

INTERNATIONAL

NEWSLETTER

EOLAS

IRISH REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT

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MAY 1975

UIMHIR 29

Belfast IRA chief gunned down

APRIL 29

'Paid killers' of IRSP blamed for shooting

SINN FEIN yesterday claimed in Dublin that "full-time paid killers" from the Irish Republican Socialist Party were responsible for the fatal shooting on Monday of Mr. Billy McMillen, the leader of the I.R.A. in Belfast.

See Story Inside:



McMillen was 'authentic voice of working-class Belfast,'

says Goulding in graveside oration

Thousands turn out for funeral of Liam McMillen

SEVERAL thousand people turned out on Belfast's Falls Road yesterday to pay their last respects to Official IRA Belfast Brigade Commander Liam McMillen (47), who was shot dead at the junction of Spinner Street and Falls Road on Monday.

THURSDAY, MAY 1, 1975

AT THE GRAVESIDE yesterday of Mr. Billy McMillen, the Official I.R.A. leader assassinated in Belfast on Monday, Mr. Cathal Goulding asked that he be commemorated in a renewed dedication to the Socialist Republicanism for which he had died. Mr. McMillen was the authentic voice of working-class Belfast, of the working people struggling to be free, Mr. Goulding said.

"He worked, lived and died in this city." He should be an inspiration in the struggle for working-class victory; he should inspire the working people of Belfast, who had in his death suffered a great loss.

In the course of an emotional oration in Irish and English, Mr. Goulding listed previous attempts to kill Mr. McMillen, and accused the Irish Republican Socialist Party of his murder. He had escaped the death threats of the British Army and the Provisional IRA, he said. Those who killed him, because he recognised the danger of sectarian civil war which would consume the working class of Belfast, "stand condemned as enemies of the people, allies of imperialism as surely as if they wore the uniform of the British Army".

The large crowd which had followed the hearse from Mr. McMillen's home in Earls Court Street to Milltown Cemetery stood in cold and rain to hear Mr. Goulding. More than 20 groups stood in formation, units of the

Official I.R.A., members of the Old I.R.A. and Sinn Fein members standing in neat lines; wreaths were laid from all the Irish commands and comhairle ceanntairs, from support groups around the world and from individuals.

As the coffin was taken from the McMillen home a volley of shots was fired. A 10-man guard of honour wearing black berets and black leather jackets formed up beside the hearse, and leading Official Republicans, including Tomas Mac Giolla, acted as pallbearers for a short distance.

When the procession reached Milltown, and while units formed up, a priest said the last prayers and a bugler played the Last Post. Mr. Goulding was introduced by Mr. Seamus Lynch, of the Republican Clubs.

Dúirt sé: "Táimid anseo chun caoineadh laoch Gaeil, Liam ionmhuin McMillen. Níorbh gná fear é, an fear ataimid a h-adhlachadh fe lathair, ach sár-fhear agus sár teoirí cliste calma, sár laoch i gcogadh, cliste, críonna, mar rialthóir réabhlóideach. Mór dúinn é a cháilliúnt."

Mr. McMillan had been murdered by those who would, as coldly and cynically as they shot him, start the sectarian conflict which would consume the working-class of Belfast, Mr. Goulding said. He had fought for civil rights, had always fought against sectarianism and argued and reasoned when pressure

was heaviest on the I.R.A. His roots were in Belfast, his ancestors both Protestant and Catholic.

"Let no man call him coward, the commander in defence of the Falls; let no man call him weak, who withstood the onslaughts of the bigoted; let no man call him fool because he devoted his life to the struggle for which he died"

Mr. McMillen had been "foully and savagely murdered" by men whose only philosophy was the philosophy of bigotry, Mr. Goulding declared.

APRIL 30.

The Belfast Brigade of the Official I.R.A. said that the two individuals who carried out the McMillen murder went into the Divis Flats immediately afterwards. They were well-known members of the I.R.S.P. and were among that organisations leading gunmen. They had been positively identified as being responsible for several shootings since the formation of the I.R.S.P.

The I.R.A. statement said that the two men arrived on the scene in a black taxi. One remained inside to hold the driver and passengers as hostages. The other crossed the road to where McMillen's van was parked. Witnesses say him carry a revolver behind his back. He fired four shots at Mr. McMillen and walked back to the taxi.

"The taxi then drove down the Falls Road and stopped at the second entrance to Divis Flats. Witnesses there say the two men ran into the flats via Whitehall Row. We have read the statement issued by the I.R.S.P. last night and our only comment is to say the evidence we have examined leads us to only one conclusion and that is that the I.R.S.P. were responsible for the murder of Liam McMillen."

Liam McMillen:

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 steeled him for the life of struggle ahead.

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. Everything was used from internment to judicial murder. 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, as he 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 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 at 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."

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.

DOES THE ARMY REALLY WANT A CEASEFIRE?

Saturday April 5

NORTHERN IRELAND'S Civil Rights Association yesterday demanded to know whether or not British army units in anti-Unionist areas of Belfast really wanted to see the current ceasefire continued.

Representatives of NICRA have been reporting in the past few days a series of harassment incidents involving local people and British soldiers.

NICRA is particularly angered at the resumption by British army units of the taking of a census in anti-Unionist areas. It is designed to help army interrogators when questioning people brought in by patrols.

NICRA voiced its fears over the British army's attitude when it strongly condemned the explosion of a bomb in Belfast city centre by the Provisional IRA on Wednesday.

Man who contested extradition wounded

APRIL 7.

AN ARMAGH MAN, who successfully contested a bid some months ago by the R.U.C. to have him extradited from the Republic, is "ill" in hospital after an emergency operation following a shooting incident involving the police at a housing complex near the city centre at the weekend.

The man, identified by Republican sources as Mr. Seamus Grew, is now under heavy guard in the Intensive Care Unit of Craigavon Hospital, recovering from three bullet wounds in the chest and neck.

Mr. Grew, 23, a married man with a young child, was rushed to the hospital by ambulance after being given blood transfusions in Armagh City Hospital. The man and woman who took him there by car from the Drumarg housing estate, were detained by police for questioning but later released.

The extradition warrant, which came before Monaghan Court, had alleged that Mr. Grew attempted to murder a young off-duty R.U.C. constable on the outskirts of Armagh. The order was refused on the basis of Mr. Grew's contention that he would be charged with an offence of a political nature.

Later, several men from the Lisburn area were jailed in Dublin arising out of an abortive attempt to kidnap Mr. Grew from the house where he was staying in Monaghan and take him North.

The shooting late on Saturday night occurred in the D'Alton Road-Drumarg area. An R.U.C. statement said that police delivering a message to a bereaved family had spotted two men, one of whom answered a description of a person wanted for questioning in connection with serious crimes.

The police spokesman said that when challenged one of the men stopped and was detained. He claimed that the other ran on, then turned and fired a number of shots at the police, who returned fire. A spokesman for the mid-Armagh Official Republican movement has challenged the police allegation that Mr. Grew was armed. He described the shooting as a "blatant, murderous attack."



Miners attack royal promise

MAY 5, 1975

Queen Elizabeth gave the lead in breaking the social contract when she got a rise of £420,000 a year, claimed the South Wales miners leaders yesterday.

In their annual report they say the Queen's rise was an "increase of approximately 50 per cent, and her new basic rate, less bonus payments and shift allowance, is a staggering £1,400,000 per year."

The following telegram was sent to the Vietnamese People on the event of their victory over American Imperialism:

"The Irish Republican Movement sendings greetings of revolutionary joy to the Vietnamese People in the time of their great victory. Your struggle against the strongest imperialist power in the world is a model to Irish Revolutionaries who are fighting the same just struggle for unity, independence, socialism and peace."

N.I.C.R.A.

produces Bill of Rights

PROPOSED ACT LISTS 'FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS'

APRIL 24.

THE NORTHERN Ireland Civil Rights' Association, having advocated the passing of a Bill of Rights for the past seven years, yesterday produced its own Bill, the work of the organisation's legal sub-committee.

The Bill of Rights, which takes the form of a proposed Act of Parliament to be passed at Westminster, sets out in some detail a suggested list of fundamental rights and freedoms.

These would be enforced by a "Northern Ireland constitutional court" which the C.R.A. envisages would be made up of three judges from the European Court of Human Rights and two others: either two from Northern Ireland, or one from the North and one from the Republic.

The C.R.A. says its Bill incorporates features from American and Australian Bills and if accepted would provide a "watertight guarantee" of every citizen's rights.

The Bill would extend the British Race Relations Act to apply in the North and it states that fundamental rights would not be altered by race, colour, sex, language, religion or other considerations. It also declares: "Everyone shall have the right to hold opinions without interference."

In considering the right of political expression, the Bill makes a point of listing specific opinions which it would safeguard: thus,

everyone would have the right to work for the maintenance of Northern Ireland as an integral part of the United Kingdom, advocate the uniting of Ireland, propagate Republican or Loyalist opinion, work for the establishment of one or more sovereign parliaments for the North, independent of Westminster, and everyone would have the right to display flags or emblems of any country in friendly relations with the United Kingdom.

The Bill also deems unlawful any search carried out without an order from a magistrate's court and without production of a warrant outlining reasonable grounds for the search.

Fingerprints could be taken by the security forces only if the person in question is in lawful custody, has been charged with a criminal offence and only after the granting of permission by a magistrate's court. If the person is discharged or acquitted the fingerprints would be destroyed.

Photographing by the security forces would be permitted only when a person has been convicted of an offence or is suspected on reasonable grounds of having committed a criminal offence. The safeguards in this section also rule out any use of detention without trial.

Everyone charged with a criminal offence is to be presumed innocent until proved guilty according to law and no-one may be subjected to torture or cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.

E.E.C. small farms plans criticised

APRIL 19.

PROPOSALS for small farmers within the E.E.C., and particularly Directive 159, were strongly criticised at a press conference organised by the Farmers Defence Association in Dublin last night.

The conference had been called to launch a new publication — "The Farm Modernisation Scheme and What It Really Means."

Representatives of the association said that their main demand was that grants and subsidies should not be withdrawn from any farmer simply because his farm was too small under E.E.C. regulations, as was proposed under the Farm Modernisation Scheme.

There was also a demand for aid for transitional and development farmers, and the association called for special aid for co-operative ventures.

A spokesman for the association said that nobody would defend Directive 159 in public other than Mr. Mark Clinton, the Minister for Agriculture, in *The Irish Times* this week, and even he would be pretty slow to say at an election that he supported it.

THE
SATURDAY
INTERVIEW

Cathal
Goulding talks
to Henry Kelly

THE IRISH TIMES.
MARCH 8, 1975

AT 53, HIS past life to date steeped in the Irish Republican tradition, his present-day life revolving around his house painting and decorating job and political activity, Cathal Goulding, by common knowledge chief-of-staff of the Official I.R.A., is these days keeping his eyes "a bit more skinned than usual."

As the man at the centre of the present bitter squabble between the Official I.R.A./Official Sinn Fein and the break-away Irish Republican Socialist Party, led by Mr. Seamus Costello and Mrs. Bernadette McAliskey, Goulding is watching his step as, side by side with political argument in public there grows a log of "incidents" between the two sides. Matters are not helped by the addition to the mix of claims and counter-claims, allegations and rebuttals.

But Goulding has few doubts about the cause of the row, the scope of it or about the people involved; neither has he any doubts about who tried to murder his friends and right-hand man, Sean Garland, who last week was hit six times by bullets in a gun attack near his home in Ballymun in Dublin and who is still ill in hospital.

"I have no doubt about who tried to murder Garland. It was the I.R.S.P. I don't see any other people being interested in trying to murder him. But we don't plan any retaliation. Our attitude is that we don't want a continuation of this agro between ourselves and the I.R.S.P. The I.R.S.P., even before they came into existence, when they were preparing for their formation, in the Belfast area, they tried to misappropriate arms and other property belonging to the I.R.A. They took some members from us, too, but, contrary to newspaper reports, anyone is free to leave the Republican Movement so

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long as they don't take our property and so long as they don't use any information that would damage the Movement. But in the course of trying to lay their hands on our property in the North, the I.R.S.P. kidnapped our members, beat them up, shot them. In retaliation and in defence, we took similar action against the I.R.S.P."

Hard and strong words. Yet for Goulding the whole situation is, like everything else in his life, essentially political: "We had a problem within our movement for two years nearly where Seamus Costello felt that we weren't paying enough time and attention to the national question. And the national question in his mind was that we should be involved in fighting actively against the British forces of occupation or carrying out a campaign similar to the Provisionals. Now we pointed out to him that, if we threw in our lot with the Provisionals and waged a campaign, eventually we would lose, as in the past, and we would emerge, as in the past, with the movement smashed and the struggle weaker. We would have to start all over again to reorganise and re-establish ourselves and our movement. We pointed out that what Costello was saying wasn't the national question at all."

And Goulding adds: "Costello's idea of the national question was becoming the same as the Provisionals' idea: get the British Army out and the Protestants will have to do what they're told. That's what it amounts to. We reject this as being the national question. Our job, be believe, is that we cannot develop socialism in Ireland until such time as we are free of the British presence in Ireland but we don't believe that the mere evacuation of the British Army from the Six Counties will solve this problem, any more than the mere evacuation of the British from the 26 Counties solved the problem down in the Republic; it didn't solve either the national or the social question in the 26. Our job is to educate and agitate and involve people in political and social activity so that the Protestant working class will come to the point where they will accept working-class control and involvement in Ireland as essential to their future well-being."

He also rejects the idea of talks with Seamus Costello or the I.R.S.P.: "I don't see any possibility of talking to Costello at the moment and, in view of the facts I have set out, I for one, before I would sit down to any talks, would want very firm guarantees of my personal safety. We have very serious distrust of Costello."

As Cathal Goulding sees it, the current I.R.A./I.R.S.P. dispute is a barrier on the way he was leading the Official I.R.A. forward. He downgrades the role of the I.R.A. as an army. What would happen, for example, if someone came knocking on his door asking him could they join the I.R.A.?

"Well, you see, if I start talking to you about this sort of thing, then there's a statement in the paper and someone comes knocking on my door and I get about two fuckin' years, you see. The Official I.R.A. will always be involved in the political field, but its role to a great extent is that of a political army, in support of radical socialist policies within the Republican Movement. Our role is to support Sinn Fein whatever way we can. An army would only be used in defence of working-class people, in defence of gains they might make. The I.R.A. is not to be used in mounting any offensive campaign or in any aggressive manner, unless it has the support of the vast majority of the people."

Does that mean that never again will there be an I.R.A. campaign by the Officials like previous Border campaigns or like the Provisionals' bombing campaign?

"No. There won't, as long as we can influence the situation at the moment. But we will certainly be active in defence of working-class people and if necessary in their defence and in defence of their gains, if this was required, against the British Army or the R.U.C."

Cathal Goulding would reject the inference that, by placing the emphasis on socialism, he is in any way ceasing to be a traditional Republican. His credentials for being numbered among the Republicans in Ireland are as near impeccable as makes no difference. Others, he believes, have fallen away from true Republicanism.

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HE was born in Dublin in East Aran Street in 1922 into a working-class Dublin family of strong Republican stock. His father had been out in 1916 and was in Barry's Hotel fighting on the anti-Treaty side during the civil war. His mother had been in jail during the war of independence and the young Goulding's earliest childhood memories are of war and military men:

"Strangely enough, I remember well the assassination of Kevin O'Higgins, presumably because our house was raided by Free State troops. There used to be lots of military activity those days around the markets and the quays and I remember whole streets being blocked off and soldiers everywhere."

volutionary

He went to school in Strand Street and then, when the family lived in Summerhill and later Fairview, where he still runs his family painting business, to William Street. There, the Sisters of Charity had himself and Brendan Behan in one class. "We were pals from way back and our families had been friendly. The way I look back now on him is as the happy young man long before he became an alcoholic and before even he became famous as a writer. We were boys together, we were apprenticed together and we went to tech together to learn letter writing and sign-writing, things you wouldn't normally learn on a building job."

The youthful Goulding was a member of Na Fianna from the age of about seven, taking lectures from Frank Ryan and later Mairfin O Cadhain, and listening to his father and mother on the Republican philosophy. It wasn't all work; he took time to join the St. Laurence O'Toole pipe band for a time and learned to play the pipes but he took more naturally to politics than to football or hurling. James Connolly's writings, he says, had most influence on him.

"I never questioned for a long time the tradition I was brought up in. You see, in the old Republican tradition there wasn't any other means but violence of opposing the British in Ireland, of being a Republican. Republicans didn't recognise courts, didn't even recognise the Dail and so on and, if elected, refused to take their seats. As I say I never questioned this for a long time but gradually, particularly in the last 10 years or so, I began to realise that politics needed something which ordinary people could be involved in. The idea of us trying to present a very highly principled position and expecting people to follow us was not a very rational and logical type of approach. It wasn't politics. So in the Republican Movement we began in 1962, after the last Border campaign, to develop the type of politics that meant being involved with people in their everyday lives: in housing, land questions, the questions of jobs and wages and so on."

Goulding believes that every violent I.R.A. campaign since the end of the Civil War has left the Republican Movement weaker afterwards than when it entered upon the campaign. He believes that, initially, each new campaign got support but that gradually people took away this support and that the movement suffered. He believes this about the Provisionals' campaign:

"The Provisionals succeeded in mounting a far better military campaign that was ever mounted since the Tan war but what have they got to show for it? All they have at this moment is incident centres in

the North. Bombing campaigns and campaigns of violence only lead eventually to disaffection among the ordinary people. I think this is one of the reasons for the Provos' truce. I'm not saying this in any knocking way, because it would have been a physical impossibility for them to go on and because they were in a contracting situation, not a developing one. And even the establishment of these incident centres has cost the Provisionals a tremendous lot; it has brought a lot of disunity, distrust and unreason on the part of people within the Provisional movement."

Does Goulding, as a former colleague of many of the men now in the other branch of the movement, have any contact with Provisionals?

"I have contact with some of them and some of them have been my friends over the years, and are in the Provisional movement, but I look on the Provisionals generally

as a destructive force; they destroyed all the gains made by the civil rights movement. Personally I never had much to do with people like John Stephenson, or O Conaill; Stephenson wasn't exactly my type of man, not the sort of fellow I'd look for after a political meeting to have a drink with. I knew people like Jimmy Steel and Billy McKee and other Belfast Republicans. But I don't believe I even know Seamus Twomey."

If Goulding is now so strongly opposed to all but defensive and retaliatory violence, how does he explain Official I.R.A. activity such as the murder of the Unionist Senator, Jack Barnhill, or the explosion at Aldershot which killed not British soldiers but cleaning women, or the attack on John Taylor when he was a Minister in the North?

Continued over.



"Costello's idea of the national question was becoming the same as the Provisionals' idea: get the British Army out and the Protestants will have to do what they're told."

Saturday Interview

Cathal Goulding talks to Henry Kelly:

"Well John Taylor was Minister for Home Affairs at the time of the attack on him and was using repressive legislation and was contemplating even more repressive legislation. He was also vindictive and tough in his handling of what was his brief. I suppose you could say that, well, Brian Faulkner should have been the target since he was in charge but then, like everything else, the availability of the target matters too.

"Barnhill's was a mistake, if you could call it that. He was supposed to be away at the time and the Republican Movement was burning houses owned by wealthy and middle-class Unionists then as retaliation for the wrecking of working-class homes in the North by the British Army. Barnhill was part of the establishment.

"Now Aldershot was a military target and the attack was in retaliation for the murders by the British Parachute Regiment on Bloody Sunday. It went very wrong. I felt crushed after it, that only working-class women had been killed by the explosion and that was really all that happened. It was a catastrophe but, if you compare it with the Provos' campaign, a calculated campaign against civilian targets, Aldershot was just one attack that went wrong."

"But isn't that always a danger when individuals decide to use armies and isn't that a good reason for extra care if this sort of thing is even being contemplated: 'We made mistakes. We will maybe make more mistakes, but you won't find us making the same mistakes twice.'"

Does he believe that violence doesn't work in politics, then?

"No. But what I am saying is that the first essential for progress is the support of the people to make gains or any headway. You see, I think the Republican Movement has made huge gains since the end of the last aggressively violent campaign in 1962. In the old days it was very easy to tell the people what would happen or how good a life they'd have when you had a Republic or a free country but they'd been listening to that from politicians since the State was inaugurated so that meant your promises were no better than anyone else's. So, as I say, you had to involve the people in things that concerned them. As for political violence — I'd prefer the term physical force—it only comes in at a very late stage when it's needed to defend the people's gains if and when the establishment hits back."

Given his interest in politics, then, what is his attitude to the Northern situation at present?

"We feel that it is essential for us to get some seats in the Convention, in the elections that are coming up. Having seats there will mean we will be able to put forward our policies. We haven't decided how many candidates we will put forward yet but we think we've a fairly good chance of getting three people elected. Then, if we are putting forward working-class policies on our side, and say there are Protestants putting forward working-class proposals too, then there is hope for progress in the Convention."

Is he hopeful then that the Convention can work?

"I don't think it will achieve anything in the sense of establishing a new system within the six Counties. I haven't any hope of that at all but I do have that hope about the working-class policies from both sides. You see, in the Unionist camps now there is a great deal of division and there is also a clear movement by the working-class Protestants to think for themselves and put forward their own ideas and policies."

Where does Irish unity fit in?

"I believe Irish unity will come. You might say that the problem of Irish unity doesn't exist down in the Republic or among Nationalists in the North. Only among the Protestant population who at the moment feel they have a better future in the United Kingdom. Now, at the moment they're getting better benefits but in the long-term the exploitation of the working-class is only possible when it's divided and it will always be divided while there is a British presence there. Even the benefits the North gets are only crumbs from the table of England. What we need is unity, certainly first within the North, of Catholic and Protestant because that's the place where they're divided at the moment.

"The things that count are that working class people can say: 'Look, I may be a Republican and you may be a Unionist, but for the moment what we need is jobs, and houses and social security of some form'. I believe that's real traditional Republicanism because if you look into history you find that, say, Wolfe Tone wasn't sectarian or ultranationalistic. His appeal was in relation to the people of no property in the main. His United Irishmen weren't a military group but a revolutionary group ready to fight for the rights of Catholics and non-conformist Protestants alike."

Goulding says he now feels that he is playing a much more useful and active and positive role as a Republican in the last 10 years than before: "When I joined the I.R.A. first the constitution said it was non-political and non-sectarian. For a while I never questioned this but afterwards I began to wonder how a revolutionary movement could be non-political and I realised that some of the people who wrote

the constitution didn't know what they were talking about."

Interest in politics hasn't given Cathal Goulding a sympathetic regard for other politicians, North or South: "I don't have much regard for the S.D.L.P. or any of the figures that go to make it up. The formation of that party was a very opportunistic thing indeed. They took the initiative away from the civil rights movement at the time. All they did was fill the vacuum left by the old Nationalist Party and they proved this point when they became members of the power-sharing Executive. Indeed, in going into power-sharing with the Unionists they left themselves in much the same position as the Provos are now in relation to the policing situation; both of them in a position of enforcing the establishment."

Does politics have no element of compromise for him?

"No. Our job is to do away with the present social and political system that exists and to establish a socialist state. But we cannot do that until we have the power. We are quite prepared to form an alliance with other parties of the left with whom we have similar objectives. You see, a revolutionary rejects no form of struggle. Agitation education and infiltration and so on, are all part of that struggle. We believe that at the moment the people are not in a position to use military force. That was one of the points we disagreed with the Provos on: they believed in 1969 that the people's backs were up and that it was the right time to strike and force the British to evacuate Ireland. But we pointed out that only a tiny fraction of a minority of the people was engaged and a military struggle would get nowhere.

"You see, the Irish situation isn't like, say, Cuba before the revolution, where there was no other way for people but an armed rising and where the people supported it. Here we have elections and once you have the safety valve of political activity then people will follow some kind of politicians who will promise them some kind of relief from their situation."

Does he believe there is any country where what he has in mind for Ireland has worked?

"Not really because it's very hard to say because of different circumstances. It's hard to draw parallels. Such questions are simple but the answers are complex; you see, if I said Russia people would come up with the excesses of Stalin or China, they'd talk about the Red Guard and so on. Perhaps the Albanian situation is one you could take. But socialism is a philosophy, for me, it's a science which means in fact the greatest happiness for the greatest number. I don't think people should be sacrificed for socialism. I think that socialism must begin to develop the minute a socialist Government takes over and that, if the ordinary people

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don't understand or are hostile and begin to resist, it is the duty of the Government to educate them. Not to force them. It's going to be a long time, of course, in Ireland."

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CATHAL GOULDING has not always been a free man. In his life so far he has had six spells in prison, including being interned in the Curragh during the War. "My longest spell was about eight years after the Felstead arms raid. Being in jail depends on the nature of the person that's in really. I'm a fairly placid sort of person and not in any way highly strung. I was always able to do my time and calculate my chances of getting out. I felt all the time one of the things that keeps you sane is to resist; like refusing to go to work, or to take a bath or resisting in some other way even when there's no real necessity for it. I lost all remission in jails. I was always classed as recalcitrant and unco-operative."

As a free man now he is an early riser, usually being up at about 7 a.m. and working during the day at his job: "But I take time off during each day for political activity." He has noticed that in the family business which he runs with his brothers and cousins there aren't so many contracts to do painting jobs for religious orders as there used to be before 1968 or thereabouts. "I suppose recurring statements from me since 1970 haven't helped but you still meet clerics who realise there has to be social change and, because we do a good job, we even get contracts from people who wouldn't agree with a word I say." He says he is constantly followed by the police but is not really worried about this: "Sometimes they let you see them and sometimes they don't let you see them. It all depends. I suppose now with this aggro between the I.R.S.P. and us they're keeping an extra special watch on all Republicans. I change my route to work and so on and when I'm in the yard working there's always someone about. I'm rarely alone these days."

Is the I.R.A. on what might be called alert? "Not at all. The only time it was on what might be called alert was during 1969 in the North. In the 26 Counties its role, as I've said, is mainly political. I mean, saluting and that sort of stuff went out the door years ago. I used always feel terrible silly when I'd walk into a room where there were fellows from the movement and they'd salute. I'd wonder would I do it myself."

Cathal Goulding relaxes with politics: "To a great extent it's my only relaxation, though I take a drink and I like to walk in the country. I read a lot. Mostly biographies or autobiographies and the history of peoples. And novels too: I like Thomas Hardy and

when I was younger I thought that Charles Dickens was the greatest writer I'd ever read. I read H. G. Wells's "Outline of History" and was very impressed with it. I wasn't impressed with his other books, although I read them. And I read plays too, Shaw and O'Casey and, of course, Brendan Behan's plays were something special to me, not because I'm mentioned in them or anything like that but because they were about a life I knew. They were something to do with my life."

Perhaps his entire philosophy of life is summed up in the way he answers the question: given that he has socialist views in the Irish context, won't Protestants run away from anything that has a Republican tinge to it?

Goulding answers: "No, I don't think so. The only thing the Protestants will run away from is the policy of violence. Once you keep your level of involvement to social and economic issues you'll get support. In getting support for these issues workers will be involved and then will see that the type of establishment we have doesn't cater for them, doesn't care about them. Reform is quite correct if it is led by revolutionaries but reformist activity led by reformists stops at reform. That's where we differ: we are revolutionaries."

Sean Fox

Sean Fox of Lenadoon was murdered at Divis Flats, Belfast on February 25. Legal advice so far received indicates that his widow and family are unlikely to be entitled to any form of compensation.

The Northern Republican Clubs Secretariat, therefore, in setting up a Sean Fox Family Fund is attempting to ensure that Mrs. Fox receives the maximum aid possible to provide for her five young children.

Donations should be sent immediately to the Sean Fox Family Fund, Republican Clubs Secretariat, 40, Cyprus Street, Belfast 12.



Challenge to B.B.C. on bomb report

APRIL 7.

THE WEST BELFAST Republican Clubs executive committee called on the Northern Ireland Secretary of State, Mr. Rees, in a statement last night to instigate a full inquiry into the B.B.C. sources which attributed the bombing of the Mountainview Tavern, in which five people died on Saturday night, to the Official I.R.A. The Official I.R.A., earlier denied the claim, made by the B.B.C. on a late Saturday night news report, that they had been responsible.

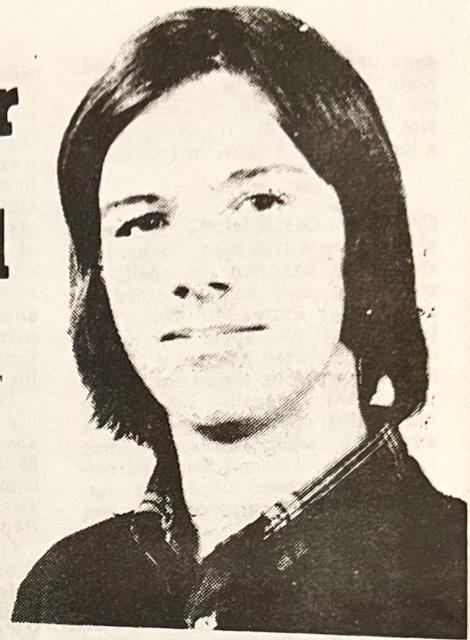
The Republican Club's statement issued by Councillor Bernard McDonagh, said that this was the second occasion on which the B.B.C. broadcasts had placed the blame for sectarian bombings on the I.R.A. when it was obvious, he noted, that such outrages were completely at variance to the policies and tactics of the Official Republican movement.

Councillor McDonagh said, "It is obvious that the black propaganda activities of the British Army is the source being quoted by the B.B.C. and it is imperative that Mr. Rees takes action to ensure that the sectarian bombers responsible are no longer being protected by a British Army cover-up."

"On leaving Northern Ireland recently (London) Times correspondent Robert Fisk warned of a dossier of black propaganda being launched by the British Army against progressive organisations and individuals in the Six Counties. Are we now witnessing the first stages of this campaign being conducted against the Official Republican movement?"

IRA Volunteer Paul Crawford

Paul Crawford, IRA volunteer, was gunned down by full-time, paid killers of the IRSP while selling the UNITED IRISHMAN newspaper on the Falls Road in Belfast on Saturday afternoon, April 12, 1975.



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

24.3% OF REPUBLIC'S WEALTH OWNED BY $\frac{1}{2}$ %

THE WEALTHIEST half per cent of the Irish population owns 24.3% of all personal wealth in the country while the wealthiest five per cent owns 63%, according to Professor Patrick M. Lyons in the current issue of the *Economic and Social Review*.

Professor Lyons, who carried out an initial survey of wealth ownership in Ireland in 1972, has now checked his figures using new techniques, and the tentative conclusions reached in the initial analysis are reinforced by his latest study. The figures relate to 1966.

While the new estimates show a slightly reduced degree of wealth concentration, the inequality of wealth distribution is still very pronounced.

A second major finding of

Professor Lyons's latest study is the extent of personal wealth. The three new estimates all find substantially greater amounts of personal wealth than was previously calculated, with the highest of these pitching total personal wealth in the country at £3,024 million, 27% above the original estimate.

The study also found that average personal wealth rises regularly with age and reaches a peak in the age group 55 to 64. This would appear to indicate that inheritance plays an important role in causing the inequality of wealth distribution.

While in 1966 there were slightly more women than men in the population, men owned the vast majority of personal wealth, with estimates of their ownership ranging between 66% and 71%.

489 held in U.K. under Terrorism Act

APRIL 10.

The British Home Secretary, Mr. Roy Jenkins, said in the House of Commons yesterday that 489 people had been detained in Great Britain under provisions of the Prevention of Terrorism (Temporary Provisions) Act.

**THE STRUGGLE OF THE
IRISH PEOPLE
IS THE STRUGGLE OF THE
PEOPLES OF THE WORLD**

EXCUSE ME.
WHICH WAY
TO THE
UNEMPLOYMENT
LINE?

YOU'RE
IN IT.

At the beginning of March 1975 over 100,000 people were classed as unemployed in Ireland.

The cause of labour is the cause of Ireland;
the cause of Ireland is the cause of labour.

-James Connolly (1868-1916).

'Riot' book will stir storm

APRIL 7, 1975

A MAJOR furore from the left of the British Labour Party and from militants in the trade union movement is anticipated this week with the publication of a book entitled "Riot Control," which deals with the possibility that soldiers might have to maintain "civil order" on the British mainland rather than the police force.

The book is written by Major General A. J. Deane-Drummond a wartime parachute officer and former commandant of the Royal Military Academy at Sandhurst.

Adding to the inevitable controversy over its contents, is the fact that "Riot Control" published by the Government-supported Royal United Services Institute of Defence Studies, based in Whitehall, has been partly financed by

Schermuly Ltd., of Dorking, Surrey, the manufacturers of CS gas and other "anti-riot" equipment.

The book expounds on the themes already introduced into army hierarchy thinking by Brigadier Frank Kitson with his "low intensity operations," and is in line with a recognisable faction of the Parliamentary Conservative Party who also foresee the British Army playing a future role in internal civil relations in a more intensive fashion than that illustrated by troops moving into Glasgow last month to clear rubbish left by the striking dustmen.

The book lists some 60 items that could be used against violent troublemakers, ranging from an improved version of CR gas, already tested in Northern Ireland, and various kinds of guns that fire bullets which maim rather than kill.

General Deane-Drummond

comments on the efficiency of all these devices, but favours the water-cannon which he says "as an instrument of discomfort, particularly in wet weather, has a rare degree of versatility," and the CR gas about which he wrote: "Only minute concentrations are required to produce a nettling sensation on bare skin and intense pain on contact with the eyes."

The book concludes by the General writing that several new methods of riot control must be considered for the future. "One might be to increase the effectiveness of the limited police manpower by improving their non-lethal equipment . . . the only alternative would be to make use of regular army units, if they were available and well trained in riot control. This should present no problem so long as the situation in Northern Ireland continues."

REPUBLICAN CLUBS GAIN 18,403 PREFERENCE VOTES BUT
FAIL TO WIN SEATS IN CONVENTION

The Republican Clubs gained 18,403 preference votes in the Convention Election last week but failed to win any of the 78 seats. Malachy McGurran, spokesman for the Republican Clubs said that although his party would not be sitting in the Convention they would still be pushing ahead with worker-politics and trying to bring an end to sectarianism.

Kevin Smyth, the Executive Secretary said that in face of sectarian reaction, the Republican Clubs maintained that the key issue at this time was the demand for a Bill of Rights to cover repressive legislation, reform of the Courts and legal system and discrimination in housing and unemployment.

"Only such a basic legislative guarantee could ensure the necessary structural foundations on which to build a democratic society." he said.

FIGHTING FUND:

During the month of April Republican Clubs in the North mounted an extensive campaign with 19 candidates placing the policies of the Republican Movement before the electorate. During that time our members stood by their convictions inspite of harassment from the RUC and the British Army, In spite of the intimidation by the Provisionals who boycotted this election and in spite of the continuing murdering attacks on our members which this month include the death of Paul Crawford, shot down while selling the UNITED IRISHMAN on the Falls Road and the murder of Liam McMillen, Commanding Officer of the Belfast Irish Republican Army. Both Crawford and Liam McMillen were brutally murdered by the IRSP.

The Republican Movement wishes to thank its supporters and friends around the world who have offered their sympathy and solidarity in the last days, and in particular we wish to thank those who contributed to the FIGHTING FUND IN April:

Jim Kane, West Australis £4.; Ruth Fleishmann, West Germany, £1.; Anonymous, San Francisco, USA, \$5.; Charlie McGleenon, Irish Republican Club, Boston, USA, \$600.; Ray Dickinson, Wisconsin, USA \$5.;

SUPPORT THE REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT: SUPPORT THE FIGHTING FUND!

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

GIFT _____