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OFFICIAL ORGAN OF FERMANAGH CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE COMMITTEE

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No. 63

Saturday, 2nd December (De Sathairn, 2 Nollaig), 1972

The Political Greenness of the Green Paper

MR. HEATH, during his uninvited visit to our country, said that he had found large support for what has been called the Green Paper. The only greenness about this paper is its approach to the problem. The colour blindness of the script-writers is everywhere manifest, especially in their total inability to confront, politically, the "forty shades of green". One gets the impression that they really think that the Alliance speaks for the minority. How green can Green Papers be!

Whitelaw's script-writers have produced a play in four acts—we are not sure whether it should be classified as a comedy, a tragedy or a farce, but we are certain that it will never be considered high drama; the only dramatic thing about it is that it occasionally lapses into the truth! We will be discussing the various parts in the coming weeks. This week we begin with the first part, the historical background.

One gets the impression that the script-writers were anxious enough to present a credible interpretation of the historical background to the present crisis. There are a few bad oversights, such as, for instance: "The unbroken dominance of the Northern Ireland House of Commons (and thus of the Government) by the Ulster Unionist Party was based on an authentic electoral mandate." We know that, in Fermanagh, for instance, it was based not on an "authentic electoral mandate" but on an "inauthentic electoral fraud" — on gerrymandering. The script-writers prefer not to mention gerrymandering in their analysis.

The Green Paper does, however, engage in that type of criticism which the Civil Rights Movement engaged in a few years ago, and for which they were condemned as irresponsibles by the people who now call themselves moderates or Alliance. Lord Cameron is quoted to get the truth across: "There has been on record an account of deliberate policies of discrimination, particularly in relation to housing and public employment by some, though not all, of the local authorities in Northern Ireland, and of a toleration of local government electoral boundaries in some areas which produced a wholly artificial result." In a footnote the Green Paper quotes at length Cameron's seven conclusions on the general causes of unrest in N. Ireland. One has to ask today, are these conclusions more embarrassing to the Unionist bosses, who practised discrimination, or to those self-styled moderates who accepted discrimination and condemned the CRA for marching in protest?

The script-writers actually consider the origin of the

Civil Rights Movement. Paragraph 19 states: "By 1968 there had emerged an active and articulate movement demanding changes in the area of civil rights, such as in the acceptance of universal adult suffrage as the basis for all elections, redrawing of electoral boundaries, and ending of discrimination in employment and housing. From the start this movement was largely (though not exclusively) Roman Catholic, and although it undoubtedly attracted support from militant republicanism, its declared aim was to achieve the objectives by non-violent means. On 5th October, 1968, however, a violent confrontation with the police occurred when a Civil Rights march took place in Londonderry in defiance of an Ordinance made by the Minister of Home Affairs for Northern Ireland." The script-writers have made one big mistake in the plot: there was NO VIOLENT CONFRONTATION with the police! There was an UNEXPECTED AND BARBARIC VIOLENT ATTACK BY THE POLICE ON A PEACEFUL DEMONSTRATION.

How interesting to note that the Green Paper recognises the significance of the 5th October. A few weeks ago CONCERNED devoted a commemorative article for the fourth anniversary in which the significance of the 5th was set out: "A whole people from their political iber. The Irish nationhood, fearless and free, re-born on the street Derry." As a result of this barbaric attack by the police on the protest move-

ment began, which goaded the Unionists into counter-protest and eventually into all-out attacks on nationalist areas. This led to the sending in of the British Army and, as the Green Paper also admits, "a much deeper involvement in the domestic affairs of Northern Ireland".

The Green Paper then goes on to quote in full what has been called the Downing Street Declaration, that pious effort of politicians to coax the Civil Rights Movement off the streets. It also dwells on the fact that the first serious confrontation with the troops, the "new peace keepers" (God bless the mark!) occurred on the Shankill in October, 1969.

Whitelaw's script-writers then gloss over the total failure to implement the reforms, and pass from the Shankill of 1969, over the "peace line" to the Falls of late 1970, to the emergence of the I.R.A. and the introduction of internment. On internment they have this curious comment to make: "One consequence of this was to reinforce Roman Catholic leaders in the decision they had already taken a month earlier, on other grounds, to withdraw from the Northern Ireland Parliament." The script-writers studiously avoid mentioning the massive civil disobedience campaign which resulted from internment. They are only interested in reminding the opposition politicians they didn't leave Stormont because of the introduction of internment.

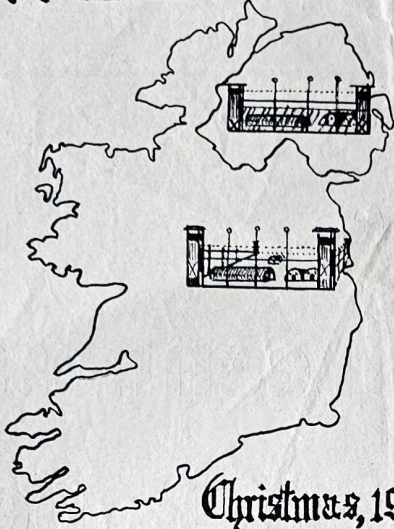
The last two paragraphs of this historical introduction

are devoted to the fall of Stormont and the introduction of Direct Rule. We get a sentence like this: "Following on the introduction of direct rule, the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland has been involved in intensive discussions with all shades of opinion in Northern Ireland." The script-writers do not think it worthwhile mentioning the fact that no public representative on the minority side would discuss the future with Mr. Whitelaw until all the internees were released! Yet they write about discussions "with all shades of opinion"!

The biggest surprise of all is the admission that the I.R.A. have "substantial numbers of recruits and a considerable degree of mass support" (n.22). Here is surely a script-writer's slip to upset the Alliance! Remember how we used to be told about the small handful of hard core terrorists. Mr. Bob Cooper would have re-written that paragraph for Whitelaw's script-writers had they had the courtesy to show it to him or his party before they published it.

On the whole the historical introduction is not bad. The script-writers show that they are better at examining the past than at forecasting the shape of the future. Or, perhaps we should say, the historical introduction is yet another example of how British politicians refuse to learn from the past. They have the facts, but they don't understand how to reconcile Britain's interest with the facts. They just blunder on!

IRELAND



"Lest We Forget"

This special Christmas card published by Fermanagh Civil Resistance Committee is available at 3 Queen Street, Enniskillen, price 5p.

ARE YOU CONCERNED?

THE description of the S.D.L.P. decision to talk to Whitelaw by a spokesman of the anti-Unionist Conference which met in Monaghan was very accurate. He said it was a betrayal of the internees and political prisoners and a desertion at a critical time of the mass of the people who had borne the brunt of the resistance to oppression.

Individually and collectively the S.D.L.P. freely and publicly pledged not once but many, many times that they would not enter into talks while internment lasted. They thus entered into a solemn covenant with the minority in N. Ireland. They have unilaterally broken that covenant. Their word must now be equated with the word of British politicians on Irish affairs. It must be regarded as not worth the paper it is written on.

At the very least they should have had the ordinary guts to break their pledge themselves. Instead, with typical dishonesty, they used a staged party conference to get them off the hook, thereby forcing many delegates to that conference who are undoubtedly honourable men into the role of accessories to the crime. They did not consult party conference before they made the pledge, therefore conference had no authority to release them from their pledge.

Having acted dishonourably, they could have at least refrained from insulting the intelligence of the people by such asinine statements as "the fight against internment must go on". The people know well enough that their fight against internment ended long ago when they first engaged in the talks that were not talks with Whitelaw.

A prominent member said that their decision not to talk had become unproductive and that no party can afford to be inflexible. One wonders what on earth such an inane utterance can mean. As even the Newsletter said—To the outside world a party which has been inflexible all along the line and then at the drop of a hat declares that no party can afford to be inflexible scarcely commends confidence.

A very welcome contrast is the honourable stand taken by the Nationalist Party in their decision to stick by their pledge. The latter part of their statement is a refreshing piece of honesty. The present policy of harassment, of failure to protect isolated Catholics, leaves us in no mood for discussions with British representatives in Ireland.

Why did they do it? Surely there was a motive other than simply an exercise in dishonesty. We believe that it is the final piece of the British jigsaw solution. Heath and Lynch have agreed a settlement for the North. Lynch has promised to stamp on those in the South who are likely to object to the settlement. Some agency was needed to try and deliver the goods in the North. The S.D.L.P. offered to sell the settlement to the minority and their decision to talk to Whitelaw is the first step. The S.D.L.P. believes it can sell the British line and the British Army will deal with those who refuse to buy. We foresee in a few months' time an S.D.L.P. Chairman of a Home Affairs Committee signing detention orders under the name of Whitelaw.

It is a neat, tidy set-up. They have all made one bad miscalculation—the people will not have it. The S.D.L.P. have betrayed the people, and the people will in their own good time give them their answer.

BLACK ANNIVERSARY

We all know by now that on Monday, 20th November, the Queen of England celebrated her 25th wedding anniversary. It was a silver day for her, but for the mothers of Fermanagh it was a sad, black day. The teaching profession in the county marked the occasion by closing all the schools with the exception of a few.

We do not propose to sit in judgment on the teaching profession. We merely wish to point out a few things.

The Queen of England is the head of the British Government. The British Government is responsible for the awful reign of error against the entire anti-Unionist community. It is responsible for internment, torture, for countless civil deaths.

Whether or not the parents or children wish to mark the occasion of the wedding anniversary of a foreign and hostile Queen, they had no choice.

Did the teachers and the managers forget to decide to forget for one day the dreadful deeds committed against their people in the name of that Queen.

We do not object in any way to the English people celebrating the wedding anniversary of their Queen. We simply think that an utterly sad that the majority of members of the noble profession saw fit to those celebrations.

Tempo Resistance Committee

INTERNEES' DEPENDANTS DANCE

TEMPO HALL on WEDS., 6th DEC., 1972

Music: EILEEN and THE DEPUTIES

Dancing 9-1

BELNALECK G.F.C.

*

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

TODAY, SUNDAY, 3rd DEC., 1972

in

ST. SINELL'S HALL, ARNEY

at 2 p.m. sharp

All players, officials and supporters must attend
Everyone welcome Martin O'Brien, Secretary

Fermanagh Civil Resistance Committee

PUBLIC MEETING

To discuss present situation and local problems

in ROSLEA HALL

on

Monday, 4th December, 1972, at 9.00 p.m.

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NAZISM WILL BE NIPPED IN THE BUD

Lynch law in the South

MANY of our readers must be asking what kind of State the South of Ireland really is. Until the past week it may not have dawned on many people that Lynch has been introducing fascist legislation and indulging in totalitarian activities aimed at keeping his junta in power at the expense of destroying democracy, free political expression and press freedom.

Now Mr. Lynch is being shown in his true colours. To pacify Heath he has:

- 1 Tried to destroy the real Republican movement by
 - a. Introducing Special Courts without juries.
 - b. Shutting down the offices of a political party in Kevin St., Dublin.
 - c. Hounding and harassing the Resistance leaders, viz. Ruari O Bradaigh, Joe Cahill, Sean O Bradaigh, Maire Drumm, and now Sean Mac Stiofain.
 - d. And this week by introducing THE MOST FASCIST AND MOST DIABOLICAL LEGISLATION THAT THIS COUNTRY HAS EVER SEEN.
- 2 By imposing CENSORSHIP. Lynch, while allowing Craig, Faulkner and the U.D.A. as much coverage as they like, has banned R.T.E. from giving coverage to Republicans.

- Lynch has:
- a. Sacked the R.T.E. Authority.
 - b. Jailed a journalist for three months for doing his duty.
 - c. Ordered R.T.E., in effect to broadcast only material that is favourable to the Government.

Mr. Lynch has carefully cultivated a dictatorship in the South, but his latest acts of madness will not go unnoticed. The new legislation introduced by Mr. O'Malley on Monday has been universally condemned by legal experts in Ireland and Britain. Indeed the only people to applaud Lynch have been Craig, Faulkner and their like.

What this legislation means

This new legislation — the brainchild of O'Malley — is an amendment of the Offences Against the State Act. Under it a man can be charged with being a member of the I.R.A. on the word of a single Chief Superintendent, and that is all the evidence the prosecution needs for conviction! If a man is charged he is reckoned to be guilty until he proves his innocence, and this, according to a legal expert, is well nigh impossible to do. IN OTHER WORDS, THE UNIVERSALLY ACCEPTED NORM THAT A MAN IS INNOCENT UNTIL PROVEN GUILTY GOES BY THE BOARD. This is internment by the back door and must be resisted. It can only be re-

sisted by resisting the fascist government that intends to impose it.

Also, under the Bill, a person may be jailed for five years or fined £1,000 for "perverting the course of justice." But what this means under Lynch law is hard to understand.

RESIST IT

However, it must be remembered that this legislation will only be imposed if the people in the South continue to support Lynch. If Lynch is

kicked to hell out of it, if he is harassed and opposed by the people of Ireland, he cannot succeed, just as Faulkner did not succeed. If the grovelling cur is ousted, if his fascist junta is destroyed, if his attempts to impose a Nazi state in free Ireland are resisted, then he will topple from his pedestal of power. No ruler—not even the greatest despot—can rule in 1972 without consent. Lynch may try to hide the true facts from the Irish people by suppressing R.T.E., but he has already condemned himself. He is a wolf in sheep's clothing mouthing about democracy and free government. But there will always be writers and journalists, soldiers and ordinary citizens who will resist this threat to freedom.

WELCOME NEWS

We are sure that everyone in Fermanagh will welcome with us the news that the Fermanagh Civil Resistance Committee is at present embarking on an attempt to update "Fermanagh Facts".

"Fermanagh Facts" was a very important publication. It is still an invaluable study in discrimination and gerrymandering.

We all await with keen interest the publication of the updated "Facts" to see what, if anything, has changed in the county in the last three years.

THE RITZ CINEMA, ENNISKILLEN		
Sunday, 3rd December	DEATH RIDES A HORSE SUBMARINE XI	1 day 9.05 7.45
Monday, 4th December	EQUINOX BIG FOOT	2 days 9.05 7.30
Wednesday, 6th December	THE FAMILY WAY TILL DEATH DO US PART	2 days 9.20 7.30
Friday, 8th December	MCKENNA'S GOLD CAT BALLOU	2 days 8.45 7.00
Matinee on Saturday at 2.30 p.m.		

BLACK and TAN terror at Donagh

ON Wednesday, 15th November the residents of the Donagh area were subjected to yet another instalment of Black and Tan harassment. At approximately 9.30 p.m. a foot patrol of six called at Corren's pub. They wanted whiskey (remember what the Duke of Wellington once said of the British Army—the scum of the earth enlisted for drink). Firmly, but politely, they were reminded that British soldiers were not served. Immediately they turned on the terror. One of them shouted—"Right, the bar is closed, everyone out." The young proprietor was not to be intimidated so easily. He rang the R.U.C. He was told that the Army could search or screen people in the bar, but they could not close the bar. The Black and Tan in charge then spoke to the R.U.C. He got the same answer and said for all to hear—"All cops are bent anyhow."

They then began to intimidate everyone in the bar. The only non-Catholic there had the cigarette pulled from his mouth. They declared that they were from Glasgow and that no one there knew what regiment they were from. Menacingly they shouted that they would be back. When asked if that was a threat they replied that they would see the whole lot in Long Kesh. There followed a string of obscenities: "F—g Irish unemployed", "Fenian b—s", etc. Childishly they challenged any f—g man outside to fight. With great courage from behind their S.L.R.s they declared that they were proud to be in the B. Army and, promising to return, they slunk off into the night.

We have no doubt that they will be back, like the cowards they are, to persecute and annoy decent, defenceless people having a pint.

But equally we have no doubt that they will be wasting their time if they think they can scare the people of Donagh. On that clear moral victory. The people of Donagh will continue to gain the victory because right is on their side and no number of armed thugs, no matter how great, could possibly defeat a occasion they were outfaced. The people in the pub gained a risen people.

COMHAIRLE ULADH

FIRST ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING
TODAY—SUNDAY, 3rd DEC., 1972
in
WESTENRA HOTEL, MONAGHAN
3 p.m.

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ARE YOU INTERESTED IN REGIONALISM?
COME AND HEAR THE EXPERTS



THOMPSON— Tactician and Terrorist

THE British Army's chief tactician on counter-insurgency, Sir Robert Thompson, argues that while detention without trial might be repugnant to those brought up in the British tradition of justice, in periods of extreme political violence amounting to an emergency it is "recognised as a powerful weapon in a government's armoury and will certainly be used".

Sir Robert addressed this remark to the British Institute of Human Rights in London.

Sir Robert, whose book, "Revolutionary War in World Strategy", is used as a textbook by the British Army, has been challenged on some of his assumptions regarding the use of internment camps by Brigadier Frank Kitson, but he is still considered to be the Army's chief tactician, and Long Kesh would appear to be run on the lines he suggests.

He conducted the counter-terrorist campaign in Malaya, and is at present head of the British Military Mission in Saigon, where a detachment of the S.A.S. is stationed and receives training in anti-terrorist tactics from American advisers.

In his contribution to the Institute of Human Rights debate on "Detention under emergency regulations", which was chaired by Lord Scarman (of tribunal fame), Sir Robert laid down the rules under which a government should operate in trying to bring about reconciliation with the main body of terrorist supporters, while at the same time isolating and possibly eliminating the hard-core terrorists.

Detention, he pointed out, had a dual purpose: to break the terrorist organisation within the population by arresting the links between terrorist gangs and the general population (in these terms he was speaking of south-east Asia), and therefore forcing the action outside the threatened population areas; and, secondly, it had an important psychological effect . . . "before people can be won over by reforms or any other social or economic improvement they must be convinced that a government intends to, and can, win".

Undeclared war

In an obvious reference to Northern Ireland, he said that "in undeclared war or conditions of extreme political violence designed to effect political and constitutional changes by force, some form of detention is essential. It should be accepted that these are wars, at least in Mao's sense that war is politics with blood."

Some of Sir Robert's remarks could be construed as criticism of British Government policy vis-a-vis internment in Northern Ireland.

Detention, he said, should not even be a semi-judicial act "because it is quite improper to put courts in a position where they have to assess a security risk and order detention or release", and again, "If any procedure is adopted which takes detention out of the hands of the Executive then it may place an intolerable strain on the security forces if it proves to be too inconsistent or lenient. Under extreme provocation they may not be prepared to arrest an individual for the second or third time. Trying to shelter behind the judiciary or a special court, or leaving the security forces in doubt, represents a failure on the part of the government to grasp the nettle firmly."

He advocates, in opposition to Brigadier Kitson, that the police should play the major role in the detention process.

He said that all persons captured or arrested should be delivered to the police, who should be given power to interrogate them over a period of 28 days. If a case was made against them, the Minister concerned should then sign a detention order for a two-year period, which could be renewed. Within six months of the order being made the case should be reviewed by a tribunal.

Four categories

Sir Robert states that detainees should be divided into four categories: (A) Those whose detention is a formality so that they can be legally held in custody—"Those who willingly surrender, or who may be promoted to that status, and who may subsequently be used by the government"; (B) Willing supporters of the terrorist organisation who represent a risk only while terrorists operate in their areas; (C) Active positive supporters and low ranking terrorists; and (D) Hard core terrorists.

Dealing with the form of detention, he said that detention camps should be run by a qualified prison service and should be subject to normal prison rules. The four categories of prisoners should be kept separate and, he stressed, "it is absolutely essential to segregate category (D), otherwise detention camps can become a raging inferno."

Speaking on the aim of ultimate reconciliation, he pointed out: "A successful policy will depend almost entirely on the treatment not only to those who surrender but also of those who are captured or arrested because the distinction can easily be blurred by terrorist propaganda (Sir Robert was an outspoken critic of the way the Army and the R.U.C. handled the Northern Ireland operation).

INTERROGATION

The steps he advocated for breaking the organisation and gaining information from prisoners are as follows:

The prisoner should be kept in solitary confinement until his interrogation is complete, and this should take place in the 28-day period before a detention order becomes necessary.

"In my view it is quite unnecessary, and again counter-productive, to attempt to condition a prisoner for interrogation by any form of unusual treatment. He will in fact be sufficiently conditioned either by his surrender (a very positive and personal act) or by his arrest. He will be anxious as to how much the government knows about him and will be conditioned anyway by the thought that he might be charged in court and possibly even hanged. In the majority of cases interrogation will be little more than a formality, but in some cases it will have to be very thorough. This requires highly skilled interrogators who are capable of establishing a fairly intimate relationship with their prisoner, aided by considerable background intelligence on the prisoner and by a superior intellect.

A WEEK THAT SHOCKED THE NATION

BRAVO

SEAN Mac STIOFAIN!

BRAVO

KEVIN O'KELLY!

THE past week will be remembered with shame by Irishmen for many years to come. It will be remembered as the week in which Mr. Jack Lynch, the so-called Taoiseach of the Irish Republic, ordered a purge of everything Republican and a suppression of the freedom of the journalistic profession to report current affairs objectively and impartially. Lynch issued his orders from the dining table in 10 Downing Street, when he was having a felon's secret meeting with Mr. Heath.

Here is a summary of the events that will yet topple Jack Lynch from his power seat in Dublin:

- 1 Sean Mac Stiofain arrested, and charged after over 40 hours' detention.
- 2 A totalitarian ultimatum to the R.T.E. Authority from Posts and Telegraphs Minister Collins over the report of an interview with Mac Stiofain.
- 3 The R.T.E. Authority is sacked by Lynch for giving balanced news coverage.
- 4 Kevin O'Kelly, an R.T.E. news editor, is jailed for three months by the Special Criminal Court for refusing to dishonour the journalistic profession by giving the name of the person he was alleged to have interviewed.
- 5 Sean Mac Stiofain, already very weak and sub-conscious after a seven-day hunger and thirst strike, is jailed for six months on the flimsiest of evidence.
- 6 O'Malley introduces fascist legislation to stifle democracy.

The totalitarian measures of Mr. Lynch and his puppet regime have shocked the world and horrified liberal thought in Britain. On Saturday morning "The Times", a highly conservative and influential paper, and "The Guardian" entirely condemned Mr. Lynch for imposing "censorship". "The Times" described Mr. Collins' action as "suspicious". (These papers did not condemn Mr. Lynch's "clampdown" on the I.R.A., but no-one would expect them to do that.)

Lynch's own "Irish Press" was also highly critical of the sacking of the R.T.E. Authority, which contained such noble people as Mr. Donal O'Morain and Mrs. Sean T. O'Kelly, widow of the late President.

On Sunday the British and Irish press also attacked Mr. Lynch for the barbaric sentence on Kevin O'Kelly, and James Downey, writing from London in Monday's "Irish Times", said: "The standing of the Taoiseach, Mr. Lynch, with the British press and public is likely, on balance, to be damaged by the R.T.E. affair. It is unlikely to make any difference one way or the other to the Taoiseach's standing with the British Government.

On the contrary, Mr. Lynch has signed his own political death warrant at the expense of pleasing and appeasing Heath and his Ministers.

No one could imagine the level an Irishman could go to placate and suck-up to Mr. Heath, as Mr. Lynch has done.

SEAN MAC STIOFAIN

(A latter-day martyr)

As I write Sean Mac Stiofain lies dying in the Curragh suffering the excruciating agony of hunger and thirst strike. The Archbishop of Dublin, Dr. Ryan, like great churchmen in the past, has visited him. So has Fr. Sean McManus, C.S.S.R. Even Conor Cruise O'Brien says that Lynch must not let him die. However, Sean Mac Stiofain's sacrifice and agony, and the agony of all the oppressed people in Ireland, North and South, will not be in vain. Mac Stiofain has shown himself to be a patriot of 1867-1916 class—a man of courage, devotion and integrity. In the words of his solicitor and friend, Myles Shevlin, "his body may be crushed, but his spirit will never be crushed". If he dies his spirit will remain in the hearts of all true Irishmen and the goal that he suffered for will have become nearer realisation. And all true Irishmen will work and fight for the overthrow of Lynch and his Government of traitors, who are now bent on introducing Nazi-type legislation, even more iniquitous than the Special Powers Act, in the 26 Counties.

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