# An Phoblacht Iml.5. Uimh.4. 5p. Eanáir 25, 1974.

# FORGED-FEEDING STORM GROWING

By MAIRE CRAIG

AS THE storm of protest against the cruel forced-feeding of four of the Manchester prisoners grows, at home and abroad, the question is being asked by their relatives, friends and supporters: How much longer can they survive?

Of the men, Hugh Feeney and Gerard Kelly, relatively little is known except that, added to their other miseries, they are naked in their cells but determined to resist to the last breath in their hodge.

in their bodies.

All are beginning the third month of their

Claire, the sister of the fasting Dolours and Marion, told at the weekend of the deteriorating physical condition of the Prices whom she had visited on Saturday. Both had lost a lot of weight. Dolours seemed to be dragging her feet and walked very slowly. Like Marion, her skin was wax-like.

#### Simple demand

The girls' eyes were surrounded by heavy black patches and the forced-feeding had caused sores around their mouths. Both suffer from severe stomach and chest pains.

Their father, Mr. Albert Price, was in Dublin last Sunday for the third weekend protest in succession outside the residence of the British Ambassador near Cill Gobain, Co. Dublin. All his girls wanted, he said, was to be allowed join the other patriot girls in Armagh Prison, to finish their sentences there.

Prison, to finish their sentences article.
"I want them home, 'said Mr. Price "I don't want them to die; but, if they do die - I have lived a good life and I've always been a Republican — I'll become a very violent Republican and can anyone deny me that"?

He looked back over the four years of war in the North: he had given up a good job in 1939 to help build an army for the defence of the people.

the people.

He explained: "The Provo army was started by the people who set up barricades against the loyalist hordes. We beat them with stones at first, and they had guns.

"Our people had to go and get guns: wouldn't they have been right stupid people to stand there? Our people got shotguns at first and then got better weapons. And then the British, who were supposed to protect us, came in and raided our homes.

What way could you fight? You went down and blew them up. That was the only thing left. If they hadn't interfered with us there probably would be no Provo army today."

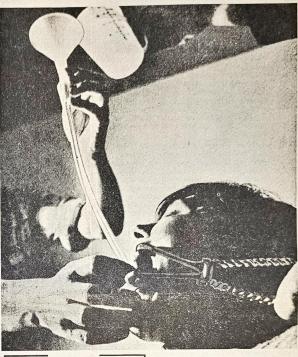
#### No fight sought

As to the Cooney sabre-rattling, Mr. Price said that Oglaigh na hÉireann wanted no military action in the 26 Counties.

"But, if you can't run from the Brits and get across the Border and get ready to go back to fight, what can you do?

or injut, what can you do?

"The Palestine guerrillas have at least some refuge to go to. I remember, when we escaped out of Derry Jail and got to the Donegal mountains, the 'Free' State army came and arrested us. The commandant said he didn't know what to do with us."



This picture gives an idea of how people are fed forcibly. First they are pinioned so that they cannot move. A clamp is attached, forcing the mouth open. Through a hole in the clamp the piping is inserted and pushed down to the stomach. Then the other end is filled with a mushy substance. The picture, however, does not show the suffering.

Support for the fasting prisoners is now a speeding snowball, at home and abroad, Supporters include Conradh na Gaeilge, G.A.A., trade unionists, students, teachers, university professors and lecturers, writers, artists, journalists, actors and actresses, and a growing number of local authorities.

#### Pat's experience

Sunday's Co, Dublin demonstration, at which the British pacifist, Miss Pat Arrowmith, a refugee in Ireland, spoke, was one of many. Miss Arrowsmith fled Britain after charges had been preferred against her for distributing leaflets urging British troops not to serve in Ireland and to desert to Sweden.

Miss Arrowsmith disclosed how she had been a victim of forced feeding until political pressure resulted in the ending of the "horrible" practice, after which she was discharged from prison.

Other demonstrations on Sunday included a march in Belfast which ended with an attack on a Falls Road police-military post, after the marchers had been stopped; a parade organised by the Irish Political Hostages' Committee, from Hyde Park to Kilburn. Among those marching was Siobhān Nic Cionnāth, the actress; and relatives of the fasting prisoners.

On Saturday last mock forced-feeding sessions were held outside Wormwood Scrubs and Brixton Prison.

The general secretary of the National Council for Civil Liberties, Mr. Martin Loney, blames the British Home Office for its "arbitrary and capricious" treatment of the Winchester prisoners.

Winchester prisoners.

Normally, he said, they would have been put in a prison near their homes and would have received special category treatment, making hunger strike unnecessary. The Council is backing the appeal to have the strikers sent home to Ireland.

#### British shamed

Abroad, the scandal is building up to the same proportions in newspapers as that which surrounded the epic hunger strike of McSwiney and causing intense discomfort to British diplomats.

Sharing that discomfort are the sulking professional parliamentarians of Belfast and Dublin, ited too firmly to Sunningdale and committed far too deeply, now, to underwriting British brutality, to be able to afford as much as a sigh of protest, only too well aware of the political damage done to them with every extra hour that the fasting four are kept in British jails.

SUPPORT THE MEN AND WOMEN

An Cumann Cabhrach

IN JAIL FOR IRELAND'S LIBERATION IS it not extraordinary (in the full sense of that word) that the Dublin politicians and their dutiful echoes in the more prosperous of the 26 Counties newspapers have turned so casually aside from the proposals of Desmond Boal, for a free, sovereign, independent, federal Ireland, under which Ulster would have more

or less the same powers as she had under the old Stormont regime?

Here was independent, united Ireland being offered on a plate, without strings, by a prominent member of "loyalist" Belfast, Yet Lynch and his party braves were silent, as were Cosgrave and his coalitionists, as were the tame journalists on strings from Leinster House.

The politicians and the editors of Dublin and Cork may not be very bright but we do not believe that they are absolute fools. We can only guess as to the reasons for the amazing lack of comment (normally, in these cases, comment runs to seed if not to worse), that, in their cuteness, these various powers see in the Boal proposals not only an end to the bourgeois dictatorship, north and south, but an end, also, to the political and editorial careers of the now silent primadonnas. Sunningdale, as we said, could not succeed. Now, obviously to all, it is in bits, having crashed as it tried to take off. Can those bits be put together for another gamey bid next month? We doubt it.

If Sunningdale has failed and cannot succeed, what are the options? Direct rule now, once again, is a possibility; but it will appeal to very few on either island. There is the unilateral declaration of independence by an Ulster state: to have any chance of success it would need the negotiated consent beforehand of the Republican Movement. And there is the Dáil Uladh idea, within the concept of Eire Nua; or, more or less, Desmond Boal's federal Ireland, with semi-independent Ulster.

The Republican Movement and various "loyalist" groupings have these things in common: absolute distrust of the military, of the R.U.C., of the courts, of British politicians; absolute distrust of the sectarian politicians, Faulkner, Fitt, Cosrave, Corish, Lynch, Cruise O'Brien, FitzGerald; absolute distrust of the monopoly capitalist system; desire for power so as to change things in the interest of the working class; a heartfelt desire for peace and reconciliation; and an end to enemy occupation, with its assassination squads and all the rest of the horror.

It is not so surprising that Heath and his minions have not commented on Boal's outlines of a plan for peace. For, unless those who come together to talk, negotiate and rule in the name of the sovereign Irish people are very naïve, they will spell it out for the overlord that the day of exploitation is over; that all his assets on Irish soil must become the property of the Irish people; and that, to gain a place on the Irish

### An Phoblacht

Imleabhair 5. Eanair 25, 1

Uimhir 4

44 Cearnog Pharnell, B.A.C., Éire.

Guthán: 47611

#### Boal's peace plan

market in the future, he will have no favoured position and will have to enter the market place with everybody else.

In other words, Ireland, as a colony, is about to end. This will not appeal to Heath, will hardly be believed by him and the peculiar people who advise him: rather will they hope that Boal and his ideas will go away or be put away. This means that Boal, like Paisley and Craig, might share the fate of poor Tommy Herron.

But it will be rather more difficult to put Boal away than it was with Herron: too many people have welcomed his plan, rather obviously isolating the obvious executioner. Anyway, if Boal were to be removed, the tide hardly could be turned, now. So what the overlord will be thinking about, if he think at all these days, will be a method of giving away gracefully while still holding economic control; or, rather more stupidly, out and out fascism (just around the corner in the other island, anyway).

Heath very probably has sent for Kitson: "What do we do, now?" Kitson, just as probably, has replied: "Quit". They are now operating in brigades. Motorman was the make or break. Britain cannot possibly win, now, on the battlefield. The assassination techniques have become transparent. Now that the "loyalists" have seen through the subterfuges, absolute defeat, on a scale equal to Dien Bien Phu, is just around the corner: avoid it by getting out, now.

Lynch, Cruise O'Brien, Corish, FitzGerald, Fitt, Faulkner, Devlin, Bradford, Cooper, Napier, Curry, Pender, Gageby, Coogan and all the rest of them, of course, will be whinging and cajoling Heath not to desert the sinking ship and Heath, of course, will be loyal — like hell.

We are not forecasting that things will be ordered with that degree of neatness. We would be very suprised if the various characters did not continue to strut busily about in their minor roles on the bloodspattered Irish stage and if the blunders were not to continue until the play becomes an obvious, if disgusting farce, to everybody. That way lies a very bloody ending, indeed, as an enraged people seeks retribution.

We would favour a quick, logical solution, in the interest of peace and an end to violence. Is there any point in our appealing to the professional critics of violence to exert their influence that Boal's reasonable plan be discussed and publicised widely?

If the Roman Catholic peers, the Church of Ireland aristocrats, the Presbyterian elders and the various other church leaders so loud so often in pursuit of peace, are in earnest, here is the platinum-plated opportunity to prove it as Republican and Loyalist find common ground. Let them offer their good officers as chairmen. Let them offer their influence in persuading the enemy troops to withdraw to barracks, so that a meaningful dialogue may take place, as a first step towards complete withdrawal.

If the Pope in Rome, the Dalai Lama, the president of Russia or the Skibbereen Eagle, have any real interest in permanent peace in Ireland, now is the time to speak out in favour of an audience for Boal's ideas. Silence, now, can be construed only as a hostile act, the comforting of the enemy of Prod and Papist alike.

We have had the usual uninformed talk from the daily papers, and from some of the more ignorant weeklies, that the Boal plan is a reiteration of the Document No. Two of Earmonn de Valéra. It is nothing of the sort: for one thing, de Valéra did not propose a sovereign, independent Ireland in his plan, which was a concession to the English overlord, a compromise which, de Valéra thought, he might be prepared to accept. But it was not the basis for an agreement, freely negotiated, between two sovereign, independent peoples. Boal in his plan seeks no treaty or agreement with Britain. All he asks is that the overlord get out and leave the Irish to order their own affairs according to their needs and abilities. The context, also, is strongly socialist while that of Document No. Two was subserviently capitalist.

What else needs to be said of the Boat plan? This, that one hardly can visualise it being spoken or written by a prominent Ulster "loyalist" outside the context of the 1969-'74 period which was dominated, controlled and moulded by the Republican Movement. It proves that the decisions taken at the time of the so-called "split" in the Republican Movement, by Kevin Street, were correct, as was the strategy of Oglaigh na hEireann.

This is not bragging: it is an historic statement; and without appreciation of its significance the Boal initiative may be lost in the babel of fools and villians as they stampede to get aboard the bandwagon. Only the middle class could gain an advantage from such a mockery of the dead and the injured of four and a half years of war.

#### A newspaper's view

Titled "Another attempt to help Mr. Faulkner", the editorial we reproduce here first appeared in "The Irish Press" on January 16. It was the only one that day to show any concern about the further threatened erosion of civil liberties, the further encroachment of Blueshirt fascism, as proclaimed by the king of the cockroaches early last week.

For there can be no doubt that an invocation of Section 25 of the Offences Against the State Act has implications far beyond any serious or co-ordinated effort to crush the IRA organisation. Mr. Cooney's words speak for themselves. The threat is made to anyone "allowing" (and what of the question of intimidation?) his home or business premises to be used "for the purposes direct or implied" of the IRA. Leaving aside the question of who is to decide, or how, whether someone is in the IRA or not, who is to adjudicate on what "implied" might mean? And this is not merely a semantic issue.

Does it, for instance, cover the case of a farmer's wife who gives a cup of milk to a wanted man? Or the publican whose bar is used for an occasional card game? Does it permit a Chief Superintendent to close the premises of a newspaper because he discerns that they are being used for "implied" IRA purposes inasmuch as the paper's reporters may be talking to IRA spokesmen in the course of their duties?

It is noteworthy that the Minister is not accepting any personal responsibility for this new policy departure. He is passing the buck for muzzling the press if and when the issue arises to the gardaf. They area to be left to enforce a repressive decree. They are required to incur the odium that will be generated if innocent and guilty alike are swept into the net.

As least the restrictions on RTE's reportorial powers are imposed by means of the written section of an Act – however ambiguously the said section may be worded.

It is also noteworthy that the announcement was made not in the Dáil, which is the appropriate place for such policy statements. Nor was it presented at a news conference, where the Minister's aims and motives might be questioned. Instead, Mr. Cooney has chosen to unveil the initiative before a Fine Gael group at Moate.

There is nothing in this manner and mode of announcement to dispel the suspicion that the Minister — or probably, to be fair to him, the Government he is acting for — is less interested in the real issues of law and order than in the political need to sustain Mr. Faulkner's position as the Belfast keystone of the Sunningdale arch.

This is not an essay in executive firmness, but an exercise in diplomacy. It is also a real and ominous threat to civil liberties that cannot be juxtified in terms of any direct or implied menace to the socurity of this State, its citizens or officers.

FROM the outset of the present Northern troubles, Unionist leaders have resolutely turned a blind eye to the terror tactics and sectarian savagery of their own most extreme supporters — tactics which precipitated the entire crisis. They have been constantly tooked by this loyalist subversion, but have continued to lay the whole blame for the crisis at the door of the IRA. Now this same simplistic and deceptive version of events is being peddled by the Minister for Justice.

events is being peddled by the Minister for Justice.

In asserting that the IRA is "the main obstacle" to peace Mr. Cooney is echoing that Unionist canard. He is ignoring the internal divisions within the loyalist camp. He is also blandly ignoring the contribution of British forces to the continuing disorder in the North. If there is to be talk, in his own phrase, of "repulsive hypocrisy" masking interest in the language of principle, it might well be argued that Mr. Cooney's latest public relations exercise to bolster up Brian Faulkner's political fortunes qualifies for the epithet.

In opposition, Patrick Cooney often appeared a liberal. Admittedly, he constantly presented himself as a law and order man, yet he also insisted that extending the exercise of arbitrary police powers was a potential danger to the liberties of the citizen that required constant scrutiny.

In government for less than a year, has he forgotten his own best principles? Can he lay his hand on his heart and suggest that the IRA has become more dangerous? Apart from the political necessity to offer a quid pro quo to the Unionists on Sunningdale, how does he justify the latest threat to Irish civil liberties?

# Boal talks of great need for dialogue

THOUGH one wouldn't think so from the papers, the Boal proposals for permanent peace in Ireland have aroused considerable the country. This interest was whetted by
the Raidió Éireann interview with Boal last week. We publish here a condensed version of the

interview which expands, in some respects, on the original Belfast newspaper interview. Mr. Boal said that he saw the federal solution as the only way to bring peace.

"This is a dramatic change from the situation two years ago, and has been brought about through this gradual disillusionment with England, with England's interest in us and knowledge of us", Mr. Boal said.

knowledge of us", Mr. Boal said.

"This was pretty obvious about two years ago, and if, along about two years ago, and if, along with England and Britain that we had in the North, there had been, correspondingly and simultaneously, some gesture, a dramatic, unmistakable gesture from the South, that they were prepared to accommodate are used to be used. The work of the used to be used. The used to be used. The used to be used

However, he said, this disillusionment with England had not been accompanied by such a

It was no answer for Mr. Jack Lynch to say, as he had said, that the Constitution could not be changed in anticipation.

described properly as an act of foolhardiness".

Mr. Boal continued: "The essence of federalism is, of course, the Constitution, and the 'Constitution' would limit the powers of the federal government in all its limbs, as it would limit the powers of the individual state governments.

He would accept either direct

He would accept either direct majority voting or the proportional representation system. In a federal Ireland, the political aspirations of the minority in the North would largely have been achieved by the principle of union if not unification.

"I would have thought that at that stage, since everybody would be an Irishman, members of the federal Ireland, since we all would have been represented in the federal parliament should be the federal parliament should be. Dublin, Drogheda, Armagh, it does not really matter—that to a large extent would satisfy the

Four parliaments

Essence of federalism

Mr. Lynch had asked: "Why Mr. Lynch had assed. "High do you not come in with us and we will change it together" but that would have required an act of faith on the part of the Protestants, "which could only be

Over two years

He no longer believed "in the essence of Unionism", he said and could see the possibility of a form of "union" in Ireland without actually getting 'unity", in the old sense.

Mr. Boal said that he found Mr. Boal said that he found the suggestion that the High Court decision on the importation of contraceptives "in some way appeased the liberal desires of the people of the North" almost as offensive as the suggestion that the removal of part of Article 44 from the Constitution was a help.

#### Only guarantee

He continued: "Very often I am asked: 'What sort of guarantee would you like if you were asked to live in a united Ireland?'

"This is not the answer I would give, but very often argumentatively I have said that the only guarantee I would like is the removal of the 1937 Constitution".

Would he not want the protection of his rights enshrined in a statute?

"Well, the answer I give to that is very clear. It is that the act of faith as shown by the people of the South in rescinding the countries of the south in rescinding the countries but a second to the south of the

On the question of the British link with the North, Mr. Boal said that over the past three or four years Northern loyalists had come to realise that the people of England had not got their interests at heart.

#### Hostility to Britain

"This comes first of all as a shock, and after the numbness of the shock passes, it is replaced with a bitterness which becomes downright hostility, to such a extent that one finds the sort of thing being said about the British army in the Shankill which used to be said about the British army in the Lower Falls".

Very often the Northern man, while he had affection for the British Crown, had no great affection for the British people, but very often could find common ground with the Scots or the "Southern Irishman".

"I myself despise the Englishman. I am not saying the Englishmen as people, but I just don't find them attractive, I don't warm to them at all".

When he had sought total integration with Britain, it was because "at that time, it was the only way I could see that my Protestant liberties, to use the phrase again, would be protected".

However, over the past six months or so he had undergone an "intellectual" rather than an "emotional" change regarding Britain, and saw clearly that Britain was determined to disengage herself from "what she grandly terms her Irish interests".

People in the North did not want unity, but he could see a cityation in which more and more



It has been welcomed by the "men of violence" in the IRA, the UVF and the UDA as a "talking point", and should be rejected only for very good reasons, he said.

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We Read the put hink that a "talking point" in the IRA, the UVF and the UDA as a "talking point", and should be rejected only for very good reasons, he said.

Mr. Boal did not think that a religious imbalance "would have any particular significance" so that a nine-county Ulster in a federal state of four provincial parliaments and an all-Ireland parliament, as proposed by Sinn Féin, was "quite unnecessary".

Mr. Boal said he was pleased with the favourable reaction to his plan from the I.R.A., the U.D.A., and the U.V.F.

"I am far from saying that just because the men of violence, the men of violence, the men who are prepared to shoot to achieve their aims, that just because they want something, the rest of the country nilly-willy must account. must accept it.

"I very much want peace, bu I am the very first to say tha there is a price that's sometime too high to pay for peace.

too ingh to pay for peace.

"What I do say is this, that if
there is common ground on which
the men of extremes are prepared
to come together and talk, a very
heavy responsibility rests upon
the rest of the country ery
common ground and to ensure
that, in fact, if they reject ii,
there are very onerous and heavy
reasons for rejecting it.

"It almost that he burden of."

"It almost puts the burden of responsibility on the community at large to say that if they are rejecting it, there is good reason for it".

# ONCE upon a time there was a country called Eire by all its inhabitants, free from north to south and east to west of alien overlordship, speaking its own language, playing its own music and games, following its own customs, having its own laws and social customs, owning its land in common, living under its own common, fiving under its own elected leaders at a time where, elsewhere, power was hereditary and land could be bought or sold by the feudal leader, regardless of the wishes of the inhabitants, who was big obsticed.

governments.

"It is a form really of community contract, and it is a community contract, and it is a contract in which people of the North would say we will sacrifice some of our rights to the federal government, people of the South will say "we will sacrifice some of the sacrification of the who were his chattels. This country occupied the space of that Eire. Today it is divided into English-style shires or counties. Of these, Six are called variously Northern Ireland or Ulster, both inaccurate terms, for the most northern part of the island is in "Southern" Ireland, the Republic the initial

Ireiand, the Republic of Ireiand, Eire (without accent on the initial E, giving it the meaning of "burden" which, probably, it is to its administrators); and Ulster has nine counties, according to generally accepted geography. The term "Ireland" derives from a combination of "Eire" plus land. "England" was the land of the Angles, a germanic people. "Scotland" was the land of the Scotts (Scotii, the Latin word for Irishmen).

The intection was to give the name of the country an English (Anglish) stamp, as a contribution to a new, inferior identity. Scotland was colonised by Irish-speaking natives of this country and standard Irish was the rule there up to the mid-18th entury. "Irish" is merely Eire

# **Ó** Brádaigh comments on the **Boal plan**

interview with a Belfast paper, disclosing his proposals for peace in Ireland, Sinn Féin arranged a news conference, which got the minimum of coverage by the organs of the establishment, as was to have been expected: nothing must out-sun Sunningdale!

We publish here, because of the poor coverage given, a resume of the more important questions and answers. It is hoped to be able to arrange another news conference at which Desmond Boal and Ruairi O Bradaigh will be present for a dialogue in depth.

dialogue in depth.

Ruair 6 Bradaigh: This press conference was called in the wake of Desmond Boal's proposals which appeared in a Belfast Sunday paper. His proposals bear some resemblance to our own.

- O. Then the purpose of the press Then the purpose of the press conference is to discuss your attitude to these proposals? Well, no. That is not its purpose. What is the purpose of the press conference?
- Q. What is the purpose of the press conference?
  A. The purpose of the press conference is to tell you what Republicans have been saying all along that a declaration to withdraw British troops is a pre-requisite for peace in Ireland to re-state our regional government policy. People have been asking what is our alternative to Sunningdale. Our alternative to Sunningdale. British disengagement, regional parlaments based on the four historic Irish provinces and central government.
- historic Irish provinces and central government. How did you arrive at your policy of four regional parliaments with a central government? Our regional government policy is based on an analysis

of the present situation. It was first proposed in a statement in August, 1971. It was first proposed in a statement in August, 1971. It was a statement in August, 1971. It was a state of the state of

four provincial comhairth has been established. Our regional government policies have been developed and expounded in various pamphlets and booklets, which are available at our Kevin St. headquarters. These includes Binn Entre Company of the Republican Covernment", the "fire Republican Movement, the "bina" pamphlets issued by Frank McManus, M.P., and "Sketches of the New Ireland" by Desmond Fennell, There is also the Sinn Fein booklet entitled "The Quality of Life in the New Ireland".

As he was about to leave for America last week Ruairí Ó Brádaigh, Uachtarán, Sinn Féin, was told his U.S. visa had been withdrawn, presumably at the re quest of the Dublin administration or of its Westminster masters. Did they so fear Ó Brádaigh's U.S. comments on Desmond Boal's proposals? Are they so fearful of what a peaceful, amalgamated or federal Ireland would mean to their jobs, their ambitions?

Q. Surely there is a considerable difference between Desmond Fennell's proposals and those of Desmond Boal?

Fennell's proposals and those of Desmond Boal? There is a difference but it is not considerable, in any case, Desmond Fennell's blueprint is promoted by Republicans for discussion and development. The finished development. The finished bevery the control of the

He is speaking only himself?

himself?

His association with
"Loyalist" organisations has
not ended, Fighting the cases
of "Loyalist" internees, he
exposed the Long Kesh
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the Long Kesh
trees and the Long

Q.

to the situation, with unavagree,
Do you expect Boal's
Proposals to win muchsupport?
That remains to be seen.
No large section of the people
of the 26 Counties has
declared in favour of your
own proposals?
No large section has declared
against them.

### **HOW IT ALL BEGAN**

plus the germanic ending "is (ch)", English being a language about 50 per cent. based on

chi". English being a language about 50 per cent. based on German.

In the mio-12th century feudalism ruled most of Europe. The Oxford dictionary says of feudal "of a feud or fief; feudal system, medieval European politiy based on relation of viassal and superior arising from holding asystem, medieval European politiy based on relation of viassal and superior arising from holding "superior" – duke count, lord — held the lands of the vassals or underlings and in return defended them, when it suited him; in time he became undisputed owner).

The chief feudal baron at that time was the Pope in Rome. He was recognised as having the right to say who should own what, including entire countries.

Thus, when Eire, like so many other countries at that time, and

Thus, when fire, like so many other countries at that time, and after, was in a period of turmoil, with various contestants trying to win the governship of all Ireland, and the English king sought to include Ireland among his possessions, the Pope, an Englishman by the name of Breakspear, "gave" Ireland to Henry.

Henry's opportunity to make good his claim arrived with a Leinster traitor by the name of Diarmuid Mac Murchadha who asked Henry's assistance regaining his Leinster throne. Diarmuid had misbehaved himself, had defied the ard-ri, the supreme political authority of the land, and had lost.

Henry sent some of his robber

He took the precaution of arming this band of invaders with a Papal Bull (or document) ordering the people of this country to accept Henry as their feudal overlord. Thus began the tradition of the overlordship of the English king in our affairs.

A short time afterwards, at the Synod of Cashel a number of leaders of the clergy here accepted the validity of the Papal order (Laudabiliter) to obey Henry in all things political.

Thus began the tradition of many Irish clergymen to respect the divine right of England to guide Irish political affairs.

the divine right of England to guide Irish political affairs.

A number of clerical and lay leaders disputed the validity of the state of the control of the

This is accepted by modern historians. Nor did Henry's intervention result in an improvement in Church organisation, or public morality; rather the reverse. For it ushered in an era of institutional violence and corruption which continues to this day.



# LOOSE **TALK** CAN BE FATAL

ONE OF the most hideous crimes known to mankind is treason. To betray one's country for material gain is to disown one's heritage and reject one's own people. To do so in time of war makes the crime all the more unforgiveable.

To define accurately the word informer in order to convey its true value is sometimes difficult. When one hears the word informer one doesn't picture as imply experiences a unique feeling of revulsion and one can express this feeling only by an act or deed.

An informer is the epitomy of all we abhor. Even to the most moderate of thinkers the only course of action to take with a person of this nature is that of execution.

#### Great sacrifices

At this moment the people of the Six Counties are engaged in an armed struggle against British imperialism and all its satellite defects,

Great sacrifices have been made in this war, including torture, internment, imprisonment and death.

The young men and women of our country have once more arisen to claim the right to determine their own destiny, to reclaim what is rightfully theirs.

This time they are winning despite all the odds.

Throughout this struggle the greatest weapon England has had is that of the informer.

Without this vile form of mankind it is possible that the people of Ireland would have had full control over their own country a long time ago.

It would be frivolous to start crying over spilt milk now. What we must do is to endeavour to bring the informer into the open and, having done so, destroy him.

#### Gift of listening

The greatest attribute of any ormer is his or her ability to cialise and, even more socialise and, e important, to listen.

The informer is "the great listener". What may seen insignificant to you in the course of conversation may be the final piece in a jigsaw puzzle for the informer.

Unintentionally, you may have become indirectly responsible for the arrest and imprisonment of some young man or woman who may even be your son or daughter, brother or sister, close friend or relation.

You have sentenced one of your own people to a life of hell in some British concentration camp.

You are responsible for the maltreatment and torture meted out to that person! Is that the kind of person you would want to

If you knew that it was that slip of YOUR tongue which brought about such a fate, could you bear to live with that thought? Could you ever forgive yourself?

#### Careless talk

Every week-end most of us go out for some sort of social gathering whether it be to the pub, a party, the greyhound track or whatever.

Stop and think for a moment. How many times have you heard what can be termed "loose talk?"

It may have sounded harmless at the time because you were under the impression that you

were in the company of friends.

Could you be completely certain that you were in the company of friends? Stop and think again. How many times have you started a conversation with the words: "Do you know who I saw today?" or "Do you know who stayed in my house last night?" Just stop and think.

#### Lifeline cut

If we stop and think before we speak on any "chancy" subject, the potential informer will be lost,

His lifeline has been cut off. He will not know where to turn, he will panic and inevitably will fall into the trap of beginning to ask questions.

In doing so he will put the noose around his own neck. He will destroy himself – all because of your silence. You will have accomplished a most important task and played your own "quiet" part in the struggle for freedom and nationhood.

So this week-end, when you go to the pub or wherever it is you plan to go, use the method of the informer; be a good listener.

The next step is to be on the lookout for those who are asking the questions! Pass on your suspicions to the right quarters.

### Turnip was the culprit

A BRIT foot patrol was making its way down Bishop Street, Derry towards the Brandyweit the other day. The last man in the patrol was walking backwards when suddenly he fell and hit the pavement, knocking himself out.

Immediately, the other members of the patrol began shouting to each other: "Did you hear a shot?" "I didn't hear a shot". "Yes, I heard the shot".

Armoured support was summoned and the wounded soldier was taken away. During all this, the people of the area who had witnessed the affair were killing themselves laughing.

For the record, the Brit had stepped on a turnip, lost his balance and had knocked his head as he fell.

#### Bogside alert

Over the past three weeks there have arisen a large number of street battles in the Bogside area, involving raiding parties of enemy troops and the local populace, not all of whom are "teenagers".

The situation has now arisen again, where rubber bullets, again, where rubber bullets, bottles, bricks and uptime destructions of the day and night. This has arisen through the mistaken thought by the B.A. that because they have succeeded in buying applies to Mr. Public, and the he is prepared to lie down to the tactics of Pym's law.

- From "The Croppy", Derry.

#### UNDER MY EYE



Cosmetics for the **Butcher** 

Leinster House and the bought-over creatures who came to power on the crest of the civil rights wave, such as Fitt, Hume, Curry and Cooper.

In that situation it is necessary to have a good Queen's Men at the helm. Thus the campaign to present Brian Faulkner as a benign, liberal, moderate, Protestant Unionist, prepared to oppose even the will of the Orange Order so as to share power with fellow Irishmen.

As I write, the Roman Catholic Bishop of Down and Common has a statement in the daily pressed and common the season of the seaso

CORMAC MAC AIRT





SUPPORT & RATES ST

THE media — Press, TV, radio (and dare I include pulpit?) — all have been very busy doing an almost impossible job and, thank God, not succeeding too well. What they are attempting is the reconstruction of Brian Faulkner as the most

liberal of liberal Unionists, What a job! I don't envy them. They must have forgotten the old proverb: "You can fool some of the people some of the time, all of the people most of the time but you can't fool all the people all the time".

Brian Faulkner is a bad model for liberal garments. To make it just that wee bit harder to put the lie across, I propose this week to recall briefly the career of service and devotion which Faulkner has given the Empire, making sure, of course, at all times, not to put himself in any personal discomfort.

wee Brian, as he is known in the North, was educated at \$t, Columba's College, Rathfarnham, Dublin. He declared himself "A Unionist diehard" back in the late thirties; but, when it came to the crunch, in the 1940s, he didn't rush to join the British forces to fight the Nazis. He didn't even join the Home Guard. Instead, he moved into Co. Donegal, where he spent the war years running a shaff factory established by his family to avoid losing print in the Six Countles area which, tied to Britain by force, was at war.

#### Home Affairs tyrant

When the war was over Wee Brian returned home, put on his Orange Sash and hard hat and soon was sitting on the Unionist front bench at Stormont as an up and coming minister.

During the 1956 — 61 military campaign of Oglaigh na hEireann Brian Faulkner became Minister for Home Affairs in Stormont under Lord Brookborough. As such he was responsible for repressive measures against the Nationalists, using the R.U.C. to raid Nationalist area, to beat up Nationalist families, and the Special Powers Act to detain and imprison hundreds of Republicans.

During that time his long whinge was that the De Valera Government was not doing enough to suppress and eliminate "Republican terrorists", although De Valera had nearly 200 l.R.A. men interned in the Curragh at the time.

Faulkner is still at it, No matter what Cosgrave does to help it is still not enough. Last week, even the pro-British "Independent" got fed up with him and asked him to please state what more could Cosgrave do than send every I.R.A. man he got his hands on to prison? Faulkner is working towards the day when members of Oglaigh na hEirann again will be forced to face "Free" State firing squads.

Under Captain O'Neill's premiership, Faulkner was Minister for Industry and Commerce. In that capacity he visited Dublin several times to discuss "matters of common economic concern" between the Stormont junta and the Fianna Fáil ad the Fianna Fáil and the Fianna Fáil and the Fianna Fáil and the Fianna Fáil se o'Neill, for Faulkner had his eye on the top seat.

He wanted to be prime minister at all costs and, when the illegal Ulster Volunteer Force blew up the Waterworks, so as to get O'Neill out of office with the first bomb which exploded, Faulkner was first in the cry: "The I.R.A. is at it again".

#### Pipped by Clarke

They got rid of O'Neill but, to Faulkner's surprise, O'Neill's cousin, Chichester Clarke, pipped him to the post. The poor old Major couldn't stick the pace. The War of Liberation had begun. Chichester Clarke hurried to England, wrung his hands and cride: "Please send me more troops or we'll all be destroyed".

We'll all be destroyed".

At that stage the Imperial General Staff was dubious about the vitality of the liberation forces, They just could not conceive that their 20,000 troops plus the R.U.C. and the U.D.R. would be fought to a standstill by "a handful of guttersnipes from the back streets of Belfast and Derry". They sent the poor old Major home without any comfort. Next morning he threw in the towel and retured to the sanctuary of the Westminster Lords, where Captain O'Neill had preceded him. Brian Faulkner's day had dawned at last. He was the one bright spot on the Imperial horizon and, believe it or not, he still is.

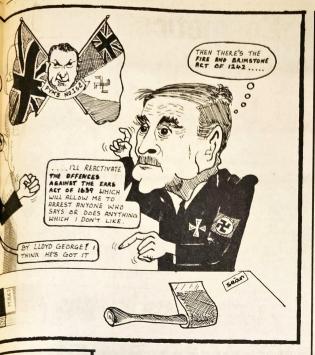
Everybody knows that Faulkner's coming to power escalated the fighting in the Six Counties. It was under Faulkner's orders that internment was introduced and it was under Faulkner's regime that the tortures of political prisoners began.

#### Butcher of Derry

Internment became official policy and the Dublin administration was forced by the public opinion to bring Bitain before the Court of Human Rights. But this did not daunt Faulkner. He continued along the good of murder which reached its peak on Bloody South of the Court of the C

When Stormont crashed after John Hume, Gerry Fitt, Ivan Cooper and the rest of them had opted out and sworn that they would never again co-operate with Brian Faulkner, the Six Counties had nearly two years of "direct rule", during which period it was hoped to break the Resistance Movement and rebuild a new Stormont on the ruins of an Irish defeat.

But the Resistance Fighters are far from being defeated and Britain has discovered that she can rebuild Stormont only with the help and co-operation of native Catholic traitors, those of



## Major lied about troops

THE discovery of four soldiers recently in a flat which was being repaired in Lislane Drive in the Creggan Estate caused great resentment among local residents. The young married couple who had been allocated the flat said that they now

Then several girls passing by the flat noticed a shadow near the window and saw a cigarette being lit. Immediately they contacted Mr. McCrystal, who lives nearby, and sent for Mrs. Shiels' brother, Mr. Mitchell McLaughlin.

When Mr. McLaughlin arrived ith the front door key he iscovered that he could not open to lock as the inside lock had een fastened.

He climbed to the first floor landing window and entered the house. He went downstairs and let Mr. McChrystal in.

#### Armed men

When both men came to the top of the stairs, followed by five local women, they were local women, they were confronted by a soldier with a blackened face, wearing slippers,

"It looked as if they were setting themselves up for a long stay", said Mr. McLaughlin. "I hate to think what would have happened if I had gone to the flat

Mr. Shiels, when informed of the occupation of the flat, said that he and his wife, who is expecting their first child, would not now live in the flat and wanted to be re-housed.

Mr. Paddy Doherty, North West Community Organiser, who arrived on the scene shortly afterwards, said that he had witnessed indisputable evidence

THE GIRL at the back was very persistent: "All that you people believe in is killing and I'm against killing". "But that's not true", said the young Sinn Féin spokesman who sat among the other speakers near the blackboard. It was a meeting of a students' society in a university college.

don't kill people and I can't speak for the I.R.A. Secondly, Sinn Féin is a political organisation, it has policies. Have you ever read "Eire Nua?"

"I'm just talking about what I see", said the girl. "You may have these policies, as you say, but I don't see Republicans talking about them or working for them. All I see when I look at the Republican Movement is killing".

Obviously, she had been well brainwashed, as have most Irish students. I mean, her description of the Northern freedom struggle as "killing" showed that clearly. That was parrot-talk. And yet I knew she had a point.

#### Purpose of propaganda

Granted that the purpose of the official propaganda is to convince ordinary people in the 26 Counties that Republicans are militarists and have no politics, and granted that this is untrue — what evidence is there to the contrary?

Remember, she was talking about what kemember, sne was talking about what she "sees", as an ordinary student who reads newspapers, looks at television, lives in some part of the 26 Counties, attends university, talks to people and sees an occasional Republican protest or street-meeting.

Perhaps she was from Kerry; I don't know, but let's suppose she was. I have often heard it said that Sinn Féin in Kerry is going great guns - cumainn all over the place, well organised and active.

Each time I have been told this I have wondered: "But what are they doing? Why is it, it is only from other Sinn Féin members that I hear about Sinn Féin in Kerry? Why is it that none of the people who seem to be doing things in Kerry, and who seem to care about Kerry, are Sinn Féin people?"

leadership where one lives and on behalf of one's own community. But I had never heard of Kerry's Republicans saying that Tralee district, Killarney district or Listowel district should have control of their own "social welfare, primary education, trading practices, employment conditions, 'labour guidance, small industry development. housing, planning development, housing, planning permissions", etc.

And that's a quote from a Sinn Féin policy document. So you see what the girl-student meant.

Then, a couple of weeks ago, I saw an article in "The Kerryman". It was headed "Regionalisation: A plan for County

### Freeman

### What is said. "First of all, you're talking about the I.R.A. I doing

Kerry", and there was a map with Kerry divided up into six districts.

So, I was wrong after all, I thought. There is Republican politics in Kerry. Here's someone — the article was written and the map made by a Michael Donovan—Schofield — here's someone who has taken up where Des Fennell left off, maps and all.

For, you remember, some weeks ago, when Fennell published his last map in "An Phoblacht", he said he hadn't paid much attention to Munster and hoped that people living there would fill this gap. He felt he had done enough.

#### A different scheme

So I began to read Michael Donovan-Schofield's article with real interest and anticipation. But very soon I was a disappointed man. Obviously, Mr. Donovan-Schofield had never heard of the Republican policies. The scheme he was proposing was quite different. It wasn't about district or regional self-government, but about consultative development bodies in six Kerry districts and in the "County Region" as a whole.

I am not detracting in any way from his am not detreating in any way from inselfort. Obviously, Mr. Donovan-Schofield is a Kerryman who cares very much about Kerry. He has applied his mind to its development problems, thought out a scheme for dealing with them, and set it down on paper, complete with a map and tables.

That is patriotism. That is love of Kerry and love of Ireland. That is the kind of thing which political Republicanism is supposed to mean — never more so than today when the very policies of the Republican Movement require, by definition, local patriotism above all else.

If Mr. Donovan-Schofield were a Republican, and if that student girl lived in Kerry, she could not have believed what she did believe about the Republican

Not that I want to take it out on Kerry Republicans. It's just that people have told me that Sinn Féin is stronger there than in

What I've said about Kerry Republicans could be said with equal validity about Sinn Féin in Dublin (where they don't seem to have heard that Sinn Féin stands for a new organisation of urban government) or about Sinn Féin in Athlone government) or about Sinn Féin in Athlone (where they don't seem to know or care that Sinn Féin has proposed their town as the political capital of the new federal Ireland — certainly Sinn Féin in Athlone hasn't been heard or seen pushing this, though you'd think that, as Athlone people, they'd be delighted at the idea and be trying to sell it).

And I am not saying that Sinn Féin is doing nothing. Everyone knows they are selling "An Phoblacht" and collecting money for An Cumann Cabhrach, and picketing and protesting about Republican

All I am saying is that they do not seem to be propagating or working for the New Treland — in Kerry or Dublin, in Athlone. Mayo or Donegal. And if this is the case — and I am open to contradiction — two questions arise and deserve to be answered: Who is going to build the New Ireland? Is it going to be built at all?

Car

Judging by what I "see" (as the girl said), the answers are "No One" and "No". But, as I said, I am open to contradiction - and even hopeful of it.

# RACISM

# Fashionable middleclass

ALTHOUGH the Republican Movement seldom has been accused of racism, the disease is not unknown to Ireland, where, especially in recent

to Ireland, where, especially in recent years, middle-class theorists have been heard to claim that their investigations prove that: Protestants are more intelligent than Catholics; middle-class people are more intelligent than working class people; Gaeltacht people and tinkers have the lowest intelligence. And so on ...

Racism is a fashionable, middleclass pursuit — there are even cabinet ministers here who see nothing wrong in shooting tinkers (or Jews, or Blacks, or Jehovah Witnesses, or Irish speakers, or Labour "trouble-makers").

But it is a dangerous pursuit, a poison, which can cause much suffering gand, indeed, in its extremes, civil war. It must be nipped in the bud.

In America the doyen of the racists is Professor William Shockley and buttons that read, "Stop Shockley" william Shockley of Stanford University is one of Saraford University is one of Saraford University is one of Saraford University is one of Several Professor to proclaim that Blacks and other oppressed to whites.

Part of the Stanford University is one of Saraford University in Comparison (Saraford University is one of Saraford University of Saraford University is one of Sarafor blacks. Here is a condensed account of the conference from the U.S. Socialist paper 'The Militant"

The conference was initiated by the Committee Against Racism at the University of Connecticut in Storts, which had sponsored a large advertisement in the Oct., 28 "New York Times" against academic racism.

The advertisment, signed by several hundred professors from around the country, condemned the use of apritude, achievement, and IQ tests as "proof" of the inferiority of Blacks and other oppressed national minorities.

#### Stop Shockley

Most of those at the conference were professors and other instructors from more than 30 colleges. Students and some community activists also

Many at the conference work

Countering these racist theories was the major topic of the conference.

The 16 workshops took up aspects of racism in education. These included the effect of the rising cost of education and cutbacks in financial aid on Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican students. Many minority students have been driven out of college by this economic squeeze.

A workshop on "Admissions and Hiring" discussed the need for preferential treatment of racial minorities and women to help make up for long years of discrimination.

The majority at the workshop favoured preferential hiring and admissions, but the resolution presented by the conference steering committee to the Nov. 18

The steering committee also



Part of the crowd who rart of the crowd who gathered outside Gerry Fitt's house in Belfast to tell him what they thought of the S.D.L.P. backsliding on the Rents-Rates Strike. The cry was: "No surrender. Not a cent".

declined to present a resolution supporting the struggle of Puerto Ricans, Blacks and Chinese in Manhattan's School District I for control over their scholos. Although the resolution was passed by the student workshop and the "Racism and Public and the "Racism and Public Steeting committees said it was "too controversial".

#### National fight

The main resolution adopted by the plenary called for forming a national organisation to fight racism, based on Committee Against Racism campus chapters.

Conference organisers said the new national group would publish a newsletter and try to get antiracist material into the daily press and popular magazines.

### EAMONN McCANN DEMANDS:

NEW LODGE ROAD

# Why so silent, doctors?

WHEN Miss Judy Todd was being force-fed in Southern Rhodesia a few years ago every right-thinking British liberal came out, throbbing with emotion, to demand that such barbarity stop.

Miss Jill Tweedie, then the journalistic guru of the witched-on middle classes, wrote a harrowing account of force-feeding procedures in "The Guardian". It evoked a flood of horrified letters.

And doctors appeared on television news programmes to be questioned closely about the ethics of it all.

Now, however, when force-feeding of political offenders is taking place, not in

the "Sunday World".

Salisbury, but in Brixton, Gartree and Wormwood Scrubs, all these people have crawled back into their intellectual funk-holes, unable to muster a cheep of liberal protest between them.

That is no surprise. When confronted with brutality perpetrated by their own State, as distinct from handy culprits on

other Continents, they have never evidenced more guts than a butterfly.

It is the attitude and role of doctors which deserves closest attention. The force-feeding of Dolours and Marion Price, Hugh Feeney and Gerard Kelly is carried out, according to a statement by the British Home Office, "under the supervision of prison medical officers".

What the prison doctors are supervising is this: the victim is strapped on a table. His or her mouth is forced and held open by a wooden clamp.

A greased tube is rammed into the opened mouth through a hole in the clamp, down the gullet and into the stomach.

A funnel is then attached to the tube and a viscous mush of in determinate composition allowed to glug gradually down. By all accounts it hits the stomach like an avalanche.

Two of the four prisoners, having refused to wear prison clothes, are naked during this sordid, regularly re-enacted scene.

sordid, regularly re-enacted scene.

Now, it seems to me that
strapping naked people to tables
and ramming tubes down their
throats is not the type of things
doctors are supposed to be at. But
there has not been any expression
of disassociation, much less
condemnation, from any medical
body here or in Britain.

This is not the first time that

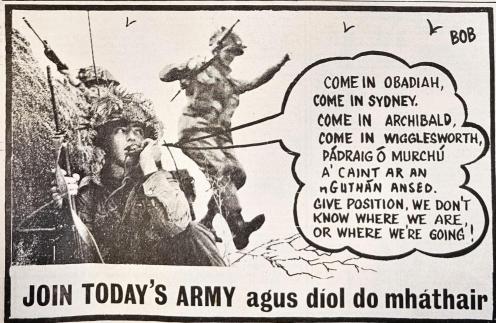
This is not the first time that medical men have deployed their skills to assist at the brutalisation of persons opposing British rule in the North.

In Girwood Barracks in Belfast in 1971 and 1972 British army doctors stood by while men were being beaten insensible, deprived of sleep, given the "hood treatment", etc.

These gentlemen would intervene every now and again to check that the victim's heart was still beating regularly, that his blood-pressure had not risen above danger level, that, physically, he could withstand another session of the same.

Thus reassured, the torture squads resumed their work.

All this has been well documented. No one denies that it happened. Yet then, as now, no organisation concerned with medical ethics in these islands ever COMMENTED.



THE LEGION OF THE LOST

# **Hugh Feeney now** on thirst strike

THE WRITING is always poor because I remain in bed as the cold is very hard. It is the hardest thing of all. (These following lines may be difficult to understand). .. If I conformed I could be sent home. Conformed to what? Never.

thing for all. (These following lisent home. Conformed to what The screws don't bother me at all and seem to respect my stand. They say so, anyway. The letters of Dolours and Marion said everything. Those two are worth 10 men any day of the week.

Jim McCurry is the editor of the "Andersmottown News" and if he could be contacted and told, of the could be contacted and told, and the could be contacted and told, and the could be consistent would print it and all the could be consistent would be contacted with the clergy here about me. I said to Gott, well, tell the man the truth. Forced feeding is an assault; but they will never agree to that, or say so in public. They are now going to play the cat and mouse – i.e., leave me for a few days and then feed me for the few days and then feed me for the few days and then feed me few days and then few days and then feed me few days and then few

the liquids into me because of the thirst strike.

But now that I have told McManus and my mother of the thirst strike, they'll play merry hell about it. If they stop force feeding I'll take water again but not until then. NO.

(now in Gartree Prison, not Wakefield, Sasana).

#### FERMANAGH DEAD

WOULD you allow me space in your columns to bring to the notice of your readers that this year the National Graves Association will publish a book entitled "The Last Post", which will list for posterity all those brave Irish men and women who gave their lives for Ireland between the years 1915 and 1974.

My reason for asking space is that, as a Fermanagh man, I am anxious that the full list of Fermanagh's heroic dead should be included. I am, therefore, asking your readers to send me the names and details of any Fermanagh man or woman who fell in the fight for freedom during those years, irrespective of what part of Ireland they fell in. I will pass on the list and information received to those responsible for compiling, writing and editing "The Last Post". It is hoped to have the book published before Bodenstown Sunday this year, so I would appeal to those who may have the kind of information I ask to post it to me immediately. Seamus G. O'Wellv. My reason for asking space is

immediately.

-Séamus G. O'Kelly.

220, Sundrive Road,
Crumlin, Baile Atha Cliath.

#### FREEMAN'S TONE

FREEMAN, talking about Wolfe

#### ENGLISH

is the language of the occupation troops, of the touts, informers, tyrants, stooges, quislings.

Learn and speak Irish to end enemy occupation and conditioning of the mind.

• Is í Gaeilge an buama is pléascaí in

### a chara

Tone, assumes far too much. If Tone were to return today one would assume that he would move around a bit so as to get in the times that are in it.

Independent of the times that it is a superior to the times that the times the times that the times the times that the times

Gael-Linn.

For a while he would be in some political doubt, wondering where that most respectable class of citizens stood and where their interests were. It is difficult to see him refrigerated in the 18th or conty. It would be conty to the conty of t

Six Counties against the old cenemy.
Freeman, I would suggest, is right in his general analysis but wrong on the character of Tone.
The Irish Republican today believes in the non-sectarian state, where the beliefs of any majority, be they Roman Catholic or materialist, will not exact compulsory adherence to any set of religious values which, surely, are private matters so long as the right of life is guaranteed, and here I refer to abortion, which Garret FitzGerald, on the Late-Late Show recently on R. I. E., suggested might be permitted in his "united" Ireland, have held this deal might be permitted in the "united" in the work of the suggested might be permitted in New York of the suggested might be permitted in New York of the suggested might be permitted in New York of the suggested might be permitted in New York of the State of the St

Michael McVeery or any other contemporary hero. But, as I said, the general Freeman analysis, stands. And I agree that there is a grave danger of Tone being mis-represented. That is one good reason why Freeman should not also mis-represent Tone and try to ditch him.

Co. an Dúin.

#### **DESMOND FENNELL**

MR. Desmond Fennell, in reply to MR. Desmond Fennell, in reply to a letter written, makes false statements and accuses me of expressing views which I in no way support. Such irresponsible and fallacious writing may be seen as a means of distorting the truth and confusing rank and file members of the Provisionals at a most trying time in the struggle for national self-determination.

Mr. Fennell claims that it is his desire to dismantle the present political system and replace capitalism with new political institutions.

capitalism with new postucial institutions. This desire clearly conflicts with the Eire Nua programme of which the Eire Nua programme of youggests that a new political structure, in Itself, can be effective in contributing towards improving the quality of life. The Eire Nua programme suggests that, along with political changes there must also be moves production by the workers. To add to the confusing effects of his views, Mr. Fennell neglects the vitally important problem of developing a strategy for the seizure of state power by

the people.

It is quite clear that if power is to be wrested out of the hands of

the ruling class every effort must be made to combine the military struggle with the political struggle. Besides fighting on the military front we must simultaneously mobilise the workers, both urban and rural, through the trade union movement, radical farming organisations and through any other means possible. Can help demonstrate worker possible to the match of the people how the national struggle is related to them and how its success can lead do a better life on the economic, social and cultural levels.

In adopting this strategy, mass

In adopting this strategy, mass popular support can be drawn into the struggle for a New Ireland. It is largely on the basis

The official policy of the Republican Movement is expressed in statements issued by Sinn Fein, the Irish Republican Publicity Bureau and the leadership of Republican Movement. leadership of Republican Movement. Views expressed here by letter writers, by regular columnists and in other signed contributions, are those of the authors and not necessarily those of the publishers.

of correct intervention in different aspects of the struggle and the correct programme that we can draw even more popular that we can dead to the correct conditions establish a New Ireland.

Contrary to what Mr. Fennell may think, academic discussions on the formation of regional parliaments together with the tempts to establish them by simply holding conferences in the tempts to establish them by simply holding conferences in the tempts of the country of the contract of the discussion of dual power at the popular discussion of the question of dual power although important, is not exclusively so.

In his letter, Mr. Fennell also m a de so me serious misterpresentations regarding my views, He suggested that I seem to assert that the political structure is a matter of indifference. He also suggests that I assume him to assert that the political structure is a matter of indifference. He also suggests that I assume him to assert that the political structure is a matter of indifference. He also suggests that I assume him to assert that the political structure is a matter of indifference. He also suggests that I assume him to assert that the political structure is a matter of indifference in my letter I expressed such views, I should also be pleased if Mr. Fennell to point out where in my letter I expressed such views, I should also be pleased if Mr. Fennell would indicate how the her that the contract of the standing armies that exist in Ireland should be "Palaced" and also whether the proper in the New Ireland.

Paddy Hackett,

-Paddy Hackett, London, N.W.3, Sasana.

#### SUNNINGDALE

IN 1840, O'Connell called on the Irish people to unite with him in the Iask of repealing the Iss. Of repealing the Iss. Of repealing the Iss. Of Iss.

at the General Election of 1832 nearly half the representatives chosen for Ireland were piedged Repealers. But in two or three years he abandoned this purpose, in order to propose to the English people the alternative of establishing what was called equal Justice, that is to say, laws and an Executive in Ireland as free from deliberate party bias as they were in England and Scotland. At the same time several of the Repeal members relianguished their sate system which they had recently pledged to overthrow ... For a time every appointment of a Catholic was welcomed as a new trium ph over Protestant Ascendancy and a new security for the fair administration of law and of the public departments. The consequence of this abrupt had not provided that O'Connell was doing what he believed best for the Interest, "but many of them had utterly lost faith in Repeal of the Union, and regarded the occasional demand of it merely as a weapon flourished in the face of England to extort other concessions. This was the result of the Abuffy rightly pointed out, this marticular false start.

the false start".

As Duffy rightly pointed out, this particular false start undermined O'Connell in 1840, leading inevitably to the evolvement of a physical force movement to achieve the Repeal from which O'Connell had backed away.

away.

It is only a few short years from "not stand idly by" to Sunningdale, like O'Connell's false start, also lead to death and destruction in Ireland nearly one hundred and fifty years later?

- James J. Kelly, Capt. 98, Wainsfort Rd., Dublin 6.

98, Wainstort Rd., Judoun o.

THE tripartite talks took place on December 6. By an extraordinary coincidence, it was on that day, 52 years ago, that the Anglo-lrish Treaty was signed.

To Republicant of national sowereignty. The present Council of Ireland is only an instrument to fasten the Partition "settlement" around the necks of the Irish people. Irish independence and sowereignty are not on the agenda and for this reason the talks are doomed to failure whether or not the negotiators cache agreement.

not on the agenus and for unsereason the talks are doormed to failure whether or not the negotiators each agreement.

Way of the politicians, the way of the politicians, the Sunningdale way. Until now I didn't realise how simply the problem of the partition of Ireland could be solved.

All that was required was that the I rish Government acknowledge that the Six Counties are part of the U.K. and that the will always be. Of the problem of the six Counties are part of the U.K. and Irish people, north and south, must be forthcoming to ensure that almost a quarter of her national territory remains forever British.

Perhaps I've got it all wrong, for the ways of the politicians are strange, to say the least. Maybe, they play the game on the basis of the more you give away, the more year or two we'll get the Six Counties back with Rockall thrown in for good measure?

The game is on again with the usual results: winners — the British; losers — the Irish!

It looks lift — Tony A. Liegeois 39, Heather Road, London, S.E. 12

- Tony A. Liegeois 39, Heather Road, London, S.E.12



"Guilty, by the grace of Her Late Majesty, Queen Victoria, of acting in the Fenian tradition Next case ...?

#### PEN-PALS

I WOULD be obliged if you would print in your paper that I want pen-pals.
I'm 15 years and really interested in Ireland, its ways and

netersted in Ireland, its ways and people.
You see, my Mum is Irish and has told me a lot about the country and I go there every year for about six weeks.
I'd love to contact people of my own age around Dublin and Limerick.

Margaret Graham
 Mac Leod Place, New Farm
Loch, Kilmarnock, Albain.

#### POLITICAL **EDUCATION**

SOME of our members get disheartned when every Irish person dosen't support them by giving to collections buying papers and dance tickets etc. This ratifuld shows that Sinn Féin is falling down on educating its members in revolutionary political ideas.

Any revolutionary

falling down on caucating its members in revolutionary political ideas. Any revolutionary movement is always a minority and do not get the support of the majority of people as can be seen by the get the support of the majority of people as can be seen by the people as can be seen by the seen of the seen of the people as can be seen by the politically advanced minority who can lead a revolution to a successful conclusion.

As in many people's opinions the military fight is coming to a victorious end, the next stage is the political revolution, so members should have the correct ideas to propogate amongst the people. There is no casy way to do this except by hard work and the best way to explain Eire Nua etc., is by individual discussion.

Let us by individual discussion with the seen of t

of classes, lectures, etc., to Education - Officer at Chomhairle level.

This will ensure a proper job is being done and the correct political line is being promoted.

A person who is politically aware is a much harder and better worker than somebody who is a member on an emotional basis.

This is no attack on these members, but if a person has a full knowledge of Sim Fein willing to give up more time for the Republican Movement.

Antoine O Madagain, Birmingham.

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#### CEIRNÍN NUA

A new record, "Flight from Mountjoy" with "Billy Reed" on flip-side by the Freemen from Belfast: 55p.

Written by a prisoner who was Mountjoy at the time: Seán Ginley from Armagh. Profits McGinley from Ar will go to Eire Nua.

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### VISIT A PRISONER

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- For people in Baile Átha Cliath, a bus leaves the office of this newspaper every Saturday morning at 11.30, arriving back in the capital at about 6 p.m.
- Travel is free to all relatives of the prisoners to whom a visit brings a joy difficult to describe. It is essential to maintain their morale, by visits, by gifts, by letters, papers, books, musical instruments, records and similar material.
- Don't let the political hostages down. Bígí dílis. Bígí fial flaithiúil daonna.

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### Murderers of Derry 14 still free

By DARA Mac DARA

NEXT Sunday Republicans in Derry, Belfast, Birmingham, London and Tralee, will be remembering the 13 unarmed civilians shot down in cold blood by British Paras in Derry city on Janaury 30, 1972. There were 14 victims: the 14th died following wounds received on that Bloody Sunday.

Republicans will be remembering, too, that the murderers of those 14 innocent victims are those 14 innocent victims are those 15 innocent per the second per

out the entire \$2 counties.

As if to underline the utter contempt of the / Westminster administrators, and of those quisings who are supporting them in Ireland, the Price sisters and two others of the Winchester Eight are being forcibly fed by cruel methods; schoolchildren are being roughed up in military interrogation centres, imprisoned in the Long Kesh Concentration Camp or shot down on Belfast streets; and persons suspected of belonging to the resistance movement are being scorched, hooded, bulled and beaten in the Mooded, bulled and beaten in the British centres.

"The way the boot is going in,

"The way the boot is going in, in both Catholic and Protestant areas of this city," a Beffastman told me last weekend, "you'd think the Brits din't really want Sunningdale to work. Or that they've given it up as hopeless and are just lashing out."

Lashing out wildly, in frustration and despair for, on the second anniversary of Bloody Sunday, they can look around the Six Counties and see precious little reason for comfort.

#### Posts destoryed

Over very wide areas they no longer send out patrols; their posts have been destroyed or damaged to such an extent that they cannot be occupied. And the dreaded second front — manned by the Protestant working class — gradu ally but. relentlessly is warming up against them.

Military defeat was inevitable months ago but, Westminster hoped, a middle-class deal by compliant Protestant and Roman Catholic quislings might just possibly save the day.

So much depended on the leaders of the S.D.L.P, managing to fool the Catholics of the ghettoes. The test would be when these people could be persuaded

to end the Rent and Rates Strike.
The opposite has happened:
more and more people are joining
the economic resistance every
day, many of them in anger at
S.D.L.P. members for continuing
to co-operate with Pym's
torturers and killer squads.

#### Get them out

The soldiers can be moved off our streets when a sufficiently large number of people, day after day, call for their unconditional removal. The first big chance will come next Sunday at the commenmoration parades in Belfast, Birmingham, Derry, London and Tralee.

In the monster Munster C o m m e m m o r a t i o n, demonstrators will form up in the Sports Field, Tralee, at 19.00 hrs. Each county contingent will carry two black flags except Kerry, the sponsor, which will carry three.

The organisers are expecting at least one bus-load from each county. A broadly-based panel of speakers will include well known Republicans from Derry and Belfast.

As well as calling for the exit of British uniformed bullies from our streets demonstrators will seek the immediate transfer to Ireland of Irish political prisoners in Britain pending an amnesty for all political prisoners, including the "loyalists."



This picture shows the display room of the CRAFT CENTRE, 44 CEARNOG PHARNELL, B.A.C., and some of

RIGHT: The O'Callahan family, parents, Gus and Ann, and children Gus (9), Gerard (7½), Sandra (6½) and Declan (4).

ABOVE: The house the speculators wanted to get rid of and the Sinn Fein members who opposed the eviction. Report: below.

IN 1967 a lodge was let to Gus O'Callahan at a reasonable rent and he was told he could have the prem-

reasonable rent and he was told he could have the premises as long as he wished.

Gus spent £600 making the place habitable and all was well until in 1970 he was told by the wife of his landlord that the land had been sold.

She assured him that his tenancy was secure.

She asked him to sign a blank sheet of paper. He signed and the incident was forgotten until three years later when his new landlord — a builder — told him toget out a signed agreement.

A solicitor took the case to court for him and informed him that he would not win the case to court for him and informed him that he would not win the district court case but he would win the circuit court case on appeal. He lost the district course case and appealed.

The builders stated in court that they had not received any rent from April 1973 to December of the builder dated April 5 1973, stating that they were returning his previous week's rent and would not take any further rent. Despite this, their statement was un-challenged.

The judge, just before Christmas, granted a stay of execution to April, 1974, provided the back rent is paid.

Mr. O'Callahan, although not a member or supporter of the

rent is paid.
Mr. O'Callahan, although not a member or supporter of the Movement, approached Sinn Féin. After examining all the facts the Sinn Féin Comhairle Ceanntair

#### Gerry Rushe

In the list of prisoners in English gaols published on Eanäir 11 inadvertently we left out the name of Gerry Rushe, who is serving a seven-year sentence in Evesham Prison. We regret sin-cerely the omission.

# FÉIN OPPOSE **CORK EVICTION**

By Donall O Siochain

decided to give every possible

support.

The first landlord made a profit of about £16,000. on his speculation. The second already has sold the big house in the estate for £10,000 and, with the

first six new houses on the estate costing about £11,500 and 14 lawry bungalows each costing about £7,000 each, the total is 167,000.

Since only a quarter of the site is seing used now, we can safely an experiment of the site is the cost of the site is the cost of the site is the cost of the site is the site of the site is the site of the site is the site of the

The Comhairle Cheantair will resist the threatened eviction until alternative accommodation of the same standard is provided. Mr. O'Callahan must be repaid the £600 spent in renovation as the new landlord wants to demolish the premises.

new landlord wants to demolish the premises.
Compensation also must be provided for loss of business by Mr. O'Callahan.
Speculation and the resulting misery is not confined to Cork. Pressure can and must be brought to bear to ensure that this cancer is highlighted and eradicated from our society.

AT a meeting of the Literary and Historical Society in U.C.D. Sing Fein's Publicity Officer, Sein O Brādaigh, said that neither the Sinn Fein nor the Boal plan for a Federal Ireland was similar to Mw. as de Valera's Document No. Mw. as had been asserted in the press. He was speaking on the motion: "That this house proposes Sunningdale".

"That this house proposes Sunningdale".

"Mr. De Valera's plan", he said, "which has been resurrected several times, envisaged the 12 Northern Mr. Ps who sit in Westminster transferring to Lenster House Stormont would be supported to the said of the said of

### Major lied

Ar lean, on lar of the occupation of a flat by the British army.

"I consider this an invasion of the privacy of the individual", he said "and the denial by an army officer in Creggan camp that the flat was being used shows the extent of the duplicity that they are prepared to sink to.

"The threat to shoot John McChrystal, chairman of the Creggan Tenants' Association, and a relative of the tenant of the flat, is disgraceful".

The downstairs tenant, Mrs. Mellon, a mother of seven children, said that she also wanted to be re-housed.

She had reported previous military activity to the Housing Executive, had told them they wanted to be re-housed but had got no satisfaction.

"I intend going back to them after this", said Mrs. Mellon.

Mr. McLaughlin said the military were contacted about the occupation of the flat and the major had said that when he had denied that soldiers were there on Tuesday, they had not been there.

He said there would be an investigation about the incident. Mr. McLaughlin added that the major said the soldiers had pointed the guns because of a "threatening crowd".

"Only Mr. McChrystal, five women and myself were there", said Mr. McLaughlin.

### Document No. Two? No relationship

PROPERTY

"What we propose in our Eire Nua plan is a Federal Ireland and the basis of that is a sharing of sovereignty. There would be no superior parliament and no subordinate parliament. The Federal Parliament in Athlone would be sovereign in some spheres – such as national defence and foreign policy – and the four provincial parliaments would be sovereign in other matters.
"In the official English publication, the Kilbrandon Report on the Constitution (1969–73) the chapter on Federalism has this to say in paragraph 502: "In a

the chapter on Federalism has this to say in paragraph 502: 'In a federal system sovereignty is divided between two levels of government. The federal government is sovereign in some matters and the provincial governments are sovereign in others. Each within its own sphere exercises the power without control from the other, and neither is subordinate to the other.

#### Power to people

"Such a lederal system, coupled with strong regional and district councils would bring power back to the people, correct economic imbalance and guarantee to the people of Ulster the self-determination they desire so much. A new Ireland would emerge in peace and with real prospects of prosperity for all our people.

prospects of prosperity for all our people.

The professional politicians, both North and South, fear such a solution because it would bring to an end the cosy little game of ins-and-outs for the spoils office in a highly centralised system riddled with patronage.

"Sunningdale is no better than the Treaty of 1921. It cannot bring peace based on justice. Ireland's future lies in Eire Nue which will guarantee the rights of both the whole Irish people and the people of Ulster to self-determination. Our proposals, and those of Desmond Boal, deserve examination and support.

Desmond Boal deserve examination and support.

Desmond Boal's proposals for an amalgamated, federal Ireland, were considered at the recent

Dublin meeting of the Ardchomhairle of Sinn Fein.

### Comments endorsed

Comments endorsed
The following statement was
issued after that meeting: "The
comments made by the president
and vice-president of Sian Fein on
the proposals of Mr. Desmond
Boal were endorsed by the Ardo
hombaine. It was decided
hombaine. It was

#### Challenge refused

A challenge to the Governor of Wormwood Scrubs Prison to come outside the prison gates last Saturday at 2.30 p.m. and allow himself to be force-fed by two trained doctors was made by Brendan Magill of the Irish Political Hostages Campaign. The challenge was not taken up.

### ÉIRE NUA

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