



# An Phoblacht

Imleabhar 5. Aibreán 12, 1974. Uimhir 15.  
44 Cearnóg Pharnell, B.A.C., Éir. Guthán: 46711.

## Distortion of law

Therefore, revenge had to be exacted. But revenge is not law.

Imagine British or American legal authorities attempting to ban a publication because it denied recognition, because of alleged illegitimacy, to the authority of the state. Or because it called the state names. Or because it sneered at some of the state's institutions.

Normally, such descriptions do not conflict with the law on the basis that a man or a group has the right to think independently. The only occasion on which such statements might be actionable would be if accompanied by incitement to subvert the state. Such incitement would have to be proved. But there was no such reaction during two court performances regarding "Freedom Struggle". Indeed, cold, formal legality did not seem to have been applied at all.

What we appear to have got were political - and rather immature - reactions by political appointees to the bench. The judges, of course, can search and will find justifications within the various sections and sub-sections of various kinds of coercive legislation over the years; but no constitutional lawyer of any intelligence and knowledge tries to justify such legislation as typical of modern bourgeois democracy in an independent state.

Such laws are born and are used only when all pretence at democracy by the bourgeois state is dropped, when the sword is unsheathed, and when the motto is "ar ais nó aréigean" by hook or by crook).

A generally accepted point of law is that an accused should not be forced to incriminate himself; and all civilised legal systems or constitutions provide against such a distortion of justice. In Ireland, however, a man may be forced to incriminate himself in order to escape from the provision forcing a person to account for his movements or go to jail in default.

Assumption of guilt, in certain circumstances, is based on a similar mockery of law: a man must prove himself innocent, otherwise the belief of a high-ranking Garda officer, unsubstantiated by the normal run of evidence, is accepted, even though it is

PEOPLE defending the *status quo* in the 26 Counties (and, *ergo*, in the Six Counties) often try to show how civilised and progressive this modern Ireland of theirs is, with its constitutions (directly or indirectly referring back to the 1921 Treaty and, from there, back through Norman and Roman law to British legitimacy); its referenda; its much-boasted-of independence of judiciary from executive. *In totum*, a really modern democratic state, reflecting at every stage the will of the people!

Living in Ireland and trying to exist in the peculiar sort of jungle that is the puppet state, we take on protective colourings, and react almost automatically, to such an extent that the absurdity of the system, when compared to even the bourgeois legal system in independent states, passes unnoticed for most of the time. Until, for example, something happens such as the prosecution and persecution of the publication, "Freedom Struggle".

If an equivalent publication had appeared in the United States of America or Britain, would it have been attacked and suppressed? Two things are involved here: tactics and law. Would it have been good tactics to have singled it out for banning? Could such a banning succeed if pursued through the courts? The answer to both questions is a definite "no". For constitutional law in these states, though, perhaps, subject to criticism from such as ourselves, is highly developed.

Lawyers in such states are jealous of such development and, though just as conservative and timid of progress as many of the professional politicians in Ireland, would never agree to the debauching of the national legal system as has been permitted in Ireland, north and south, by Special Powers and Offences Against the State, as well as by other hysterical measures.

A constitutional lawyer would point to such measures as typical of the colonial regime and would demonstrate - and illustrate - that it is very possible to protect all the real interests of the bourgeois state without holding it up to ridicule among constitutional lawyers everywhere.

The emphasis, of course, is on *real* interests. The 26 Counties state was in no direct danger through the publication of "Freedom Struggle". Various words and phrases in the publication, however, irked the authorities: conscience doth make cowards of us all.

no more than a belief, based on hearsay. Where else could this happen but in Ireland?

Irish constitutional lawyers must have been very embarrassed when even Willie Whitelaw admitted that Westminster never would tolerate the twistings and turnings that pass for law in the Six or the 26 Counties.

The caricature of constitutional law that sends men to prison for alleged political offences, a mere excuse for internment, or internment under another name, unfortunately is not opposed by any group. Firstly, Republicans do not participate in the farce because, except in exceptional circumstances, they do not recognise the court (and the system). Secondly, the Republican Movement normally does not have its own courts to which citizens, sick of the *status quo*, north and south, could have recourse. Thirdly, even the honest lawyers continue to support the established mockery of justice and democracy by their silence and even by their active co-operation.

How much more hopeful the future would be if even a tiny minority of lawyers were to form an Association for the Reform of Undemocratic Legislation.

The tactic of refusal to recognise a prejudiced court (and hence a prejudiced, unjust, legal system) would be strengthened considerably if some alternative were brought into existence, north or south of the Border, or in both areas. A democratic beginning must be made some time, at all levels, as an indication that the revolution is something more than a happy thought, that it is essential to the establishment of a new, just system.

More than 50 years ago Republican Courts were a reality. Is it not time that they were re-established? Is it not time that the ordinary people were given an alternative to the present property-dominated system? If the ridiculous measures adopted to suppress "Freedom Struggle" are to be seen in their full significance, it is only on the basis of that absurdity being underlined and being understood.

But that, in itself, will not be enough. An alternative legal system must be provided as areas are liberated, so that the people's problems may be solved according to equity and so that the people in areas not yet liberated may see and understand that the alternative legal system is preferable in every possible way.

## Mature at 18?

IT WAS, perhaps, a symptom of the state of suspended animation of so much of contemporary Ireland, that there was not a nation-wide, explosive reaction to the stated belief of Patrick Cooney in Leinster House that Irish women are not mature at 18 years - and that Irish males are.

It could be that people did not react more vigorously because the statement came as no surprise. After all, if Cooney had made a mature statement, eyebrows might have been lifted and pens might have been poised over paper. But Cooney reacted as was to be expected by so many of us, with that built-in, give-away prejudice that men are superior to women, one that makes it obvious that the speaker is among the very many Irishmen who will never grow up.

A surprising thing about the Cooney statement was that it was not embedded in a number of alleged expert viewpoints. But this merely highlights the weakness of the case. We are not suggesting that, generally speaking, in Ireland or elsewhere, men are superior to women, or women to men. We do wish to point out that, according to expert opinion, women mature before men, in Ireland as elsewhere.

Irish men mature at about 30 years of age; women, at between 18 and 20. For Cooney to try to suggest the reverse not only points to the man's immaturity but also to considerable immaturity: he was unwilling, apparently, to seek expert advice from his department.

We do not know how the authorities in the Garda Síochána set about recruiting staff or what standards they have. But we would imagine that an effort is made to recruit reasonably mature men and women. It is disappointing that some Garda spokesmen has not commented on Cooney's statement. It is disappointing that large numbers of psychologists have not done so, since it is accepted that, in most cases, women mature before men. It must have made headlines in psychology magazines throughout the world that Patrick Cooney disagreed.

Or has Patrick Cooney managed to find some indisputable evidence and is he preparing a treatise to win his M.A. or D.M.? The world is waiting with bated breath.

# Chugainn Máirtín Ó Cadhain ar cheirnín nua

Ó BHÉAL Feirste atá Máirtín Ó Cadhain ag teacht thar n-ais chugainn... ar cheirnín de chuid Outlet.

Is cosúil go bhfuil lámh ag beirt i mBaile Átha Cliath leis an ngnó agus leis an bplean, mar ata Séamas Ó Tuathail agus Proinsias Mac Aonghusa, daoine a raibh díúbbhaínt acu le Míseach, go dtíbbhaínt acu le Máirtín féin. Agus nach raibh Máirtín ina athair, baisti ag Proinsias?

As téipenna a tairleadadh agus Máirtín Ó Cadhain faoi agallamh, no ag labhairt rí léachta, ba ea a rinnadh an ceirnín, agus éinne a raibh meas aige ar Mháirtín, no raibh méas aige ar Mháirtín, no grá aige dó, no spéis aige ann, no féil, spéis aige san fhoghraíocht, ní

bheid sé sásta gan an ceirnín seo a cheannach.

Go bhfios dom, ní ach an cheirnín amháin eile de chuid Mháirtín ar fáil - má bhíonn sé ar fáil go fóill - agus sin obair ar fhoghraíocht na Gaeilge a d'eisigh Spól (Breandán Breathnach) ta blianta fada ó shin.

Bhí dhá cheann le bheith sa tsraith ach ní fhuaca muid an tarna ceirnín ariamh. Bhí daoine ag rá go raibh sé róghráisúil agus bhí sé ina ráifa gur ag Séamas Ó Tuathail a bhí an téip.

ann le comhairle a thabhairt do dhaoine oga atá sásta seasamh a thógáil ar son na Gaeilge. Ach maireann a ghlóir, Agus a leagan amach. Agus a chomhairle bhunúsach de chomhairle na hÉireann. Agus a chúid grinn.

Tá cuid mhaith dá ndúirt sé in Gráid agus in agallamh bailithe le chéile ar an ceirnín seo. Obair dheonach a bhí i gear an ceirnín seo ar fáil, agus rachaidh aon sochar a dhéantar air chun tairbhe do mhúirín na bprionsaíochtaí Poltachtach.

Séamus Ó Tuathail a scriobh an nóta chúidigh agus Proinsias Mac Aonghusa a rinne cagar ar an ceirnín i Stiúdeó Tommy Illis, Baile Átha Cliath.

Ní ar an ceirnín ach £2.25, Sladmharagadh.

## Déibé

### Tromlú

Bhí bríonglóid agam an tseachtain faoi dhreacadh. Bhí crúinniú ar súil ag Conradh na Gaeilge chun crúinniú eile a eagrú, chun crúinniú eile fós a eagrú... agus mar sin de... chun cagar a chur ar Ghaeilgeoirí agus cogadh a chur ar naimhéal na teanga.

Tá súil agam nach tuar a bhí sa mbríonglóid chomhann. Ach d'fheardaigh sé tharú, fariar.

## Internment slammed | Helicopter damaged

The annual conference of the United Nations Association at its meeting in Manchester last week-end, overwhelmingly passed a motion condemning internment in the North.

A British helicopter flying over Border areas on April 6 was damaged "superficially" by the liberation forces before returning to its Crossmaglen base, according to an enemy spokesman.

## Brain washing dept.

The insistence of the "Irish Independent" in the use of the words "security forces" instead of "British" or "Crown" forces, is the result of a recent policy decision of the paper's editor, follow-

ing his lunch with the "Free" State army's Chief-of-staff. Circulation, incidentally, continues to drop (from 164,864 in Feb. last year to 164,148 last February).

# Escalation of mortgage campaign?

OFFICERS of A.C.R.A. are under pressure from members to escalate the Association's mortgage campaign, the Dublin administration was warned in an address on March 27 to a public meeting in Swords, Dublin, by Brian Sheridan, chairman, A.C.R.A. Mortgage Action Committee, according to a supplied statement.

## Prisoner writes from Wakefield

AS an Irishman and an inmate of Wakefield Prison I feel it is my duty to write and let the people of Ireland know about the degrading and humiliating treatment the two Irish political prisoners are receiving here at the hands of ex-British soldiers.

The two men concerned and Roy Walsh and Rev. Patrick Fell, both of whom are on the "A" categories list, which means they are not allowed to go anywhere without a prison officer behind them.

This is very embarrassing for them, as can well be imagined. Both these men have been stopped from going on physical training with other "A" category prisoners. They also have been refused permission to attend educational classes.

Their letters are held for weeks before they get them (some they don't get). Father Fell has been refused permission to celebrate Mass, which I think is very bad, by the prison authorities.

Their visitors are subject to the most stringent searches, on adults and children alike. Roy Walsh's two-year-old son had a metal detector used on him, with no apparent thought for the child concerned.

The same child had to be taken out of the room where the visit took place because of the stiffness.

Records which other prisoners are allowed are refused to these men because they are in Irish. They are taunted by prison officers whenever something comes on the news about Ireland.

There are many things being done to break these men. They are not allowed to have newspapers (such as the "Andersonstown News" and "Republican News"). The sooner all political prisoners are sent back to Ireland to serve their sentences the better for all concerned.

I hope that my letter will be published as it was very difficult to get it out of this hell hole where these men are being held. I wish to remain anonymous for obvious reasons or I would probably end up on bread and water which is still used as a punishment here in Wakefield.

FOOTNOTE: The above was copied from the original letter smuggled out with a request that we and "Republican News" publish it.

# GARDAI BEHIND THAT SHOOT-OUT?

IT is beginning to look as if the March 19 shoot-out between R.U.C. and S.A.S. elements was set up by the Garda Síochána, not deliberately, of course.

The van involved in the first shoot-out was seen by Garda

earlier that night and signalled to stop. Instead, the driver accelerated and fled the Garda patrol. The van headed for Co. Armagh.

The Gardaí then alerted the R.U.C., giving a full description

of the van, saying they believed that it contained members of Óglaigh na hÉireann, perhaps with a load of smuggled arms.

The R.U.C. reacted accordingly. This explains why they decided to shoot first and ask

questions afterwards - on both occasions.

Our information is based on a report from a friendly Garda contact in the Border area. We have been unable to confirm it from other sources.



Grúpa Gaelach a d'fhreastair ar chúrsa spósdáta bliainúil i Mainistir Meilearai ar na malláibh. Comhaltaí Chonradh na Gaeilne an chuid is mó dóth.

A VERY successful public meeting was held by the Irish Political Prisoners' Separation Committee in the main street in Dún Laoghaire towards the end of last month.

The meeting was held to highlight in particular the plight of the four hunger strikers and to bring home to people the real horror of force-feeding.

The meeting was addressed by speakers from local organisations and Dr. Brian Lavery gave a demonstration of force-feeding. He spoke of the serious effects it has on the mind and body of the victim.

A member of the I.P.P.R.C. bravely volunteered to allow this degrading act to be demonstrated on him. Many members of the crowd were visibly shaken by the spectacle and said afterwards that they had not realised the full extent of the ritual barbarity being practised every day on the four young people.

Another meeting is planned for the near future. People in all areas are asked to maintain the pressure on the English government to grant the reasonable demands of these, and all other, political prisoners.

— Rita O'Hare

PORTUMNA: A Sinn Féin public meeting was held in Portumna, Co. Galway, on March 16. Main speaker was Ruairí Ó Bráidigh, uachtarán, Sinn Féin. A large proportion of the population of Portumna attended. The meeting was organised by Galway Comhairleachantair.

A summary of Mr. Ó Bráidigh's speech is given herewith: In the last few days there has been an orgy of public carthumping about the Northern situation, coupled with the insinuations that to be Irish is in some way to be inferior, to be infected with something that we must be ashamed of and must constantly apologise for to foreigners.

But the persons whose voices are loudest in strident condemnation of their fellow countrymen are the models of reticence while the people of the North were being battered and abused by the RUC and the B Specials.

Burn tolet ambush

A number of prominent individuals who have come out with abuse against the Price Sisters and the other Winchester prisoners were not heard from when the same Price Sisters were ambushed and clubbed at Burntollet Bridge, Dromain into the river and nearly drowned.

Politicians are remembered for the memorable phrases they utter. Jack Lynch will be remembered for two. The first was his promise not to stand idly by in 1969.

Stand idly by, nevertheless, he did, as has every "Free" State politician before and since. The second phrase he will be remembered for is "I forgot" the phrase he uttered when asked why he did not reveal that he had been privy to the activities of the Littlejohns.

All Ireland people were shocked by the murder of Senator Billy Fox. But it took the murder of a political figure to make the Lein-

## Nuaíocht na gCumann

ster House authorities stir themselves.

The killing of young busmen and lorry drivers by bombs in Dublin, Clones and Belvoir had not made the authorities take action against British army intruders.

When Gardai in Monaghan stopped a pair of the type used by itinerants and found half a dozen armed British soldiers skulking inside in civilian clothes, these soldiers were not arrested and given six and seven years in jail, as would have happened if they had been young insurgents who had strayed across the border.

They were taken to the barracks and given tea and then let go.

### Republican demand

The Republican demand is for an orderly withdrawal of British troops over a planned schedule, followed by all-Ireland elections in conditions of freedom and the release of all Irish political prisoners in Ireland and Britain.

At Comhairleachantair meetings in North and South Kerry unanimous decisions were taken to contest the coming local elections. It is expected that, with the full strength of the organisation working to capacity, good results can be secured.

Ruairí Ó Bráidigh, who attended both meetings, said a vacuum existed in the political life of this country. It was our job to have it filled. The people of the North would be looking towards us in the 26 Counties to take the initial steps towards political victory.

U. O. Loinigh, who also attended the meetings, congratulated the Cumann for their magnificent response to the recent appeal for funds. He said Kerry was second only to London and the best in the 32 Counties, in answer to this appeal.

### DONEGAL - LEITRIM: At meetings in Stranorlar, The Cross, Killygdon, Cloughfinn, Glenties, Edenfinagh, Ardara, Glenties and Rosnainn, Sinn Féin speakers continued to highlight the plight of the Price Sisters, Hugh Feeney and Gerald Kelly, and called for their repatriation.

Speaking at two after-mass meetings in Glenfarne, Anthony O'Malley Daly said the Winchester four now had passed over 100 days being forcibly fed, and it was due to the apathy of the Irish people.

Joe O'Neill, addressing a meeting in Rossinver, exhorted the people to remember Rev. Patrick Fell, who had been denied the right to celebrate Mass in prison, and to remember also the many Irish men imprisoned in England and Scotland.

He pointed out that, while the Dublin government was demanding the right of free speech through the media it was pressuring the public not to read "An Phoblacht", the voice of Republicanism.

In Ardara the Derry Republican Staff Keenan, said, with regard to the Prisoners' Dependents' Fund, it was exactly that was a front organisation was attempting to take away by force the help available to the dependants of internees in Derry and other parts.

True Irish people would know who and what to support and would not be bullied by such outbursts.

## Reply to Rees threat

OGLAIGH na hÉireann have replied, through the Irish Republican Publicity Bureau (Aibreán 2) to the recent threat of Westminster's Gualtier in the Six Counties, Mr. Rees, to increase British terror in the area. Here is the full reply:

"Mr Rees's threat to increase British army terror will be met with stronger resistance. We have stated repeatedly that we will meet force with force. Mr. Rees should be under no illusion as to the consequences of the action he now proposes.

"British propaganda made great play of the violent deaths at the weekend. The R.A. was not responsible for any of those killings. All action was directed at military and economic targets and it is a well established fact that our forces do their utmost to avoid civilian casualties.

"The action of last weekend will be followed up with more decisive blows at the enemy. Mr. Rees and his government have it within their power to start working for a lasting peace by acceding to the legitimate demands we have repeatedly put forward", the statement ends.

It is signed: P. O'Neill, Rónáif.

## Huge escort for Joe Cahill

PORTLAOISE for Easter: That was the news for Joe Cahill, veteran freedom fighter who, in a heavy-handed "security operation", was removed from Baggot Street Hospital early last week.

As he was being taken to the waiting military ambulance on a stretcher he must have been amazed as the onlookers at the lavishness of the latest law-and-order production, with its cast of flak-jacketed troops, rifles at the ready, backing up the armed Branchmen, backing up the uniformed Gardaí.

Bewildered shoppers and passers-by drew comparisons with the lack of surveillance regarding the Littlejohns and thought when the "smooth operation" was spoiled by the leading military jeep taking off at high speed for Portlaoise two minutes ahead of the rest of the convoy.

It looks as if complete "harmonisation" of military and Gardaí will be the order of the day in the future. What is needed perhaps, is a co-ordinator of security, somebody who could really rally the country down, somebody such as John Kelly, perhaps?

### New rents strike?

Loyalist opponents to the Sunningdale Agreement in the new Stormont are likely to call for a rents-and-rates strike, as part of the new civil disobedience plan, writes our Political Correspondent.

## An Cumann Cabhrach

PRIVATE MEMBERS DRAW

1. Denis McKillop (26), £15;
  2. Bab Smith (48), £5;
  3. T. O'Leary (4), £5;
  4. Loughnane Cumann, (59), £5.
- Next draw: May 7, 1974.

UNDER MY EYE



OVER the past nine months this column has dealt mainly with individuals. In most cases, those individuals have been well-known enemies of our freedom struggle, persons who have had to be exposed for what they were and rooted out from underneath the pseudo-coverage of political shibboleths. In very few cases I have been able to praise men of honesty and integrity who were not members of our own Movement.

This week I am not going to deal with any individual in particular but, rather, with the necessity for the whole Republican Movement, every section of it, to maintain openly and unashamedly the complete Republican separatist tradition and to dedicate itself anew, publicly, to the re-enthronement of the Republic of Easter Week.

# New pledge to living and dead

In the early thirties, the Republican Movement decided that Easter Sunday should be set aside as the day of national commemoration for those who, in every generation, gave their lives for Irish freedom.

Easter Sunday was picked deliberately because it was at Easter that Ireland arose, Phoenix-like, from the ashes of national degradation, to reassert in arms its nationhood and sovereignty.

In those days the Gaelic Athletic Association agreed that no G.A.A. fixtures would be held on Easter Sunday so as better to allow the people of each county to attend the commemoration ceremonies at whatever centre in the county it was held.

Speakers were sent from Republican headquarters to deliver the oration over the patriot graves and on each Easter Sunday the Army Council of the Comhairle an Airm, Oglagh na hÉireann, in a specially prepared statement, indicated the policy which would be pursued in the coming year towards the attainments of the sovereign Republic for which all the generations fought and bled.

### Easter pretence

Over the past 40 years the Free State political parties have made a pretence of being Republican and, to give body to this pretence they, too, held so-called "Republican commemorations" on Easter Sunday.

At the 50th anniversary of the Rising in 1966, when Flanna Fáil was in power, the "Free" State government actually went to town in the matter of commemoration and commissioned the writer, Hugh Leonard, to do a special television programme in six episodes dealing with the Rising.

Hugh Leonard did a superb job and the series was sold to every television network in the United States. I can assure you that if the officials of Telefís Éireann attempted to re-show it at the present time they would very soon get the boot from their boss, Conor Cruise O'Brien.

But 1974 brought Sunningdale and it became necessary to avoid any reference to the Republic of Easter Week, so Cosgrave worked out a new plan which was not opposed in any way by the Fianna Fáil opposition. A new day of "national commemoration" had to be found, a day on which reference to the 1916 dead would be totally unnecessary, and where men who died for England in the World War I could be honoured and commemorated.

St. Patrick's Day was picked, and, as I said in a previous article, it was a day eminently suitable for such a retreat from Republican tradition, "a day of shamrocks and shillelaghs, Paddy the Irishman and the pig in the corner".

I know, of course, that the Republican Movement will ignore the new date of so-called national commemoration and, this year, as usual will hold the national commemorations on Easter Sunday at the various county centres throughout Ireland.

### Dublin declaration

That is as it should be and I am all in favour of it. But this year, I believe, we need to do more than usual so I have a suggestion to make to the whole Republican Movement, every branch of it.

I think it necessary for the Movement to assemble in one place and to make a public declaration to Ireland that to the world that the Republican tradition is the real national tradition and that a new generation has re-dedicated itself to the task of enthroning again the Republic of Pearse, Connolly, Clarke, McDermott, Plunket, Ceannt, MacDonagh and the other heroes who established the Republic of Ireland on Easter Monday, April 24, 1916.

I suggest that, as well as the various county commemorations held on Easter Sunday this year, we should begin, now, to organise for a great mass commemoration, to be held in Dublin, outside the G.P.O., on the Sunday nearest to April 24. I suggest that this Commemoration should be organised upon a county-wide basis, county by county, and that contingents from each of the 32 counties march from an assembly point into O'Connell Street, and assemble in front of the building where the Republic was born in blood and fire.

These contingents, from north, south, east and

west, should be representative of Sinn Féin, Oglagh na hÉireann, Fianna Éireann, Cumann na mBan, local A.A. clubs, Comradh na Gaeilge branches, Irish Civil Rights Association branches, local trade union branches (where possible), the Irish Sovereignty Movement and all organised bodies which proclaim as their ideal an independent, Irish-speaking, sovereign Republic.

The parade to the G.P.O. should, if possible (and I believe it possible) be made as great as the O'Donnabháin Rossa funeral, or the Tomás Aghaís funeral.

Local bands from Belfast, Omagh, Enniskillen, Lurgan, Dublin, Cork, Waterford, Galway, Sligo and every other county in Ireland should be invited to attend, and special trains and buses organised to bring the contingents to Dublin.

I believe that where there is a will there is a way. If we try hard enough we can get a massive demonstration in Dublin, something that will give the answer in no uncertain terms to those who would dare to say that those who struggle for the Easter Week Republic are only a minority of disgruntled "terrorists".

### Claims repudiated

When the meeting has assembled, speakers from the different organisations represented in the procession should address the assembled multitude after a resolution couched in the following terms, has been put to those present:

"That we, assembled here today to commemorate all those who died for Irish freedom standing as we do upon the ground where the Republic was proclaimed in arms on Easter Monday, 1916, re-dedicate our lives and our energies to the enthronement of that Republic.

"We here and now repudiate any claims by any leaders, political or ecclesiastical, to accept for Ireland a status less than that of a 32 counties independent sovereign Irish Republic.

"We demand, in the name of the Irish people, the complete withdrawal of all armed British forces from Irish territory so that the Irish people may have the opportunity to decide their own political destiny, and to make arrangements without foreign interference for whatever political institutions are acceptable to the entire Irish people.

"We repudiate Sunningdale and the slave status which it seeks to impose by British bayonets upon Irish people, and we salute our valiant freedom fighters who, even now, are daily risking their lives in the struggle against Britain's army of occupation. We commemorate all those who, in every generation, have given their lives for Irish freedom, but especially those who, in the last five years, have given their all so that Ireland may live.

"Finally, we send a message of solidarity and hope to our comrades who languish in Irish and English jails, and we promise faithfully that we will continue the struggle for complete freedom until final victory be achieved".

I believe such a nation-wide gesture to be of the utmost necessity at present. I believe it necessary because of the attempts to deny the ideals of Easter Week, to destroy the Irish language and to lead ever that spiritual thing which is Irish nationality.

"I believe also that it is necessary in order to give the heart and courage to our soldiers and our prisoners who are bearing the burden of today's struggle for freedom. We must show to the world that Ireland stands behind them four square; that the Republican Movement stands behind them; and that they will never be cut off from our hearts and minds no matter how much lying propaganda is poured out.

You who read this article, and who are members of the Republican Movement, of whatever branch, should make your voices heard on this matter. We have plenty of time to do the job. Sunday, April 28, is still far away. If that date be too early, what about Sunday, May 12. — the date of the execution of James Connolly and Seán Mac Diarmada?

Members of the Republican Movement, it is over to you. Act now. Act strongly. Act wisely. Repudiate Sunningdale on a national scale and then move forward to the Republic. Again, over to you.

## CORMAC MAC AIRT



# A million petitions against forced feeding

Lenárd Tuairisceoir

A CAMPAIGN to collect one million signed petitions against the forced-feeding of the Winchester hostages and for their return to Ireland was opened on March 31 at a meeting in Co. Dublin.

The meeting followed the weekly protest march from Cill Gobain to the gates of the residence of the British Ambassador in Sandford by the Irish Civil Rights Association. About 150 people, many accompanied by their children, taking advantage of the fine weather made the now familiar trek to protest on behalf of the Belfast Nine who were given such savage sentences at Winchester.

These Sunday protests have continued since the commencement of the hunger strike and force-feeding of Dolours and Marian Price, Hugh Feeney and Gerald Kelly in early December and which has now passed 140 agonising days. A large force of Gardaí who volunteer for the double-time duty ringed "her Majesties" Dublin outpost and were backed by two carloads of scruffy individuals in plainclothes. Shades of Crinnion and Littlejohn.

### Foxford transfer

Among the speakers were Seán Murphy, Ruairí Mac Eoghain and Tomás Fay of the Dublin Civil Rights Committee.

The failure of the new British Labour government to transfer Irish political prisoners to the North was contrasted with the case of British army Corporal Francis Foxford who murdered a 12 year old Newry boy.

Following his conviction for the crime he was transferred to a prison in England. Later he was released on bail, pending the hearing of an appeal.

The silence of the leadership of the Irish Labour Party on the fate of the Winchester Nine was commented upon, particularly that of Mr. Corish, whose intervention on humanitarian grounds would be sufficient to force the British Labour government to end the ordeal of the hunger strikers.

Listeners were told that pressure would have to be increased to bring the horror of force-feeding to an end. The opening of the Nation-wide

petition was intended to do this.

### Petition forms

Petition forms are available from the I.C.R.A. office at 51

Cearnóg Pharnell, Baile Átha Cliath, 1.

All supporters of the just cause of the Price sisters and their comrades are asked to help collect the signatures.

# Troops fired on houses Ground rents

Crossmaglen people state that British troops "fired indiscriminately" into a housing estate after a gun battle between Oglagh na hÉireann and enemy forces, two of which were wounded, on March 30.

The enemy troops came under rifle and machine-gun fire as they were carrying supplies from a helicopter to the nearby military post.

### SAS active in Rathcoole

A denial of implication in petrol-bombings of three houses in the Rathcoole area of Belfast has been made by the Ulster Defence Association. No Protestant organisations were involved, according to a statement.

We have been unable to confirm a report that a S.A.S. unit was responsible, the objective being to start a feud between Catholics and Protestants, as in the case of the S.A.S. bombing of the Abercorn Restaurant and other buildings.

### Double-think

THE Derry Nationalist Party Executive has described the outcry building up about the three years prison sentence on a 22-year-old British soldier, Cpl. Francis Foxford, for the manslaughter of 12-year old Kevin Heatley, in Newry, as "typical of British double-think on Irish affairs".

Audrey Henihan, Gouldavoher, Doora-doyle, Limerick, won the Todd Cup for Oratorio and the Denis O'Sullivan Medal for Irish Songs at Féile Luimn, Fúine Luinn.



I STAND charged before this court today because I exercised my right of freedom of speech in addressing my fellow citizens and urging them to bring pressure to bear on the government and the Minister for Justice to ensure that he refuse to hand over Róisín McLoughlin to the R.U.C. or Fr. Burns to the Scottish police. In doing this, I was exercising a perfectly lawful right.

Nowhere in any of my speeches, as reported by the prosecution witnesses, was there any reference by me to any district justice or the district court or to any High Court judge or to the High Court itself. I made no reference whatever to any of the courts or judges of the courts.

What I did refer to was the government of this state. This is borne out by the book of evidence. Inspector Sreenan says: "She said that if the 'Free' State Government extradited those persons they were risking a head-on confrontation with the people of Belfast and Derry ...".

Referring to my speech at Salthill, he states that I said that: "They had come to protest against the handing over of Róisín McLoughlin and Father Burns to the British torturers".

You will note the words "handing over". The handing over in these cases is done by the police and the government, not by the judges.

Again, Sergeant O'Connor, in his evidence, states that I said: "If the 'Free' State government extradites Róisín McLoughlin and Father Burns they are risking a head-on confrontation with the people of Belfast and Derry etc.".

Mrs Máire Drumm in her moment of triumph, leaving the Special Criminal Court in Dublin last week after the charges brought against her had been dismissed.



Again, my protest was against any action by the Government in handing them over.

Again, Sergeant Fitzgerald bears out similar evidence of my reference to the 'Free' State government and my call to the people of the South "to raise your voices in protest against the extradition of Róisín McLoughlin and Father Burns and not allow them to be handed over and tortured and brutally treated".

**International law**

All the evidence shows that my protest was against any proposed government action in handing over these two persons, and I am advised and submit that it is an acknowledged principle of international law, that the question as to whether a person shall be handed over to the police of another state rests finally with the government of the state which is requested to do so - even if the internal laws of that state also allow the courts to adjudicate on it.

Even if the courts in such circumstances were to order the extradition of somebody to another state, the government can decide not to carry out the extradition.

The British government followed this practice in 2 cases where the House of Lords had ordered extradition and the British cabinet refused to carry out the extradition.

See the case of Zacharia and Arestidou (1962) and the case of Armah, whose extradition was sought by the government of Ghana.

It is, therefore, lawful for a citizen to seek to persuade a government of the state to exercise its prerogative in this matter in a certain way and there is nothing unlawful about that, nor does it constitute interfering with the functions of the government or the functions of any particular minister.

Extradition is not solely a judicial matter: it is also an executive and political matter and, because of this, every citizen has a right to seek to persuade the government to exercise its powers in this matter in a particular way. That does not constitute interference with the functions of government or the functions of any particular minister.

**Contraception lobby**

I might mention at this point the apparent liberty allowed to citizens who protest to the government about other matters and seek to influence the government to act in a particular way.

A very vocal pro-contraception lobby has been agitating in this state for the best part of two years, trying to force the government to change the laws on contraception and to make legal, that which, up to recently, was deemed illegal.

That is an example of a citizen's right to persuade the government to do something which the law at the time may, in fact, prohibit.

But let me make it very clear that if this court should hold that freedom of speech is denied to a citizen and that the government

cannot even be spoken to in relation to its ultimate decision on the handing over of persons to the R.U.C., then I reject that restriction on my freedom of speech and I would continue to assert that the handing over of political fugitives to the British army or the R.U.C. is a crime against our nation and our people.

**Defects in charges**

I now want to refer to certain defects in the charges brought against me and I submit that, because of these defects, all these charges should be dismissed.

**CHARGE NO. (1):** In this charge it is alleged that I tried to prevent "the lawful extradition from the state of Róisín McLoughlin and Father Burns in respect of each of whom *lawful extradition Orders* has been made".

I assert that no lawful extradition order was made or, indeed, can be made in respect of Róisín McLoughlin or Father Burns because, under the Extradition Act of 1965, extradition can take place only under the procedure outlined in part-two of that Act and this means, in effect, that extradition, properly so called, takes place only between this state and another state *other than* the United Kingdom and its adjacent territories.

The process of handing people over to the United Kingdom is not extradition, according to the Extradition Act itself. It is a special procedure laid down in part-three in the Act which applies solely to "Northern Ireland, England and Wales, Scotland, the Isle of Man and the Channel Islands". (See Section 41 of the Act).

The orders made in respect of Róisín McLoughlin and Father Burns in the District Court were not extradition orders. They were delivery orders. I invite the court to look at the orders handed by the prosecution and to look at Form 15 in the District Court Extradition Rules of 1971.

Since no lawful extradition orders were made in these two cases I cannot be guilty of trying to prevent the implementation of lawful extradition orders.

**Same mistake**

**CHARGE NO. (2):** The second charge also makes the same mistake, referring to lawful extradition orders that were never made and I simply repeat my submissions in that regard.

**CHARGE NO. (3):** The third charge alleges that I attempted unlawfully to obstruct or intimidate a member of the judiciary in the matter of the lawful extradition from the state of Róisín McLoughlin and Father Burns. The same argument applies here. No member of the judiciary can, in fact, lawfully repeat my submissions in that regard.

**CHARGE NO. (4):** This charge contains two defects. It alleges that I unlawfully attempted to intimidate a member of the executive "being the Minister of Justice", in relation to his functions and powers in the matter of the lawful extradition from the state of the same two persons.

There is no such person known to the law as the "Minister of Justice".

There is no such person known to the law as the "Minister of Justice". If you look at the Extradition Act, 1965, you will see that the person concerned is the Minister for Justice.

I cannot be guilty of intimidating a person who is not known to the law. Even if he were known to the law, he still has no function in relation to "lawful

# MÁIRE DRUMM FREED

The Sinn Féin vice-president had intended to make the statement we reproduce here in defence of her actions without, however, recognising the de jure character of the court.

the Galway speeches of June, 1973.

I spoke at a public meeting outside the G.P.O. in O'Connell Street on the occasion of Mr. Heath's visit here some months later.

I attended at and spoke at the two-day Ardfeis of Sinn Féin, held on Saturday and Sunday, October 20 and 21, 1973.

I was not arrested in South Great George's Street by one Detective Garda as the evidence of Garda Ahern suggests. The car in which I was travelling was surrounded by motor cycle gardai and a full van load of gardai after I had left the Sinn Féin headquarters in Kevin Street, where, I had been for several hours that day to the knowledge of the police who were watching the offices from a car directly opposite the entrance.

I believe my arrest in March, 1974, was politically motivated in order to offer some sop to Mr. Faulkner's northern executive and as part of the price the Dublin government has to keep paying in the hope of having the Sunningdale Agreement ratified.

**Fenian tradition**

I can trace my ancestry back quite a way but I will go no further than my great-grandfather, who was a Fenian.

I was reared in the Republican tradition and I will not insult the memory of my dead parents nor the gallant deed of Ireland by pleading for mercy or leniency.

I will not be the first of my line to bend the knee to the invader - to foreign foe or native traitor.

I will pay homage from this dock to the brave boys and girls who have died for the freedom of my country.

I salute the gallant band who languish in English, Scottish and Irish prisons today - particularly the victims of force-feeding in England; and I applaud the soldiers of destiny.

We must not turn back now. The ghosts of our martyred dead call to us from the grave: graves have tongues and men have ears. No Sunningdale pact or sell-out will satisfy our heroic people. We, in this generation, must return the land of Ireland to the people of Ireland.

I, for my part, shall continue, as long as breath is in me, to oppose tyranny and treachery to my country and people.

You may send me to prison. That is your privilege; but you cannot destroy the ideal I stand for. We shall overcome. God rest our noble dead and God save Ireland.

extradition" in relation to Róisín McLoughlin and Father Burns for the reasons already stated.

**CHARGE NO. (5):** In relation to this, which accuses me of unlawfully advocating or encouraging the extension to the state of the armed conflict now taking place in Northern Ireland, I wish to point out that there is nothing in the book of evidence to support this at all.

Nowhere are words attributed to me which show that I was advocating this.

I was merely stating that if these people were handed over to the Northern police, certain consequences would follow. There is a distinction between a prophecy and a threat.

**Part of state**

Apart from this I would point out that, under the Constitution, the area referred to in this charge as "Northern Ireland" is, in fact, part of this state and the conflict in question has been taking part on our national territory for the past five years.

I would like to conclude my remarks by referring to the curious fact that these charges relate to speeches made on June 9, 1973, and are being brought more than nine months after the speeches were made. Why was there this delay?

Although I live in Belfast, the police here know perfectly well that I am in Dublin regularly to attend Ard-Chomhairle meetings of Sinn Féin of which I am vice-president. I appeared publicly and spoke publicly at several meetings in Dublin subsequent to



**Anything queer about this picture?**

The pair pictured, after a news conference in Leinster House, Dublin, last week are: Frank Cluskey (left), Parliamentary Secretary, and his boss, Brendan Corish, Minister for Health and Social Welfare.

Yes, Health. And the pair are smoking. And the Department is spending your money trying to persuade people that smoking is bad for their health.

What a splendid example.

<p><b>Supper dance</b> Easter Sunday Westerna Hotel, Monaghan Ceol ó na Baritonos Rince ó 22.00 go dtí 02.30 Táille: £1</p>	<p><b>CONRADH na GAEILGE Céili Mór</b> Teach an Ardmeára, Baile Átha Cliath 21.00-02.00 u. Táille: 50p Banna Chaoil Éamoinn Ceannt <i>Brabús ag dul go hionad un phobail / Rath Cúinn</i></p>
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**COISTE CHUIMHNEACHÁN NA POBLACHTA**

**Commemoration Mass:**  
University Church, St. Stephen's Green, 10.00 hrs.  
Assemble: St. Stephen's Green at 10.43 hrs.  
March: to Glasnevin Cemetery at 11.00 hrs.  
Oration: Brendan McGill, London

Assemble, Foxrock Church, 14.45 hrs.  
March: To Dean's Grange Cemetery, 15.00 hrs.  
Oration: Brendan McGill.

*Céilí and ballads: Spa Hotel, Luccan, 21.00-01.00 hrs. (táille: 60p)*

# How Grivas drove out the Brits

GENERAL GRIVAS, known to the British media as "the geriatric guerrilla", was in the news until his recent death as he tried to overthrow the government of Archbishop Makarios and achieve Enosis, union with Greece.

Grivas came to the notice of the British and, indeed, of the world press, much earlier than this, however, when, in 1955, he began a brilliant and often ruthless guerrilla campaign on the island of Cyprus one which was to culminate in the British relinquishing their grip on the island.

For more than 3,000 years Cyprus has been predominantly Greek in language, culture and religion, although for much of its history it has been ruled by foreign powers, Britain having dominated the island since 1878. In 1947, Britain ruled out any change in the status of Cyprus. In 1954, the Greek government asked the UN General Assembly to vote for self-determination for Cyprus but this move came to nothing.

In 1955 after observing how this move failed, Col. Grivas, then an elderly, retired Greek army officer, decided to form his underground guerrilla organisation EOKA (the initials of the Greek words for National Organisation of Cypriot Fighters and sent it into action.

## Bomb campaign

George Grivas, born in the village of Trikomo, near Famagusta, had been a Greek army officer and had taken part in counterinsurgency operations against the Greek Communist Movement (ELAS) in the Greek Civil War.

On March 31, 1955, with only 80 men, EOKA opened the campaign by a series of bomb explosions across the island.

Targets included a government radio station in Nicosia, a power plant, two police stations and

## FAMOUS GUERRILLA LEADERS : 3

Wolesley Barracks, the British military HQs, on the island.

At the beginning of the war the British had about 4,000 troops in occupation. In 1956, this had increased to 22,000 and, in 1958, to 43,000, supported by 5,000 police. EOKA had about 270 activists, supported by 750 part-time guerrillas, armed only with shotguns.

Grivas considered the great numbers of the enemy "a cumbersome body", providing a "wealth of targets".

The British tactics are all too familiar today. Civilians were intimidated and harassed. Search parties invaded private homes, abused the occupants and destroyed their possessions.

Suspects were arrested without warrant and held for months without trial in detention camps. Suspects were flogged and tortured and several captured guerrilla fighters were hanged.

## Military blunders

In their search for the guerrillas the British committed



In the North, in recent years, children have protested on the streets against violence against them and last week the reaction in Dublin's Summerhill was identical: children barricaded the area in protest against the recent killing of a child there.

## British terrorism

The burning of thousands of acres of woodland, collective fines against villages and terrorism of every kind against the civilian population by the British merely strengthened support for EOKA, yet the British failed to recognise this and, accordingly, got nowhere in the fight against the guerrillas.

So, early in 1959, after four years' hard struggle, the British conceded defeat by indicating that they were prepared to withdraw provided they could retain an airbase on the island.

Greece and Turkey agreed on the independence of Cyprus which took place, on August 16, 1960.

Inter-communal warfare was to follow in 1963 leading to the arrival of a UN peace-keeping force in 1964. Grivas retired from public life but returned to try to overthrow Makarios.

He died before his campaign had a chance of success. It is not known if some other leader will replace Grivas fully and succeed, not only in overthrowing Makarios but in achieving the Grivas dream: political reunion with the motherland.



many military blunders and troops rapidly became demoralised in the fight against a seemingly invisible enemy.

One such blunder was when two British forces totalling 700 men were engaged in a search of the Troodos Mountains for the elusive Grivas.

Lost in a mist on a mountainside, the two forces closed in battle with each other and fought it out for more than an hour while the guerrillas the troops were searching for made good their escape.

There were more than 50 casualties. A similar incident, though on a smaller scale happened in Belfast a few years ago and more recently in Co. Armagh when four S.A.S. men were shot by the R.U.C.

Leading the fight against the guerrillas was Field Marshal Sir John Harding, who declared, in 1956, that "the days of EOKA are numbered". Shades of Faulkner and Forde!

## Informers dealt with

The campaign by EOKA was intensified with bomb explosions, executions of informers and collaborators, the killing of

## BOOK REVIEW

AFTER a series of paperbacks designed to give credibility to the British strategy in Ireland, Eamonn McCann's book, "War and an Irish Town", comes like a gulp of fresh air in the nauseating atmosphere of "black propaganda".

The first part, relating the story of his native fighting city Derry, in his usual colourful and direct style, introduces the sketch he draws of the history of our country from a socialist viewpoint.

McCann's concern and greatest achievement in this book is to

stress, in the light of the recent events, what James Connolly and Liam Mellows had argued for at the cost of their life: that the real inheritors of the freedom struggle

are the property-less working-people.

Thus McCann helps us discover the "hidden history" of

modern Ireland, the struggle of the working-class for its own emancipation that cannot be achieved until Ireland is freed from the British imperialist grip.

## Gombenism

Too often, although the fight of *Chraicigh na hEireann* is widely remembered the parallel fight of the workers of Ireland remains in the shadow.

It is vital to ensure that, unlike in the past, these two struggles merge in an all-out war against British and gomben capitalists.

This is where McCann's assessment of the Republican Movement is debatable in some respect. He asserts that the original Sinn Féin was a party of reforms not of revolution, and that Arthur Griffith's opposition to the 1913 Dublin lock-out is alien to revolutionary politics.

Similarly, to say that, in spite of its courageous stand against the Pro-Treaty faction in 1921, the Republican Movement had not a clear political strategy, is agreed by all; but it would be dangerous to have a static view of the Republican Movement.

The struggle of the current campaign for the last four years has seen a drastic change in the state of the Movement.

## Most effective

First of all, in the words of

McCann himself: "... between 1971 and 1973, as the Provos developed into the most effective urban guerrilla army of the 20th century, they managed marvellously to frustrate the designs of British governments".

Such a situation is bound to develop the consciousness of thousands of militants.

The examples of Algeria and Cuba are still in our mind: as the struggle for national liberation was unfolding, the Freedom Fighters and thus important sectors of the population understood more clearly what they wanted to achieve.

Then the road to liberation could not be dissociated from the struggle for socialism.

Likewise the fusion of the fights for national liberation and the end of economic and social exploitation in Ireland is on the agenda.

Through his personal experience and his book, McCann contributes to the elaboration of strategy best designed to solve the problems we face.

As such, "War and an Irish Town" should be read and should initiate further and deeper contributions to its conclusions.

Eamonn McCann: "War and an Irish Town", Penguin, 425p.

# You are now entering Free Derry

By Roisin Ni Dhomhnaill

## ENNISCORTHY

Easter Sunday parade will assemble at 11.00 hrs. at Foley's Garage. At 11.30 hrs. parade will move via Abbey Square to St. Mary's Cemetery, where an oration will be delivered by Seán O Dubhghaill.

Parade will be led by a colour party and St. Patrick's Fife and Drum Band.

COISTE CHUIMHNEACHAN NA POBLACHTA Easter Sunday

ciúil and ballads SPA HOTEL LUCAN

Bus will leave 44 Cearnóg Pharnell for Spa at 20.30 hrs. and will return to town after the function. Bar extension.

21.00-01.00 Táille: 60p

## A CANON REPLIES

IN LAST week's issue Deasún Bretnach addressed to me an open letter, couched in friendly terms, which deserves the courtesy of a reply. If my own letter was "very brief", that was because I was concerned merely to express my sympathy with the feelings of the two writers who found Connal Ó Cearnaigh's views unacceptable, with a thought also for the exigencies of editorial space.

To give an answer to the political-moral questions Deasún raises, or even to ventilate them in any adequate way, would be tantamount to offering a full treatise on one whole aspect of moral theology as applied to conditions in contemporary Ireland.

Here and now I can only state what is a matter of profound conviction with me, that God has forbidden such things as artificial contraception, which, therefore, is evil in itself and cannot but be productive of evil in the lives of individuals and of society.

I am conscious that in the united Ireland of tomorrow this is going to be questioned. It will be questioned by those unconcerned with principles, who merely want their own way. But we have to recognise that it will be questioned also by some who feel that they have a right in justice to such facilities; and here is the heart of the agonising problem.

How far can the liberty of the individual be allowed to prevail against the common good? For myself I feel that in this case the common good is too important, and the evil opposed to it too great,

for satisfactory compromise.

Deasún says that in my letter I indicate "some sympathy for and understanding of the freedom struggle and of the men and women engaged in it". Let me change one word in this. Instead of "some" let me put "full". And let me say how I arrive at this position.

British occupation of any part of this country is an injustice; and when you reflect upon its injustice on the grand scale. Like all such it inevitably engenders further injustices, and we have seen this happen in Northern Ireland. Peaceful protest over the most of 50 years has been disregarded by Great Britain.

For their part our political leaders long ago lost all concern in the question. So what is left but for ourselves to take more vigorous measures. And so we come to find ourselves in the old tradition of those who have struggled and died for the freedom of their country. Round about here we come upon our mandate; and, from this point on, in the full light of Christian principles, we form our moral judgment on the course of the campaign and the tactics used in it.

I am afraid I cannot undertake actually to organise such a movement as Deasún suggests in his second last paragraph: I would make a poor hand of it. But at least I can make my sentiments known, as occasion arises. — (Canon) Diarmuid Mac Fomhair, Cill an Cherrraigh, Dún Dealgan, Co. Lú.

# Rev. P. Fell: Mother's plea for transfer

MY husband and I are just home from our first visit to our son, Rev. Patrick Fell, in Wakefield Prison, and would be very grateful if you could publish the following in your letters column.

Father Fell and Mr. Roy Walsh wish to thank all who have supported them in their demands for repatriation to the North, for which I personally would beg you to go on pressing.

I am an arthritic with Parkinson's Disease and always in great pain, so much so that the journey to Wakefield has to be taken in stages with a day's rest between each.

After the flight from Dublin and journey to friends who are kind enough to meet us, I have two days in bed before proceeding to Wakefield, another 110 mile journey.

This entails another hotel stay before I can be brought back to the home of our friends for another two days' complete rest before the flight back to Dublin, and another hotel stay before the long trek back to Donegal.

In all, we do a round trip of over 1,000 miles.

Whilst murderers, rapists, and the worst deprived offenders are allowed free unrestricted visits with their relatives and children, we were met by guards, conducted up two flights of stairs which are agony for me to negotiate, thoroughly searched, brought down again and taken to a small room with two tables placed together with sheet of hardboard between, extending from floor to roughly 18 inches above the table level so that we can only see the head and shoulders of our son.

Two guards sit at the end of the table and we are not even allowed to pass him a cup of tea - this has to be handed via the guards. All conversation is noted throughout the two-hour visit by the guards, in their notebooks.

Even with the help of our

## a chara

good friends, the journey cannot be accomplished in under 2150 and in my condition. We are both pensioners - my husband is over 70 and I myself am nearly 65.

One would expect some consideration on compassionate grounds for the prisoners to be brought to the North, especially in view of the fact that British soldiers convicted of murder are taken to England to serve comparatively light sentences and to enable their relatives to visit them.

There was no evidence against Father Fell or the other Coventry men to support the charge of conspiracy to bomb, so the authorities changed the wording to "conspiracy to cause arson to unknown buildings".

Again no evidence, yet 12 years is the vicious sentence.

What is this so-called British justice? It would seem to me that the charge was brought for political reasons to discredit the Catholic Church in English eyes as Father Patrick's only "sin" is being a priest and caring for the victims intimidated out of their homes in the Six Counties.

The political reason for this charge is proved by the Home Office ban on his celebrating daily Mass in his cell, a ban which nobody has the right to impose other than his own Archbishop, and you will have seen by the Archbishop's letters in papers that he wishes Father Patrick to continue celebrating Mass.

The English news media made great news of the ban, but have never mentioned the outcry against it. But Father Patrick wishes to thank all who are working for him in this respect and is praying for you all.

He asks you to continue to remember him in your prayers.

Mr. Roy Walsh and Father Fell also wish to thank the members of Oglagh na hÉireann, Cumann na mBan and Sinn Féin who keep up the demands on their behalf. They are grateful to those as comrades, and send greetings to all prisoners like themselves.

He asks also that your readers pray and make their protests heard for the two prisoners in the punishment cells at The Albany, Isle of Wight.

Dún na nGall. Joan Fell (Mrs).

## GAEILGE

THE recent announcement by the Minister for Post and Telegraphs, Dr. Conor Cruise O'Brien, that he intends to repeal the clause in the Broadcasting Act referring to the Irish language must be seen in the context of the current political trends symbolised by the Sunningdale Communique. As Conradh na Gaeilge pointed out in a statement on February 25th, "The Sunningdale bargain

## CEIRNIN NUA

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

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

demands several spectacular acts of appeasement by the Dublin Government to the British Government and to "respectable" Unionist opinion". From Dr. O'Brien's announcement, one would appear justified in assuming that the further degrading of the Irish language is one of those acts.

The only long term interpretation of Dr. O'Brien's announcement is that the Irish language is to be removed from public affairs. Will the next step be the removal of the reference to Irish in the South's constitution?

Dr. O'Brien cannot be unaware of the profound influence of television as the most important medium of communication today. That he has realised this is shown by the fact that in his bid to crush Republicanism, he has banned Republican spokesmen from the so-called national broadcasting service. Dr. O'Brien knows full well what the consequences of "open broadcasting" and the banning of Irish from television and of rebroadcasting British television services instead of attempting to develop R.T.E. as a

The official policy of the Republican Movement is expressed in statements issued by Sinn Féin, the Irish Republican Publicity Bureau and the leadership of the 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.

radical Irish alternative to these services must be.

I consider the present arrangement - which, in Dr. O'Brien's eyes, is too favourable to Irish - the average weekly content of Irish in R.T.E. broadcasting is between 2.6 per cent., and 3 per cent., of the total time involved. Taking all the programmes available in the multi-channel Irish program in Irish account for 0.35 per cent., of the total broadcasting output. Any further reduction would be to go from the sublime to the ridiculous. In future, it is the amount of Irish in R.T.E. to be measured in terms of words rather than minutes. It seems to me that Dr. O'Brien likes to be known as a "progressive liberal" but to wish to extirpate the Irish language is an attribute not of progressiveness but the lack of it and to deny the Irish-speaking population equal rights with those who speak English is the act of a reactionary and not that of a liberal. Who does Dr. O'Brien think he is fooling?

Seán Ó Nualláin, P.R.O. Sinn Féin Dublin Executive, 5, Blessington St., Baile Átha Cliath.

## JOHN KELLY

PROFESSOR John Kelly, speaking in London recently said of Ireland that the pig in the pflour had changed to "the bomb in the boot" image over the past five years. Another statement



of his was, "we Irish people have only lately pulled ourselves out of the bog of ignorance. Let's not sink into another bog of barbarism". Dr. Conor Cruise O'Brien couldn't do better.

The Irish people know who labelled us with the "pig in the parlour" image. They know also that the present attempt to degrade and stigmatise our country is still being carried on by Ireland's only enemy - England. Mr. John Kelly whether he wills it or not is certainly giving them a helping hand.

It is rather strange that he never mentions the continued occupation of our country by a foreign army nor the raids, arrests, wrecking of homes, intimidation, torture etc., that still goes on nor the numerous assassinations carried out by the undercover agents of this foreign army, the S.A.S., the M.A.F., and the U.F.F.

Mr. Kelly should face up to the fact that there will never be peace in Ireland until England decides to withdraw her occupation forces. Only when Ireland is completely free will we have peace.

— Charlie McGlade  
60 Mounre Rd., Baile Átha Cliath 12.

## HUMAN RIGHTS

THE Universal Declaration of Human Rights was 25 years old in December. Celebrations will be due by the governments who signed the United Nations Charter.

However, human rights are denied in many imperialist countries. In order to prevent this situation, about 30 organisations, mostly Christian, left-wing, gathered for a three-day meeting in Orleans.

Problems of minorities in a capitalist world were discussed. The French Committee for Ireland held a panel on the Irish question. A motion has been voted by the assembly in Orleans.

We send you a copy of this motion in French.

Comité Français pour la Libération du Peuple Irlandais, Paris, France.

Le Forum national pour les Droits de l'Homme en Péril dénonce l'imposture du Gouvernement Britannique qui ayant adhéré à la Déclaration Universelle des Droits de l'Homme bafoue et dénie ces droits, de façon systématique, chaque jour en Irlande du Nord.

Il dénonce, en particulier, l'existence, depuis 1922, de pouvoirs spéciaux qui met à la merci totale de la police, sans aucun recours possible, une partie de la population: les patriotes Irlandais.

Il dénonce le maintien de camps d'internement comme Long Kesh où des patriotes, par centaines, sont maintenus sans aucun jugement.

Il dénonce la torture, couramment pratiquée dans les prisons et les camps.

Il dénonce l'hyppocrisie du Gouvernement de Londres, dans son refus d'ouvrir un dialogue avec les représentants véritables du peuple Irlandais: le Mouvement Républicain et son armée, l'I.R.A.

Il dénonce enfin la complicité du Gouvernement de Dublin dans

la lutte contre les patriotes Irlandais, en particulier l'extradition de patriotes et leur remise à la police d'Irlande du Nord, extradition qui est contraire aux règles et usages Irlandais.

Il dénonce la façon dont est transmise l'information en France qui s'informer directement sur la question d'Irlande. Ilalue la mémoire des patriotes tombés dans ce combat.

Il appelle l'opinion française à soutenir le combat de ceux qui, si près de nous, luttent inlassablement pour que leurs soient reconnus.

Il appelle cette opinion et les mouvements présents au Forum à s'informer directement sur la question d'Irlande. Ilalue la mémoire des patriotes tombés dans ce combat.

— COMMISSION 10, Droits de l'Homme en Europe, Forum

Comité Français pour la Libération du Peuple Irlandais, C/o Témoinage Chrétien, 49, rue du Fbg Poissonnière, 75009, Paris.

## LONG KESH

A SITUATION has arisen here in Long Kesh when if it does not receive immediate attention from the Authorities, could develop into an uncontrollable conflict between the Authorities and the inmates.

I refer to the overcrowding. Over the past two years the Authorities have seen fit to incarcerate men, on trumped up charges, and now, finally, they have achieved their objective; the vast complex known as Long Kesh is finally full.

Recently, two men, convicted of political offence, were brought to Long Kesh to a specific cage in which there was no room available.

With this situation staring the authorities in the face, they removed the two men and tried to lodge them in another cage housing almost 90 men. Needless to say, the men could not be accommodated in this cage also, because of the lack of space.

Eventually with no place available in any cage for these men, they were taken to reception where they were placed "on the boards". With no space available for subsequent political offenders, except being taken "on the boards", we would ask the authorities to state if they intend continuing this unprecedented step of flouting rights to which these men and subsequent men are entitled.

Bearing in mind that "on the boards" entails 23 hours lock-up with no recreational facilities.

Good progress has been made on the restoration of Free Derry Corner which, some months ago, was scheduled for demolition. The work, all voluntary, is being done by members of the various Sinn Féin cumainn, who have decided to preserve this world-famous entrance to the Bog-side, a rallying point for many years.

It is brutal enough, for an individual to have the misfortune to be imprisoned here in Long Kesh, under existing conditions without the added inhumane overcrowding.

It adds to the friction and resentment of the inmates of Long Kesh towards the authorities. We are entitled to know what is going to be done about this situation.

— P.R.O.,  
Cage 20,  
Long Kesh Concentration Camp.

## Republican

**BALLAD SESSION**  
with the  
**WOLFE TONES**  
Thursday April 18  
**ANDY'S LOUNGE**  
**CLAREMORRIS**  
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Cover charge: 60p.  
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## Dún do bhéal

CAINT a Ionann na príosúin, a chuireann daoine i mbaol, a scríosaonn éifeacht na n-Glách.

Silence saves lives. Don't discuss what should be left unsaid in the interests of security. Remember there's a war on. B'fid thost.

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Tuilleadh eolais ó  
Domhnall Ó Lúbháil, 250  
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# ROLL OF HONOUR

## óglagh na h-éireann

### BELFAST

Gerard McAuley	Fiann	Killed by U.V.F.	1969
Liam McParland	Vol.	Killed in car crash	1969
Peter Blake	Vol.	Killed in car crash	1970
Tom McGoldrick	Vol.	Killed in car crash	1970
Michael Kane	Vol.	Killed in action	1970
Tony Henderson	Vol.	Accidentally shot	1971
Terence McDermott	Vol.	Killed in action	1971
Martin Forsyth	Vol.	Shot by R.U.C.	1971
Charles Hughes	Vol.	Shot by N.L.F.	1971
Séamus Simpson	Vol.	Shot by British Army	1971
Dorothy Maguire	Vol.	Shot by British Army	1971
C. na mB.			
James Saunders	Vol.	Shot by U.V.F.	1971
Billy Reid	Vol.	Shot by British Army	1971
Patrick McAdurey	Vol.	Shot by British Army	1971
Tony Nolan	Vol.	Accidentally shot	1971
Gerard McDade	Vol.	Shot by British Army	1971
Michael Sloan	Fiann	Accidentally shot	1972
Tony Jordan	Vol.	Killed in car crash	1972
John Finucaine	Vol.	Killed in car crash	1972
Danny O'Neill	Vol.	Shot by British Army	1972
Albert Cavanagh	Vol.	Shot by R.U.C.	1972
Gerard Crossan	Vol.	Killed in action	1972
Tony Lewis	Vol.	Killed in action	1972
Sean Johnston	Vol.	Killed in action	1972
Tom McCann	Vol.	Killed in action	1972
Sean O'Riordan	Fiann	Shot by British Army	1972
Patrick Campbell	Vol.	Shot by U.V.F. 1	1972
Michael Magee	Fiann	Accidentally shot	1972
John Donag	Fiann	Shot by U.V.F.	1972
Michael Clarke	Vol.	Killed in action	1972
Ann Parker	Vol.	Killed in action	1972
C. na mB.			
James Quigley	Vol.	Shot by British Army	1972
Daniel McAreevay	Vol.	Shot by British Army	1972
Patrick Maguire	Vol.	Killed in action	1972
Joseph McKinney	Vol.	Killed in action	1972
John Donaghy	Vol.	Killed in action	1972
Stan Carberry	Vol.	Shot by British Army	1972
David McAuley	Fiann	Accidentally shot	1972
Joseph Cunningham	Vol.	Shot by R.U.C.	1972
Gerard Bell	Vol.	Killed in action	1972
Gerard Steele	Vol.	Killed in action	1972
Robert Dorrian	Vol.	Killed in action	1972
Joseph Magee	Vol.	Killed in action	1972
Samuel Hughes	Vol.	Killed in action	1972
Charles McCrystal	Vol.	Killed in action	1972
John McErean	Vol.	Killed in action	1972
Edward McDonald	Vol.	Killed in action	1972
Jackie McIlhone	Vol.	Killed in action	1972
Joseph Fitzsimmons	Vol.	Killed in action	1972
Martin Engelen	Vol.	Killed in action	1972
Joseph Downey	Vol.	Shot by British Army	1972
Seamus Cassidy	Vol.	Shot by British Army	1972
James Reid	Vol.	Shot by British Army	1972
Terence Toolan	Vol.	Shot by British Army	1972
Louis Scullion	Vol.	Shot by British Army	1972
Robert McCrudden	Vol.	Shot by British Army	1972
Sean Hughes	Fiann	Shot by British Army	1972
Arthur Liggitt	Vol.	Shot by British Army	1973
Edward O'Rawe	Vol.	Shot by British Army	1973
Tony Campbell	Vol.	Shot by British Army	1973
James McCann	Vol.	Shot by British Army	1973
James Sloan	Vol.	Shot by British Army	1973
Patrick McCabe	Vol.	Shot by British Army	1973
Brian Smyth	Vol.	Shot by British Army	1973
Tom O'Donnell	Vol.	Killed in Car Crash	1973
Sidney McGee	Vol.	Shot by British Army	1973
Francis Dodds	Vol.	Died in Long Kesh	1973
James Bryson	Vol.	Shot by British Army	1973
Patrick Mulvenna	Vol.	Shot by British Army	1973
Freddie Hall	Vol.	Killed in action	1973
Ann Marie Pettigrew	Vol.	Killed in action	1973
C. na mB.			
James McCafferty	Vol.	Killed in car crash	1973
Michael Marley	Fiann	Shot by British Army	1973

### CASTLEWELLAN

Peter McNulty	Vol.	Killed in action	1972
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### DERRY

Thomas McCool	Vol.	Killed in action	1970
Thomas Carlin	Vol.	Killed in action	1970
Joseph Coyle	Vol.	Killed in action	1970
Eamonn Lafferty	Vol.	Shot by British Army	1971
Jim O'Hagan	Vol.	Shot by British Army	1971
Colm Keenan	Vol.	Shot by British Army	1972
Eugene McGilgan	Vol.	Shot by British Army	1972
John Starrs	Vol.	Shot by British Army	1972
Séamus Bradley	Vol.	Shot by British Army	1972
John Brady	Vol.	Killed in action	1972
James Carr	Vol.	Killed in action	1972
James McDaid	Vol.	Shot by British Army	1972
Michael Quigley	Vol.	Shot by British Army	1972

### CO. DERRY

James Sheridan	Vol.	Killed in action	1971
Martin Lee	Vol.	Killed in action	1971
John Bateson	Vol.	Killed in action	1971

### CORK

Tony Ahearne	Vol.	Killed in action	1973
Dermot Crowley	Vol.	Killed in action	1973

### PORTADOWN

Julie Duggan	Vol.	Killed in car crash	1972
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### LISNASKEA

Louis Leonard	Vol.	Murdered by U.D.R.	1972
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### COALISLAND

Denis Quinn	Vol.	Accidentally shot	1972
Dessie Morgan	Vol.	Shot by R.U.C.	1973

### STRABANE

Tobias Molloy	Fiann	Shot by British Army	1972
Eugene Devlin	Vol.	Shot by British Army	1972
James McGinn	Vol.	Killed in action	1973

### NEWRY

Colm Murtagh	Vol.	Killed in action	1972
Patrick Hughes	Vol.	Killed in action	1972
Oliver Rowntree	Vol.	Killed in action	1972
Noel Madden	Vol.	Killed in action	1972
Edmund Grant	Vol.	Killed in action	1973
Brendan Quinn	Vol.	Killed in action	1973

### DOWNPATRICK

John Carlin	Vol.	Killed in action	1972
John Curran	Vol.	Killed in action	1972
Leo O'Hanlon	Vol.	Killed in action	1973
Vivienne Fitzsimmons	Vol.	Killed in action	1973
C. na mB.			

### CO. TYRONE

Kevin Kilpatrick	Vol.	Shot by U.D.R.	1973
Seán Loughran	Vol.	Killed in action	1973
Patrick Carty	Vol.	Killed in action	1973
Dan McAnallen	Vol.	Killed in action	1973
Patrick Quinn	Vol.	Killed in action	1973
Séamus Harvey	Vol.	Killed in action	1973
Gerald Glynn	Vol.	Killed in action	1973
Kevin Murray	Vol.	Killed in action	1974
Patrick McDonald	Vol.	Killed in action	1974

### TOOME

Phelin Grant	Vol.	Killed in action	1972
Charles McCann	Vol.	Killed in action	1972

### LURGAN

Michael Crossey	Vol.	Killed in Action	1972
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### SOUTH ARMAGH

Michael McVerry	Vol.	Killed in action	1973
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### DUBLIN

Jack McCabe	Vol.	Killed in action	1971
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