

An Phoblacht

Iml. 4 Uimh. 12

5p

27 Aibreán 1973



"We will **RESIST** and **DEFEAT** **BRITISH** **TERRORISTS**"



Daithí O'Conaill, a leading member of Provisional Sinn Féin, made a dramatic appearance in Belfast as thousands of Republicans turned out to pay homage to the men who fell in the 1916 Rising and those killed in the current war. As he spoke the oration, a British Army helicopter hovered above the scene.

Before he began it four I.R.A. men fired three volleys over the Republican Plot, where many wreaths were placed.

PROCLAMATION

Mrs. Drumm, Acting President of Sinn Féin, who presided, said that for once the tradition of reading the 1916 Proclamation could not take place as the man who had been

carrying a copy of the historic document had been arrested en route to the ceremony.

Daithí O'Conaill told the 22,000 people who gathered there: "Today the central issue in the war is one of conflict between Ireland's right to freedom and England's determination to keep us in subjection. All other issues are subordinate to

this basic point. There can be no compromise on the fundamental issue as to who should rule Ireland—the British Parliament or the Irish people.

"We have had 800 years of British ineptitude in ruling Ireland. We have never known rule by the Irish, of the Irish, for the Irish. Until we do we shall never enjoy peace and stability in our land."

The need for unity of purpose in securing a British withdrawal was never greater than at present in view of the British White Paper proposals

and the "campaign of terror of the British Army", said Mr. O'Conaill. "Mr. Whitelaw believes a whiff of politics backed up with the mailed fist will intimidate one half of us and purchase the other.

PARAS BRUTALITIES

"Those who gave a qualified reception to the White Paper are horrified at the brutalities of the Paras in Ardoyne, Newry and Armagh. But expressions of horror are not enough. They will not restore to life the bullet-ridden bodies of Eddie O'Rawe and Brian

Smith, or console the grief-stricken parents of young Tony McDowell. Let there be but one message for Mr. Whitelaw — we reject your White Paper and we will resist and defeat your terrorists."

TRUE PEACE

"We have outlined our proposals for a new Ulster, and we look forward to the day when fruitful discussions can take place between the leaders of the loyalist and Republican communities. Then, and only then, will true peace, reconciliation and reconstruction take place."



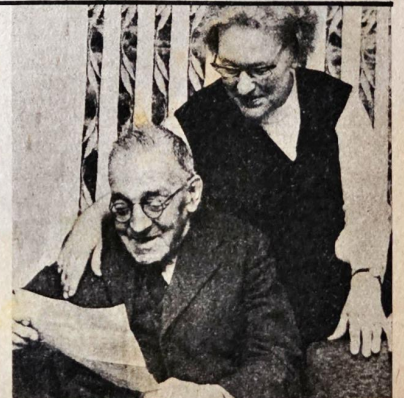
1916 — *Fought* the Brits.

1973 — *Scared* the Brits.

"I don't see why they should be afraid of me at my age... Easter Rising veteran Joe Clarke (91), and his wife, Eilish, study the order banning him from entering Britain.

New Belfast Office

Mrs. Maria Drumm, acting president, Sinn Féin (Kevin St.), speaking at the opening of Sinn Féin offices on the Andersonstown Road, Belfast. Also present were Mr. Brendan McGrath, chairman of the newly formed Sinn Féin Ulster Executive, and the P.R.O., Mr. Malachy Foots.



THE IRISH IN BRITAIN

'FORGOTTEN LIMB OF THE REPUBLIC'

A Chara,

The recent fine contributions to An Phoblacht by Domnal Mac Amhlaigh just typifies one example of the loss wreaked on this island by emigration. Always it has been "those most likely to" — cause a revolution, give trouble, annoyance etc., who have had to go. Men of no property all. Some years ago I read Domnal's fine book *An Dialann Teorai* — English translation — and thought just how few realise the hardship and exploitation endured by continuous streams of emigrants in heavy manual work in the British Building Industry. Yet for all that the hard working "Paddy behind the mixer" had a certain dignity in his work; he certainly felt better perhaps that at home in insular middle-class White Collar Ireland; where the job with the least to do was most respected and let the rest carry the faith to England.

This brings me to a point in the New Ireland. Let us hope that the hard discipline of heavy productive work is given its rightful place in Society; a thing to be done by anyone and everyone regardless of intelligence etc., many able bodied Irish Youths of high intelligence had no other avenue but the pick and shovel on England's motorways. Let us ban Emigration, get everyone out to real work, and pay accordingly, cut out the good time jobs, the invented posts in this and that.

Put an end to the 1984 position of the poorly-educated worker who must work long over-time to feed himself and/or his family, thereby never having time to feed his mind so that he might be liberated mentally and then proceed to liberate himself fully. In Dublin a tradesman's wages are £27 for 40 hrs, the cost of living is equally high as in New York where he could get £100.

How much longer can the producers of wealth on buildings and in factories in this country be fooled because they believe the barrage of propaganda about "inflation" "E.E.C." etc. Exporting free labour is bad enough a policy but contempt for hard sweat at home must be stopped soon.

Domnall Mac Amhlaigh left Ireland in the fifties but did not forget it and I'm sure he could amplify these points more succinctly. It was he alone virtually first raised up and continues to-day; the story of the Irish in Britain, that forgotten limb of the "Republic" of equal opportunities.

Is mise le meas,
Tomas Mac Aongusa.

UNCLE TED AND HELVICK HEAD

MERR HEAD
Teeth.



Kincasslagh,
9.4.73

Dear Sir,

The demonstration of obsequiousness put on by Heath's henchmen at Helvick and Haulbowline recently, prompted me to write these few lines.

At Helvick head for Uncle Ted His puppets put on a show They re-enacted Banna Strand But in Roger's place stood Joe.

The Queen's Quislings were delighted Heath's Hiring's had their day "White Papers" and "Black Diaries" Would soon defeat the I.R.A.
Owen Sharkey.

GREETINGS TO THE PRISONERS

Sean Treacy Cumann; Harold's Cross.

A Chara,

On behalf of the Sean Treacy Cumann, Harold's Cross, may we extend Easter Greetings to all Republican Prisoners, everywhere and the men now interned in the Curragh Military Camp, fully supporting them in their boycott of correspondence etc., in protest against bad conditions in that Internment Centre, we thought to pass on our greetings through the media of An Phoblacht.

Is mise le meas,
B. Roseingrave (P.R.O.).

KERRY G.A.A.

Tralee,
Co. Kerry.

A Chara,

As you have invited items which may be of interest, the following motions were passed unanimously at the Kerry G.A.A. Convention.

(1) That the G.A.A. call for the immediate withdrawal of British Troops from Casement Park Belfast and other G.A.A. Fields in the Six Counties (St. Agatha's Glenflesk).

(2) That the G.A.A. call for the repeal of all repressive legislation in the Twenty-Six Counties (St. Agatha's, Glenflesk).

(3) That the G.A.A. declares its solidarity with and support for, the fight for Freedom in British Occupied Ireland (Austin Stack's, Tralee).

The above motions are for submission to G.A.A. Annual Congress 1973.

A clear demand was made by Convention for the evacuation of all British Forces from all the Island of Ireland.

H.R.J.

Welcome Home



AN PHOBLAcht EXTENDS GREETINGS TO SEAN MAC STIOFAIN RECENTLY RELEASED FROM THE CURRAGH.

GREETINGS TO RELEASED MEN

To the Editor

Dear Sir,

On Thursday 31st March Colman Moynihan returned from detention in Mountjoy Prison and the Curragh detention camp.

On the same charge Liam Walshe, Leo Delaney, and Desmond Hensey served a four months sentence in Mountjoy. Liam Walshe who was acting as chairman at the meeting from which the arrests arose was remanded from court to court for four months.

The James Daly Cumann of Sinn Fein Tyrrellspass, Westmeath extends their best wishes to those gallant men who have done so much for the cause.

Seosamh O Maoleain (Cathoirleact),
Tomas O Munro (Runai).

Ballyfinagle Notebook

Speaking at the opening of an extension to the factory of the Bumstein Footwear Corporation at Ballyfinagle Industrial Estate the Lord Mayor of Ballyfinagle, Cllr. McTaca (F.F.) said:

"It gives me great pleasure to open this extension to the Bumstein factory, constructed in record time by the McTaca Contracting Company with the help of loans from the McTaca Finance Company. Bumstein Footwear is the only company on this side of the Atlantic specialising in the production of left-foot plastic vinyl boots: the right boots being manufactured in their plant in Porto Rico. We now have eleven factories here on this estate. I have heard it said that these factories do not export anything. This is not true; it is just another of those false vicious misleading lies spread about by those opposed to the Common Market. I can say without fear of contradiction that all the firms operating on this estate export one commodity: money.

"I would like to pay tribute to the contribution being made by Bumstein Footwear to our environment. Their effluents and pollutants are contributing in their own way to the drive to attract tourists to this area. People have come from as far away as Huddersfield to see our Purple River and experience one of our Emerald Green Smogs and collect dead fish from the beaches at Gornbeenstown.

"I would also like to call attention to the youth-sustaining qualities of working in the Bumstein environment. When the pilot factory got into operation ten years ago the average age of the work-force was 16. Now, after ten years, the average age of the work-force is still 16!"

The extension was blessed by the duodecimagenarian bishop of Ballyfinagle, Dr. McDoolittle, who handed out pictures of Lord Longford to the workers after the ceremony.

BRITISH SOLDIERS



GO HOME



Letter To A British Soldier On Irish Soil

BY PATRICK GALVIN

I

SOLDIER
YOU DID NOT ASK TO COME HERE
WE KNOW THAT.
YOU OBEY ORDERS
WE KNOW THAT.
YOU HAVE A WIFE
A SWEETHEART
A MOTHER
WE KNOW THAT.
AND YOU HAVE CHILDREN
WE KNOW THAT TOO.

BUT, SOLDIER
WHERE YOU STAND
THERE IS DEATH.
WHERE YOU WALK
THERE IS A BURNING WOUND.
WHERE YOU SLEEP
THERE IS NO PEACE
AND THE EARTH HEAVES
THROUGH A NIGHTMARE OF BLOOD.

SOLDIER
WHEN YOU DIE
THE DOGS WILL BURY YOU.

II

WHEN YOU CAME TO THIS LAND

YOU SAID YOU CAME TO UNDERSTAND.
SOLDIER, WE ARE TIRED OF YOUR
UNDERSTANDING.
TIRED OF BRITISH TROOPS ON IRISH SOIL
TIRED OF YOUR KNOCK UPON THE DOOR
TIRED OF THE RIFLE-BUTT ON THE HEAD
TIRED OF THE JAILS, THE GAS, THE
BEATINGS
IN DARK CORNERS.

SOLDIER
WE ARE TIRED OF THE PEACE YOU BRING
TO IRISH BONES.
TIRED OF THE BOMBS EXPLODING IN OUR
HOMES
TIRED OF THE RUBBLE GROWING IN THE
STREETS
TIRED OF THE DEATHS OF OLD FRIENDS
TIRED OF THE TEARS AND THE FUNERALS
—
THOSE ENDLESS ENDLESS FUNERALS.

SOLDIER
WHEN YOU CAME TO THIS LAND
YOU SAID YOU CAME TO UNDERSTAND.
IS THIS YOUR UNDERSTANDING?

III

WE DREAM HERE.

WE DREAM THAT THIS LAND
IS OUR LAND.
THAT ONE DAY
CATHOLIC AND PROTESTANT
BELIEVER AND NON-BELIEVER
WILL STAND HERE
AND DREAM
AS IRISHMEN.

WE DREAM
OF A GREEN LAND
WITHOUT DEATH.
A NEW SILENCE DESCENDING
A SILENCE OF PEACE.
AND THIS DREAM
WE DREAM, SOLDIER
WITHOUT YOU.

THAT IS OUR UNDERSTANDING.

IV

GO HOME, SOLDIER.
YOUR PRESENCE HERE
DESTROYS THE AIR
YOUR SMILE DISFIGURES US.

GO HOME, SOLDIER
BEFORE WE SEND YOU HOME
DEAD.

Republican Chronicle

Once again, Britain is being put in the dock before the court of world opinion, charged with torture and other degrading treatment of Irishmen since Whitelaw took over. The European Human rights Commission sitting in Strasbourg has decided to investigate further into the complaints brought by seven individuals against the British Government for illtreatment at the hands of the "security forces" in the Six Counties. The seven applicants are: Gerard Donnelly, Gerald Bradley, Edward Duffy, John Carlin, Francis McBride, Anthony Kelly and Thomas Kearns. They were arrested by police or British Army in different parts of the Six Counties during April and May 1972.

The seven men alleged that this amounted to a "torture, inhuman and degrading treatment" contrary to article three of the European Convention of Human rights. They also claim that they were "victims of an administrative practice of ill treatment for which the British Government was responsible". With the exception of Mr. Donnelly and Mr. Bradley, all the applicants are at present in custody in Northern Ireland.

TENSION BUILDING

Tension is again building up in the Curragh as the prisoners protest against the harsh visiting rules near its seventh week. The prisoners object to the rules which ban embracing of prisoners by relatives and limits conversation to mundane matters in the presence of a military policeman. Prisoners have complained of the close confinement and the lack of recreational facilities as well as the frequent searches of cells and of prisoners clothing.

In protest, the prisoners have voluntarily deprived themselves of visitors.

CURRAN REMANDED.

The 45 year old general organiser of the Catholic Ex Servicemen's association, Philip Curran and his 17 year old son, Rossa Frederick Curran, were accused at Belfast's Magistrate Court with unlawful possession of explosives. The explosives, the court was told, were found in a shed at the rear of Mr. Curran's home at Cliftonville Rd., Belfast. Mr. Curran was remanded on bail, and his son was remanded in custody.

IS THIS JUSTICE?

A part-time Ulster bus driver, Glover Rooney, (36) who fired into the house of Mrs. Cecilia McManus, mother of Westminster M.P. Mr. Frank McManus was jailed for two years at Fermanagh County court. This was a case of virtual attempted murder, involving the USE of unlawfully held firearms. In contrast to this light sentence, several Catholics have been jailed for five years or more for merely having guns for their protection, which they never use? Is this Justice?

MURDERED

Three British Soldiers told a Special court of how they had lain in wait for two men near Strabane on December 27th last. On seeing the men, who were armed, they opened fire, filling one and wounding another. Before the court was Raymond McGowan of Drumallagh, Strabane who was returned for trial on firearms and ammunition charges. He refused to recognise the court. The man who was killed was Eugene Martin Devlin of Innisfree Gardens, Strabane.

GREEN STREET COURTHOUSE

The uproar began when one of the defendants shouted "Up the Provos" as Mr. Justice Finlay, presiding announced sentence. Shouts of "Quislings," and "We shall overcome" came from the gallery. Gardai and prison officers removed the defendants from the dock to the cells below.

Mr. Justice Finlay, imposing sentence, said the offence of which the men had been convicted carried a maximum sentence of 14 years. The least sentence the Court could impose in the circumstances of the case was five years.

Before the court were Oliver McKiernan, of Drumbroughas, Newtownbutler, Co. Fermanagh, and Patrick Thornberry, Rampart Street, Lurgan, Co. Armagh.

LETTER FROM LONG KESH

Please request all assistance from Sinn Fein Cumainn on our stand here and inform them that we intending continuing refusing visits until harassment inside and outside ceases. I may require the assistance of P.J. McGrory and Father Faul early in the week also this is for the benefit of interpretation of the new conditions of detention and imprisonment. I enclose copy of "new rules of detention" for your benefit. Hoping for a successful outcome and good luck and best wishes for the future.

Is mise,
O/C Long Kesh.

They were charged with having under their control explosive substances, namely six nine volt batteries and 100 feet of bell wire, on March 11 last in Co. Cavan. The two refused to recognise the court.

I.R.A. Vol. -15 Years

An I.R.A. volunteer has been jailed for 15 years.

Gerald Fitzgerald (20), of Ballymurphy Drive, Belfast, was convicted of attempting to murder three members of the 2nd Battalion of the Parachute Regiment, on July 13th, 1971, and of causing an explosion.

The court heard that if the claymore bomb, which Fitzgerald detonated by pulling a string, had not fallen over, the members of the foot patrol could have been killed or badly injured.

One member of the patrol was blown over by the blast, but the metal shrapnel contained in the bomb was hurled into the ground instead of at the soldiers.

Fitzgerald refused to recognise the court.

THREE JAILED ON I.R.A. CHARGE

THREE MONAGHAN men were each sentenced to six months' imprisonment in the Special Criminal Court, Dublin when they were found guilty of being members of the I.R.A., and assaulting and obstructing gardai.

They are Patrick Dalton and David Dougan of Park Street and Francis Taggart, of High Street.

The charges arose out of incidents at a function in the Four Seasons' Hotel, Monaghan, on March 11th last. It was stated in court that at the end of the function a fight started and two gardai among the guests were injured.

Chief Superintendent John McMahon said that he believed that on March 11th the three men were members of the I.R.A. He based his belief on confidential reports made to him, but he was not able to give any further details.

When the charges were read out all three defendants refused to plead.

POLITICAL PRISONERS.

SCOTLAND

PRISONERS ON REMAND.

Caroline Ranehan, Gateshead Prison, Grenock.
James Sweeney, Barlinnie Prison, Glasgow.
John Sweeney, Barlinnie Prison, Glasgow.

SENTENCED PRISONERS.

Gerry Ward, Peterhead Prison Glasgow - 4 year sentence.
John Friel, Peterhead Prison, Glasgow - 7 year sentence.

ENGLAND

SENTENCED PRISONERS.

Michael Gaughan, Albany Prison, Isle of Wight - 7 year sentence
James Moore, Wormwood Scrubs, London - 7 year sentence
James McElduff, Albany Prison - 3 years sentence
Alan McLaverty, Maidstone Prison, Kent - 5 year sentence
Richard McLaverty, Maidstone Prison, Kent - 5 year sentence

REMAND PRISONERS

Dolores Price, Marion Price, Roisin McNearney, William McLarnon, Robert Walsh, Gerard Kelly, Martin Brady, Paul Holmes, Hugh Feeney, William Armstrong.
All ten are remanded at Brixton Prison, London.



Father Patrick Fell surrounded by police in Coventry after his court appearance.

STRICT SECURITY AS PRISY IS REMANDED

A Catholic priest, Rev. Patrick Fell, and five other men, were remanded in custody until April 25 when they appeared under strict security precautions before Coventry Magistrates charged with conspiring to cause an explosion.

All six men were each handcuffed to a police officer as they stood in a line before the bench during the 24 minute hearing.

Before the hearing began, people entering the courts in St. Mary's Hall were stopped and searched by police at two checkpoints before they were allowed into the courtroom.

Before the court were Fr. Patrick Fell (32), the assistant priest at All Souls Church, Coventry; Anthony Roland Lynch (46), a fitter of 38 Berkswell Road; Anthony McCormick (17), an engineer of 22 Sycamore Road; Thomas Gerald Rush (26), electrician, of 58 Browett Road; Herbert Francis Kelly (28), building labourer, 18 Daimler Road and Francis Stagg (31), driver, of 6 Chetwode Close, all of Coventry.

As the men left the heavily guarded court a large crowd could be heard chanting outside. As they got into waiting police vehicles there were chants of "solidarity with the I.R.A." and "free all Irish political prisoners".

13 years in jail

Jimmy Drumm Arrested

WELL KNOWN VETERAN REPUBLICAN WHO SPENT 13 YEARS IN JAIL IS AGAIN BACK IN LONG KESH -

Mr. Jimmy Drumm, the husband of Mrs. Maire Drumm, acting president of Provisional Sinn Fein, is now being held at the Maze prison at Long Kesh on a 28 day detention order.

Mr. Drumm was detained by troops on Saturday as he walked from his Andersonstown home at Glasmullen Gardens, opposite one of the main British Army posts in the district, to get the morning's paper. Following his arrest, he was held at Castlereagh R.U.C. station.

SECOND SPELL

Mr. Drumm is the longest-serving internee of the Northern troubles, having been interned in every decade since and including the 30's. He is now in his second spell at Long Kesh, where his 25-year-old son, Seamus, married with a young baby, has been detained since last November. They are believed to be the only father and son being held at the centre, and inform them that we intend continuing refusing visits until harassment also suffered from a heart complaint. Last Tuesday, Ministry doctors who examined Mr. Drumm declared him unfit for work for at least 13 weeks, and gave him signed statements to that effect. Mrs. Drumm said. He had seen a specialist on Friday and was due to return for another examination yesterday, but by then he had been arrested.

DONT FORGET THE PRISONERS DEPENDENTS

(THE WOMEN AND CHILDREN WHOSE TEARS ARE HID)

SEND A SUBSCRIPTION TO: AN CUMANN CABHRACH, 44 PARNELL SQUARE, DUBLIN 1.

MURDER IN THE LOWER FALLS

JUST BEFORE the shooting in Ardoyne, evidence was produced at a press conference in West Belfast, which was called by the Provisional Sinn Fein, disputing the Army's version of a shooting in the Lower Falls. The press conference was given by Mrs. Maire Drumm, acting president of the movement, as people who were to attend had been unable to reach the venue because of an Army block at the end of the road.

Mrs. Drumm said that the Lower Falls had been particularly singled out, as had the New Lodge and Ardoyne, for a campaign of intimidation and murder. Edward O'Rawe, who was shot dead by the Army in Cape Street was unarmed at the time, and so was his companion, 18-year-old Sean Rowntree, who was injured, she said.

Photographs were produced which showed that Rowntree, now in the military wing of Musgrave Park Hospital with a bullet wound in the back, was shot after he had been taken into custody by troops. Mrs. Rowntree, who attended the press conference identified her son from the photographs which showed him spreadeagled against an alley wall, in one, and with his hands over his head in another. He was surrounded by troops and spokesmen at the conference maintained that the young man could not have been in these positions if he had already been wounded. The photographs were taken by an American woman visitor and appear on the front page of the *Republican Bulletin*.

Mrs. Rowntree said that if young men in the district see soldiers they have to run out of the way to avoid being detained for questioning. Her son and his companions had run through a house and were scaling a wall when fired at. They were unarmed and had not fired at the troops.

"Finish Him Off"

A 19-year-old Co. Armagh boy, shot by British Paratroopers after being beaten and tortured, is still seemingly ill. The tragedy occurred after a British Army patrol had been successfully ambushed by a unit of the Armagh I.R.A. in which two British soldiers were killed and another seriously injured. The attack took place near Newtownhamilton, Co. Armagh and the British casualties were incurred when a land mine explosion ripped through their landrover. The mine, said to have contained about 250 lbs of explosives.

The two dead soldiers, a lance corporal and a corporal were members of the 2nd Battalion Parachute regiment. After the explosion, other Paras seized Mr. Martin Walsh, of Belleek, who was carrying fodder to cattle in a field near where the ambush occurred. They asked him who was involved and when he denied any knowledge of the incident they beat and kicked him. When this failed, they took Mr. Walsh to a pond nearby and threatened to drown him, ducking his head underwater for prolonged periods.

Then the paras told Mr. Walsh to cross over a hedge and as he did so, they shot him in the back of the head. One of the soldiers, seeing that Mr. Walsh was not dead, asked "Will I finish him off now?" But by this stage, a crowd had gathered and Mr. Walsh was taken to hospital. The Paras then went to the Walshes' home where they kicked in the door and ransacked several rooms. When Mr. Walsh's other son, Donal, returned from Newtownhamilton where he had just been, he was taken out at gunpoint. Donal was also beaten up and sustained a severe eye injury.

BRITISH RULE CRUMBLING

Recent events have proved conclusively that the British Army in the Six Counties is fast becoming a law unto itself. Even such moderates as Paddy O'Hanlon of the S.D.L.P. has alleged that Whitelaw has lost control of his own soldiers. Certainly either this is indeed the case or Whitelaw himself has acquiesced in the present Army campaign against the innocent people of the Six Counties.

For some time now, a pattern of vicious retaliation by the Army against the civilian population has been emerging. Following the deaths in Belfast of four soldiers, Kevin Heathley was murdered. Again, when two soldiers were killed in the Armagh area, within hours two young men were dead and several others had been assaulted and tortured. More recently, the killing of a soldier Gunner Evans, was followed 24 hours later by the murder of Edmond O'Rawe, and the wounding of another man, Joe Rowntree. These are but two instances of a pattern also visible in Derry, Fermanagh and other areas where the British Army has been suffering a severe mauling at the hands of the I.R.A.

FACED WITH DEFEAT

The British Army has failed to defeat the I.R.A. militarily and it has failed to break the spirit of the Nationalist people. This failure has been matched by a rising success level for the I.R.A. whose tactics of Urban guerrilla warfare — the sniper, the landmine, the ambush — have seriously undermined the morale of the British Army. The terror tactic now being pursued at the most intensive level yet are symbolic of crisis within the British Army in the North, an army faced with defeat.

The conduct of the British Army towards civilians, is markedly different to that of the I.R.A. Short of taking civilians as hostages, the army could not pursue a more vicious vendetta against innocent civilians. The I.R.A. on the other hand, have curtailed their own scope for action to avoid mistakenly inflicting civilian casualties. Quite clearly, the British Army and Whitelaw are striving desperately to win a military victory, in order to smooth the way for the imposition of Britain's latest settlement. They know, that unless they gain such a victory, nothing short of a just and permanent solution will suffice.

As Mr. Daithi O'Connell said recently, the price of freedom is high, but freedom is now within our grasp. The British people no longer want the Six Counties, they no longer want to pay the price, in blood or sterling, that the Six Counties entail. The Tories are under pressure to disengage at home and abroad — the E.E.C. will not countenance a war within its boundaries for much longer. The British Army has inflicted all it can on the people of the Six Counties, our endurance must not end now. Whitelaw has finally been seen to have only British interests at heart, he has degraded and insulted both communities to the limit. The Loyalists are finally seeing how much value the British place on their loyalty, and this is reflected in their present state of disarray.

Never before has this country been closer to achieving real unity, not only territorial unity, but the unity of all our people. And let no man seek to put bounds on our march to that goal of peace and justice.



At the Sinn Fein (Kevin Street) press conference in the Green Briar Hotel, Belfast, were Mrs. Marie Drumm (right), the acting president of Sinn Fein (Kevin Street) and Mrs. Teresa Rowntree, Lower Clonard Street in the Lower Falls, who was present to answer questions about the shooting of her son, Sean by British soldiers.

From The
Firing
Line
By
Our
Northern
Staff

Professor Spells It Out

IRISH PROTESTANTS were urged recently to give up their clinging to a Britain which no longer really wanted them. Professor Norman Gibson, of the New University of Ulster, said in Dublin that Protestants in Ireland, especially in Northern Ireland could only begin to become mature and whole human beings when they ceased to be on the defensive in their own native country.

In order to achieve this, they would have to voluntarily dispense with "their undignified clinging to a Britain which no longer really wanted them". They would only begin to get rid of their defensiveness by identifying with the interests of the Irish people as a whole.

At a service in Methodist Centenary Church in Leeson Park, Dublin, Professor Gibson said he believed that the greater Ireland of which he spoke would be welcomed by Britain. It would herald the end of the age-old and barren Irish-English enmity and would be a fitting gift for those who were so loud in their declarations of loyalty to Britain.

He added that Catholic and Protestant schools should set out systematically to encourage sympathy and understanding of each others position and to cultivate an ecumenical spirit in their teaching. Then, in time, it might be seen whether or not denominational education was as divisive, socially and politically as was now alleged.

THE FIGHT GOES ON

The successful ambush at Newtownhamilton, which killed two British soldiers and wounded another was just one of many equally effective I.R.A. operations recently. In Derry, sniper fire killed one soldier in the Bogside. Earlier, a military policeman was seriously wounded in the same area, also by a sniper. The British Army alone suffered 28 fatal casualties in the Derry area since the present campaign began. Four soldiers were seriously injured in the Creggan area of Derry when a 60 lb. land mine was used to ambush their foot patrol. The other soldiers were all treated for shock and minor injuries.

In Belfast, a soldier was seriously wounded in the New Lodge area while another soldier was injured during an ambush on a foot patrol in the Springfield Ballymurphy district of the city. In the lower Falls area, two soldiers were wounded in an ambush near the public baths. A British Saracen was ambushed in the Grosvenor Road; a rocket launcher was used in the attack. Another soldier who has died since was wounded some time ago in an ambush in Lurgan.

A U.D.R. man was killed recently when his colleague accidentally shot through the head while cleaning his rifle. Such accidents are an indication that, as we reported some time ago, morale in the U.D.R. is at an all time low.

The heaviest fighting for over a year broke out in the Lower Falls after the British Army murdered Edmond O'Rawe and wounded his companion after they were taken into custody. The I.R.A. in an immediate retaliatory action, used rockets, grenades and mortars as Whitelaw and Faulkner were given a terribly effective answer to their claims that the Provisionals were being beaten. Two soldiers were seen to fall seriously wounded and others were probably hit as well.

DON'T FORGET THE MEN AND WOMEN INSIDE PRISON WALLS

SEND A SUBSCRIPTION TO:
AN CUMANN CABHRAC, 44 PARNELL SQUARE, DUBLIN 1.

Mr. BUSINESSMAN:

If you are looking for trouble, invest in Britain



The day the war came to London: After the roar of bombs, a wartime landscape.

Investment in Britain is a poor risk in these days of violence. The massive bombing of the centre of London on March 8th is a clear message to American industrialists. Invest in Britain at your own risk! British security forces openly predict more bombings in London and other industrial centres. The war in Ulster has now spread to the rest of Britain. Irish guerrillas have brought Ireland's fight for independence into Britain's heartland. Observers predict a long, hard campaign.

British financial and commercial leaders are in a quandry. Foreign investment in Britain is expected to terminate shortly. Political instability breeds violence, and violence never produces profits. The British Chamber of Commerce is saying nothing for public consumption, but privately it has urged the government to restore civil liberties and install a democratic government in Belfast.

British firms stopped locating in Ulster after the violence started in 1968. American firms soon followed their example and are expected to react to the bombings and violence in Britain in the same way.

PONDER THIS. Can you commit your company's assets to such a risky venture? Political instability rarely produces a healthy economy. . . or corporate profits. Could you justify investment in Britain to your stockholders?

Employment practices in Ulster and in Britain are based on a quiet, but effective, scheme of discrimination against Catholic workers. Engaging in such practices could expose you and your firm to prosecution under U.S. "Fair Employment" Laws. These apply to overseas, as well as, domestic operations of U.S. firms.

INVESTMENT IN BRITAIN PRESENTS OTHER PROBLEMS.

- (1) British labour unions have the highest strike record in the western world. Labour unrest is mounting. Wildcat strikes are common day occurrences.
- (2) Britain's inflation rate is "probably the worst in Europe" (N.Y. Times January 18, 1973). In 1972 it reached 13 per cent!
- (3) There is EEC pressure on Britain to reform in Ulster. Britain's refusal to do so has irritated other EEC members who see Britain polluting the Common Market with the Irish fight for independence, a never ending struggle, as Europeans view it.

THE WHITE PAPER

A group of American attorneys have described the British White Paper as a "document of vagueness and inconsistencies which can only serve to further aggravate the situation in Northern Ireland". The Attorney's Committee of the American Congress for Irish Freedom made this appraisal after a study of the White Paper. The report was released by attorney James C. Heaney, Committee Chairman in Buffalo, New York.

The report was highly critical of what the Committee calls "the utter failure of the British government to do anything except solidify its own position in Ulster, at the expense of both Protestant and Catholic communities". The report also described the creation of the Assembly as "meaningless since the London government controls its composition and procedures and Mr. Whitelaw has veto power over committee chairman assignments and the executive. The entire body is subservient to the government in London and has no real powers of its own".

The Attorney's Committee states in part:
"The White paper does not propose any realistic reforms for Northern Ireland. Its vagueness on key issues such as civil rights and the composition of the Assembly, renders the document a nullity. We believe the White Paper was issued solely as a public relations document to improve the British image in Europe and elsewhere."

In the area of civil rights, the White Paper offers no reforms. The Special Powers Act will not be repealed and the harsh recommendations of the Diplock Report will be enacted into law. This means new legislation which will require an accused in a criminal proceeding to prove his own innocence. The presumption of innocence will be eliminated in all criminal prosecutions and hearsay evidence will be admissible. The judiciary will thus become an arm of the political party in office in London, be it Tory or Labour. The politicalization of the courts will perpetuate second class citizenship for hundreds of thousands of Irish nationalists. London will now appoint all Irish judges and Crown attorneys.

The reference to a Bill of Rights is extremely vague. There is a complete absence of specifics with reference to any contemplated legislation in this field. The White Paper is not a law. It is merely a series of proposals. The proposals in the field of civil rights are so vague as to be meaningless. As a matter of fact, Northern Ireland already has a Bill of Rights which is outlined in the Human Rights Convention of the Council of Europe of which Britain is a member. The Convention guarantees full civil rights including freedom of speech and assembly, trial by jury, due process of law and freedom from internment. Britain has become a signatory to the Convention by treaty with the Council of Europe and this treaty is a part of the established law of the United Kingdom. Despite this, the British government has consistently denied civil rights to about 40 per cent of the population. Having violated civil rights under the Human Rights Convention, we wonder if the British government will recognize any civil rights to be created under the provisions of the White Paper. The White Paper sets no standards or guide lines in the area of civil rights. There are no specific proposals. No machinery is set up. Many are certain to question the good faith of the British government in this area.

The White Paper was long awaited by hundreds of thousands as the promised answer to the political ills of Northern Ireland. It may well be the catalyst to massive discontent and violence by both Protestants and Catholics."

On releasing the Attorney's Committee report, Mr. Heaney stated:
"In commenting on the White Paper, the New York Times correctly stated the government gave Catholics only as much equality "as the feelings of their own British Conservative Party and the temper of a million Ulster Protestants would allow". In other words, Britain used the ORANGE CARD once again and gave the Unionists a veto on reforms".

AMERICA AND THE FIGHT FOR IRISH FREEDOM

Investment In Britain Discouraged by Irish American Organisation

Over 2000 American firms have received a message from the American congress for Irish Freedom, an Irish American organization based in New York. The message is contained in a specially designed brochure sent last week to the U.S. businessmen and Chambers of Commerce located throughout the world. The brochure starts off with this message:

"Mr. Businessman: If you are looking for trouble, invest in Britain".

The American Congress for Irish Freedom project is designed to convince U.S. businessmen that U.S. investment dollars should not be sent to England, due to the spread of the Ulster war in that area. The brochure contains pictures of the destruction wrought on March 10th in the London bombing, generally attributed to Irish guerrilla fighters. The campaign against American investment in Britain could have a severe adverse affect on the British economy. A similar campaign in 1969 initiated by the same Irish American organization was aimed at U.S. investment in the 6 county area. That project ended U.S. investment in Northern Ireland and brought on bitter debate in the Stormont Parliament. In that campaign, the American Congress for Irish Freedom played up the fact that U.S. investment in Ulster was channeled only into Unionist areas where jobs could be provided for Unionist supporters of the government. Catholics were rarely employed as a result of this tactic on the part of the government. The organization contends that this situation has not changed since 1969 and the White Paper makes no provision for changes in the future.

The brochure emphasizes the fact that an unstable community never produces a healthy economy or profits and states:

Mr. Craig Moore, National Secretary for the American Congress for Irish Freedom made this statement from Indianapolis, Indiana.

"We believe that no American businessman should risk his company's assets by investing in England during these days of violence. Moreover, labour unrest and inflation in the United Kingdom is the highest in all of Europe according to the New York Times. The violence of the Irish war has now spilled over into London and other English cities. Our message to American businessmen is a simple one. A violent society never produces a healthy economy — or profits!"

A crisis in the British economy could arise if U.S. investors turned elsewhere. A decision not to expand present operations in England could be a death blow to the faltering British economy. Sources in London indicate that the British Chamber of Commerce has urged Prime Minister Heath to initiate a reform programme in Northern Ireland but, thus far, Mr. Heath has not responded to these pleas.

An Phoblacht

IMLEABHAIR 4. UIMHIR 12

Whitelaw's Bluff

Mr. Whitelaw's address to a Conservative Conference in Westmoreland was a naive attempt to arrest the flagging morale of the British people and forces as a result of the war in the Six Counties. His proud boast that the security forces are winning the war is resolute of Mr. Faulkner's famous claim of the I.R.A. dying eleven times in 1971. To-day, when Mr. Faulkner fights desperately to secure a nomination in the backwash of Unionist politics, the organisation he pronounced dead is a bigger threat than ever to British rule in Ireland. Mr. Whitelaw could do better than ape the futile propaganda exercises of his predecessor unless he has a death wish to take his place in the backwash of Tory politics.

He is correct in stating that the scale of arrests over the last three months is unprecedented since internment of August 1971. The indiscriminate detention of innocent people has reached a level whereby the facile claims that the majority are 'Provo Chiefs' is now a well worn joke in Belfast. Accuracy and integrity were never a part of British army propaganda and when the Secretary of State is reduced to paddling the outpourings of a panic stricken army, it indicates the seriousness of the British position.

Mr. Whitelaw could have told the Conservative Conference that British Forces killed thirty-nine civilians since the beginning of the year. The massacre of six civilians in the New Lodge on February 5th was worthy of special mention. He could also have stressed that Kevin Healy was gunned down in Newry on February 28th and the policy is still in force as witnessed by the cold blooded murder of Tony Hughes and Eddie O'Rawe. The failure to kill Geraldine and Damien Reel outside their home on Saturday night can be dismissed as a mistake on the part of the soldiers. It is no longer necessary to have "mysterious killings" since the British Army can kill at random with the knowledge that Mr. Whitelaw will stand over their actions.

The Secretary of State did not inform the Tory Conference that the I.R.A. had inflicted over twenty-five fatal and one hundred non-fatal casualties on the security forces for the same period. The British Exchequer has a bill for over £1,000,000 as a result of economic sabotage. Despite operation Motorman, British rule is still not possible in the Six County area and in fact it becomes more impossible and criminal each day. One would not expect Mr. Whitelaw to mention that only one civilian died as a result of I.R.A. action and that fatality could have been avoided if the British Army had acted on the warning given.

Easter Statement 1973

from the Leadership of the Republican Movement

The message of Easter 1916 has relevance for the Irish people to-day which needs to be underlined, Pearse and Connolly declared:—

"The right of the people of Ireland to the ownership of Ireland and to the unfettered control of Irish destinies, to be sovereign and undefeasible."

They stated that the long usurpation of that right by a foreign people and government had not extinguished the right nor could it ever be extinguished except by the destruction of the Irish people.

The essential truth of the Easter proclamation has withstood the test of time. Fifty years of so-called independence has been exposed and shattered for the evil it is, and Britain in typical Tory tradition, has assumed direct military control of the occupied part of our country, and indirect political and economic control of the rest. The arrogant British claim to rule our country now stands exposed before the world, and in conflict with it is the assertion in arms of the God-given right of our nation to be master of its own destiny.

The Republican Movement has been consistent in maintaining the fundamental right of freedom and sovereignty. Acknowledgement of that right by Britain has been and still is the key proposal of our peace plan. History, truth and justice sanctions no other course and bitter experience has taught us that without freedom there will never be peace in our land. Great sacrifices have been endured over the last three years for that basic truth:— almost one hundred of our volunteers have died in action, nearly a thousand linger in prison camps and heroic splendour of the North have withstood the terror of an Imperial Army.

The enemy has paid a high price for its action against our people. The casualties inflicted and the toll taken of British wealth and prestige have demonstrated the capacity of the Irish people to win their country's freedom. Our Volunteers have fought hard, conscious of the obligation to protect civilian lives and unmindful of the sacrifices they themselves have incurred to achieve final victory. Their dedication, courage and fighting ability have made them the true successors of the men of 1916 and assured for all a future in a new and free Ireland.

The Movement has outlined its political and economic proposals for the New Ireland. Account has been taken of the diverse traditions in our nation and we are confident that those Ulster Loyalists who have suffered insult and infamy at the hands of the Imperial Government will come to realise that their future lies with the family of the Irish people as a whole. The positive, practical proposals of our Movement surpass all others put forward to date and we urge all Irish people to work for their speedy implementation.

As in previous generations, certain sections of our people remain aloof from the struggle, while others actively oppose it. Church leaders in particular have developed a dual standard of morality, condemning the actions of resistance, while excusing the brutality and murder of the army. When this war is over, those people shall stand indicted before history for the wrong they do to their own people and the comfort they give to the enemy.

In conclusion, we affirm our pledge of loyalty to the people of Ireland. We are conscious of the grave responsibilities which weigh upon our shoulders. We are no different from previous revolutionaries in being condemned by the unthinking malicious and hostile. We are confident of the ultimate success of our struggle and we will pursue it until our ancient enemy recognises that peace must be based on justice; it cannot be founded on bayonets.

The struggle for Irish freedom has gone on a long time. It will be brought to a successful conclusion in our day with unity in our ranks, strength in our arms and the active support of our people. We have received it in the past, we enjoy it to-day and we ask for a greater measure in the future.

Signed: P. O'NEILL (RUNAI, I.R.P.B.)

REPUBLICAN EASTER COMMEMORATIONS

56 Republican Commemorations took place in the 32 counties and 16 commemorations were held in Britain - U.S.A. - New Zealand - Australia and Canada this Easter.

DERRY

9,000 people took part in the Easter commemoration parade in Derry. It left from Rossville St. flats, went through the Bogside and Brandywell and then into Creggan. It proceeded to Derry City Cemetery, where a meeting was held and wreaths

laid on the graves of I.R.A. volunteers.

Among those who attended the meeting were veteran Derry Republican, Sean Keenan, Senior, and Eamonn MacThomais, editor of "An Poblacht," who delivered the oration.

MONAGHAN

About 1,500 people took part in the Provisional Sinn Fein commemoration in Monaghan town to the grave of Fergal O'Hanlon, killed with Sean South in an I.R.A. raid on Brookborough barracks on New Year's Day, 1957.

The parade through the town was headed by a colour

party of I.R.A. and Fianna Eireann, and a local accordion band. The oration was delivered by Mr. Kevin Barry, of Tralee, Co. Kerry, who said that in the concept of a nine-county Dail Uladh, the Republican Movement offered the "only realistic solution" to the problem of Partition.

KERRY

There was a large attendance at the Easter Sunday Parade organised by Provisional Sinn Fein to the Republican Plot at Rath Cemetery in Tralee, Co. Kerry, yesterday. A decade of

the rosary was recited by Mr. Declan Ryan, wreaths were laid, and a statement from the Provisional Republican leadership was read out. The oration was delivered by Mr. Gerry O'Hare of Belfast.



TYRONE

2,000 people gathered in Carrickmore, in mid-Tyrone, for an Easter commemoration organised by the National Graves' Association. A colour party in paramilitary uniforms led the parade and the oration was delivered by a Cork Republican, Gerard McCarthy.



Blankets and garments are held over the observation slits of a British Army hut to prevent photographs being taken of marchers in the Derry commemoration yesterday.

DUBLIN

About 1,000 people marched in a Provisional Sinn Fein parade to Glasnevin Cemetery in Dublin yesterday morning, led by 30 men in black berets and tunics and wearing dark glasses. After them came boys and girls of Fianna Eireann. The parade was flanked by gardai.

A similar number of people attended a short cere-

mony at the Republican Plot in Dean's Grange Cemetery, Co. Dublin, in the afternoon. A decade of the rosary was recited and a recent statement from the Irish Republican Publicity Bureau, condemning the Churches for giving a one-sided criticism of events in Northern Ireland, was read out.

A number of men in black berets and tunics, and members of Fianna Eireann stood at the graveside. A wreath was laid after which the crowd dispersed.

The commemoration at Dean's Grange was also attended by Mr. Joe Clark, the veteran republican who was refused permission to land in England recently.