

INTERNATIONAL

NEWSLETTER



# **EOLAS**

Irish Republican Movement

30 Gardiner Place, Dublin 1. 40716/41045

UIMHIR 20

AUGUST 1974

# **INTERNMENT**

**3 YEARS OLD TODAY!**

**600 PEOPLE HELD WITHOUT  
CHARGE OR TRIAL.**



**BRITAINS  
SOLUTION**

# ANTI-IMPERIALIST FESTIVAL

JULY 23.

SINN FEIN'S international anti-imperialist festival opened in Dublin yesterday with condemnations of the bombing campaign in Britain for alienating the British working class and criticism of the British press for distorting the aim of the festival.

More than 160 delegates from over 20 countries and regions are attending the festival. At least 12 delegates have been turned away in their attempts to get to Dublin. One French delegate was stopped at Rosslare, while the others were turned back at British Channel ports.

At the opening of the festival, the joint general secretary of Official Sinn Fein, Mr. Tony Heffernan, condemned the bombing campaign in Britain. "It must be the objective of Irish revolutionaries to win the support of the British working class for our struggle and not to incur their opposition and hatred by senseless bombing campaigns in Britain."

He particularly welcomed the British delegates attending the festival and added: "Their presence here illustrates more eloquently than anything I could say that the struggle of the Republican Movement is not against the British people but against British imperialism and the policies of the British Government in Ireland. The British working class have a role to play in the emancipation of their Irish counterparts."

He said the festival had two objectives; to increase delegates' understanding of the revolutionary struggle in Ireland and to consolidate links developed between them over the past few years.

## WORST HOUSING

"We want you to see the real Ireland," he continued, "not just the Ireland of the tourist brochure, but the Ireland where 5% of the people own 75% of the wealth, the Ireland whose capital city has some of the worst housing conditions in Europe, the Ireland where the small farmers face poverty and emigration through E.E.C. farming policies."

He criticised the "deliberate attempt by the British media to distort the purpose and intention of this gathering".

Mr. Heffernan added: "Presumably at the instigation of British Army Intelligence—the real rulers in Northern Ireland—the British gutter press has carried out a con-

tinuous campaign of misrepresentation and distortion in the hope of having the festival banned. The hired liars of the capitalist class are as active as they were 60 years ago... Numerous news editors are going to be extremely disappointed when their reporters have to admit to them that nobody arrived at the festival in a hi-jacked plane, that there isn't a rifle or machine-gun to be seen, and that we are not in fact sitting around in dark glasses discussing the finer points of bomb making".

Last Friday's statement by the Minister for Justice, Mr. Cooney, was presumably a reaction to the British press, he said, and was entirely in keeping with the cringing and forelock-touching attitude of this and every previous Dublin Government since 1922. "It is, I suppose, not surprising that at the end of a week when the Prime Minister here voted against his own Government's Bill on contraception, the Minister for Justice would welcome anything to divert public attention from the hypocrisy of his own Government".

Mr. Heffernan said that their visit to Belfast would not be without danger. They could expect at least harassment from the British Army but there were also reactionary groups among Catholics and Protestants who thrived on sectarian hatred and despised everything for which they stood. He did not accept for one moment that it would be a provocation to the Protestant community in the North.

In an analysis of Irish history, Dr. John de Courcy Ireland said that there were two philosophies it was necessary to see through. The first suggested that we were a great slumbering company of saints, pure Gaels awaiting an elite leadership which would bring us to the pinnacle of greatness.

The inevitable logic of this theory was to be seen in sectarian murders in Belfast and in the conception that it was Ireland's destiny to be the centre of a great Celtic empire. It was also seen clearly during the second World War, when there were people in this country who believed that the hoisting of a tricolour over Stormont under Nazi rule would mean freedom.

The ruling people had begun to realise that this philosophy would not get them very far, so they had produced another one. Both theories believed that history was made by an elite. The second theory sug-



gested that the Irish people were always well-behaved, good middle-class types, ready to stay in the station in which God put them. Any critic or rebel was outside the traditions of the Irish and misleading them.

The logic of this theory was that Ireland would remain two-truncated states, each controlled by a small elite of the wealthy and uniting with the E.E.C. to keep those in power in Europe comfortably sitting where they were.

An evening session of the festival dealt with the cultural, economic and political effects of imperialism in Ireland. The editor of the *United Irishman*, Mr. Des O'Hagan, said that to be correct they should speak of Anglo-American imperialism, as 30% of the Irish economy was now controlled by America. Atlantic culture, with its roots in the barbarous Hollywood, was slowly strangling the native Gaelic culture.

The Minister for Posts and Telegraphs, Dr. O'Brien, was perpetuating sectarianism by saying that the Irish language was a divisive force. He now desired to turn over the television services of the country to indoctrinate future generations in the British capitalist way of life. The Irish language had a revolutionary potential, he said.

The vice-president of Sinn Fein, Mr. Malachy McGurran, said that the Irish struggle was the oldest anti-imperialist struggle continuing in the world today. He condemned the power of the Catholic Church and its subservience to imperialist interests in this country. The S.D.L.P. was Britain's political institution more than the Unionist Party ever was, he said.

Recent political developments in the North gave some hope and a glimmer of light at the end of the tunnel in defeating sectarianism, one of the biggest problems with which they were faced. The acceptance of the Catholic and Protestant working classes of those who lead them was slowly receding, he said.

# Working class unity seen as prerequisite to Irish unity

JULY 26.

THE BUILDING of working class unity with socialist objectives was a necessary prerequisite to the actual struggle for political unity in this country, Mr. Matt Merrigan, district secretary of the Amalgamated Transport and General Workers Union, told overseas delegates at the Sinn Fein Anti-Imperialist Festival in Dublin yesterday.

Mr. Merrigan, who said at the outset that the views he expressed were his own personal views, and were not necessarily shared by his union, remarked that there was no future in unity without working class unity. He did not think we could run away from the problem of attempting to win the Protestant working class away from Unionism and Westminster.

There was, however, a school of thought being put about that we should not unduly concern ourselves with imperialism and the struggle in the North. This was being put abroad particularly by the likes of Mr. Conor Cruise O'Brien, who would like to have us believe that there were two nations in Ireland.

Mr. Merrigan criticised the suggestion that there was "some kind of homogenous nation" in the North and another in the South and that we should recognise the right of each to self-determination.

## WAGE PACTS

Attacking the concept of centralised national wage agreements, he said their acceptance by the trade union movement meant the acceptance of constraints on trade union freedom of action.

This voluntary centralised bargaining was the first step towards the imposition on trade unions of constraints on their activities, because they were conditioning the working class to accept such constraints.

In these agreements, the unions accepted constraints which other

sectors of society—the speculators, bankers, businessmen and professional classes—did not have imposed on them.

Acceptance of these agreements, he added, "blunts the edge of the class struggle. It is no part of our movement's role to make capitalism function more effectively in the interests of the capitalist class."

## T.U. CONTRIBUTION

Mr. Merrigan said, however, that the trade union movement could make a tremendous contribution to the socialist revolution and the working class generally. "Every trade union demand is objectively a revolutionary demand," he said.

Trade union indifference in the period of imperialist decay could lead to the triumph of fascism in its many forms.

Mr. Matt Larkin, general secretary of the National Association of Tenants' Organisations (N.A.T.O.), gave the delegates an account of the origins of the organisation, and described the success of the rents and rates strike.

He said that through this strike, a new militancy and a new awareness of the power and voice of the people themselves began to manifest themselves in the tenants' movement.

The president of Official Sinn Fein, Mr. Tomas Mac Giolla, addressing the delegates last night at a meeting in T.C.D., said that the uniting of Catholic and Protestant workers was the most

difficult of all the objectives they sought to achieve.

Mr. Mac Giolla, speaking on "Strategies and Tactics of the Republican Movement", referred to the civil rights campaign in the North and said it was never intended that this campaign should be turned into a revolution, and certainly not into any kind of military campaign.

Its purpose had been to weaken the grip of imperialism and create favourable conditions for working class unity in the North. Many civil rights achievements had been lost or eroded subsequently, but the major achievement of the campaign could not be halted and still went on. It had smashed the power of the Orange Unionist machine, which had maintained a grip on Protestant workers. The great number of new organisations on the Protestant worker side was proof of this effect.

The process which had been started could not be stopped, Mr. Mac Giolla added, but it could be helped enormously by an end to the bombing and by intense political organisational activity.

The key issues in the 26 Counties today, he said, were the E.E.C. and its effects on farmers and industrial workers, the "sell-out" of our natural resources, and the general encroachment of monopoly capital, particularly under the E.E.C. umbrella. The sell-out of resources was the priority issue.

Earlier yesterday the delegates toured Kilmainham Jail.

# Loyalist groups renew demand on detention

JULY 11.

THE Co-ordinating Committee of the loyalist para-military groups in the North and the Ulster Workers' Council met last night in Belfast and repeated its demands that detention without trial should end immediately.

The committee, which organised the recent Loyalist strike said after the meeting that it endorsed the anti-internment policies as laid down during their three-day conference held at the end of June.

These were: An immediate end to detention without trial; two-thirds remission for all political prisoners; and a re-examination of the Diplock Commission's recommendation and the shelving of the Emergency Provisions Act, 1973

# POLITICAL ANATOMY OF NORTH BY REPUBLICAN EDUCATOR

AUGUST 1.

IF THERE was a strong man and a Fascist leader among the Unionists, said Mr. Dessie O'Hagan last night, then that man was William Craig. Mr. O'Hagan, Sinn Fein's director of education, gave an "overall analysis of the struggle in Northern Ireland" to the Belfast session of the Anti-Imperialist Festival.

He described the part played by the "secular, separatist, socialist and internationalist" Republican movement in the North, whose socio-economic climate had changed in post-war years, where "monopolist-capitalist industries in the Larne-Antrim-Belfast triangle, with its unemployment rate of 14% compared to the over-all Northern rate of 10% to 11%," typified economic imperialism.

Mr. O'Hagan listed the political forces operating in the North in the post '69 situation, which, he claimed, had been created jointly by changing socio-economic conditions, particularly the provision of free education under the 1947 Act, and the forces set in motion by civil rights agitation.

The significant political groups were the Faulkner Unionists, whom Mr. O'Hagan described as "the most opportunist wing, simply interested in power"; the "West-Craig-Paisley dimension, more closely attached to the grass roots, but this seems a very temporary alliance"; and here Mr. O'Hagan, in differentiating between the three leaders, described Mr. Craig as representing "the maniac wing of Unionism."

The other relevant Unionist forces were the Orange Order, no longer fulfilling its function as a bastion of businessmen and landowners; the para-military organisations, whose leadership had no political philosophy as yet, and in whose publications coexisted "the ravings of the National Front" and reasonable analyses.

Mr. O'Hagan called the Alliance Party an interesting phenomenon, created simultaneously with the S.D.L.P. as an expression of "consensus politics." The Northern Ireland Labour Party clung to a tenuous life and the Nationalists had dispersed, destroyed by the Northern Ireland Civil Rights

Association, and were now "attached emotionally, if not politically, to the Provos."

The S.D.L.P., Mr. O'Hagan claimed, had taken its constitution material from a document published in the *United Irishman* in 1970, with the omission of an anti-E.E.C. policy. This document had also been broached by the West Belfast Democratic Socialist Alliance, a "broad front" which Mr. Paddy Devlin and Mr. Gerry Fitt had refused repeatedly to talk with or have anything to do with.

Alliance and the S.D.L.P. in their consensus politics expressed a philosophy which Mr. James Callaghan claimed he had fathered: "I have yet to meet the woman who claims to be the mother," he added. The introduction of American consensus politics to Irish affairs by American academics working in England, especially in Strathclyde University, the concept of power-sharing, which is just a retranslation of consensus politics, posed the ultimate philosophical challenge to Republicanism, Mr. O'Hagan declared.

He finished his list of political forces with a brief outline of the role played by N.I.C.R.A., supported by the Official Republicans although it had been criticised for reformism, as a non-sectarian movement for civil rights. The "Provisional alliance," Mr. O'Hagan said, was a descriptive and real term: this was and remained an alliance. It contained many genuine young people who would think what had happened in Portlennone would welcome with open arms; elements who had seen in the furthered the struggle and "whom we 'sporadic violence of '69 attacks by Protestants on Catholics'; representatives of Fianna Fail, who had always been prepared to spill blood

in the Six Counties to sidetrack socialism.

The "Provisional Alliance," he said, also consisted of older Republicans who rejected socialism, and had a strong sectarian element: "we in the Republican movement are not free from sectarianism entirely." This was not surprising since Northern people had been indoctrinated by the Church and "teachers subservient to that Church."

## SEPARATE DEVELOPMENT

Mr. O'Hagan condemned the propagation of the two-nations' theory as a philosophy of separate development, indistinguishable from apartheid, and pseudo-intellectual. Some of those who preached the two-nations' theory claimed to be Communists. "In the case of Conor Cruise O'Brien, it is a rationalisation of the Unionist hegemony." The theory reinforced sectarianism.

The Official Republican struggle in the North was being fought on three levels: against power-sharing and the ideology; resisting the sectarian divide; and through Republican Clubs spreading an understanding of Republican socialism.

Mr. O'Hagan said the Official movement combated the two-nations' doctrine by propaganda, external and internal, and by refusing to participate in "the sectarian war."

The Northern Ireland Labour Party, in a statement last night, described as "blatant hypocrisy" the intention of the "so-called Anti-Imperialist Festival" of coming to Belfast, "to gloat over the damage and destruction caused by the imperialist war of conquest and territorial aggrandisement being waged by the Provisional I.R.A. in furtherance of Article Two of the Constitution of the Irish Republic."

# De facto martial law in North, says lecturer

AUGUST 2.

MR. KEVIN BOYLE, a lecturer in law at Queen's University, Belfast, yesterday told delegates to the Anti-Imperialist Festival in Belfast that repressive law in Northern Ireland was not specifically dealing with an emergency, rather it was being used as an instrument of rule by force rather than by consent.

The present detention policy in the North had, he said, operated in contempt of the theory of the rule of law and international human rights. It had not stemmed violence but had provoked it and was designed to provoke it; it had not contained the conflict but had widened it; it had not solved the emergency but had deepened it to a degree where many people, particularly in working class communities, despaired of any solution, and this resulted in demoralisation.

Internment, Mr. Boyle told the 100 or so delegates in a hall in West Belfast, had also resulted in a dangerous shift in political control. A repressive regime relied on the Army and the rise in importance and influence of the British Army had been gradual but unmistakable. In the North, people now lived in a *de facto* state of martial law, where the generals and not the politicians made the decisions.

When internment was introduced in the present troubles in 1971, he said, the crisis had been in government, not in the population. It followed a lengthy period of repression by a Unionist regime and of neglect by Westminster. Violence was provoked, and after the reluctant intervention of the Labour Government at Westminster and minor reforms, minority grievances were met by military repression and internment.

There was evidence, he went on, that internment had been prepared for by the British Government and the British Army many months in advance and that it had been by no means a last minute policy. There was also evidence that the techniques of torture had been taught to the "R.U.C. political police" in Britain by the British Army in March, 1971, five months before internment was introduced.

This torture policy, Mr. Boyle said, was officially authorised and designed to extract information and intimidate and deter working class communities. From his legal work and that of his colleagues, they determined that, despite cases

torture brought to prominence at international level, the policy of torture had continued into 1973. That there were fewer complaints now about torture under interrogation was in some ways a victory for bringing the policy to public attention.

Mr. Boyle gave as an example of the policy of torture (as part of a deliberate attempt to impose a military solution on the North) that of a 22-year-old man who had been arrested on July 25th, 1972.

This man, in a statement to the Association of Legal Justice, said he had been accused of involvement in explosives incidents. He had been told to sit on a chair for an hour, then he had been made take his trousers off and given a statement to sign. When he refused to do so, his shirt was torn off, he was held spreadeagled by four Special Branch men and his private parts beaten with a padded stocking. He was then placed against a wall with an electric fire and a bucket of urine was thrown over him. Afterwards he was made touch his toes and each time he did so, he was kicked from behind in the privates. He eventually signed the statement.

Such a case, Mr. Boyle said, indicated that less dramatic cases of torture than those widely publicised had taken place, sometimes also involving cigarette burns and the use of drugs.

In respect of the policy of community harassment, Mr. Boyle quoted from a report compiled in 1972 by the International League for the Rights of Man and the National Council of Civil Liberties, which had concluded that from the evidence available in the North there were elements of a reign of terror by the British Army, especially by the Parachute Regiment, over certain sections of the population. This had been encouraged by the reluctance of the authorities to clamp down on it and by an inadequate complaints procedure. On this point—in August, 1973, he and colleagues had submitted a report to the United Nations Subcommittee on Racial Discrimination and the Protection of Minorities, pointing out that of the hundreds of complaints submitted about torture, only two persons accused had been prosecuted and both had been acquitted.

Mr. Boyle added that out of the first 500 deaths from 1969, at least 105 were casual victims of British Army operations, and, of these, 70 suggested a high degree of carelessness and recklessness. Altogether more than 100 people had been killed in circumstances amounting to murder or manslaughter by the British Army.

In 1972, Mr. Boyle said, the British Government first claimed that it was phasing out internment, but all it had done was change the terminology to "detention" instead of "internment" and to add the farce of legal proceedings on a spurious basis in Long Kesh, proceedings which were not independent but under the control of the political police and Army intelligence.

He quoted one case which had been brought to the European Commission of Human Rights at Strasbourg—that of a man detained without a full detention order for 9½ months. When he was eventually brought before the commissioners in Long Kesh, only two pieces of evidence were placed before the court—one by a filing clerk, quoting a policeman's version of an informant's report which alleged that the man had been "collecting in America" (it was immediately proved that he had never been to the United States), and another, by a hidden policeman who said the detainee had a bullet wound in his foot (which he hadn't). The man had to be released immediately but had spent 9½ months in Long Kesh. This, Mr. Boyle said, showed the quality of the evidence used in these courts.

For the future, he saw hope in the beginnings of a common struggle of the Protestant and Catholic working classes against the policy of repression and detention without trial.



# 'WHEN I GET BIG WILL THEY PUT ME IN ARMAGH WITH MUMMY?'

Bernadette Brennan said: "Wee Colette is always asking where her mummy is. Then she'll remember, and she says: 'The soldiers put my mummy in Armagh.'"

"If we take her to see her mummy, she asks her: 'When you get out of here, will the soldiers put you back in?' One day there, she said: 'When I get a big girl, will they put me in Armagh jail with my mummy?'"

Colette Gilroy is three years old. She was at home when troops arrested her mother, 21-year-old Evelyn Gilroy, at 11 o'clock on the morning of Sunday, May 4, 1974.

Evelyn was arrested under the Special Powers Act, and has since been

detained in Armagh Prison. Evelyn, who is separated from her husband, has another daughter, Denise, who was one year old in January.

Both daughters stay at the home of their grandmother, Mrs. May Brennan, on the Falls Road.

May Brennan said: "Denise was in hospital when her mother was lifted. She was having tests done. She cries for her mummy nearly every night. I have to sleep here on the sofa so I can look after her when she wakes. Colette doesn't like the soldiers. She shouts at them: 'You took my mummy away.'"

Mrs. Brennan's family has been decimated by internment. Another daughter, 30-year-old Mary Kennedy, was interned a week after Evelyn. Mary's husband Billy is in the Maze Prison at Long Kesh. Mrs. Brennan's 17-year-old son Michael has been in the Maze on an arms charge since January.

She has another son and three other daughters at home, as well as Evelyn's baby daughters.

The elder children and other relatives help May Brennan with her twice-weekly visits to the Maze and Armagh.

"There are three lots of food parcels to be made up twice a week. It costs us nearly £4 for each parcel. You can't go visiting empty-handed, can you? And the girls need extra things like soap and toothpaste and underclothes. I bought a pair of shoes for Evelyn last week, and they cost me nearly £8.

"The CDC take us down to Armagh and Long Kesh at a reduced fare. But it still costs us ten shillings each, every time we go to Armagh, and five shillings for Long Kesh. And two or three of us might go at a time, so you can imagine what it costs. Evelyn's wee girls need clothes badly, too. It is a financial strain on us. I've applied to the

Social Security twice, but they haven't given me any help."

On the morning of Evelyn's arrest, her 16-year-old sister Bernadette went up to collect baby Colette and bring her back to stay at the Brennan family home.

Bernadette said: "They had been raiding Evelyn's place long before she was arrested. One time they broke her fridge, destroyed her clothes, broke her records and record player. The place was wrecked."

May Brennan added: "She claimed £270 of them for that, and she got it. They tortured her for months with searches and raids. Evelyn tried to commit suicide twice before they lifted her. She took an overdose of tablets once, and the other time she slashed her wrists."

"The day Evelyn was lifted, her sister Mary sent down word to us. But they lifted Mary a week after."

# families outside the wire

BIG  
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On August 9, 1971 internment added a new dimension to Northern Ireland's civil unrest. In the three years since then thousands of men and women from Loyalist and Republican communities have been arrested by security forces and imprisoned without trial behind barbed wire of the

Maze Prison at Long Kesh, and the high walls of Armagh Jail.

The story of these men and women has been told many times, but what of their families? On this third anniversary 'Sunday News' talks to their relatives. What we found might shock you.

## 'DADDY WILL NEVER BE HOME'

ity twice, but given me any

orning of Evelyn's 16-year-old letter went up by Colette and back to stay at family home. said: "They find Evelyn's before she was the time they lge, destroyed broke her record player. s wrecked." man added: £270 of them d she got it. ed her for searches and tried to com- twice before. She took an tablets once, er time she rists." Evelyn was er Mary sent us. But they week after."

When John Casement was arrested during a raid on his Bellevue Street home seven months ago it marked the beginning of a nightmare for his wife and family.

John had been convalescing after treatment in hospital for a slipped disc. He is still a Loyalist detainee in the Maze Prison and is waiting for his case to be considered by the special commission.

His 35-year-old wife, Ina, and three young children have been living in the hope that he will be included in the next batch to be released. Each time they wait hopefully, but...

"Maybe the next time," Ina tells the children.

When John is reunited with his family they will uncontrollably reflect the effects of what those seven months of separation have done to them.

### Depression

Mrs Casement claims the curse of detention has already affected her children and believes it will continue to haunt them all their lives.

Her eight-year-old son, Robert, and 10-year-old daughter Allison, have yet to have a peaceful night's sleep since his arrest. And their sister, 11-year-old Christine, is showing the growing effects of acute depression.

"They have nightmares, and two of them are taking nerve tablets," said Mrs Casement.

The effect on little Robert is so severe that he has now taken to saying he

hopes his daddy never comes home.

"He says the opposite of what he really wants now because he believes his past hopes of his daddy coming home will never come true," said Mrs Casement.

3,638 more  
out of work  
this July

UNEMPLOYMENT has increased in the Republic, with a total 65,534 registered as out of work July 19th, compared with 61,896 the corresponding date last year, increase of 3,638.

Two nationalist leaders see their countries' drives for freedom

# The ambassadors of independence

**ANTONIO RIVERA** and **Nyamadzao (John) Sambo** attended the anti-imperialist festival organised by Official Sinn Fein because they see similarities in the Northern Ireland situation and the problems that both their countries face. Mr. Rivera, the b-secretary-general of the Puerto Rican

*Socialist League, describes his nation of three million people as the first industrial-military colony in the world.*

*Mr. Sambo is the treasurer in the United Kingdom and Europe for ZANU, the Zimbabwe African National Union. He left his country when Ian Smith rejected majority rule and*

*declared U.D.I. in 1965. Zimbabwe is the African name for the country Mr. Smith declared independent Rhodesia. Rivera and Sambo travel to spread an understanding of their people's struggle for independence. In Belfast last week they spoke of the things their organisations try to do, listened to Official Sinn Fein lecturers talk of how the present Irish situation had developed, and spent some time walking round the Falls and Turf Lodge areas where the lectures were held.*

## Puerto Rico 'a colony with no rights'

**ANTONIO RIVERA** is a brick-layer, son of a Puerto Rican soldier in the United States Army, who travelled through military missions in the Latin American countries and was at one time stationed at Fort Dix, New Jersey. "My father was very disappointed that I didn't go into the Army. He didn't realise that it was part of American oppression of our country".

At the moment Antonio Rivera is out on bail while he appeals against a 1969 sentence on charges of conspiracy and arms possession — with ten other leaders of the Socialist League he got what amounts to 200 years in jail. The league was founded in 1963, in the tradition of an earlier organisation, the Nationalist Party — whose leader, Pedro Albizu Campos, spent ten years in jail from 1936-46 in Atlanta, Georgia, with the league's present leader, Juan Antonio Corretjer.

Puerto Rico, says Antonio Rivera, dominated physically and most obviously by the United States in the shape of the massive oil refineries around the coast and it is here that he sees the "colonial machinery" in action. "We are a U.S. base for military operations: the American Government's representative in the country is the chief of the Seventh Fleet, who fuels his ships from the massive refineries round our coasts: there is a stockpile of atomic war-heads in the Luquillo mountains.

The small island — 100 miles long and 35 wide — is governed as a "free associated state", not a full

state of the union. To Mr. Rivera this distinction is purely in the interests of the U.S. which has thus secured a colony with no rights of representation in Washington. One of the parties in Puerto Rico's National Congress is campaigning for annexation as a fully fledged state.

Antonio's group which wants a free independent socialist Puerto Rico, scorns such a policy, though he remarks on the pollution of the refineries: "These companies have trouble with the people in their own land: they have damaged nature everywhere they go on the island, especially near Guayanilla which is the biggest, there have been mass poisonings. Fifty people were hospitalised there two months ago".

The Socialist League is a revolutionary Marxist organisation, believing in the necessity for armed struggle. But it believes that before any armed struggle develops, the first fight is to preserve any sense of Puerto Rico as a nation and this, says Antonio Rivera, "is very difficult against the might of American money, American armed forces, American control of communications and American education, which is what Puerto Ricans receive."

Illiteracy is not a problem—there is a free school system to high school level but higher education is costly, and there is endless frustration for the graduates who have saved and work to go to university — 40% graduate unemployment. "My wife Anna is a social worker and cannot find a job. This in a country with a bad heroin problem,

with 40% unemployment, mostly male and all the distress which that causes. We have a very high divorce rate, a lot of split families."

The schools teach both in English and Spanish, but the Catholic Church schools, says Antonio Rivera, teach only English. He is bitter and resentful of the Church's attitudes—Puerto Rico is traditionally a Catholic country, and the Catholic Church from the beginning of its history there has been deeply involved in the power structure.

"While Spain ruled Puerto Rico the Church was totally Spanish in its outlook: it still has large numbers of Spanish clergy. But when the Americans conquered Puerto Rico in the Spanish-American war the Church changed from their pro-Spanish position in that war, completely, to backing American interests as they do now."

How does the Church react to the much publicised pro-contraceptive campaign in Puerto Rico, the Government clinics, the massive advertising drive? "It does not go too far against this promotion. It is reactionary on everything else but completely the collaborator of colonial and imperialist interests."

Antonio Rivera is clear that Government propaganda on contraception is American-inspired: "They are a puppet government dominated by status quo Puerto Ricans, and they spread the belief that the country is over-populated. This is completely a lie. With scientific exploitation of our natural resources

Continued next page

we could maintain 15 million people." The women in the movement believed this also, he claimed, and agreed that the average Puerto Rican family before the contraceptive campaign of five or six children was not too large. "We must build up our people if we are ever to combat American imperialism: if the social and economic conditions are right it should not be a problem for the woman."

The country has copper and had gold though the Spanish cleaned that out before they left. "Now the Americans want to do as they did in Chile, open up the country and rip out the copper, changing the aspect of the land completely — and it is a beautiful country."

The United States has always denied having colonial ambitions, but when Puerto Rico became her's by conquest Congress debates determined that it should not have voting rights there — "they thought it was too poor and too black and gave it to the navy to rule," says Rivera.

Compulsory military service was nevertheless imposed on Puerto Rico's young men during the Second World War, the Korean war and the recent Vietnam war. And the struggle in this century for national liberation has centred around resistance to the draft.

It was ended in 1972 after student rioting in the capital city of San Juan the previous year, during which four policemen were shot dead.

A by-product of conscription has been the number of Puerto Rico's

G.I.s returning from Vietnam with heroine habits and mental breakdowns — "Our mental hospitals are very bad and this new wave of addiction has made things desperate. We think the authorities have a strange attitude to drug pushing. They arrest the lowest strata and leave the pushers alone."

In 1950, three men and a woman machine-gunned their way into Congress and wounded four representatives in the House in protest against the Congressional vote for compulsory armed service — they are still in American jails serving sentences which total 400 years.

Rioting in Puerto Rico in that year ended with 50 nationalists and 25 national guardsmen dead and 4,000 nationalists jailed. In 1954 two young men attacked the President's country home, Blair House, and wounded two policemen. They were themselves wounded and are still in jail. One other shooting which Antonio Rivera described came in the 1930s when "the nationalists executed Colonel Riggs, chief of the American Armed Forces who had ordered repression on the island — his proudest boast before that was of spitting Kerensky from the Russian revolution and bringing him to the U.S."

About 1,300,000 Puerto Ricans have emigrated since 1950, mostly to New York, which was painted in American-inspired advertisements as "a free democratic heaven," according to Antonio Rivera.

Many Puerto Ricans have since found themselves living in U.S. slums slightly less primitive than

the shanty-towns around San Juan and Jayuya, but more crowded by the previous wave of less-successful immigrants. "We welcome any sort of organisation among the emigrant — the Young Lords, confused ideologically, did not last long, but it was something."

Emigration will continue, since as the Puerto Rican Socialist League sees it, high unemployment is a condition of American exploitation. "Seventy five per cent of our agriculture has been destroyed and we must import foodstuffs from the U.S. at inflated prices."

"The 3,500 oil refinery workers are paid one-third of what they earn in the U.S., the big work force in the construction and garment industries are very badly paid; only 13% of the workers are unionised; strikes in fundamental industries are forbidden," he said.

Antonio Rivera thinks that Puerto Rico's struggle to maintain her culture and identity "under crushing American imperialism" is very like that of the Irish.

Puerto Rico, once described by a U.S. journalist as America's Ireland, has suffered "strong censorship by the Americans which has stopped people all over the world from knowing our situation." Rivera says his movement has similar aims to those of Irish revolutionaries who want to achieve a socialist State "not slavishly imitating the socialism of other countries, but borrowing from them, inspiration."

## When Zimbabwe achieves majority rule . .

JOHN SAMBO is a founder member of ZANU, formed in 1963, banned in 1964, when its entire leadership and more than 1,000 members of it and the other black movements were rounded up. Six ZANU leaders, including the then president, Ndabaningi Sitole, are still in Gwelo maximum security prison. Leopold Takawira, deputy president, died in Gwelo, in 1968 aged 50.

The black movements for majority rule in Rhodesia — constitutional minded groups like ZAPU from which ZANU detached itself to preach revolutionary socialism for Zimbabwe and "liberation through confrontation"; the ANC to which ZAPU and ZANU members have belonged and whose leader, Bishop Abel Muzorewa, has recently had discussions with Ian Smith; and ZANU, which is disappointed in A.N.C. because "they would settle with Smith", have all been subject to arbitrary arrest, secret trials, long prison sentences, and in the case of their supporters, who are accused of giving

shelter to freedom fighters, mass transportation into "protected villages which are great straggling concentration camps."

No matter how organised the repression of black movements is John Sambo is confident that African majority rule must come in Rhodesia as it has in surrounding countries. Zambia and Tanzania already help Zimbabwe's black movements by providing safe lodgings and broadcasting facilities "We have propaganda programmes which reach into Zimbabwe in both Shona and Sindabele (the languages of the main tribes, the Mashona and the Matabele).

The liberation of Portuguese Africa will increase the pressure on white Rhodesia. But South Africa is still there in the background, with a mighty economic hand held out to Mr. Smith, a weight of repressive legislation to copy. "Nineteen fifty-nine was one exception to the copying: Rhodesia's unlawful organisations Act in that year banned the A.N.C. — a state of emergency was

declared; South Africa passed similar measures the following year," said John Sambo.

John Sambo works for his organisation from London where he studied accountancy between trips abroad to explain ZANU's policy and to ask for support. He left Rhodesia when ZANU was banned and says that the best definition of its policy came immediately before the banning.

"At Gwelo Congress, our president, Sitole, presented the 'clarion call to arms,' summing up our idea of liberation through confrontation. It called on the people in towns, mines, farms and on the reserves to prepare for action when the Government declared U.D.I."

"Sitole asked the people to withhold their money from banks, building societies, post office savings banks, to buy large stocks of food and store them, not to sell their livestock, and to study their localities for strategy."

Continued next page

# Zimbabwe

Continued

"The clarion call told the people to have access to bows and arrows and other instruments of war, in readiness to oppose physically UDI." Sambo calls the response to this document "tremendous" — "road blocks were set up, police stations attacked, telephone wires cut, arrows and axes used and for the first time in our revolution a white man was killed in Melseeter."

Sitole was arrested and charged on 50 counts of inciting subversion and damage to property. During the trial Z.A.N.U. was banned, and mass arrests followed.

The black movements have many differences, and at times express them bitterly, but John Sambo did not detail Z.A.N.U.'s disagreements with Z.A.F.U. or the A.N.C.

He said: "We don't oppose them for the sake of position, only if they are going to sell us. We are all fighting Mr. Smith, but any settlement with Smith or the British Government short of our demand, 'one man one vote,' could not be a settlement, and we do not want a black capitalist State.

"We must hold everything in common, the land must go back to the State and be given in trust for the people."

He was emphatic that the struggle against Smith's Rhodesia was not anti-white as such. "We are not creating a socialist State for the sake of driving out whites. Any white who accepted a socialist Zimbabwe would be welcome to stay and help build up our country."

If Ian Smith and the white electorate accepted majority rule speedily there would be no violence, but if not, the struggle would be long, he said. "I am afraid there will be much bloodshed to recover our country. If there is a capitalist State, whether white or black, there can be no lasting solution."

John Sambo is sceptical of the "new-found liberalism of people like Garfield Todd and his daughter Judith. In 1957 Todd sent troops to the colliery town of Wankie to break up strikers asking for an increase of ten shillings—three were killed.

"He never promoted black men to be officers in his police force or the military wing of the administration, he did nothing for African education though he was in power for four years. And yet in 1970 he is a nationalist".

It is all a question of strange double standards — like the fuss made of Judith Todd's short hunger-strike and the imprisonment of Nieswand, while black men are jailed for years, tortured and killed with no publicity".

## Mac GIOLLA SEES WAY FOR UNITY OF ACTION

JULY 29.

THE PRESIDENT of Sinn Féin, Tomás Mac Giolla, addressed delegates who are attending the Anti-Imperialist Festival in Dublin, at the 1916 Memorial in Glasnevin Cemetery yesterday.

Mr. Mac Giolla told the "socialists and fighters against imperialism" that his organisation was very conscious of the need for international support and solidarity at every stage of their struggle. The primary demand for which they asked support was that Britain renounce her claim to sovereignty over any part of Ireland and that she withdraw her troops and administration.

The immediate short-term demands were the ending of internment, the abolition of repressive legislation, and the passing of a bill of rights, he said.

### UNITY OF ACTION

Mr. Mac Giolla said the possibility now existed for wide unity of action on these issues by Royalists and Republicans. "We are prepared to meet any individuals or organisations at any time to discuss the possibility of joint-action on these issues, or indeed on any one

of them. They are issues which are affecting people, right now, every day, and which must be dealt with irrespective of what constitutional structures were imposed, or would be imposed in the future.

"We are, of course, also prepared to have discussions with other organisations on constitutional issues, the proposed convention, or just to exchange ideas on policies, attitudes and tactics."

He said that the presence of the foreign delegates in Ireland was unique. "Never before has Ireland seen such an international gathering of socialists and fighters against imperialism. You have caused grave concern in London, Belfast and Dublin to those who fear the growing sense of international solidarity which your presence indicates."

### INTERNATIONAL CAMPAIGN

Mr. Mac Giolla said that apart from those interned, there were about 1,000 political prisoners in

various jails throughout Britain and Ireland. An international campaign should be mounted to highlight the means used to have many of them convicted, and to achieve an amnesty. He instanced the case of Noel Jenkinson, which is now going to be taken to the court of Human Rights at Strasbourg. Jenkinson was sentenced to 30 years jail in an English Court after what Mr. Mac Giolla alleged was "connivance and conspiracy" between the judge and the police.

Mr. Mac Giolla concluded his address to the delegates with the following words: "To us this is just the beginning of a new phase in the battle against imperialism on an international level. The ghost of James Connolly would indeed be pleased at your presence here."

Telegrams of support were received from many organisations, including the Vietnam Youth Movement; the American Indian Movement; the Czechoslovakian Union of Students; and the Women's International Democratic Federation of East Germany.

# British student leader explains union line on North

BEARDED and bespectacled Steve Parry has been secretary of the 660,000-strong National Union of Students, in Britain, for the past two years. His election to that post caused a furor in the popular press. Great play was made of his membership of the Communist Party. But anarchy has not prevailed as a result of his election and the colleagues have not been burnt down.

While student policy on Northern Ireland is decided at annual conference, Steve Parry is responsible for reacting to day-to-day developments and for putting forward the correct political line, in the light of existing policy. At the moment the N.U.S. favours the withdrawal of British troops to barracks and their eventual withdrawal from Northern Ireland; the ending of internment and repressive legislation; and the granting of full civil rights to all citizens.

The N.U.S. has never gone so far as to support either a 32-county Socialist republic, or an independent Northern Ireland. It feels that Britain's imperialist interest must first be ended and the people should then be free to decide on their own system of government

## JOINT MEMBERSHIP

Students in Northern Ireland have a joint membership of both the N.U.S. based in London, and the Union of Students in Ireland, based in Dublin. There has been little friction between the two bodies and contact has generally been close and friendly. Mr. Parry felt that the Northern Ireland troubles had had a damaging effect on the politicisation of student members there. Student facilities were not on a par with those in Britain, and student politics had suffered. One of their priorities would be to get an increase in the basic facilities of the union and to encourage greater co-operation with U.S.I.

Why had he come to the Anti-Imperialist conference in Dublin? Well, as the person responsible for the day-to-day operation of student policy on Northern Ireland, he had come to find out about Ireland and the way in which it was viewed by Republicans in the South and by other international organisations. He had come to explain N.U.S. policy on the North — a policy which was very much against that practised by both the present, and the last, British Government. He would try to increase the unity of the student movement in Northern Ireland while disassociating his organisation from British Government policy.

*The secretary of the British National Union of Students has been attending the Anti-Imperialist Festival in Dublin, organised by Sinn Fein.*

Mr. Parry said that before he had left London he had asked for a meeting with the Northern Ireland Secretary of State, Mr. Rees, on the ending of internment and the granting of full civil rights in Northern Ireland.

He was scathing about the British and Irish Communist Party and its two-nations theory. Membership of the British and Irish Communist Organisation in Britain was minimal, he said, and its theories found little support. The theory that there were two nations in Ireland was playing into the hands of reactionary forces both here and in Britain.

The N.U.S. condemned the Provisional's bombing campaign, as it made the job of politicising students and workers, and winning them to support progressive policies, that much harder. It also made it easier for the British Government to draw wide support from the population for repressive legislation.

His job was to involve their 660,000 members in the policies which had been adopted at national conference. There was a great lack of awareness amongst students on the Irish situation. He was concerned to get the widest awareness possible amongst the British public and to build up a popular movement for the ending of British imperialism in Ireland.

## BOMBINGS AS WRONG

Once outside the committed left, people saw any bombings, which hurt ordinary people, as being wrong. Such explosions were going to alienate them and help the right-wing forces by bringing in reactionary legislation. He instanced the call for the return of hanging by certain politicians in Britain following the recent explosion in the Tower of London. He did not believe the Provisionals had been responsible for all such bombings. Groups like the S.A.S. knew the value of explosions if it was found necessary to push through repressive legislation.

Mr. Parry saw the National Front and its fascist policies, as one of the bigger threats in Britain today. The growth in the percentage of the vote they had received in by-elections, up to 22% in cases, was an indication of their increasing strength. They were exceptionally perturbed about the connection of the front with the Orange Order.

Their information was that the front and the Orange Order planned a major demonstration in England on September 3rd. If such a demonstration took place, the N.U.S., trade unions, and the liberation group would march in opposition. (A student was killed in the last major clash between the left and right in London).

The N.U.S. viewed the presence of the National Front in Northern Ireland as being very dangerous.

## ANTI FASCIST

In the coming year in Britain, the student union intended to launch a major campaign against racist and fascist activities. Such a campaign would be linked with the trade union movement and his organisation felt that students would through this, identify more closely with the working class.

There had been major developments in student politics in Britain since the late 1960's, often on specific questions like student grants and housing. Strikes involving up to 400,000 students had been organised on these issues. But international politics had also become important, and the student body had involved itself on Vietnam, Northern Ireland and Chile. There had been a very solid development in the evolution of student politics, and in the miners' strike, last year, students had donated a massive amount of money to the miners' strike fund. More than £1,000 had been sent to Chile.

They had been closely involved with the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association and, in England, they had agitated for the return of the Price sisters and Kelly and Feeney to Ireland. Three of the four were members of the N.U.S.

## N.I.C.R.A. LECTURES

Early in 1975, his union plans to hold a course of lectures in Britain by members of N.I.C.R.A. to educate members on Irish affairs. It saw Sinn Fein as being an important force here and was attempting to understand the motivation of all groups so they would have a clearer understanding of the forces at work in Ireland.

Mr. Parry said that the N.U.S. would like to see closer co-operation between the progressive forces in both Britain and Ireland so that greater pressure could be brought on governments to change their policies, where those policies limited the basic rights of citizens.

The Anti-Imperialist Conference itself? He had found it useful and informative. You couldn't judge the importance of an even by the level of debate. The actions which flowed from it were the criteria of its importance.

# Man sees son shot by troops

## Taken from home and killed

AUGUST 8.

BRITISH troops last night shot dead a 23-year-old Tyrone man, Paddy McElhorne, in a hay field 100 yards from his home near Limehill, Pomeroy.

Last night his mother, Mrs. Margaret McElhorne, described how her son was taken out of the house by the soldiers. She said that he had just come in for his tea when two soldiers knocked on the door and said: "young fellow, we want you out to have a word with you."

Mrs. McElhorne said her son went out immediately and the soldiers slammed the door shut on her and her husband. She said that she went to the window and looked out and saw a crowd of soldiers around her son.

She overheard one of them say "you are not doing much to help the army." One of the soldiers then caught her son and shook him, and fearing that he was going to be arrested she told her husband to go out and see what was happening.

Mr. Peter McElhorne, the father of the dead man stated that when he went out on to the road he saw one soldier leading his son up the road. Mr. McElhorne said he also saw another soldier crouched behind the hedge of the hayfield in which his son was shot.

The soldiers then brought his son to the gate leading into the field and he observed his son walking down the field. Mr. McElhorne said the next thing he knew was the sound of a shot ringing out and he saw his son drop dead.

He asked one of the soldiers: "What did you shoot my son for?" and the soldier replied: "Get into the f— house, you slobber".

At this stage, Mrs. McElhorne said that after hearing the shot she became afraid and called to her husband: "Come in here or you'll be shot". Before going into the house Mr. McElhorne asked another soldiers, why did they shoot and this soldier replied: "I am the chief and I don't know what it's about".

Two neighbours who arrived on the scene at the time of the shooting said they were also subjected to abuse by the soldiers and were told that if they did not get out of the way they would also be shot. One of the neighbours alleged a soldier told him that they were paid £200 for shooting fellows like him.

Fr. Terence McGirr last night described how he went to the scene and was given permission to administer the last rites to the dead man. The officer in charge at the scene said to him: "I suppose you want to minister to the bloke."

Fr. McGirr said that while he was at the scene a British army doctor arrived and going to the body turned it over with his foot. No one was allowed near the body for over three hours, except Fr. McGirr and a brother of the dead man.

Local people described the dead man as a quiet hard working fellow who took no interest in politics and whose sole hobby was playing in the local accordion band.