



REPUBLICAN NEWS

"VOICE OF REPUBLICAN ULSTER"

Week commencing SATURDAY, 5th MAY, 1973

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'NEWS' OFFICE RAIDED

The premises at 182 Brompton Park, Belfast, were raided early on Tuesday morning by members of the 3rd British paras, and all documents removed, including copies of Republican News, 'Eire Nua,' and other Republican literature of a political nature.

The premises are used as offices for this paper and the local Sinn Fein Cumann. Access was gained by the back entrance which is used by a local taxi firm. It is calculated that papers and books valued at over £100 were removed.

The intruders wrote in large letters on a poster: "3rd Paras rule O.K." This was left in the taxi office. They also scribbled the name "Brian Smith" in the taxi appointments book. This is the name of the young man who was recently murdered by the Paras in an ambush in the Ardoyne area.

The staff of this paper recently decided to apply to the G.P.O. Belfast, as a newspaper and our application was acknowledged on behalf of the Head Postmaster. We wonder if the dawn raid on our offices is linked in some way with British Intelligence agents known to be operating from this post office?

We congratulate the members of the local Sinn Fein Cuman for their speed and efficiency in carrying out first aid repairs to the premises and in re-stocking the shop with Republican literature.

To the 3rd Paras we say: "You had not the guts to raid during the day but came like thieves in the night. You must really have the wind-up! Have a look next time you pass and see We are back in business!!"

HE MUST NOT HANG



LIAM HOLDEN, a young Belfast man, aged 19-years, has been confined for over a week in the Death Cell, Belfast Prison, convicted by a British court of shooting a member of the British Occupation Forces. He has been sentenced to death by a British court. Needless to say, despite the fact that British soldiers have murdered Irishmen, women and children in the Six Counties since 1969, not one of them have been sentenced to death.

When Albert Brown, a member of the U.D.A. was sentenced to death recently for the shooting of an R.U.C. man, the Republican Movement was one of the first to call for his reprieve which was later granted. Now apart from Sinn Fein, there is a deafening silence as far as Liam Holden is concerned.

It may be that many nationally-minded people and people of humanitarian feelings believe that Mr. Holden will be automatically reprieved. We warn against complacency in the public mind about this matter. A reprieve should not be taken for granted until an official British announcement is made.

It is important at this stage that as many voices as possible be raised. We trust that clergymen of all denominations who often speak about the dignity and the worth of the individual will now raise their voices in the case of the young Irishman, Liam Holden.

The execution of Liam Holden certainly would not help in any way to promote peace. This is a strong, valid reason why all peace groups should be to the fore in a campaign for his reprieve.

A note of caution: Do not rely too much on the "peace" at any price folk. These people want the British Government to have "peace" to continue interfering in Irish affairs. Remember what we said last week — "tied dogs and loose stones."

NEW CUMANN IN "A" WING

New Sinn Fein cumann named after Liam Lynch, has been formed in "A" Wing, Belfast Prison. A general meeting of members was held on Sunday, 15th April, at which a vote of confidence was passed in the Committee. It was decided to apply to Belfast Dail Ceann-tair for affiliation.

The election of the Committee was as follows:—

Chairman: J. Connolly; Vice-chairman: D. McCann; Secretary: G. Wires; Press Officer: S. Kennen; D.L.: J. Doherty.

It was agreed that the new cumann will work in close contact with Belfast North-East Comhairle Ceann-tair.

FOOD PARCELS STOPPED

The Commandant of Long Kesh Concentration Camp has placed a ban on food parcels for the men in Cage Four for one month.

This strutting stooge of British imperialism should watch his step.

WOMAN FINDS FIVE PARAS IN BEDROOM

Mrs. Clarke, Etna Drive, Ardoyne, Belfast, was asked by a neighbour to keep an eye on her home and she was given the key. When she went to the front door on Wednesday morning to make a check, she discovered the door barred from inside. As the same key fitted the back door, she opened it and on going upstairs was confronted by five heavily-armed British paratroopers in the front bedroom who told her they were keeping her as a hostage.

Some of them were wearing slippers and two were only wearing socks. Eventually she was released and she expressed concern to our reporter in case the paras were planning further ambushes in the area.

Recently, householders have found human bones tied to their doors in Ardoyne. This happened to Mrs. Clarke also a few days ago. Local residents are keeping a close eye on houses in Ardoyne in an effort to prevent the paras from murdering more young men from ambush positions.

DELIGHTED

The LONDON TIMES correspondent - BOB FISK, must surely have enjoyed writing his copy for the Easter Monday issue, when he reported the attendance of DAITHI O CONAILL at the Commemoration Ceremony in Milltown. He seemed to love rubbing the noses of the security forces in the dirt. Reported Bob - "This ceremony watched by soldiers in the Andersonstown bus station at one end of the cemetery, was as carefully stage-managed as a school speech day. Mr. O'Connell arrived and left in safety - he was later seen walking down the Falls Road.

As uniformed Provisionals and members of the Fianna Eireann arrived to place wreaths around the Republican Memorial stone, Mr. O'Connell apparently unconcerned by the fact that he was the most wanted man North and South of the Border, sat in an estate car near by checking the notes for his speech. When he took the stand, looking for all the world like a civic dignitary in his dark tie and smartly cut navy blue raincoat, a cheer rose from the crowd. Most of the journalists who have had to report the usual army handouts of incidents, which they find the army later denying they ever issued, must have enjoyed themselves at the discomfure of the army spokesman, when one journalist phoned to enquire what they thought of O'Connell brazenly turning up and speaking under their noses... Unprintable comment.

OUT IN THE COLD

With the SDLP leaders and branches working night and day trying to get candidates for the local and assembly elections, so that they can take their place as leaders in the new power-sharing structure, they should get a shock if they read the column of JOHN O'SULLIVAN of the LONDON TELEGRAPH, in HIBERNIA 13/4/73. He states: "Mr. Whitelaw hopes, that the Alliance and the NILP will command enough support in the Assembly to form a "moderate" coalition with the Faulknerite Unionists and so fulfill the minimum conditions for power-sharing. Why has no mention yet been made of the SDLP? A party that enjoys a reputation for intransigence or walking out will be executed for safety's sake if the balance of power in the assembly permits this."

It looks as if the sell-out of the SDLP to Whitelaw, on the excuse that they want politics off the streets back into the new Stormont, doesn't mean anything to Willie, as O'Sullivan says why should he worry when he has three good unionist parties already willing to keep the last colony safe!

YOUR man says MAY DAY

In spite of the fact that no local union official has given a lead on what the workers of the six counties should do on May Day, the day the British TUC has called for token strikes against Heath's wage freeze. ANDY BARR went on the attack when the decision of LAW to tell their members not to support the call was announced. Barr claimed that this action of LAW was another step downwards the slippery slope towards collaboration with the bosses.

But yet the day previous, whereas the LAW had declared their full support for the steelworkers in their fight against the management of the shipyard, Andy Barr as leader of the Confed. Unions had tried to sabotage that same struggle by proposing that the steelworkers should go back to the negotiating table. Barr had in fact tried to sell-out the steelworkers, so this boy should not be surprised at the shipyard workers not knowing who to listen to.

To show how little faith the Confed Unions have in their own leadership their part in the fight against Heath's wage freeze is to have a meeting in the King George Hall, May Street, on the afternoon of that May Day.

WAR

"It might also be said that if Ulster people are more British than the British, what is really meant is that they are more British than the English. The Act of Union was no confidence trick, and if the rest of the Kingdom has to teach the English what it means to be British, then by God they will do it." (WDA Newsheet No. 15).

PADDY MAXWELL

At the Maghera Court last week, KEVIN AGNEW in defending a group of people up for not paying their rates, told the Magistrate PADDY MAXWELL, that the people had covenanted not to pay until internment was ended.

Ah, says our Paddy a once famous defender of the Nationalist cause, thats all right, I see that a Bill is going through Westminster under which internment will end within a matter of weeks. It seems that once you become part of the Establishment, like Paddy Maxwell you keep looking for excuses why you are defending the system that rides the backs of the ordinary folk.

The Emergency Provisions Bill which will replace the Special Powers Act, still carries out internment as its most important function.

The only difference is that now instead of a politician - like wee Brian signing the detention order it is a judge - sitting as a Commissioner. Maybe Paddy Maxwell considers this the doing away with internment?

SHANKILL FALLS V THE PARAS

It is interesting to remember at present with the continuous harassment of the people of Armagh, Ardoyne, and the Falls area by the Brits, of the sneering of certain public figures that it is merely a Republican propaganda campaign, that last September when the people of the Shankill Road also objected to the activities of the Paras in shooting two innocent people in that area, that the same public figures yelled and screamed that it was merely a campaign to dirty the fair name of their beloved Army.

The main upholder of the Army was the Alliance Party, their spokesman, BOB COOPER demanded that the Brits must remain on the Shankill and Falls, until they had wiped out the gunmen.

He must have had a red face for while he was appearing in print, the Brits admitted that the two victims of their murder attack on the Shankill were in fact innocent victims and not gunmen as they had declared in a handout the previous day.

The action of the 1st Paras - the same gangsters who had carried out the murders on Bloody Sunday in Derry - was a shock to the people of the Shankill those September days. The shipyard workers downed tools and walked all the way to Tennent Street to protest. The REV' IAN demanded an urgent inquiry otherwise he would boycott the Whitelaw conference. Wee BRIAN FAULKNER was stoned off the Shankill Road because he made excuses for the Paras.

The feelings of the ordinary people of the Shankill was shown by a MRS. WILLIAMSON of the Shankill Defence Association when she declared - "I didn't understand what all the fuss was about over Bloody Sunday which involved these same troops, but I do now. They are only animals I agree with everything the IRA said about them." (Irish Independent 9/9/72).

What can be done by the people determined to get rid of the Brits was shown by the headlines of the BELFAST TELEGRAPH that same night (9/9/72) "No Paras to be seen as Army plays it cool on the Shankill" and the bye-line read - "To the casual observer it was a normal Saturday on the Shankill. But with one difference - the frequent Army patrols were few and far between and no Paratroopers were in evidence. The only Landrover patrols I saw were being manned by a different unit." Yes the people of the Shankill Road had won, the Paras were out. There is a lesson in this for the people of Ardoyne and the Falls.

Yet in spite of the people of the Shankill having to fight for the removal of the Paras last September, we have had the spectacle on Easter Sunday of a whipped up meeting of a few hundred Unionist workers on the fringe of Ardoyne holding a meeting with that good 'democrat' JAMES RODGERS telling them to support the activities of the Paras in their harassment of the people of the area... how low can one get... but then Rodgers is a sadist who even revels in the massacre of two innocent people of the Shankill Rd., when he shows his approval by stating that the Paras were only showing their impartiality on that occasion. Me thinks the Ulster Defence Association won't be too happy with Mr. Rodgers opinion. I have in front of me a booklet issued by the UDA showing in detail the Paras murder campaign on that occasion, and their demand for a public inquiry and the removal of the Paras from the Six Counties.

THE PROVISIONAL MANDATE

By *Father* ART O'NEILL

This article

IS BASED ON
DISCUSSIONS HELD
AMONG A GROUP
OF CATHOLIC
PRIESTS Editor

We hear a lot these days about mandates. Again and again, politicians, establishment commentators and a section of the Catholic clergy assert that the physical force men have no mandate.

It is no accident that the clergy selected by the media avoid explaining to the ordinary man in the street what the theologians and moralists mean by a "mandate."

If the Catholic layman knew what is meant by a mandate he would be able to judge for himself whether the IRA have a mandate or not.

A mandate in its most literal sense means a command, a task entrusted to someone. To have a mandate is just one of the conditions essential for a just insurrection.

If these conditions are all present (as Provisionals believe they are, and with good reason) then many (but not all, of course) actions that would otherwise be unjust destruction of property, mere violence or murder will become acts of virtue, of patriotism, of heroic courage, etc.

What is a "mandate" then for a Catholic theologian or a thinker on politics or any, or no religion? Basically the man in the street can understand it to mean a certain degree of popular support, in some way visible. It means that the organisers of a Rising (as we traditionally call an insurrection in Ireland) are not a very small group of extremists acting against a tyrannical regime merely of their own personal initiative. It means they are men of maturity, competence and seriousness who judge that the situation is extreme and that they have between them wide and reliable experience of how the people feel, of what they would be willing to sacrifice, of what they really want in spite of what the politicians and media men and vested interests are yelling, of how they would react to suffering.

The essential point is this: the leaders of a legitimate rising must be in a position to judge wisely and maturely that they can act as the delegates or representatives of the oppressed people as a whole.

Anywhere on earth leaders of legitimate risings have always been men who felt called (like Joan of Arc) to give true leadership when drastic action was required in the short term for the sake of an overwhelming and lasting good. Such men come forward if the people pray enough when responsible action is required and the oppressed due to no fault of their own can only be represented in public life by lying politicians.

Patrick Pearse could never have been elected to Westminster, but he judged that he had a mandate for the action he took in 1916 and said so explicitly in the Proclamation of the Irish Republic. The election of December, 1918 showed how right he was and how wrong were the media men and clergy who so righteously condemned him.

The jibe is often heard from "opposition" politicians of a certain well known type that "the men of violence" have no mandate, because they are not elected representatives of the people. Only a little gumption is required to realise that in a political situation calling for drastic measures in behalf of the oppressed, the leaders of a proposed rising would be of unsound mind if they were to attempt an election campaign in the face of the machine guns and the lies and propaganda of the establishment-controlled media.

The Provisionals are honest and those who support them know what their policies really are and involve unlike the policies of any other political group or movement in Ireland today; but they know full well that their mandate cannot be best shown in the false circumstances of an election. The Provisional's

aim is to win, not to lose additional lives in proving a mandate which they are certain they have.

How many people in Czechoslovakia or Poland want the Kremlin? How many would be suicidal enough to say so too loud, never mind on an election platform? *No theologian requires that the leaders of an insurrection should be representatives elected under the very tyrannical system and regime they intend to overthrow.*

There can be absolutely no doubt that a very large number of Nationalists in the Six Counties and in the Twenty-Six see and accept the Provisionals as acting on their behalf.

The signs are all there of a clear mandate, indeed of a mandate so large that there is a near certainty AT THE LEAST of final success after a few years of suffering. The vast majority of those all over Ireland and elsewhere who contribute to Provisional funds do so with full knowledge of their policies and without the slightest intimidation.

Everywhere in the North (and elsewhere) Nationalists doors are open to the IRA in case of need and that even at great personal risk. Everywhere, North and South, the Volunteers are too many for the Staff Officers to cope with. Indeed, even past election results intelligently analysed suggest the same "state of the nation" as in 1918.

The greatest proof of all that the Provisionals have a mandate is that, in the fact of almost 100% opposition to them from every establishment Irish or British loudhailer or mass medium, they continue to act and force the changes with total assurance they they are the voice of the Nationalist people and even of Ireland.

The sole, utterly shameless role of the so-called peaceful means opponents of British rule in Ireland is to put up the cost in blood and suffering of Irish Freedom.

Freedom of Expression

The Human Rights declared by the U.N. "as a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations" provides that everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right including freedom to hold opinions without interference, and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.

What has been stated about the British paratroopers in our occupied counties has been proved the truth. When something is written about the past, some people will say we should forget the past and look to the future. I hold that the evil wrongs of the past must be made right before we try to build a new Ireland.

All this nation ever got from the British was blood and tears. No one can deny that the British troops are under orders to kill anybody they think is going to attract them. If William Whitelaw thinks for one moment that murder and brutality will make the minority in the occupied counties accept the British White Paper then he does not know the Irish.

He may shake his head in an arrogant way and state he will never talk to the Irish Republican Army again, but one day he will have to lower his British pride to talk to them, for the Republican forces will never allow another sell-out like we had in 1921.

Mr. Cosgrove said there was only one army and one police force in this country. I am sure he is aware that there are 32 counties in this nation. Until the Army controlled by Leinster House is able to protect all the people, North and South, the Irish Republican Army must fight on.

People with Republican ideals are subject to all the black propaganda that the radio, television and the Press can hurl at them. Why not turn this abuse to where it belongs? In my opinion it is time that some reliable journalist was allowed to tell the truth about the British murder gangs that are operating in the Six Counties.

The British must be afraid when they would not allow the 92-year old Mr. Joe Clarke, the 1916 veteran, to attend Easter ceremonies in England on Easter Sunday. I congratulate and praise this old soldier of the Irish Republican Army. It is courage like that shown by him in 1916 and in 1973 that will drive the last British soldier from our soil.

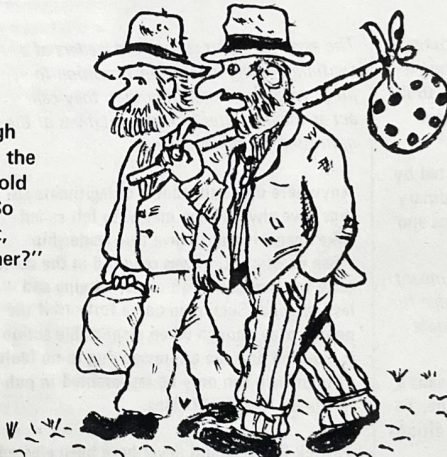
PROPOSED MEETING BY PARA COMMANDER ONLY EXCUSE TO GET INFORMATION

Mr. Malachy Foots, spokesman for the Sinn Fein Ulster Executive, commenting on the recent meeting between the Officer Commanding the Parachute Regiment in Newry, Lt. Col. Geoffrey Howlett and Mr. William Marshall, Chairman of the Citizens United for Reconciliation and Equality (C.U.R.E.); stated that he saw the Paras proposals as being typically English, in that they are a form of blackmail.

The Paras C.O. said Mr. Foots is trying to manipulate people into thinking that his troops will cease their bullying tactics if people work to gain social facilities, when in fact these facilities should be implemented without the conditions laid down by the Parachute Regiment.

On the point made by Lt. Col. Howlett, regarding the serious unemployment, Mr. Foots said: "The committee idea from Lt. Col. Howlett to elevate unemployment in the Newry area, was only another point which should have been taken care of by the ruling classes and which they so badly and blatantly refused to act on; and which leads to the conclusion that the whole system in this part of Ireland has for too long been wrong. The people of this area wish to decide their own future and not ruled by the dictates of a person whom we hold responsible for the brutal treatment meted out to the people of Newry by the Parachute regiment."

"It's tough in Ulster, the Sargent told me . . . So I thought, why bother?"



LETTER OF THE WEEK

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April 19th, 1973

Letters to the Editor, 182 Brompton Park, Belfast, N.I., U.K.

ATTENTION: LETTER TO THE EDITOR

Dear Sirs—I have read with extreme interest your excellent paper the "Republican News" which gives a present day history of the cause for Irish Freedom.

As a Canadian, we are aware of the fight in Canada in the 19th century, by the Irish for political and religious freedom from British Protestant Imperialism.

One need only drive towards the community of Ridgeway, Ontario, Canada, to see the famous battleground where the IRISH FENIANS met the British Regiments, at the Battle of Ridgeway.

Your cause is not new; it will be ancient when Ireland is United as a true Republic of Ireland. Three cheers for the Republic News, for giving the Irish the TRUTH.

Yours sincerely, ARTHUR FAIR, Jr., B.A.

Easter ceremonies in Newry

"We are assembled here today to honour the men of all generations, especially the four brave men whose remains repose in this cemetery who gave their lives for freedom and justice," said Mr. Peter McAteer, who presided at the Republican Commemoration in Newry, on Easter Sunday.

"The objectives of Wolf Tone, Father of the Irish Republic, are still the objectives of the Republican Movement in 1973," he continued, "to break the connection with England. We call on the people to remain true and steadfast. To the living, incarcerated in Irish and English jails — we have not forgotten you. The immortal words of Padraig Pearse: 'The fools, the fools, they have left us our Fenian dead and while Ireland holds these graves, Ireland unfree shall never be at peace,' are as valid today as when first spoken," Mr. McAteer concluded.

A decade of the Rosary was recited in Irish by Mr. Cecil Stevens. Seven wreaths were placed on the plot by local Sinn Fein cumainn. The statement from the Republican leadership was then read.

Among the wreath bearers was Mrs. Teresa Hughes, whose husband was killed last year in the Customs Clearance Station.

All assembled observed a two minute silence for all who died for Ireland.

40, Iveagh Parade,
Falls Road,
Belfast BT12, 6AZ

Dear Sirs,
I wish to draw your attention to yet another example of British Army behaviour while entering the home of ordinary working class people.

On the evening of 24th April the Army entered our house and did the usual search, and after they left it was found that £55 of my sons savings had been stolen.

Is this the sort of tactics that Willie Whitelaw sends the British Forces out to do on Catholic people?

Please publish this letter in your next issue if possible.

Yours sincerely
(Mrs. Rose Monaghan)

NO TRUCE UNTIL BRITISH ACCEPT WITHDRAWAL TERMS

(Oration given by Mr. Kevin Barry, Tralee, on Easter Sunday, at Republican Commemoration ceremony in Monaghan).

We are gathered in this holy place for a two-fold purpose . . . to pay respect to the memory of all who have died for Ireland in every generation down to the present day, and by spending some moments in recollection of their sacrifices, to renew our resolutions never to desist until the objective for which they died has been achieved. Here at Lathlurgan we honour in particular the memory of Fergal O'Hanlon who fell at Brookeborough, across the Border in Fermanagh, on New Year's Day 1957, in battle with British Occupation Forces. By his side on that dreary winter evening fell another fine young Irishman, Sean Sabhat from Limerick, city of the broken Treaty Stone. The deaths of these two martyrs for Ireland, one an Ulsterman, the other a Munsterman, emphasised a point on which Republicans are adamant - that what is at issue in Ireland is not - North or South, 6-Counties or 26-Counties - but the freedom of all 32-Counties of this island, from British Occupation and British influence and, following from this issue, that whatever happens anywhere within the four seas of Ireland is the concern of every Irishman worthy of the name.

It has rightly been pointed out that not only did the British divide Ireland by their partition Act of 1920, but they also divided the ancient Province of Ulster - separating Monaghan, Cavan and Donegal from the other six counties of the Province. You are far more conscious than people further south of what the sundering of our country means. You are far more aware of what goes on across the accursed border. It was to you a 26-Government minister came a week ago - in the course of attending some social function - to warn you that you must close your eyes to the needs of your fellow-Ulstermen. At a time when Whitelaw's paratroopers were scouring the countryside and murdering innocent people across in County Armagh, this 26-County minister's voice was raised in denunciation of Irishmen who are in rebellion against tyranny in the Six Counties. Perhaps we should not expect anything else from the representative of a partitionist assembly which

was created by Britain just as much as Stormont was. After all, how could he utter any words of criticism against British forces, with which his government is collaborating so brazenly? If there are those who wish to issue moral condemnations in the 26-Counties today, surely they should direct their condemnations at those who have lined their pockets and built whatever standing they have on the sacrifices of those who died and who have so shamefully reneged on all the Republican Proclamation of 1916 stands for.

Last year the then government in the 26-Counties held a Referendum for the sole purpose of winning support for entry into the EEC (people are learning now days how far from the politicians' rosy promises the reality of that economic sell-out is). But what I am concerned with is that in some mysterious way that government decided that what it really had been given a mandate to crack down on the IRA, and to try and strangle support for our people in the North. In a recent 26-County general election the contest between twee-diddle-dum and twee-diddle-dee seemed to hinge on who would transfer most of the rating taxes over to central fund taxes (which you will have to pay for either way). But again the discovery has been made to quote the Minister who graced Monaghan with his presence - that what 99% of the people were doing in that election was rejecting the freedom fight in the North, and calling for another crack-down. If these political gentlemen are such believers in what they call the Democratic process - let them very conveniently, in conjunction with their 26-County Presidential election, put a few straight and unequivocal questions to the people in the Southern state. Let them ask whether they want their fellow countrymen in the Occupied 6-Counties left to the savagery and torture of the British Forces; whether they want twenty-six County soldiers and Gardai and courts used to do England's work; whether they want to be seen in the eyes of the world as spineless lackeys who make a virtue of standing idly by while an imperial bully ravages part of our country. Let the politicians, if they dare, test the will of the Irish people on these questions, and see what the answer will be.

It is hard to decide whether those who claim to find merit in White-

law's so-called White Paper are fools or knaves. Essentially the British have but one concern in - to solidify their own position in the 6-County area, at the expense of both the Catholic community and the Protestant community. Place-hunters are to act in Assembly in the Stormont Buildings as little Sir Echoes of the Master in London. All the old vicious special powers will be continued in more subtle form as designed by Diplock. Much emphasis is laid on vague suggestions for what is called a Bill of Rights. Why is there no application of the European Convention on Human Rights in their fullness in both the 6-County and 26-County areas, if these two statelets are true to the European community of which they claim to be part?

26-County politicians vied with each other in shedding crocodile tears over those murdered in Derry on Bloody Sunday, and with one voice they called for the removal of the British Army at that time. Now these same politicians are hailing Whitelaw's White Paper which is meant to perpetuate the division of Ireland, and to vindicate every murderous action of Britain's latter-day Black and Tans. The Freedom Fighters of the North have done more than their share of to make the area as untenable for British imperialism as Palestine, Malaya, Aden, and other places became. It may well be that it is the quising antics of the 26-County rulers which encourage the British to struggle on in the North, the hope that sufficient of the Irish will be got of betray all that those who have gone before have suffered and died for.

When the treaty of surrender was being debated in Dail Eireann in 1921, it was Cathal Brugha who said that even if the last bullet was fired and the

last man lay on the ground under the bayonets of the enemy, the spirit that has been handed down to us by our Republic's dead should ensure that there would be no surrender to British imperialism. Even if the Southern government were to jail or intern every Republican supporter in the 26 County area, the gallant fighting men and women - Yes, and the children - of the north - who are very very far from having fired their last bullet or their last rocket - would ensure that the fight would go on as fiercely as ever until the British are at last compelled to cry . . . "Enough!"

Too many sacrifices have been made; too many fine lives have been lost, for anything other than victory to be worthy of consideration now. The Republican leadership has clearly stated the terms of withdrawal which the British must accept before there can be peace - just peace - in Ireland. Until these terms are fully met, there will not be ceasefire or truce.

In the concept of the nine County Dail Uladh, the Republican Movement offers the only realistic solution to the Partition problem. Many Unionists, so readily betrayed by the British, have shown their awareness of this solution. Sinn Fein's Provincial Parliamentary structure with its truly democratic local government base, offers to every Irishman, whatever his Class or Creed, his rightful place in his own country. It promises the fulfilment of the bright hopes enshrined in the Proclamation of Easter, 1916.

If, in the New Ireland, we are to be worthy to call ourselves fellow countrymen of the heroes of the North, we must double our efforts to hasten their day of victory.

If we really mean to honour the dead who died for Ireland, we must ensure the completion of the task they had on hands when they gave their lives - the achievement of an Irish Republic, United and Free.

GLENVIEW SOCIAL CLUB

A GRAND SOCIAL FUNCTION

will be held in the Green Briar Hotel, Glen Road, Belfast, on Monday, 21st May, commencing 8 p.m.

ON STAGE THE FABULOUS . . .
barleycorn

SPOT PRIZES

ADMISSION £1.50

Republican Press Fund

Donations should be sent to the Business Manager, 182 Brompton Pk., Belfast BT14 7LE

We acknowledge with thanks the following donations: Tomas Lean, Harrow £3; Mrs. Garry, London, £5.30; Mick Flannery, London, £4; Brenda O'Connor, London, £1.50; R.N. Group, London £2; Provo Supporter, Strabane, £2.

The Press Fund now stands at £80.20p.

We may be able to make an important announcement shortly which will be of interest to our large circle of loyal distributors, sellers and readers.

How many of our readers ever heard about "THE IRISH BULLETIN" which was published under the direction of the propaganda department of Dail Eireann from 11th November, 1919 until 11th July, 1921.

A young Irish girl at that time called Kathleen McKenna played an important part in the production of the Bulletin as she typed every edition of it.

While she was on summer holidays in Dublin in 1919, she called at the Sinn Fein headquarters, 6 Harcourt Street, now the headquarters of The Gaelic League. Members of Sinn Fein today will be interested to know that the veteran Republican, JOE CLARKE, recently refused entry to London, was caretaker of these premises about the time.

Miss McKenna had a letter from her father, a pioneer of Sinn Fein, to his friend, Arthur Griffith. The letter was an introduction as she wished to dedicate her youthful enthusiasm to the struggle to free her country from British domination.

During the early years of the century her home had been a forge of patriotism. At that time, a young poet and writer, BRIAN D'HIGGINS, later to become a member of the first and second Dail, cycled over once a week, in all weathers, from Kilskeer to expound FATHER O'GROWNEY'S Irish Grammer, to a group of young people assembled in Kathleen's mother's drawing-room.

At the gatherings of this small group, the history of Ireland's many attempts throughout the centuries to obtain her national freedom and England's savage attempts to exterminate the Irish race, was told: the story of Wolfe Tone and the United Irishmen, and of the Fenians was discussed over and over again. Decisions were taken to organise and to strike again whenever a favourable opportunity should arise.

Kathleen was received in Harcourt Street by the director of the Press bureau, ROBERT BRENNAN, ex-commandant of the Wexford Volunteers, who, on account of his participation in the Rising, had been sentenced to death, which sentence had been later commuted to penal servitude and deportation.

He explained the project to issue an Irish news sheet to counteract British black propaganda and told the young girl that he would be delighted to have her help as she was an excellent typist with knowledge of office routine.

She volunteered to work during her holidays and was given the task of preparing for publication an account of Padraig Fleming's resistance in Portlaoise gaol to attempts made to treat him as a criminal.

He had been deprived of his bed-clothing and his garments; on different occasions he had been handcuffed and placed in a strait-jacket. When he succeeded in breaking the handcuffs and cell "furniture" he was dragged to a special punishment cell. Finally he was transferred to Mountjoy and given the treatment he had demanded.

The Republican Press Bureau hoped that the



summary of British atrocities in Ireland. A young Fianna boy, MICHAEL NUNAN, acted as office boy.

At that period, items of Irish news received by European and world newspapers were rarely published, or if published, were distorted to the detriment of Ireland's cause. It was thought that if Republican publicity workers made personal contacts and friendships with the London correspondents of foreign publications much could be done to arouse their interest in Ireland's fight, and to induce them to use, if found interesting enough, the news published in the Bulletin.

The first issue of the Bulletin ran only to 50 copies and was produced on a flat antiquated hand mimeographing box. During the twenty terror-filled months, its publication never once failed.

Young Michael Nunan delivered envelopes containing copies of the first edition that evening to the Dublin newspaper offices and to hotels where friendly correspondents of foreign newspapers were staying. Miss McKenna dropped others, in batches of twos and threes so as not to arouse suspicion, into various red pillar-boxes throughout the city. Next morning the Irish papers carried extracts from it.

Although the Irish Bulletin had been founded by Arthur Griffith, Desmond Fitzgerald and Robert Brennan, its main-spring was Frank Gallagher. Without his courage and genius, it might have failed its purpose or, at best, have taken a less effective form. He compiled the vast bulk of the material published in the Bulletin.

The Bulletin dealing truthfully and concisely without rhetoric or exaggeration, with Ireland's fight for freedom, was issued during the first five days of the week (except during holidays). Nothing was ever published in it which could not be substantiated by incontrovertible proof. Published under untold hardships at the height of the Black and Tan reign of terror, it was distributed gratis (like our present Republican Bulletin) by the propaganda department of Dail Eireann. It went not only to the Press at home and abroad, but also to private individuals who were awakening to an interest in the then, generally misunderstood Irish Republican cause. It put to shame those responsible for what was being done in Ireland by the forces of the British crown.

Some decent M.P.s at Westminster, often asked awkward questions based on information the Bulletin contained. Many times this news was of such a nature that were it not for the Bulletin organisation, it would never have received Press coverage.

Belfast Republican Press Centre, An Phoblacht, Republican News and many other little Republican papers carry on the tradition passed on to us by the brave men and women who were associated with The Irish Bulletin. Let their bravery, determination and ability inspire us to preserve even though our job can be lonely and our resources meagre.

the IRISH Bulletin

By CATHAL MacLIAMIM

Bulletin would be a daily newsheet, which would in time penetrate to foreign countries to carry the truth of the Irish situation.

The Bulletin was distributed by hand to friendly people in Dublin, and by post to sympathisers at home and abroad, who agreed to make use of its contents in their writings.

MISS ANNA FITZSIMONS (later Mrs. Frank Kelly) also worked in the office. Her job was to glean from the daily Press such items of news as would be suitable for publication in the Bulletin. She also prepared a weekly

THE ECONOMY

By Liam Mac

WHEN ONE IS USED TO ARMY HANDOUTS relating to their activities, and their denials the next day that they ever said such a thing, makes one suspicious of any handouts from any government department, and it is a very good rule to follow. Take for instance the headlines in the Belfast Telegraph (Business World 13th March). Which told the world that "Textiles hit 264 and its the greatest." The report went on 'With an index figure in December — a handsome 34 points over the comparative month last year — textile production in N.I. hit an all-time peak!' When the official figures came out in April — I am sure the readers of the Telegraph had forgotten those headlines, but if they had remembered and checked they would have got quite a surprise. The index showed that Textile production although having increased in the last quarter of 1972 over the last quarter of 1971 by 22 points and not 34 points as per Telegraph) the actual increase in production of textiles in the whole year of 1972 was a mere 8 points over 1971. You see the bottom of the market for man-made fibres had fallen out due to Japanese dumping, and although the market is again becoming healthy no one knows what the future holds in store for it.

Just a few other statistics which will show that the Six County economy is not as healthy as Davy Howell would like us to believe:

INDEX OF INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION

	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972
Textiles	138	162	174	198	231	239
Clothing	107	115	118	122	128	126
Engineering	115	117	114	122	121	110
Food, Drink, Tobacco	108	111	118	121	120	125
Timber, Furniture	135	142	142	144	144	142

Is it any wonder when you look at the above figures and realise that production is stagnant with the exception of textiles then the following figures become understandable:

TOTAL WORKING POPULATION

	1967	1970	1972 (June)
Males	395,400	392,900	389,200
Females	198,100	200,000	205,000
Totals	593,500	592,900	594,500

The above figures show that the total working population has remained static, there are 6,000 males less and 7,000 more women in employment, over the 1967 figures. Do you remember the publicity given to the Unionist Government finding 10,000 extra jobs every year? Where are they?

The number of unemployed is needed to understand the hypocrisy of those who keep telling us that if only peace would return we could bet back to those wonderful days of work and plenty.

Unemployed males ('67) 8.2%; (70) 8.8%; 1972 (January) 8.8%. Unemployed females ('67) 5.5%; (70) 4.1%; 1972 5.2%

It is and always has been the policy of having a surplus labour pool, to make those in jobs feel lucky they have work and a wage, and to give them that sense of insecurity that there are quite a lot of people who would be only too willing to take their job off them, this feeling of insecurity was also helped by certain trade union leaders who warned their members not to fight too hard for the same rate for the job as fellow trade

unionists in England or Scotland, such as Dan McGarvey who reminded the steelworkers that the shipyard was being kept open with British taxpayers money.

It is interesting to note that with the announcement of the Courtaulds factories being built at Lettickeny and Derry and bringing much needed work to those areas of high unemployment that the Whitelaw boys are still carrying on the same policy as the old unionist clique of attracting high intensive capital companies to the six Counties, instead of companies with a high intensive labour content . . . and as usual they bribe them with enough grants to get them I'm wondering why Whitelaw did not get the two factories. But allowed the Free State to outbid him . . . You see the Derry factory cost Whitelaw £10 million for the chance of getting 1,000 jobs. That my friends in simple pounds, shillings and pence is £10,000 per job! But will there be 1,000 jobs? These promises are usually forgotten as time passes.

Our readers in Derry should take their minds back to October 22, 1971 when the newspapers told them that "Derry gets a Big Mor-

ale Booster" (Belfast Telegraph—22/10/71). The report read in bold print . . . "N.I. got its most significant industrial morale booster of the year today a major investment which will provide 450 new jobs, most of them for men. And its going to Londonderry. A project for the manufacturing of adding machines and cash registers by a Norwegian company, Jorgen S. Lien Industries.

Today almost two years later we find that this company only employs 260 people — we wonder what those 260 jobs really cost, and how with great publicity they say they intend to double their labour force and expand the factory . . . are they also going to get another grant of a few millions . . . what will happen when they have also used up these new millions, will they disappear back home to Norway?

It would be a better policy if Davy Howell would further the efforts of the Local Enterprise Development Unit and show that what they have been able to do around the Downpatrick area where they were able to create 300 jobs at the low rate of £1,000 per job . . . or he could see that the same organisation could help to build up the various self-help co-operatives who are doing a magnificent job in all parts of the Six Counties where there is high level of unemployment.

LITTLE ERROR

Its good to get a laugh now and again, and when I read the report of the annual dinner of Corporation of Insurance Brokers, and the speech of the N.I. area chairman, I realised that he and his fellow insurance brokers must have had quite a night.

There he was speaking to 150 members and yet not one pulled him up for making such a mess of his facts regarding the trading figures for the Six Counties.

Ah! says he: "Don't you know that we had a record last year for trade. "In 1971 N.I. total trade was more than £17,000 million, compared with slightly less than £16,000 m. in 1970." (Telegraph 15/3/73).

What worries me is that neither one of the 150 guests pulled him, nor did the journalist query the figures, nor did the editor of the Telegraph. Or was anyone really interested?

The correct figures are: Imports for 1971 were £892 million . . . Exports £843 million a total trade of £1,735 million just a tenth of the figures given by George Armstrong the chairman. Just in passing —total trade figures which the unionist Government used to boast about so often don't mean anything . . . if they had, the six counties would have been bankrupt many years ago because imports were always about 50 million pounds above exports every year, but as their trade was only between the six county area and Britain it was if Liverpool and Manchester or Cork and Dublin checked each others imports and exports.

What would have been of more interest to the workers under the control of Stormont and now White law would be to find out what wealth was created in the Six Counties and which was exported in the form of dividends, rent and profit, to the absentee owners of the factories and all means of production owned by them.

We may then find out the true reasons why the Brits are willing to use 20,000 storm troopers to hold on to this last colony.

THANKS

The P.D.F. Committee, Beechmount, wish to thank the anonymous gentleman for his recent generous donation.

KILTYCLOGHER CONCERT AIDS PRISONERS' DEPENDENTS

A variety concert in aid of the Prisoners' Dependents' Fund was held in the Blue Haven Ballroom, Kiltyclogher, when the attendance was the largest seen at any function in the town over a period of years.

The fear a toighe was Mr. Michael Gillespie, Ballyshannon. The concert, organised by the Rossinver Cumann of Sinn Fein was traditional, and the talent of four parishes contributed to making the entertainment a memorable one.

The concert was opened by the Kiltyclogher juvenile Sean MacDermott band, including the Shanley Sisters, Katherine and Martina; the Robinson sisters, Rosemary and Aideen, and Claire and Paul Gurney. This was followed by an exhibition of step-dancing by Eamon McGowan, Kinlough. Others who gave exhibitions of dancing included the Misses Mary Cunningham, Ballintrillick, and Kathleen Clancy, Ann Rooney, and Bernadette Bradley. Selections of dance tunes were given by Phil Rooney, Rossinver, and the Curneens, piano accordion and fiddle, John McGowan and P. McGloin, accordions, and Thomas Feely, Kinlough, guitar and mouth organ. Songs were contributed by Mrs. Peggy Kelly, better known as Peggy Gilligan, Leitrim's ballad queen, accompanied by Mrs. Lily Hersey on the organ; Miss V. Ferguson and Master Eamon McGowan; the McKeaney sisters, Garrison.

A humorous sketch entitled "Poteen Making in Rossinver" was presented by members of the Rossinver Youth Club, and was much appreciated.

Mr. Declan Curneen gave a solo fiddle selection, and his father, Mr. F. Curneen also gave selections on the fiddle.

Winners in an interval draw were Miss Rose McGowan, Corraclona, Kiltyclogher, £2; and Mr. John Joe Sheerin, Rossinver, a box of chocolates.

At the conclusion, Mr. Anthony Daly, Sinn Fein, gave a comprehensive outline of the reasons why Sinn Fein had to reject regretfully the White Paper which had many good points. Until such time as the ban was lifted from Sinn Fein, permitting them to contest elections, the prisoners in Long Kesh released, and an amnesty granted to all Republicans on the run. The White Paper could have no meaning for Republicans, he said. Mr. Daly thanked the people for the wonderful support they had given to the concert. He also thanked all who had in any way contributed to the night's success.

national graves association CO. TYRONE

The National Graves Association (Co. Tyrone Branch) wishes to congratulate the people of Tyrone on their magnificent support for the commemoration in Carrickmore.

Yhe large turn-out at ceremonies throughout the North showed that despite all the efforts of the British propaganda experts they still have not conned most of the ordinary people into blind acceptance of British proposals or British imposed solutions to the Irish problem.

The spirit of resistance to foreign oppression has not been broken in Tyrone; that was demonstrated effectively in a moving tribute to those who in every generation sacrificed their lives in order that the people of this land might live in true peace, justice and freedom.

The National Graves Association condemns the provocative and dangerous propaganda stunt of the British Army in parachuting a group of men into the Garden of Remembrance while the people were still dispersing after the ceremonies. This action was obviously planned to create an incident which would have led to the invasion of Carrickmore by the British Army.

The National Graves Association express sincere thanks to everyone who contributed to the success of the commemoration and hopes that the spirit shown on Easter Sunday will continue in what are crucial times not only for Republicans, imprisoned or at liberty but for the future of our country. It will require great vigilance in the near future to prevent the high cost and sacrifice of recent years being thrown away by place seekers and compromisers who will quickly forget the ideals of dead patriots or the men and women in jails or prison camps in the haste to help Britain operate her new look form of British rule for the Six Counties.

LIAM HOLDEN

Mr. Malachy Foots, P.R.O. of the Ulster Executive commenting on the case of Liam Holden stated:

That he was greatly disturbed at the great silence surrounding Liam Holden, who is in the condemned cell in Crumlin Road Prison, having been found guilty by a British court of the shooting of a member of the Parachute regiment, in the Whiterock area of Belfast.

Mr. Foots said that in a similar case that of the UDA man Albert Brown, there was a general call for his reprieve from all bodies, Sinn Fein being one of them. Now in this case all other bodies have completely ignored or have shown no compassion for Liam Holden.

Mr. Foots added: "These organisations by their silence on this case, compared with their loudly and widespread calls on UDA man—Albert Brown's behalf, lead me to one conclusion that being: What these organisations having spoken out on a UDA man's behalf and now remaining silent when it is a Republican have clearly and blatantly identified themselves with the sectarian politics of this state, and by silence have proven it.

We in Sinn Fein as in Albert Brown's case call for the immediate suspension of Liam Holden's death sentence."

Speaking at a function in Carrickmore, Mr. Malachy Foots, a member of the Belfast North-East Comhairle Ceanntair, said that the White Paper offered Republicans nothing except more oppressive British rule. The ban on Sinn Fein was still to be enforced by the British. The new assembly would be a Stormont under another name and in fact will be a rubber stamp for Mr. Whitelaw or his successors. The only honourable course for Republicans is to boycott the elections to the new councils.

"For anyone," Mr. Foots said, "to sit as a councillor in the new set-up they must first betray the national struggle as well as the suffering people of Derry and Belfast and the men and women in the prisons and concentration camps. The politicians who had talked to Whitelaw has got nothing for minority areas except more British oppression, more murder and more severe sentences on Republicans who had resisted the British Army.

HOW TO WIN FRIENDS
AND INFLUENCE PEOPLE

