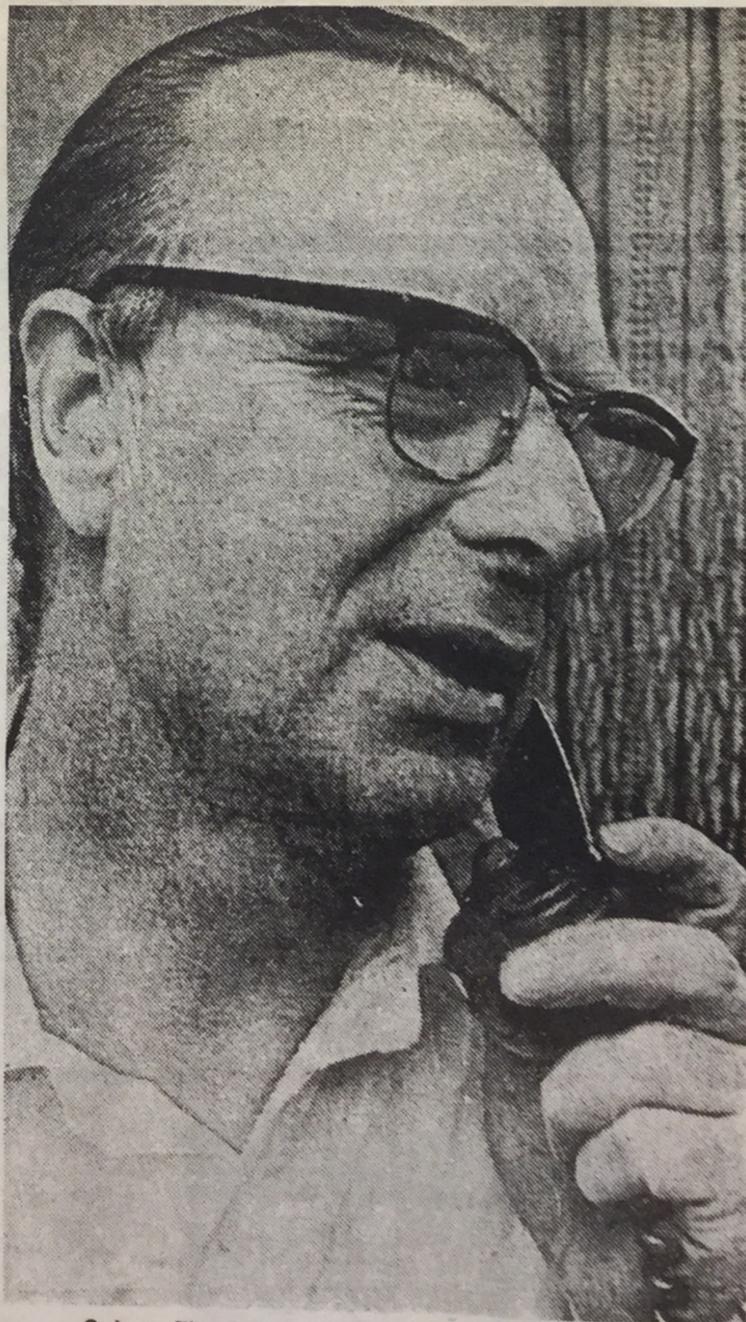
nua-aimseartha

gaelach

**SCEAL
SCEIL**

Cen fath ar bhacamar

Ta na toghchain don Choinbhinean thart agus d'fheadfai a iarraidh cen tairbhe a rinne se do Ghluaiseacht na Poblachta pairt a ghlacadh iontu, no cen fath ar bhacamar leo. Ni thiochfaidh tairbhe ar bith as an gCoinbhinean agus bhi fhios againn o thus nach mbeadh i gceist act caint, caint ar rudai go mba mhian le Westminster go mbeadh muintir an Tuaiscirt ag caint orthu. Mar sin fein bhiomar sasta seasamh, agus dha dtoghfai muid, sui mor thimpeall an bhoird cheanna leis an dream ata anois tofa — ar mhaithe le leas na coismhuintire, sa chaol is go mbeadh ionadaithe ann le labhairt thar a gceann. Ta cumhachtaí moran mar an gceanna — no easpa cumhachtaí — ag na comhairli aitiula, ait a bhfuil naonur de bhaill na Gluaiseachta ag obair ar son na coismhuintire. Sin e an polasai ata againn. Thuigeamar o thus cen saghas duine a bheadh ina shui lamh linn ag bord an Choinbhinean dha dtoghfai muid — leitheid Bill Craig a bhi mar Aire Gnothai Baile trath, an fear ceanna a thug ordaithe don RUC an choismhuintir a bhualadh go mithrocaireach; Brian Faulkner a thug an t-imtheorannu no an geibheannu gan triail isteach; Gerry Fitt agus John Hume a threig iad siud a bhi i ngeibhinn gan triail, a threig iad ar mhaithe lena leas suarach fein. Ainneoin seo uile bheimis sasta bheith pairteach ann ar mhaithe leis an ngnath phobal, an choismhuintir, ni ar mhaithe le lucht an mheanaicme. Ach ni bheidh leisce ar Ghluaiseacht na Poblachta leanacht lena polasaithe agus seasamh aris i dtoghchain eile sna Se no sna Fiche Se Chontae, go dti go mbeidh ar mbun-aidhm, Poblacht Shóisialach Dhaonlathach, bainte amach againn. Beimid gníomhach aris an mhi seo lenar bhfeachtas in aghaidh ballraíochta sa Chomhargadh. Reifreann no toghchain, is coir usaid iomlan a bhaint astu lenar bpolasaithe a chur os comhair na ndaoine.



• Jerry Fitt, Ceannaire an L.S.D.P.

"Si an Ghaeilge a dheanann pobal faoi leith de Ghaeltacht Chonamara. Ma bhíonn an pobal laidir, eagraithe, saol sasuil sa mbaile acu agus brod acu astu fein, seans maith go gcoinneoidh siad an teanga. Ma thiteann an pobal as a cheile is cinnte nach bhfuil seans ar bith aice.

"Seo e bunaidhm na Gluaiseachta — saol sasuil, nua-aimseartha, Gaelach a bhnu i gConamara Leis seo a chur i gcrích ta ga le udaras Gaeltachta a thoghfaidh na daoine fein agus a mbeadh a dhothain airgid agus cumhachta aige le chuile ghne de shaol na ndaoine a fhorbairt mar is coir. Udaras e seo nach mbainfear amach go heasca. De reir mar ata cursai sa tir faoi lathair ni fheileann se don Stat udaras cumhachtach daonlathach mar sin a cheadu. Ni bhainfidh scríobh litreacha na comhrait le Tom O'Donnell amach e. Ni bhainfidh an Ghluaiseacht fein amach i da fheabhas da mbeadh si. Pobal na Gaeltachta a bheith sasta gur bhfuil doibh a leitheid de rud a bheith ann agus iad a bheith sasta seasamh go laidir ar a shon — sin e an t-aon rud amhain a bhogfas an rialtas seo na rialtas ar bith eile."

Sliocht as oraid an Chathaoirligh, Seosamh O Cuaig, ag crunniu cinn bhliana Ghluaiseacht Chearta Sibhialta na Gaeltachta ar an gCeathru Rua le deireannaí. Is leir on oraid seo agus o obair is aitisí na Gluaiseachta le tamall go bhfuil grupa eagraithe ag obair go diagraiseach, readuil lena gcuid aidhmeanna a chur i gcrích agus le treisú ar mhuscailt pholaitiúil mhuintir an cheantair sin. Gach rath ar an gCathaoirleach nua Sean O Cadhain as Corr na Mona agus ar Sheosamh O Cuaig ata mar leas chathaoirleach i mbliana.

Labhair O Cuaig ar na comhairli pobail i gConamara — ta 20 acu ann — agus duirt gurb i an obair ba mho a bhi le deanamh ag an nGluaiseacht a bheith ag eileamh go dtabharfai cumhacht do na comhairli agus, rud nios tabhachtaí na sin dar leis, a bheith ag griosadh na gcomhairli fein le cumhacht a iarraidh. Chaithfi, aduirt se, tosai le rudai beaga, mar shampla smacht ar bhoithri beaga agus ar bhoithrini portaigh, hallai agus scoileanna amach anseo. Ag tagairt do na comharchumainn, duirt an Cathaoirleach gur bealach sarmhaithe iad le neart an phobail a chur i dtuiscint don phobal agus mhol se go mbeadh an Ghluaiseacht mar eagraíocht nios gníomhaí iontu. "An rud is mo ata ag coinneail bac ar na comharchumainn seo gun buion beag coimeadach ata i gceannas orthu — siopadoiri no daoine a bhfuil meon siopadoiri acu. An fhad a bheas an aicme bheag coimeadach i gceannas ni bheidh na comharchumainn ag ple le tada ach le oibreacha imeallacha — seachnófar obair ar bith a dheanfadh dochar do na 'vested interests'."

Molann O Cuaig go mbeadh na comharchumainn ag ple le chuile cineal ni a bhaineann le saol na ndaoine — diol agus ceannacht, togail tithe, cursai iompair, maoin aiceanta na haite, iascaireacht, portaigh, siopai, pubanna agus rl.

Rud eile ba mhaithe leis a fheiceail na ceangal idir an lucht oibre i monarchana agus in ionaid oibre Chonamara — agus ceangal freisin idir iadsan agus an pobal dar diobh iad. Dha mbeadh an caidreamh seo ann, adeir se, ni fhagfai monarcha ar bith astu fein nuair a thosodh triobloid. "O thaobh na Gluaiseachta de ta se riachtanach go mbeadh baill eifeachta againn i chuile mhonarcha as Bearna go Carna. Ta roinnt de na baill ata againn — maoir ceardchumainn — pairteach i mbunú Coiste Oibrithe na Gaeltachta. Caithfear cabhrú leo ar chuile bhealach agus a chinntiú go mbeidh gaol gar ag an nGluaiseacht agus gaol da reir le pobal iomlan na Gaeltachta."

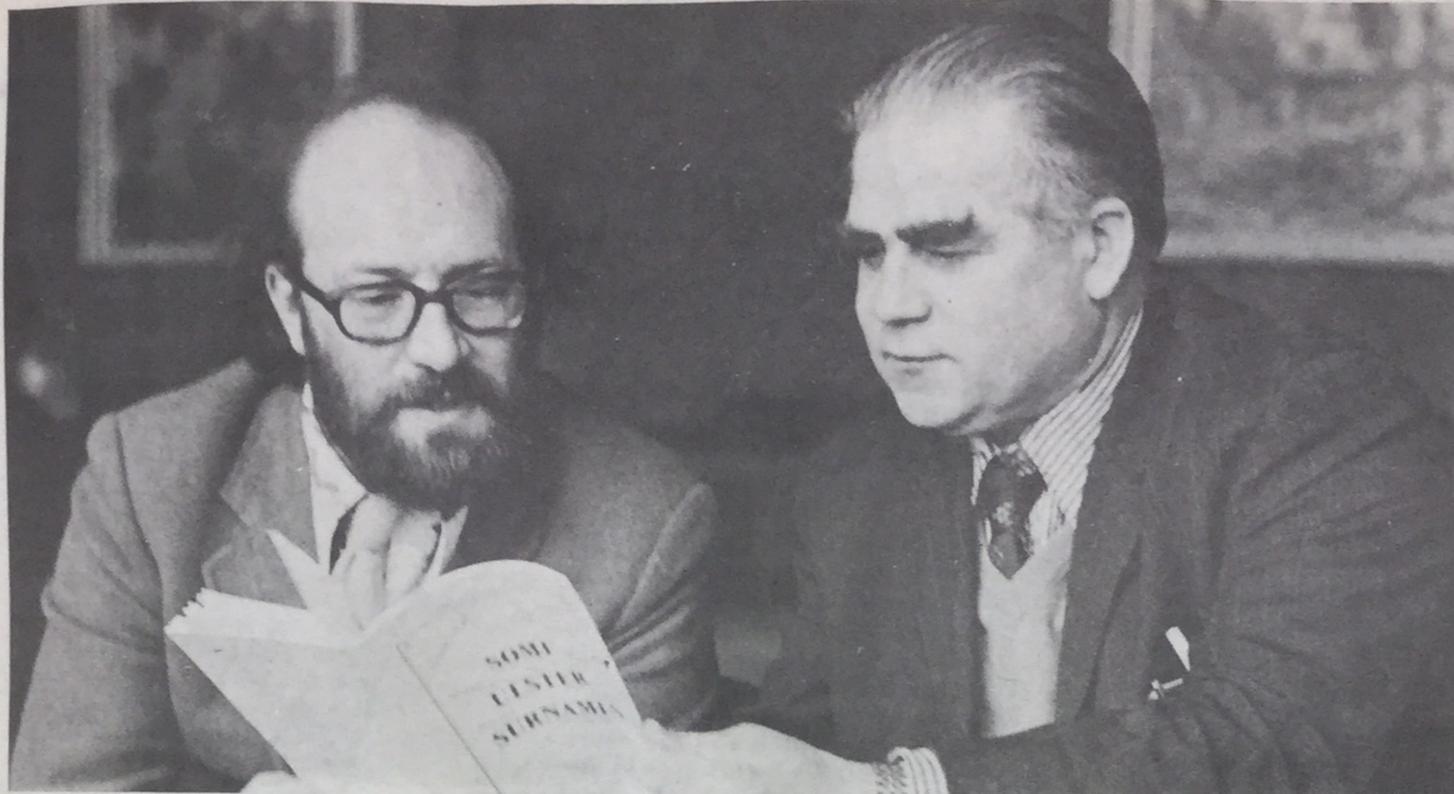
Ceannaigh

Pobal

gach re mi

●
POILIN ROYCROFT,
(Bainisteoir)

3 Br. Chuileannphort,
Baile Atha Cliath 9.



● Padraig O'Snodaigh, Uachtaran Conradh na Gaeilge agus Sammy Smyth, U.D.A. le cheile i mBealfeirste.

ARD FHEIS CHONRADH NA GAEILGE

Tharlúigh go raibh Ard Fheis Chonradh na Gaeilge ann an mhi seo chuiagh thart. Chuaigh se thart i nganfhiós don saol mor. Rinne na nuachtain beag shuim de. Do reir chosulacht d'aon gno a rinne siad beag shuim de. Is e pleann an Rialtas faoi lathair no culu o iomlan prionsabail naisiuntachta a glacadh leo le leith-chead bliain. Ce nar cuireadh i bhfeidhim ariamh na prionsabail sin bhi siad ann agus go dtí seo bhi eagla ar rialtuise i geonai culu uatha. Ach anois ta an pobal peatfhuar agus is maith a thuigeann an dream ata i gcumhacht e sin. Is am maith e le diriu ar an cuigeachas measuil ata siad ag iarrai a chuir i bhfeidm.

Lag is mar ata Conradh na Gaeilge faoi lathair is eagraiocht naisiunta iad go foill agus ce go bhfuil cuid da mballraiocht nach dtuigeann cursai mar ata siad ag tuitim amach, bhi guthann le chuinsteán ar fud na tire, thuaidh agus theas, ag an Ard Fheis a thug le fios go maith go raibh tugbheal ceart acu ar cursai.

Ritheadh run ag canadh an udarus ata beartaithe don Ghaeltacht ag an t-Aire Gaeltachta agus tugadh lan tacaiocht don meid a bhi eagraisi taobh istigh dena Gaeltachtaí ag iarrai i.e. Udaras neamhspleach, daonfhaitheach a mbeadh cumhachtaí aige thar Chursai Pleanala agus thar caiteachas airgeadas poibli.

Glacadh le run eile a chain na h-iarraichtaí ata a dheanamh ag an t-Aire Conor Cruise O'Brien an B.B.C. a chraoladh mar an dara bealach telefise. Seasamh e seo in eadan an "cultural assimilation" ata mar aidhm ag lucht cumhachta faoi lathair.

Bhi se le feiceal go soilleir fosta nach raibh dearcadh eathain ag moran a bhí lathair ar cursai culturtha. Mar a duirt an tUachtaran e fein Padraig O Snodaigh ina oraid ta dluthcheangal idir gearleanuint eacnamaiochta soisialta, agus gearleanuint culturtha. Thug an tUachtaran sampla simpli gonta de seo. Ta iascairi na tire faoi lathair ag troid ar son a sli bheatha. Is iascairi cuid mhaith de mhuintear na Gaeltachta agus ma chailltear orthu siud ins an troid, caillfidh an Ghaeltacht agus ar ndoighe caillfidh an teanga.

Ar ndoigh nior aontai iomlan na baill leis an triomlucht. Bhi siad ag radh narbh ceist poilitiul i ceist na teanga. Is adhuil don Chonradh go bhfuil an dream seo ag eirigh nios lugha gach bliain.

Agus me da scriobh seo ta na dobhair-choim ag an doras dar n-ionnsai. Dar le gach tuairisceoir ata ag tarraingt a thuarastail gur furasta sinn a chliceail anois. Bhuel fuair sinne buille feile le deireannai nuair a dun mharbhadh Liam Mac Maolain i mBeal Feirste os coir a bhean cheile. Ni amhain gur fhullaing Gluaiseacht na Poblachta buille ach dhullaing an chois mhuintir buille nios measa. Mar ba den chois mhuintir Mac Maolain thar aon duine eile sa tir seo. B'eisean a shasaigh fod in eadan na gellí a shli gurbh ionann saoirse choise mhuintir na tire seo agus brat na hEireann a chuir in ionad an Union Jack thar Stormont. Na gellí a scrios gluaiseacht na ndaolne, Gluaiseacht Cearta Sibhialta an Tuasceart le na mbuamball Seicteach.

Ba uaigneach an fod ar sheasaigh Liam Mac Maolain air i mBeal Feirste. Go hiallthe nuair a bhí droing a bhí agus ata nalmh-deach in aghaidh chois mhuintir na tire seo faoi lan seoll le cuidiu lucht gaimblin.

Ach sheas Mac Maolain an fod agus tholl se meas na ndaoln is fluntaigh sa tir seo le na sheasamh. Nior tholl se meas lucht gaimblin, no meas a bpitseogal an I.R.S.P.

Rinne Liam Mac Maolain a dhith-chal teagasc Wolfe Tone agus an Conghaolteach agus teagasc na ndaoln a raibh na smaointe is for



**BUILLE FEILE BAS
MAC MAOLAIN**

shasai sa domhan acu a chuir chun tosaigh leis an seicteachas agus an t-oid idir dhaoil i mBeal Feirste agus sa tir seo a ullig a scrios le go gcuirfeadh se reim an chois mhuintir i bhfeidm.

Ni duine ar bith sa tir seo athasach in an — bhas Liam Mac Maolain ach iad siud agus a geomharbai flimneacha a choinigh faoi chois sinn leis na clanta agus ata ar gcoineall faoi chois go n-uilge se.

Oppose this collaboration

At Sunningdale the Dublin Government representatives made an unprecedented retreat on the question of Irish sovereignty. The Dublin government formally accepted British control in the North and agreed to register this acceptance at the UN.

Following from this the Dublin government also agreed to act as a 'second guarantor' for the British efforts to impose a military solution on the North. For the past five years the British Army had used the area as a testing ground for the development of a wide range of measures designed to enable a military force to police a hostile civilian population.

As the Gardiner Report recently revealed, Ireland's membership of the Common Market requires the Dublin Government to back up British efforts in the North. Paragraph 10 of the Report stated, "the U.K. and the Republic of Ireland are both members of the EEC whose members explicitly recognise a greater degree of obligation to cooperate than is the case between sovereign states in general (as expressed for instance in Section 224 of the Treaty of Rome which specifically covers situations of internal disturbance in a member country.)"

Provisional violence is thus only the excuse for the measures proposed in the Bill. The Bill would confer upon the 26 County courts jurisdiction to try under 26 county law certain offences committed in Britain and Northern Ireland. Paragraph 33 of the Law Commission Report states that "While the introduction of such an extra-territorial jurisdiction is not in any way dependent upon the achievement of uniformity in substantive and procedural criminal law, the legislative authorities might consider it desirable that an effort should be made to bring about a measure of uniformity."

Thus the proposed Bill is merely a first step towards the creation of a common law enforcement area for the whole land of Ireland. The 'unity' to be achieved by these measures is similar to the unity which existed in this country during the Act of Union.

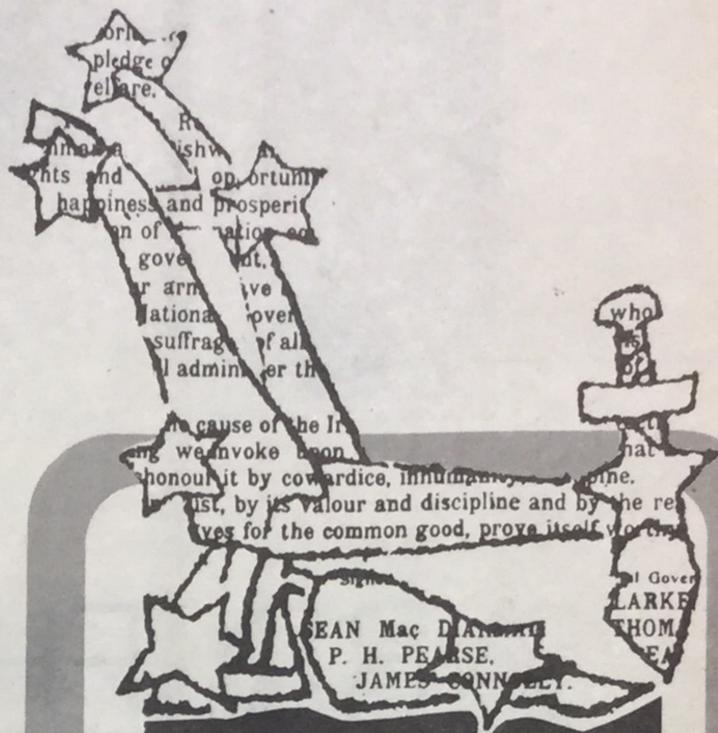
Persons dealt with under the Criminal Law (Jurisdiction) Bill will be tried before the Special Criminal Court. They will therefore be denied one of the most important safeguards for a fair trial which exists in common law country - trial by jury. The presiding judges of the Special Criminal Court must decide not only on the question of law involved in a particular case but also must weigh the factual evidence involved as well. This is more usually the function of a jury. The court will hear evidence to decide whether a statement was

made voluntarily, whether it should be excluded as being in breach of the judges rules, or in breach of constitutional rights or contrary to principles of fair play and justice. Then, having heard all the evidence for the purpose of making that decision, the members of the court then have to apply themselves to the question of what weight to attach to a particular statement. Sinn Fein has consistently rejected Special Courts because functions which could most equitably be distributed between judge and jury are concentrated into the hands of judges, at the expense of the accused.

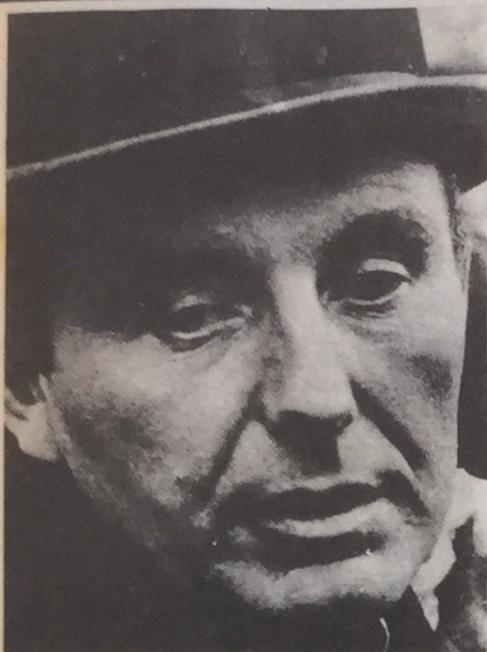
But the system proposed in the Criminal Law (Jurisdiction) Bill goes even further. The Bill allows for the taking of vital evidence for a case outside the jurisdiction. Thus the right of the defence to cross-examine witnesses will be severely curtailed. Although the accused and his legal representatives will be allowed to attend the hearing of evidence on commission, the Law Commission Report made it quite clear that they were more concerned with protecting interests of state that that they were in protecting the rights of the accused. The Report said, "We recognise that members of the Security Forces may choose to give evidence on commission, because a ruling might be given by the Court of trial adverse to the public interest of the State from which the witness had come." No similar concern was expressed for the rights of the accused.

How concerned would judges of the Northern Ireland judiciary be to strike a balance between interests of state and the rights of the accused. Recently a judge of the High Court gave all the weight of his judicial office to the cold blooded murder of Patrick McIlhone of Pomeroy. Many other judges of the High Court of Northern Ireland have had connections with the Unionist Party. These men have seen the traditional role of the judiciary in Northern Ireland as an arm of a state machine which has always been prepared to use all forms of repression to maintain the Northern state.

The Law Commission Report further recommended that legislation should be introduced in the 26 Counties to enable written statements of fact or formal admissions to be receivable in evidence. This recommendation has a particularly sick ring about it in view of the fact that the Dublin Government currently have a case before the European Commission at Strasbourg, alleging torture against the RUC. Now it is proposed that the same RUC are to be allowed to introduce "Admissions" as evidence which may have been obtained by the same methods which now stand indicted at Strasbourg.



**Sinn
Fein
Platform**



● Mr. Cooney's Bill arouses fierce opposition.



● Car workers must be protected from the EEC.

Refuse car import licenses

"Sinn Fein calls on the Minister for Industry and Commerce to back the present trade union ban on the importation of fully assembled cars by refusing them import licences. Irish interests can best be served if the Irish home market is supplied by cars assembled here. If this requires a rationalisation of the industry then the government must ensure this by legislative action.

"The present crisis in the motor assembly industry results from the failure of the Government to stand up for the jobs of Irish workers

against policy decisions taken by multi-million pound companies. These companies were allowed to import fully assembled cars without reference to regulations laid down by the Government itself. As a result, the future of 12,000 workers in the car assembly and its ancillary industries looks bleak.

Having failed to stand up to these multi-national firms, the Government now has the effrontery to propose that Irish tax payer's money in the form of IDA grants should be given to these very same

firms to enable them to diversify their interests into more lucrative fields. Car assembly workers who will be re-employed in the new component factories will be pressurised into accepting less favourable terms of employment than they have at present. Many workers in the industry will not get re-employment. Finally, there is no guarantee that these new factories will not be like so many of the 'fly by night' efforts which has been such a feature of Irish industrial development".

A feminist invites attacks

Speaking at a seminar on "Feminism" at U.C.D. on Friday April 4th, Mairin de Burca, Secretary, Sinn Fein, said:

"To declare yourself a feminist at the present time is to invite attacks from both the extreme right and the extreme left who have defined the expression in their own terms regardless of the accurate definition i.e. an advocate of womens' rights and of the movement for the advancement and emancipation of women.

The Conservatives accuse feminists of being shrill and aggressive, unwilling to fulfil their allotted roles as wives and mothers and rebelling against their traditional part as helpmate to some man - any man. The Left on the other hand condemn feminism as anti-Socialist, divisive of the working-class forces, anti-man in concept and based on the false premise that all women are sisters.

It is true that some women who have called themselves feminists have taken attitudes which were anti-social, have treated men as if they were the only enemy and generally brought derision and antagonism to the women's cause. But every movement has its lunatic fringe. Their activities can be damaging but they do not and cannot invalidate just demands.

I believe, with the Mill girls of Massachusetts in their strike in 1912 - "Yes it is bread we fight for... but we fight for roses too. To me this means the recognition that it is not only economic forces that oppress women though these forces are by far the most destructive and their elimination a matter of the most immediate urgency. But women want more than equal pay, they want more than the right to train at any job for which they feel competent with the guarantee of employment when they qualify, they

want more than the right to sit on juries without having to own property.

Women want dignity and freedom. Every fifteen minutes on RTE and every 20 minutes on UTV women are insulted and degraded. The two evening papers in Dublin insult and degrade women in every issue. The Sunday World has brought the process to a fine art, ably assisted by their "Socialist" contributors, with Gerry Lawless leading by twenty lengths. Women are insulted in schools, in Churches, in all organisations predominantly male, but most of all they are insulted in their homes, the one place where they might expect to find dignity and freedom. That some of these insults are self-inflicted is a measure of our degradation not of our indifference.

Socialism is essential to the liberation of mankind. Feminism must accompany it if women are to have their bread and their roses too.

Police attack Cork Sinn Fein HQ

Sinn Fein wishes to register the strongest possible protest at the searching of the Thomas Ashe Hall, its Cork headquarters, by Special Branch detectives on Thursday last. About 4 p.m. on that afternoon, a large number of Special Branch detectives entered the premises and confronted the one member present. When the member concerned asked for the production of a search warrant, it was refused. Also refused was his request to be present when searching took place in each particular room. The member was assaulted by two of the detectives present and was then arrested.

The detectives then proceeded to search and ransack each room, paying particular attention to the Sinn Fein office. Having strewn files and other papers on the floor, they removed office equipment and files of a

confidential nature which are vital to the operation of the Citizens' Advice Bureau and to the organisation as a whole. Damages in the rooms searched included the breaking open of doors and presses in the rooms allotted to the Cork Volunteers Pipe Band and the quarters of Na Flanna Elreann (the Republican Youth Movement). Equipment owned by Na Flanna Elreann Boxing Club was also damaged and some leather to be sent to prisoners for handicraft work was taken. No receipt was given for any of the items taken though one was asked for by other Sinn Fein members, who had then arrived on the scene.

On the same afternoon, the secretary of Cork City Comhairle Ceanntair of Sinn Fein, Nash Sandham, was arrested at his place of work. He and Davy O'Donnell, the member

arrested in the Thomas Ashe Hall, were taken to the Bridewell Garda Station, where they were held for twenty six hours under the Offences Against the State Act. They were then released without charges.

Sinn Fein wishes to protest at the following violations of the rights of a registered political party as is Sinn Fein:

(1) the searching of its premises and the confiscation of documents;

(2) the illegal methods of the Gardai in failing to produce a search warrant and refusing to allow a member of Sinn Fein to accompany them in the search;

(3) the denial of rights to the members arrested in refusing them access to a solicitor.

Czechoslovakia is situated in central Europe. It is a highly industrialised country of fourteen and a half million people. The population is composed of several different nationalities — Czechs, Slovaks, Germans, Hungarians and others. However, the Czechs and Slovaks make up the vast bulk of the people. Czechoslovakia was part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire until 1918 when it was declared an independent Republic. Between 1918 and 1938 Czechoslovakia was a bourgeois parliamentary democracy and because of the maturity and stability of its economic and political structures and, more particularly, because of the strength of the working-class movement, fascism, which was sweeping all before it in the rest of Europe, made no progress among the Czechs.

Czech foreign policy at this time was centred on mutual defence agreements with Britain and France and after the betrayal of Munich the Czechs were unable to defend themselves against the Nazi Army. The Nazis marched into Czechoslovakia in 1938, abolishing the independence of the Czech people and installing a reign of terror and slaughter which resulted in the deaths of hundreds of thousands of people. 170,000 were executed by the Nazis as distinct from those who died in concentration camps or while actually fighting the Nazis.

After the war a coalition government was formed from all the national elements who had joined together in opposing the Nazis — liberals, christians, communists and socialists. In the elections of 1946 the Communist Party obtained 40 p.c. of the vote, making it by far the largest party and giving it the leading posts in the Cabinet. The right-wing, which had expected to win the elections easily, reacted with shock to the fact that the working-class movement had become so strong. In the usual fashion the right plotted a coup but they met with no more success than the recent attempted coup in Portugal.

The Communists, together with democratic elements in the government, including Socialists and the Catholic priest, Fr. Plozner, exposed the attempted coup, and brought out the workers' militia — an armed force of 10,000 workers organised on a factory basis.

In the beginning of the fifties the Czech socialists faced considerable difficulties. The right-wing in Czechoslovakia had not been discredited by association with the Nazis (as had been the case in the other East European countries) and was still strong. The cold war was at its height and Czechoslovakia had been cut off from its traditional trading partners in Western Europe. Internal economic sabotage was widespread. The West particularly resented "losing" Czechoslovakia because it was one of the richest and most industrialised countries in Europe — a model of "democracy". For this reason the CIA and West German Intelligence Services concentrated particularly on trying to subvert the Czech Government, using as their agents former factory owners, army officers, etc. Harsh decisions had to be taken to defend socialism. Unfortunately, serious errors were made, legality was violated, careerists were allowed to reach positions of authority and this resulted in the arrest, and even execution in some cases, of loyal and hard-working socialists.

As a result of these errors different trends and policies developed within the Communist Party. Eventually, Dubcek took over the

Czechs build for socialism



● Brezhnev ordered in the tanks.

leadership of the country from Novotny who had been discredited by the previous errors with which he had been associated. While these internal struggles were weakening the working-class movement the former right-wing politicians, factory owners, bourgeois intellectuals, landlords, etc., began to take advantage of the situation and set up front organisations, infiltrated the media, made contacts with western intelligence agencies and succeeded in building up demands for 'democracy', 'freedom of the press', 'neutrality for Czechoslovakia', 'more trade with the West', etc.

These people had no interest in these demands as such but saw them as a means of creating confusion and undermining the working-class power as a preparation for a return to capitalism.

These events led ultimately to the intervention in the country of the armies of the Warsaw Pact countries.

There are a number of facts about the situation at that time which are undeniable:

1. Reactionary forces within Czechoslovakia were strong. One organisation, the Club-231, had a membership of 40,000. One of its leaders made the statement that the "situation in the country is ripe for overthrowing the socialist system".

2. The mass media were largely in the control of right-wing elements. The West German magazine "Der Spiegel" stated: "a real opposition party already exists in the country. This is the press." U.S. Congressman Frank Moss smugly stated: "The press in Czechoslovakia has rid itself of Communist orthodoxy".

3. Western newspapers and politicians (who at the same time were cheering on the burning and slaughter of the Vietnamese people and shortly afterwards would be supporting internment and repression in Ireland) were quite clear about their "hopes" for Czechoslovakia.

4. There was extensive activity being carried on at the time by Western intelligence agencies including the smuggling of guns into Czechoslovakia.

5. There was very little opposition to the intervention by the Warsaw Pact troops and it has become clear that in fact many Czechs supported it.

6. The intervention only lasted for a very short time. There was no mass repression, no executions, no bombing, no internment, no attempt to take over Czech industry and natural resources, no attempt to break up or divide Czechoslovakia and no attempt to destroy the culture or language of the Czech people.

The traumatic events of 1968 have now receded into the past. The Czechs have continued to build their economy and their standard of living. Today Czechoslovakia has comprehensive and completely free education, health and social services facilities. Wide facilities for cultural development exist in Czechoslovakia, including 56,000 cultural establishments and 1,000 libraries. Twice as many Czechs have private telephones and almost twice as many have washing machines as Britons. Between 1971 and 1973 fully half of Czechoslovakia's population spent holidays abroad. Despite the troubles of the past, Czechs have a bright future ahead of them.

The United WORLD

Events in Portugal, since the revolution of April 25th 1974, have occupied a prominent position in the world press. The same cannot be said for the former Portuguese colonies in Africa which played a major role in the fall of the fascist regime and were in turn affected by subsequent happenings in Portugal.

Guinea Bissau, Mozambique and Angola nowadays only qualify for passing mention in the Western press as if they are now insignificant in anything other than regional terms. Perhaps from the point of view of "newsiness" this is the case, but in terms of a continuing struggle for complete national independence and all that this entails, in the political, economic, social and cultural fields, the opposite is true.

The lessons to be learned from the struggles of these countries, particularly following the withdrawal of the colonial presence, are relevant outside of Africa as they serve to illustrate the other forces which come into play in order to maintain effective outside control. This is not to say that Portugal wishes to retain power in her former colonies — the programme of the Portuguese Armed Forces Movement is quite specific about this — but others, notably the U.S.A. and South Africa and various multi-nationals have vested strategic and economic interests in preventing the emergence of fully independent states.

In Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique the liberation movements — PAIGC and FRELIMO respectively — effectively represented the forces present in each country thus preventing their manipulation through political division. In Angola the situation is completely different.

At present there are three liberation movements in Angola — the Capulano Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA) and the National Union for Total Independence of Angola (UNITA). Each movement has its own armed forces nominally controlled by a joint military command.

The Portuguese Army is still present in force (it is due to withdraw in October of this year) but occupies a more or less neutral position. The white population constitutes about 7-8 per cent of the total — the majority reconciled to and supporting one or other of the movements, while a minority remain aloof, abstract or emigrate. Differences between these varied elements have been exploited to ensure the continuance of economic exploitation by foreign multinationals and also the military interests of South Africa and the United States and the expansionist hopes of Zaire.

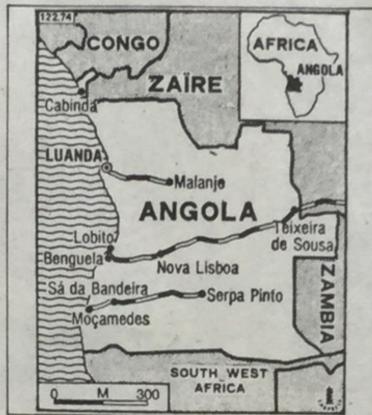
The FNLA for example are armed and supported by Zaire directly and through Zaire by the U.S. and other interests. UNITA are supported by large sections of the white population (their policy was formulated by white intellectuals) and were armed by Portugal with NATO weapons.

The MPLA alone cannot claim the active support of outside forces and have to depend on the establishment of a mass base in Angola. In terms of relative military strength the FNLA have the biggest forces, followed by the MPLA, with UNITA coming a very poor third. Initially with South African encouragement a section of the white population attempted to imitate the Smith declaration of U.D.I. in Rhodesia, but it was rapidly put down by Portuguese troops.

Differences do exist between the A.F.M. in Portugal and the Portuguese army in Angola regarding the situation there — the latter nominally neutral but favouring UNITA/FNLA, the former tending more towards the MPLA. This can be explained by the fact that the Portuguese army in Angola is still essentially the same colonial army which fought the MPLA and has not been reorganized to the same extent as in Portugal.

During the colonial war it co-operated under certain conditions with FNLA and UNITA against the MPLA. These various armed forces nominally are included in a so-called "integrated force" with a joint military command, but in practice each has

ANGOLA FACES CONFLICT



has its own independent chain of command, training and indoctrination centres and equipment.

In terms of achieving total national independence only the MPLA can be considered seriously. Both the FNLA and UNITA have compromised themselves in the past by co-operating with the Portuguese colonial army and continue to do so by acting in the interests of foreign multinationals and appealing to tribal and sectional groups. Their aim is to exclude the MPLA from power using their control of the mass media to achieve this and if necessary, armed force. Attempts at intimidation have been frequent and have led to many violent incidents mainly resulting in civilian casualties.

However in many quarters of Luanda, the capital of Angola, because of their indiscriminate attacks on civilians, the FNLA are unable to enter even as members of the integrated forces patrols — their aims are the liquidation of colonial control and all vestiges of colonialism and imperialism for complete and total independence. This involves the defence of the interests of the peasants and workers as well as forging an alliance with all progressive forces in the world.

MPLA follows a programme of non-alignment internationally,

contrary to statements not only by FNLA and UNITA but also by many western commentators that it is aligned towards the Soviet Union. This policy is governed by the following points; the establishment and maintenance of diplomatic relations with all countries based on the principles of mutual respect for national sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-aggression non-interference in internal affairs, peaceful co-existence etc. It also requires respect for the principles of the U.N. Charter and the Charter of African Unity and non-membership of military blocs.

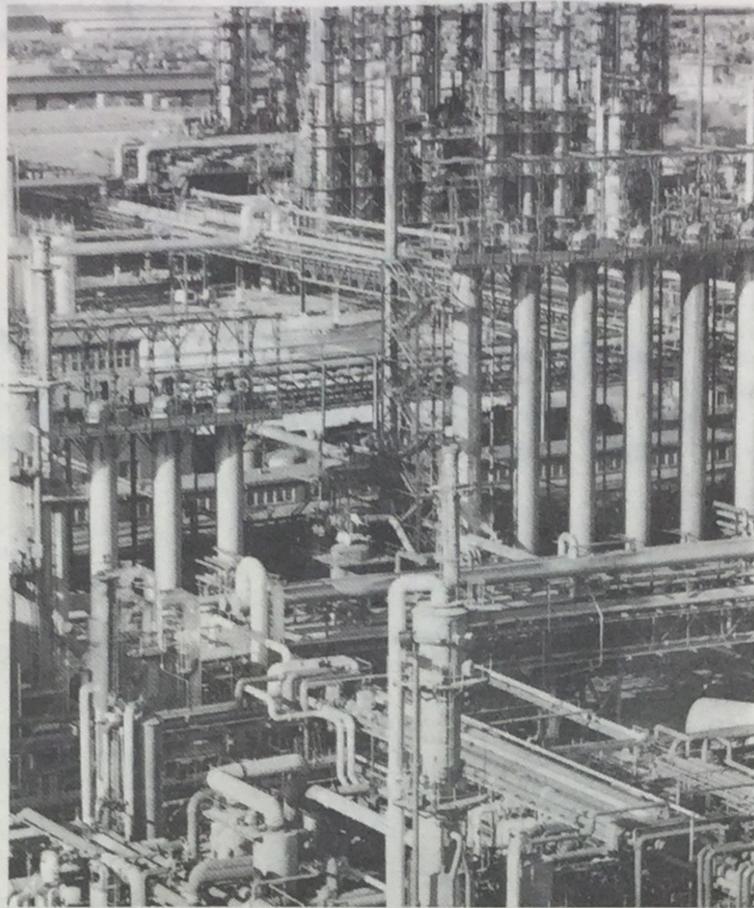
The degree of popular support given to each movement is difficult to assess as elections have not yet taken place and opinion polls are non-existent. However, such factors as the mass response to rallies, voluntary work, participation in political programmes, etc. indicate that the MPLA has a more solid base of support than the others among the African population. The majority of the white population tend to support UNITA/FNLA — who are also, as already mentioned, supported by various powerful outside forces. These have no desire to see an independent Angola exploiting her own resources, or stepping up the pressure on an increasingly isolated South Africa. The United States and West European multinationals have very real strategic and economic motives for supporting UNITA or FNLA either directly or through Zaire.

The support and solidarity of all progressive forces with the people of Angola and the MPLA will be necessary to counteract this to ensure that independence will be real and not a cover for neo-colonialism.

WHERE

ARE THE JOBS?

The
right
to
work



FIGHT UNEMPLOYMENT

The Government — all Governments which have held office in Ireland since the state was founded — have put profits before people. No person in this state has a right to a job unless some capitalist can make a profit from that person's labour.

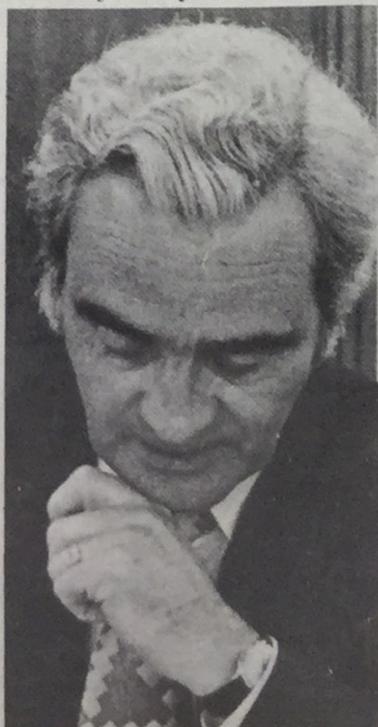
There is unemployment in the Building Industry, yet many people are in dire need of housing. No person can buy a house unless they have a large down-payment and a high enough income to repay very large amounts of money. At present rates of

interest, if you borrow £8,000 to buy a house, you must repay that amount plus £13,000 in interest. In order to build houses, Local Authorities must borrow money at something like the same rates of interest, and charge you high rents to repay the money lenders — the banks, the insurance companies and the building societies. Meanwhile, the banks make record profits. Irish Banks have made profits of £40,000,000 per year. The banks loan their money mainly to speculators, who make large profits by moving pieces of paper and not by making something which will give employment.

And while the Banks continue to make enormous profits, employed workers find that their wage packets are buying less and less.

How tougher, then, is it for the family man on the dole whose take-home money is eroded by inflation in the same way as the employed worker? Yet the Banks continue to dictate the level not only of private spending in investment but also spending in the public sector — Government spending. More jobs could be created by the Government if there was control of the banking system.

Control not in the interest of the profit-makers and money-changers but in the interests of the unemployed and the working people of the country.



● Mr. Corish unable to provide a solution to the workless problem.

At the beginning of March 1975 over 100,000 people were classed as *unemployed* in Ireland. Government policy has made you unemployed and the Government fears what you may do in protest at being forced out of a job.

The Government has tried to provide against the problems caused by mass unemployment. You sign only once each week; different age groups and separate categories of workers sign-on on different days; the people you meet across the counter are now polite. The Government has designed a variety of scales of payment which give different amounts to different categories of workers so that the problem of being out of a job will not hit with equal severity at the same time. All these precautions are a measure of their fear of your united strength.

And it is the united strength of the employed and unemployed worker, which will stop the erosion of living standards, and end the lengthening dole-queues. The right to work is everyman's, not a gift from any employer.

Seventy-five per cent of hides stripped from cattle slaughtered in Ireland are exported. Many thousands of head of cattle are exported on the hoof (live), so all by-products give employment outside Ireland.

The Government is allowing the Irish car assembly industry to be destroyed. Irish capitalism cannot save this industry, so a state car industry should be set up. A work force of several thousands are employed to actually assemble cars, but in addition to those employed directly in the industry, many other jobs are likely to be lost.

MINERAL RESOURCES from Irish mines have up to the present been shipped out of the country to give employment in other countries. We have on Irish territory, rich mineral resources, which if processed to the final product here in Ireland would give employment to many of our people.

OIL AND NATURAL GAS have been discovered off the southern coast. This great natural wealth would now be the property of the Irish people if the Government had not sold it for £500. This vast wealth, our property by right, will be worth, when developed, at least £1,000 million per year.

The natural gas which the oil companies now admit is there in large quantities in relation to the size of our population, should be used for the manufacture of man-made fabrics, plastics, household goods and so on. Our wealth in natural resources should be used to create employment here in Ireland.

Money now paid to private firms in the form of grants should be used by the state to establish enterprises which will process our own resources to the final good. It is in YOUR interest to organise to put pressure on all persons active in public life in the country so that they may be compelled to support such a policy.

PUT these questions to them where they meet, where they speak and where they live. Keep a firm hold on your jobs. Demand security of tenure in employment.

Join the Republican Movement



We stand for the overthrow of British Imperial Rule in Ireland.
We stand for an independent Irish Socialist Republic.
We oppose all foreign financiers, speculators, monopolists, landlords, and their native collaborators.
We place the rights of the common man before the right of property.
We claim the ownership of the wealth of Ireland for the people of Ireland.

Further information available to prospective members at the following addresses.

ULSTER: Republican Club, 40 Cyprus Street, Belfast. 12. Republican Club, 28 St. James's Street, Derry.

MUNSTER: Thomas Ashe Hall, Fr. Matthew Quay, Cork. Barry Doyle c/o 19 New Road, Killeely, Limerick. P. O'Callaghan, Cromane Killorglin Co. Kerry. An Runai, 113 The Quay, Waterford.

LEINSTER: Sinn Fein Headquarters, 30 Gardiner Place, Dublin 1. D. Tobin, 77 O'Byrne Rd., Bray.

CONNAUGHT: Paddy Kilcullen Kilmore, Bothar an Sop, Ballina, Co. Mayo. An Runai 35/37 Dominic Street, Galway.

I Wish to Join the Republican
Movement

Name _____

Address _____

Title: United Irishman, Vol. 33, No. 5

Organisation: Sinn Féin [Official]

Date: 1975

Downloaded from the Irish Left Archive.

Visit 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.