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Sales of our first issue totalled 20,000 copies. On January 31 the first copies were sold at the G.P.O., Dublin, by Seán O Cróinín. He reported a brisk demand and kind words of encouragement from many buyers.

Within a couple of days 14,000 copies were distributed throughout Ireland. A reprint of 6,000 copies was sold out by February 18. Every county in Ireland was included, as well as many areas in England, the U.S., Canada and Australia.

The publishers wish to thank all who helped in a successful launching to what we hope will be a successful enterprise, especially our contributors, agents and sellers. It is planned to print 25,000 copies of the March issue.

A special word of thanks goes to all who subscribed to our **PUBLICITY FUND**. Money is still urgently needed for this fund and we confidently appeal once more to our readers and supporters to subscribe and help us to ensure a bright future for An Phoblacht.
The Editor.

PROTEST TO HOME OFFICE

The following letter was handed in by Clann na hEireann to Mr. James Callaghan at the Home Office, London, on February 15, after a march from Hyde Park:

Sir,
We, the members of Clann na hEireann resident in the London area, wish to make known to you our amazement and disgust at the savage sentences passed at Leeds Assizes on two of our members: namely T. G. Doherty and Eamonn Smullen. The peculiar nature of the charges and the hysterical atmosphere in which the trial was conducted lead us to have grave doubts about the probity of the entire affair.

Furthermore, we would like to call your attention to our grave concern about the treatment of two other Irish political prisoners presently held in Wormwood Scrubbs prison; namely P. C. O'Sullivan and Conor Lynch. It has become known to us that these two prisoners are being subjected to the severest regime permissible under prison regulations and that no other inmate of that prison is being treated in the same way.

We strongly suggest that you give both these matters your urgent attention.

(See also page 4)

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WHERE SINN FEIN STANDS

Open Letter from Chairman of Caretaker Executive



Ruairi O Bradaigh, Chairman of the Caretaker Executive of Sinn Féin.

There has been, understandably enough, a certain amount of confusion in the public mind concerning Sinn Féin and the Republican Movement, following on the events of the Ard-Fheis of January 10 and 11 last.

The comprehensive statement issued by the Caretaker Executive of Sinn Féin on January 17 set out clearly the reasons for the walkout from the Ard-Fheis and the withdrawing of support by the greater part of the organisation from the Gardiner Place leadership.

Subsequently, each member of the Caretaker Executive appointed by the adjourned Ard-Fheis received a letter signed "Máirín de Búrca agus Seán O Cionnaith, Ard-Rúnaíthe," asking him to "clarify his attitude" and "if he wished to remain a member of Sinn Féin."

This letter was answered by Ruairi O Bradaigh, Chairman, on behalf of the Caretaker Executive, and his reply by way of an Open Letter set out clearly the legal position of Sinn Féin following the Ard-Fheis:

A Dhaoine Uaisle,

I am in receipt of your letter of January 20. I fully intend to retain membership of Sinn Féin as I have done for the past 20 years. I deny your right and the right of your alleged Ard-Chomhairle to deprive me of membership.

All of you who voted for resolution No. 54 on the agenda of the recent Ard-Fheis giving "support and allegiance to the I.R.A." as represented at the Ard-Fheis by an alleged Army Council which is publicly committed to going into Westminster, Stormont and Leinster House, forfeited membership of the Sinn Féin organisation.

The Sinn Féin Constitution and Rules as re-affirmed by the Ard-Fheis specifically forbids entry to these parliaments and all of you who gave "support and allegiance" to a leadership which intends doing so are in breach of the Sinn Féin Constitution and Rules and stand suspended from membership.

The Constitution of Sinn Féin which was handed to me going into the Ard-Fheis by an official is very emphatic on this point. It contains the "solemn and public pledge" to be signed by each Sinn Féin candidate prior to nomination in parliamentary elections and which I signed while a prisoner in Mountjoy Jail in February 1957.

It says that any breach of part (a) of the pledge "not to sit in any parliament other than a 32-County Republican Parliament" will be regarded as "an act of treachery to be dealt with as such." Yet you have given your support and allegiance to those who are committed to carrying out what the Sinn Féin constitution stigmatised as "an act of treachery".

The Caretaker Executive appointed by the delegates who withdrew from the Intercontinental

Hotel and resumed the Ard-Fheis in Parnell Square uphold the Constitution and Rules of Sinn Féin and pending the re-convening by it of an Ard-Fheis are the lawful governing body of the organisation.

Accordingly, I shall ignore any further correspondence from you. Incidentally, it will emerge clearly that the Caretaker Executive have the allegiance of the great majority of Cumainn, Comhairlí Ceantair and members throughout the country.

(Signed)

RUAIRI O BRADAIGH.

Sinn Féin T.D. for Longford-Westmeath to an All-Ireland Parliament, 1957-61.

Republican candidate for Fermanagh-South Tyrone to an All-Ireland Parliament, 1966.

The statement of January 17 referred to above was published in the February issue. Copies are now available in leaflet form from An Phoblacht at a cost of £2 per 1,000, pro rata for smaller lots. Single copies are free to those who send a stamped addressed envelope.

Armagh Council's Record

Armagh Rural Council has been in the hands of the Unionists for 50 years and its record discrimination rivals that of Rhodesia and South Africa.

Recently, they refused to accept a directive from Stormont requesting them to set up a housing points system. Mill Row in Armagh City is under the control of this group and the conditions of Roman Catholic families living there have made national headlines.

A prominent councillor is Mr. Douglas Hutchinson who was jailed for his participation in the Bunting Bully Boy takeover of Armagh City against a Civil Rights march in November, 1968.

North West Regional Executive Formed

Sean Keenan is Chairman

A **REPUBLICAN EXECUTIVE** for the North-West region was elected at a meeting in the Abbey Hotel, Donegal, on Friday, February 13. Republicans from Derry, Tyrone, Fermanagh, North Leitrim and Donegal attended the meeting which was addressed by Ruairi O Bradaigh, Chairman, Caretaker Executive, Sinn Féin.

Mr. O Bradaigh outlined recent developments in the Republican Movement which culminated in a walk-out at the annual Sinn Féin Ard-Fheis. Following a full discussion, the meeting unanimously agreed to re-affirm its allegiance to the Irish Republic, proclaimed in arms in 1916 and ratified by the people of Ireland in 1918. Many members pointed out that nothing short of the full implementation of the aims of the 1916 Proclamation would ensure a just and lasting peace in Ireland.

Mr. Seán Keenan, Derry, and a representative from Belfast reported on the situation in their respective areas. Mr. Keenan warned that the uneasy calm prevailing in the area cannot last indefinitely.

"All the signs are," he said, "that the bigoted elements which wrought havoc and destruction on our people last August are again gaining momentum. The presence of British troops on the streets of Derry is no guarantee of peace and security; in fact their recent activities have made many people wonder as to the true purpose of their role."

"Furthermore," Mr. Keenan stated, "we have had 800 years of occupation by British troops and who can say they ever brought peace and justice to our land?"

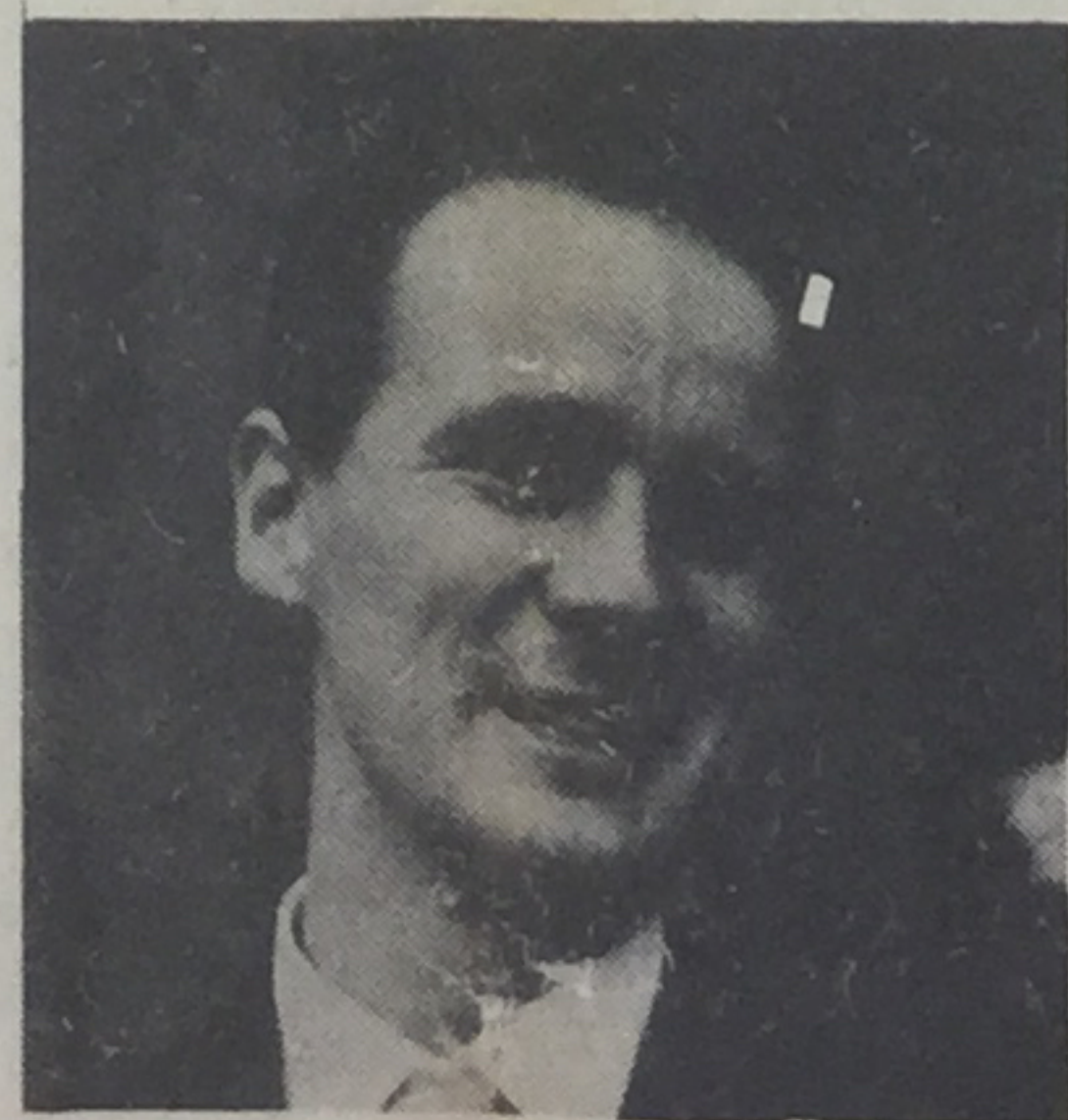
Finally, Mr. Keenan strongly appealed to Republicans in the North-West and throughout Ireland to build an effective Movement so that never again will the lives of innocent people be at

the mercy of armed and bigoted sectarian forces.

The meeting was addressed also by Daithí O Conaill, Donegal, who reported on the response of Republicans in the County to the crisis of last August.

Mr. O Conaill stated that Republicans in Donegal welcomed the emergence of an Executive for the North-West region.

"It became very apparent last August," he said, "that the Republican Movement in Donegal



Daithí O Conaill, Secretary of the North-west Regional Executive.

must be closely knit with branches in the adjoining counties. When the people of Bogside were under attack, it was only natural that they should look to their sister county for aid and support.

"Furthermore, the entire area west of the Bann has been neglected by both the Belfast and Dublin Governments and the unnatural division of our country has

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HONOUR IRELAND'S DEAD

Wear an Easter Lily

A Sinn Féin Revival

This Editorial was published in the *Leinster Express*, Port Laoise, on February 7.

At one time Sinn Féin was in a position to unite all Irishmen and women who wanted an Irish Ireland. It is sad, therefore, to see this organisation become once again the victim of a split in its ranks.

Numerically speaking, Sinn Féin nowadays is but a pale shadow of its former self. To most people it would seem of little importance whether the organisation split up again or disintegrated all together.

That would be a harsh judgement indeed and if it truly represents majority opinion in Ireland then the Irish race has forsaken a glorious tradition—one which more truly represents the ideals of Pearse and Connolly than any of our major political parties.

More important, however, is the interest which people should have in the idealism which inspires organisations like Sinn Féin. Their fight has been a losing one for many years and yet they struggle on—because they love their country and believe they can right some of the wrongs done to it. They are inspired by a patriotism which is not tainted by the acceptance of directorships on companies with vested interests or an annual pay packet—in the surtax bracket—sponsored by the tax payers.

Idealism of this sort is rare nowadays. Patriots are judged on a different basis—if the suggestion, made recently, that Seán Lemass may be our greatest patriot, is to be taken seriously. Perhaps this explains why Sinn Féin has not the support it once had.

Another reason for this lack of support came to public notice when the group which walked out of the recent Sinn Féin Ard-Fheis issued an explanatory statement. Evidence of infiltration by Communist elements was well documented in the statement. It comes as no surprise to learn that 75 per cent of active Sinn Féin members have now pledged their support to the walk-out group.

If the darkest hour is just before the dawn, then perhaps we will soon witness a revival of interest in the Sinn Féin movement. If it will effect an upsurge of true patriotism—and we have reason to believe that it would—then it would be of incalculable value to Ireland.

Aitheantas do Chlub Poblachtach

Tá glactha ag Comhairle Teachtaí na Macleinn le Bunreacht an Chlub Poblachtach i gColáiste na hOllscoile, Gaillimh. Cuirtear an Bunreacht ar aghaidh go dtí Comhairle Acadúil an Choláiste le hiarratas go nglacfaid siad leis.

Is é Pilib O hEidhin, Ball, Co. Mhaigh Eo, atá ina Chathaoirleach ar an gClub.

MAYO

It was announced in a statement to the press during January that the Mayo Unit of the Irish Republican Army had been re-formed in support of the Provisional Army Council of the I.R.A.

Easter in Longford

The Co. Longford Easter Commemoration will take place at the graves of Patrick McKeon and Capt. Henry Hughes in Ballymacormack Cemetery on Easter Sunday afternoon. Parade forms up at Churchland Bridge at 3.0 p.m.

Neither Queen nor Kremlin

At a specially convened meeting of Cumann na hUaimhe, Sinn Féin, it was unanimously decided to affiliate with the Caretaker Executive and to recognise the Provisional Army Council as the lawful leadership of the Republican Movement.

A statement from the Cumann added: "We do not serve Queen, Kremlin or Free State, but will strive for a 32-County Republic based on the Proclamation of Easter Week and Christian principles."

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DUBLIN IS REORGANISED

A meeting of Comhairle Ceantair Atha Cliath was held on February 4, 1970, to re-arrange the organisation in Dublin City and County, Dún Laoghaire and Rathdown. A remarkably heavy demand for the February issue of "An Phoblacht" was reported by all Cumainn and arrangements were made for the sale of Easter Lilies.

The Comhairle pledged allegiance to the new Caretaker Executive and called on that body to dismiss all members who have given allegiance to the Gardiner

Place Junta. The following officers were elected:
Cathaoirleach: S. Thornton.
Leas-Chathaoirleach: T. O'Neill.
Rúnaí: F. Smith.
Rúnaí Cúnta: Mrs. Williams.
Cisteoirí: S. O Nualláin, E. Sammon.
Press Officer: M. Whelan.

The following Area Organisers were appointed:
South Central: T. O'Neill, 5 B Mary Aikenhead House, James's St., Dublin 8.
Dún Laoghaire: S. O Nualláin, 12 Rory O'Connor Park, Monkstown.

South West: C. Dolan, 15 Dromore Road, Drimnagh, Dublin 12.
North East: U. O. Loinsigh, 4 Cooleen Avenue, Beaumont, Dublin 9.
North Central: F. McCrudden, 61 Seán Mac Dermott Street, Dublin 1.
North West: J. Grogan, 24 N.C. Road, Dublin 8.
South County: J. Fagan, 117 Windmill Pk., Crumlin, Dublin 12.
Clondalkin-Rathcoole: S. O Súilleabháin, 2 Beech Row, Nangor Road, Clondalkin.

Statement from Cumann na mBan

At a meeting of Cumann na mBan Executive held in Dublin on January 25, the following resolution was passed unanimously:

"That we the Executive of Cumann na mBan pledge our allegiance to the Provisional Army Council, believing, that an Army Council which advocated entry into Leinster House, Stormont and Westminster and promoted an extreme form of Socialism, forfeited the right to speak for the Republican Movement. Therefore we consider the Provisional Army Council to be the true voice of Republicanism."

Signed:
Siobhán Bean Uí Mhaolchathaigh, Uachtarán.
Aine Bean Uí Longáin, Rúnaí.

I gCUIMHNE

GEORGE PLANT, Tipperary, executed in Port Laoise Prison, March 5, 1942.

DESMOND SWANTON, Cork, killed in explosion, March 17, 1963.

TIPPERARY

At a recent meeting of North and South Tipperary units of the I.R.A., it was unanimously agreed that the Provisional Army Council is the lawful leadership of the I.R.A.

Accordingly, Tipperary units of the I.R.A. pledge their allegiance to the Provisional Army Council.

CORK

"An Phoblacht" was sold extensively during February in the Fermoy, Castlelyons and Glanworth areas of Co. Cork. Cork City Sinn Féin have doubled their order for March.

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Cavan Sinn Féin

At a Sinn Féin meeting in the Town Hall, Cavan, the following officers were elected: Chairman: Peter A. McGovern; Vice-Chairman, Richard Cassidy; Secretary, Liam S. Muimhneach; Asst. Secretary: Ben McHugh; Treasurers: Benny Little and Charles Boylan. Committee: Sean Sharkey, Benny Donohoe, John Lynch, Mrs. M. Murray, Ted Reilly, Gerry McGearry, Benny Gaffney, Kevin Reilly, Hugh Smith, Hugh McGovern and Thos. McGovern. The meeting pledged support to the caretaker Executive.

ATHLONE

A meeting of Seán Costello Cumann of Sinn Féin, held in Athlone, decided unanimously to affiliate to the Caretaker Executive of Sinn Féin.

Roscommon Commemoration

At a meeting of the County Roscommon Commemoration Committee it was decided to hold this year's Easter Commemoration at the graves of John Scally and Michael Grealy in Clontuskert Abbey Cemetery, Curraghroe, on Easter Sunday afternoon.

Following last Mass in Elphin the annual wreath-laying ceremony will also take place at the Co. Roscommon I.R.A. Memorial at Shankill Cross.

The meeting placed a substantial order for Easter Lilies and requested a speaker from the Republican Commemoration Committee in Dublin.

A vote of sympathy was passed with the relatives of the late John Kelly, ex-Co.C., Sheerevagh, Ballinameen, Boyle, a life-long member of the Commemoration Committee and of the County Memorial Committee; also with the Conboy family, Athleague, on the recent death of Michael Conboy.

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Coiste Foilseachán Náisiúnta

Comdt. General Maguire will speak in Galway

The annual general meeting of South Galway Comhairle Ceantair of Sinn Féin was held in Loughrea on February 2.

Areas represented included: Athenry, Ballinasloe, Kilconieron, Kilconnell, Cappataggle, Gurteen, Kilnadeema, Leitrim, Shanaglish and Woodford.

Ruairi O Brádaigh read a comprehensive statement from the Caretaker Executive of Sinn Féin giving five major reasons for the walk-out from the Ard-Fheis, as follows:

- (1) Recognition of Westminster, Stormont and Leinster House.
- (2) Extreme Socialism leading to dictatorship.
- (3) Internal methods being used in the Movement.
- (4) Failure to give maximum possible defence in Belfast and other Northern centres last August.
- (5) Campaigning to retain Stormont instead of seeking its abolition.

Officers elected were: Chairman: **Seán Cunningham**, Kilnadeema; Vice-Chairman: **Tom Nolan**, Kilconnell; Treasurers: **John J. Ruane**, Athenry, and **Tony Egan**, Woodford; Press Officer: **Seán Cunningham**.

It was announced at the meeting that Comdt. General Tom Maguire was being invited to speak at the Commemoration Ceremonies in Shanaglish at Easter. A record attendance is expected there in view of the fact that this year marks the Golden Jubilee of the deaths for Ireland of Patrick and Henry Loughnane in 1920.

The meeting placed a substantial order for Easter Lilies and made arrangements for their sale throughout South Galway.

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An Ghaeilge sa Tuaisceart

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DA DHONACHT í staid na Gaeilge sna 26 Chontae, is measa ar fad í sna Sé Chontae. Ní raibh aon Rialtas ó dheas i ndáiríre faoin nGaeilge, ach ar a laghad tá sé le rá gur múineadh

sa chóras stáit, sna cúirteanna, ar an raidió ná ar an teilifís.

Is beag aitheantas a fhaigheann an Ghaeilge sa chóras oideachais ach oiread. Níl sí ar chlár na mbunscoileanna ach tá cead ag na múinteoirí

mhaith le hábhair eile, toisc nach bhfuil tacaíocht an stáit ag an teanga.

Is measa i bhfad atá an scéal sna Scoileanna Idirmheánacha. Ní mhúintear an Ghaeilge ach i ndornán beag acu. Ní mhúintear an Ghaeilge ar chor ar bith sa dá Scoil Idirmheánach is mó i nDoire.

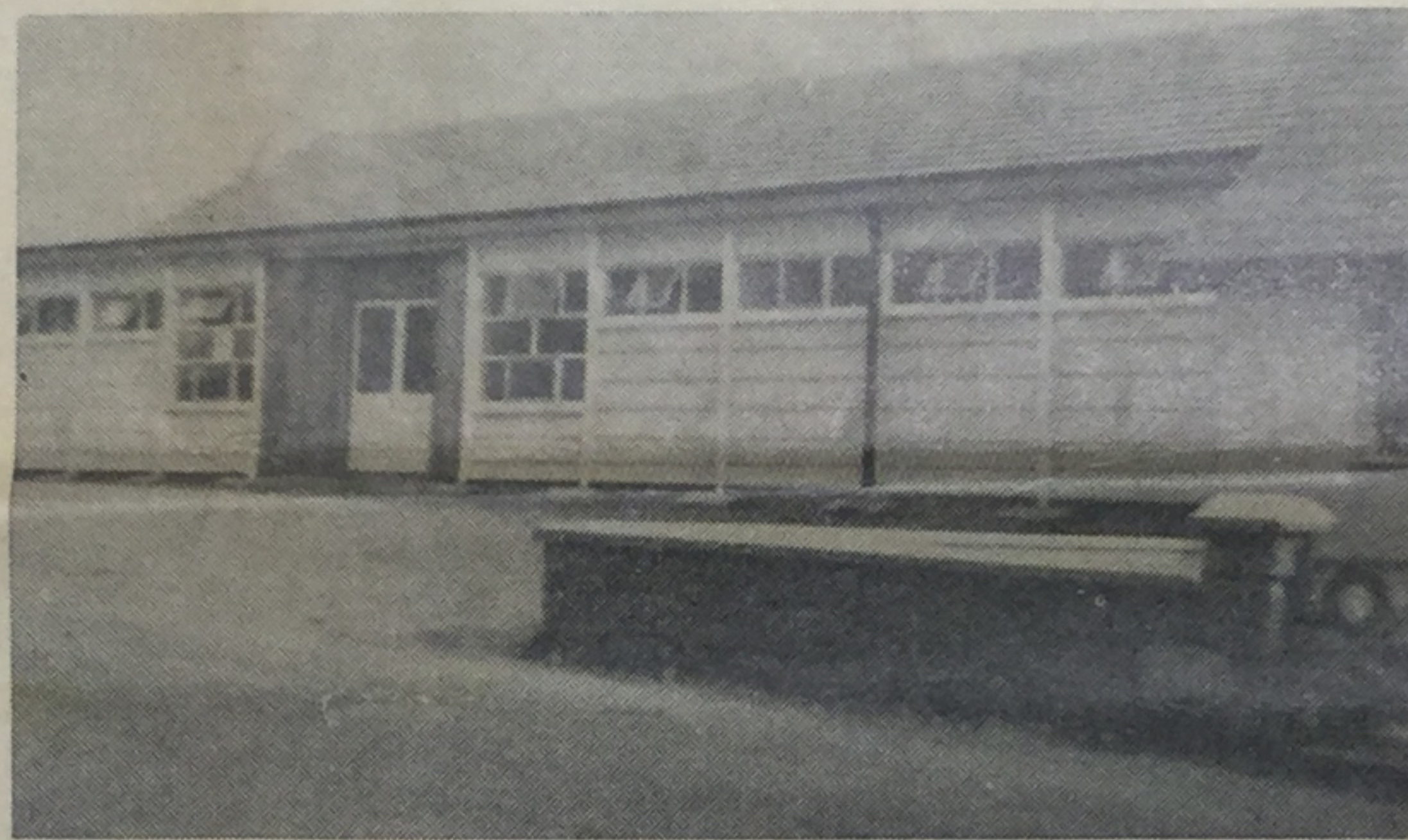
Is ionann seo uilig agus a rá go séantar an Ghaeilge ar fhuirmhór mór na bpáistí sna Sé Chontae, agus ar pháistí an lucht oibre ach go háirithe.

AN CONRADH

Tá tábhacht faoi leith mar sin ag baint le Conradh na Gaeilge agus an obair atá ar siúl acu ó thuaidh. Bíonn ranganna Gaeilge agus staire (nach múintear sna bunscoileanna ach an oiread) ar siúl san Ardscoil i mBéal Feirste agus in áiteanna eile. Bíonn cúrsa Gaeilge sa Scoil Samhraidh i mBun Abhann Dála in Aontroim gach bliain agus spás ann do 80 ógánach. Triallann na céadta gasúr ar an 11 Choláiste Gaeilge atá i dTír Chonaill, cuid mhór acu ar scoláireachtaí. Tá an-tábhacht mar sin ag baint le Coláistí Ghori an Chóirce, Ros Goill, Anagaire.



Téann na céadta daltaí as na Sé Chontae go dtí na Coláistí Samhraidh i dTír Chonaill. Anseo tá scata d'ógánaigh aeracha ag Coláiste Anagaire. Thíos: an foirgneamh nua in Anagaire.



uair go leith a chaitheamh gach seachtain ar ábhair eile seachas na hábhair atá ar an gclár. O rang a ceathair go rang a seacht tá cead an Ghaeilge a mhúineadh sa tréimhse seo.

Tá 1,370 bunscoil sna Sé Chontae. Baintear leas as an seans chun an Ghaeilge a mhúineadh i 156 scoil .i. 11% díobh. Ní dhéantar mórán den teanga a theagasc nó a fhoghlaim ar an mbealach seo, go háirithe ós rud é nach mbíonn aon oiliúint ag an gcuid is mó de na múinteoirí i dteagasc na Gaeilge.

S na Scoileanna Gramadaí múintear an Ghaeilge i 34 as an 80 díobh atá ann. Seo iad na scoileanna atá i seilbh an mhionlaigh ar ndóigh. Ach bíonn brú ar na daltaí éirí as an nGaeilge ar

Rann na Feirste agus na cinn eile.

Is olc an chaoi atá ar an nGaeilge sa mhéid go bhfuil beagnach 30% de pháistí óga na hEireann ina gcónaí sna Sé Chontae agus gan ach caoiseans ag fíorbheagán díobh an teanga a fhoghlaim. Níl aon seans acu máistreacht a fháil ar theanga a dtíre féin. Is séanadh cearta é sin ar ndóigh.

Tá seasamh áirithe bainte amach ag an mBreatnais sa Bhreatain Bheag. Níl sé i ngar do bheith sásúil go fóill ach an méid a baineadh amach ba de tharr troda a rinneadh é. Ba cheart do Ghaeilgeoirí na Sé Chontae staidéar a dhéanamh ar fheachtas na mBreatnach agus b'fhéidir go bhfoghlaimedh siad ceacht uaidh.

Ba chóir do Phoblachtaigh sa Tuaisceart an chinnireacht agus an sampla a thabhairt i labhairt agus i gcur chun cinn na Gaeilge. Ba chóir dóibh ceist na gcearta teanga a bhrú ar aghaidh freisin.

'Big Tom' Keenan is dead

Thomas Keenan, Blueball, Banagher, Co. Offaly, who died on January 10, was a native of Belair, Ballycumber, and one of the most prominent local I.R.A. men prior to, during and subsequent to 1916.

He was Organiser for Offaly County prior to the Insurrection, and thereafter held the post of Comdt. in the Offaly No. Two Brigade area.

Although he took an active part in the fight, he was concentrated more on the executive side of the organisation, and in both capacities he gave wholehearted and unreserved dedication to the cause.

He was well known all over the County, but particularly around South Offaly, and when it came to the unveiling of the Barnes and McCormack Memorial in Banagher in July, 1963, he was the immediate and unanimous choice for the ceremony which he performed with due dignity.

He was given a military funeral to Clonmacnois Cemetery and a Guard of Honour of youthful followers of the Movement was mounted, the coffin draped in the Tricolour, and an inspiring and stirring oration was delivered at the graveside by well-known former Laois-Offaly Sinn Féin T.D., Mr. J. McGuinness.

A huge congregation joined in the farewell tribute and prayers at the graveside.

THE MOY, CO. CLARE CUMANN REORGANISED

The Moy, Co Clare, Cumann of Sinn Féin has been re-organised.

The re-organisation meeting was attended by Mr. Denis McInerney, a member of the Caretaker Executive, and Mr. Michael O'Connell, an officer of the Clare Comhairle Ceantair.

The following officers were elected: Chairman, **Sean Vaughan**; Secretary, **Tommy Whyte**; Treas., **James Garrahy**.

MAYO SELLS 105 DOZEN

Officers elected at a meeting of Mayo Comhairle Ceantair of Sinn Féin in Castlebar were: Chairman: **Dan Hoban**, Newport; Vice-Chairman: **Luke Weaver**, Charles-town; Secretary: **Caoimhín Campbell**, Solr., Swinford; Treasurers: **Tadhg Hastings**, Westport, and **Mrs. Peadar Murray**, Newport.

The meeting pledged support to the Caretaker Executive of Sinn Féin.

Note: Mayo Comhairle Ceantair sold 105 dozen of "An Phoblacht" during February.

She has gone

She has gone, cries Mother Ireland
And I could not bid her stay
She has gone because her elders
Did their sister young betray.
She has gone, to 'merry' England
There to toil the livelong day
And at night to pine for My Land
In a city of the gay.

She has gone, to join her brother
And I weep to see her go
She has gone, my very life-blood
To that land, my olden foe.
She has gone, my fair young daughter
And my heart is full of woe
For my son, the helpless lover
Who in silence saw her go.

She has gone, may God protect her
Keep her ever safe from harm.
She has gone, may Mary shield her
From the City's serpent charm.
She has gone, but still they slumber
Men who once an oath did take
That they'd ever guard their Mother
For her younger children's sake.

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Board Covers	15/-	1/-
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1934 Republican Congress by George Gilmore	6/-	6d.
Robert Emmet's Speech from the Dock—with portrait of the patriot on cover	1/-	4d.
Glimpses of an Irish Felon's Prison Life by Tom Clarke	5/-	6d.

Write for Book List

London Protest on Sentences

ON Sunday, February 15, a demonstration was organised in London by Clann na hEireann to protest against the severe sentences imposed at Leeds Assizes on two Irishmen, Jerry Doherty and Eamonn Smullen, both of them members of Clann na hEireann, following a much-publicised trial conducted in an atmosphere of sensation and hysteria.

The meeting also protested against the inhuman treatment of two young Corkmen, Conor Lynch and Christopher O'Sullivan, who are at present serving sentences of seven years' solitary confinement in Wormwood Scrubbs Prison.

The demonstration was at Speakers Corner, Hyde Park.

Among the speakers were Terry Dunne (Dublin), Tomás McElistrim (Kerry), Brendan McGill (Armagh) and Seán McDermott (Derry).

A parade of about 200 people, members of Clann na hEireann and supporters of the Provisional Executive of Sinn Féin, marched carrying placards through the centre of London to the Home Office in Whitehall.

A letter to the Home Secretary, Mr. James Callaghan, was handed in on behalf of Clann by Seán

DIOLACHAN I nGAILLIMH

Díoladh cóipeanna d'eagrán Feabhra den Phoblacht i gColáiste na hOllscoile, Gaillimh. Bhí an-éileamh orthu agus níor fágadh aon chóip gan díol.

LONDON ADDRESS

At a meeting of London Republican Club on February 13, Seán Carson, a veteran of the 1939 campaign spoke on I.R.A. activities in England in the '30s. He was not qualified to speak on the '40s as during that time he was serving a 10-year sentence in Petershead Prison.

At the London meeting he warned Republicans to get their priorities right. The most important task to-day was to defend our people in the North.

"We must not be misled by party political elements who would lead us into partition parliaments and as a consequence sell out the principles on which our Movement was founded," he said.

Coiste Cuimhneachain na Poblachta

1916

COMMEMORATION

CONCERT

Mansion House
(Round Room)

Easter Sunday, 29 Mar., '70

Artistes:

Seán O Sé, Martin Dempsey, The Chieftains, Eamonn Keane, Brídín Gilroy, Denis McGrath, Eamonn Ceannt Céilí Band, Our Lady of Dublin Irish Dance Troupe, Clann na nGael Dancers, Mary Killeen.

Eamonn O Gallachobhair
Accompanist

PRICES:

8/6, 6/-. Children, Half-price
Doors Open 7.30

DUBLIN

COMMEMORATION

10.45 a.m. Mass in St. Joseph's Church, Berkeley Road.

Parade assembles at Mater Hospital, Eccles Street, at 11.30 a.m. Parade will march to 1916 Plot, Glasnevin Cemetery. Oration by Joe Cahill, Belfast.

CO. DUBLIN

COMMEMORATION

Parade will assemble at Foxrock Church at 3.00 p.m. and march to Republican Plot, Deansgrange Cemetery.

EASTER CEREMONIES CAVAN

Co. Cavan Republican Commemoration will be held on Easter Sunday in Cill Dubh Cemetery, Swanlinbar, over the grave of Volunteer Patrick McManus, who died in defence of the Irish Republic on July 15, 1958.

Volunteer McManus was a native of Kinawley, Co. Fermanagh and from the launching of the 1956 campaign until his death he was on full-time active service. He was O.C. of South Fermanagh Unit. He was a brave and gentle leader and an inspiration to the men he led.

SLIGO

The annual Republican Commemoration to the graves of Sligo's Noble Six will take place as usual on Easter Sunday.

The parade will commence from the Town Hall. It will be marshalled by members of the Tommy Langan Cumann of Sinn Féin who have been responsible with the National Graves Association for the holding of this commemoration over a long number of years. A prominent Republican speaker will deliver the oration at the graveside and the Sligo Connolly Pipe Band will lead the parade.

Mass at 10.30 on Easter Monday morning will be offered at Holy Cross Priory for the repose of the souls of the six Sligo men and for all who have given their lives in the cause of Irish freedom.

WEXFORD

The Wexford Easter Commemoration Parade to the Republican Plot will leave Crescent Quay at 3.00 p.m. on Easter Sunday.

The 11.00 a.m. Mass in the Church of the Immaculate Conception will be offered for the repose of the souls of all who died for Irish freedom.

LEITRIM

The Co. Leitrim Commemoration will be held in Jamestown Cemetery at the grave of Lieut. Patrick Gill.

A commemoration céilí will be held in Ballinamore on Thursday, April 2.

KERRY

Tralee: Parade assembles at '98 memorial at 3.15, Easter Sunday. Listowel: Republican Plot at 1.00.

CLARE

An Easter Commemoration ceremony will be held in Drumcliffe Cemetery, Ennis, Co. Clare, on Easter Sunday at 2.00 p.m. The oration will be given by Seán O Gormaille.

MAYO

The Mayo Easter Commemoration will be held in Achill.

NORTH LOUTH

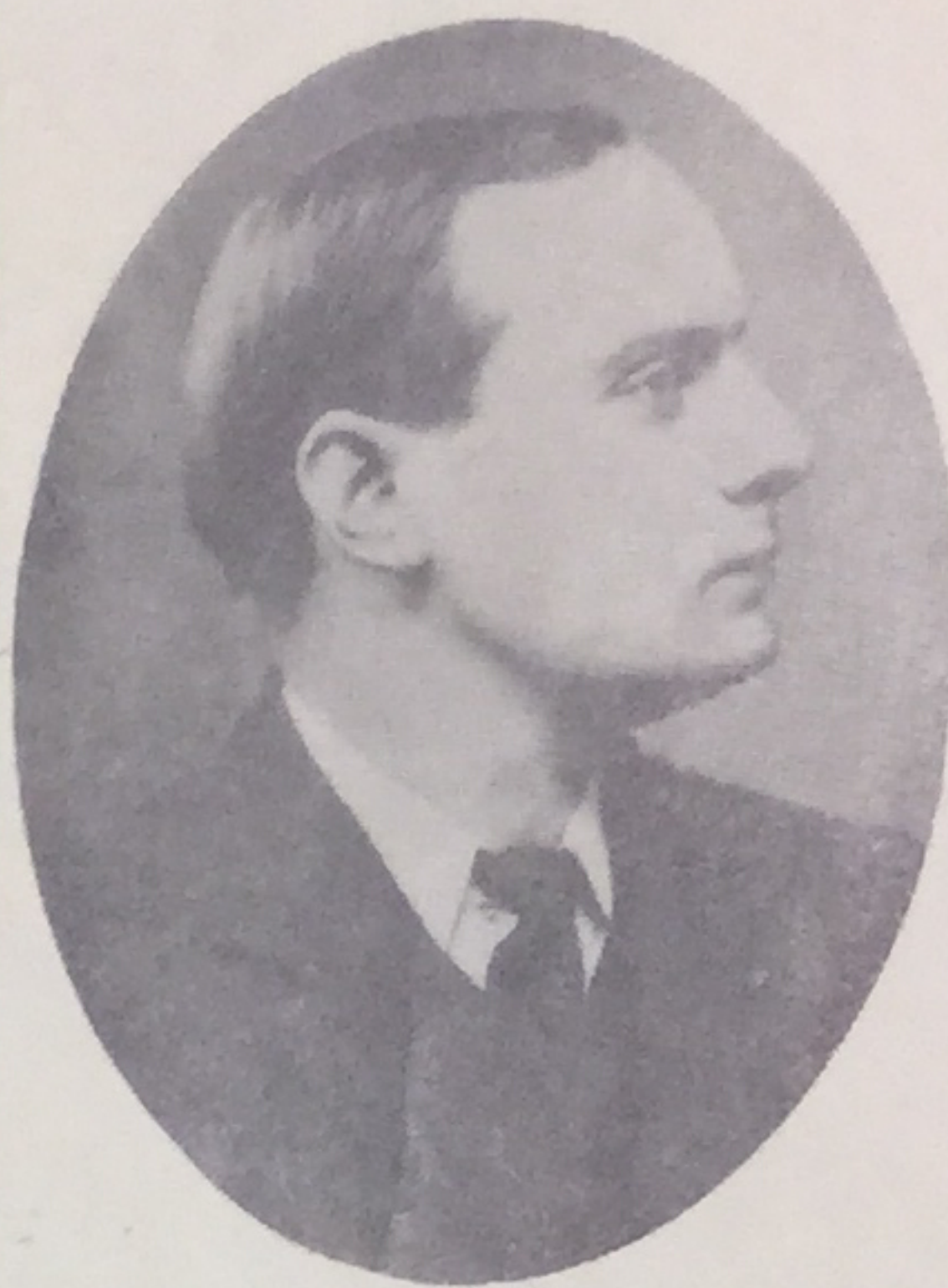
At a meeting of the North Louth Easter Commemoration Committee it was decided to hold the Easter Commemoration parade as usual on Easter Sunday at 3.00 p.m.

The parade will form up at the Adelphi and march to St. Patrick's Cemetery where an oration will be delivered at the Republican Plot. Wreaths will be laid by various bodies.

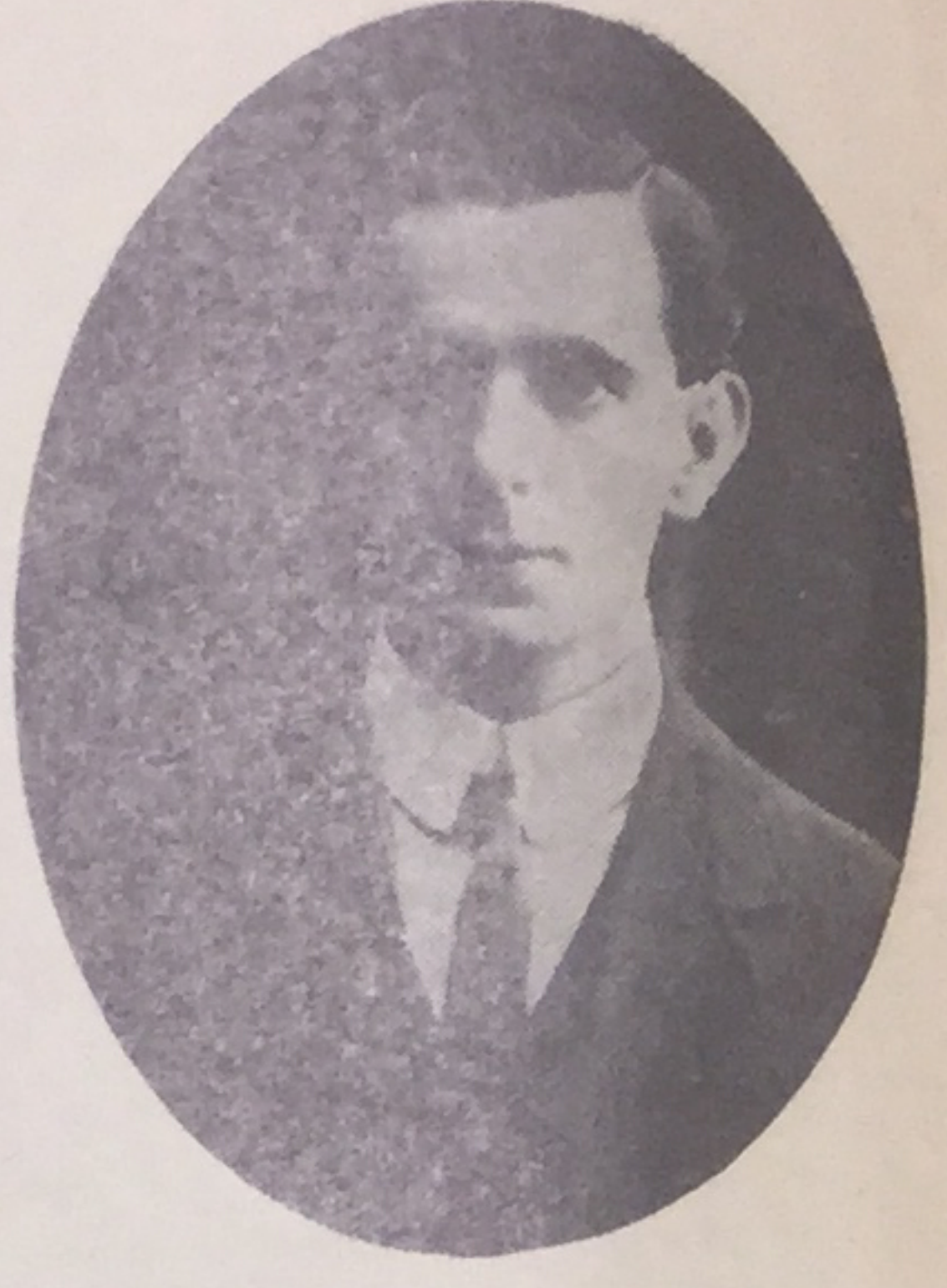
TOMAS O DUILL

A commemoration Mass for Tomás O Duill, Dublin, will be said in Berkeley Road Church, Dublin, on Sunday, March 15, at 10.00 a.m. It will be followed by an oration at the graveside.

Dublin Comhairle Ceantair of Sinn Féin has voted sympathy with the O Duill family on the death of Séamas, brother of Tomás.



PADRAIC PEARSE



SEAN MAC DIARMADA

What the 1916 Rising Meant

By Art O Baoill

THIS year we will commemorate the fifty-fourth anniversary of the Easter Week Rising, and if we consider what we are commemorating we will see how impossible it would be for any Republican to accept even for a second either of the two States which exist in Ireland to-day.

The 1916 Rising was based upon the philosophy of Fenianism which was a direct descendant of the Young Irelanders, of Emmet, and the United Irishmen. It has been demonstrated clearly by history that if the Irish Republican Brotherhood i.e., the Fenian Organisation, had not been able to control the volunteer movement, the Rising would never have taken place.

When the Fenian Leader, O'Donovan Rossa, died in the United States in 1915 his body was taken home for burial in Ireland. In Ireland, the I.R.B. was determined to make the funeral of Rossa a public demonstration of Fenianism and Republicanism. Pádraic Pearse was selected by the Supreme Council of the I.R.B. to deliver the oration when Rossa was laid to rest in the Fenian Plot with the other Leaders of '67. James Connolly, and the Irish Citizen Army co-operated in organising the funeral procession, which took several hours to pass through the streets of Dublin.

At the graveside of Rossa, Pearse excelled himself as he had never done before. He seemed to be a man inspired when in his now famous oration so often quoted but seldom acted upon he committed a new generation to the full Fenian programme.

FREE AND GAELIC

In that oration Pearse visualised the future Irish Republic in this famous sentence: "the clear true eyes of this man almost alone in his day visioned Ireland as we of to-day would surely have her; not free merely but Gaelic as well; not Gaelic merely, but free as well."

In other words Pearse was stating that the Irish Republican Brotherhood of which he was the chosen spokesman was standing for the complete undoing of the British conquest in Ireland, in all its implications, political, cultural and economic. Pearse was actually preaching the simple Gospel of

Tone, which was to "break the connection with England, the never failing source of all our political evils."

If, to-day, men hold commemorations of Easter Week and at the same time support and uphold the British conquest in Ireland, they are as Pearse would describe them "tyrants, hypocrites, liars." There are a number of groups claiming to be Republican who support the maintenance of two partitioned States.

Some of these groups tell us that they only use the State apparatus as a propaganda machine or as a springboard, from which to jump on to the solid rock of the Republic. Unfortunately for this country all those who got on to the springboard missed the rock in their dive and went down into the morass of Free State Imperialism.

DEFIED AN EMPIRE

Easter week was in no way ambiguous. The Proclamation said: "We place the cause of the Irish Republic under the protection of the Most High God, whose blessing we invoke upon our arms." Mark the words "upon our arms." The men of Easter week knew the road to freedom, the hard rugged road of Revolution. They were not afraid to face realities. They were not afraid to die for Ireland.

In their time as now the rosey path of Parliamentarianism beckoned. John Redmond and his Lieutenants were going to win self-government "on the floor of the house." There were 80 Irishmen sitting as M.P.s. at Westminster and the net result of that was, that 50,000 Irishmen died for the Union Jack on the fields of France and Flanders in the hope that when the freedom of small nations was won, bountiful Dame Britannia would grant us "A Measure of Home Rule." Well, Germany lost the war of 1914/18 and when the Irish people looked for self-Government, old Dame Britannia lost all her gentle ways and deposited upon Irish shores the murdering Black and Tans that the I.R.A. defeated along with the regular British Army and the R.I.C. But the I.R.A. was the Army of the lawfully constituted Government of Ireland, Dáil Eireann, the Parliament of the Irish Republic. That Parliament

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POBLACHT NA h EIREANN. THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT OF THE IRISH REPUBLIC TO THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND.

IRISHMEN AND IRISHWOMEN: In the name of God and of the dead generations from which she receives her old tradition of nationhood, Ireland, through us, summons her children to her flag and strikes for her freedom.

Having organised and trained her manhood through her secret revolutionary organisation, the Irish Republican Brotherhood, and through her open military organisations, the Irish Volunteers and the Irish Citizen Army, having patiently perfected her discipline, having resolutely waited for the right moment to reveal itself, she now seizes that moment, and, supported by her exiled children in America and by gallant allies in Europe, but relying in the first on her own strength, she strikes in full confidence of victory.

We declare the right of the people of Ireland to the ownership of Ireland, and to the unfettered control of Irish destinies, to be sovereign and indefeasible. The long usurpation of that right by a foreign people and government has not extinguished the right, nor can it ever be extinguished except by the destruction of the Irish people. In every generation the Irish people have asserted their right to national freedom and sovereignty; six times during the past three hundred years they have asserted it in arms. Standing on that fundamental right and again asserting it in arms in the face of the world, we hereby proclaim the Irish Republic as a Sovereign Independent State, and we pledge our lives and the lives of our comrades-in-arms to the cause of its freedom, of its welfare, and of its exaltation among the nations.

The Irish Republic is entitled to, and hereby claims, the allegiance of every Irishman and Irishwoman. The Republic guarantees religious and civil liberty, equal rights and equal opportunities to all its citizens, and declares its resolve to pursue the happiness and prosperity of the whole nation and of all its parts, cherishing all the children of the nation equally, and oblivious of the differences carefully fostered by an alien government, which have divided a minority from the majority in the past.

Until our arms have brought the opportune moment for the establishment of a permanent National Government, representative of the whole people of Ireland and elected by the suffrages of all her men and women, the Provisional Government, hereby constituted, will administer the civil and military affairs of the Republic in trust for the people.

We place the cause of the Irish Republic under the protection of the Most High God, Whose blessing we invoke upon our arms, and we pray that no one who serves that cause will dishonour it by cowardice, inhumanity, or rapine. In this supreme hour the Irish nation must, by its valour and discipline and by the readiness of its children to sacrifice themselves for the common good, prove itself worthy of the august destiny to which it is called.

Signed on Behalf of the Provisional Government,

THOMAS J. CLARKE,
SEAN Mac DIARMADA, THOMAS MacDONAGH,
P. H. PEARSE, EAMONN Ceannt,
JAMES CONNOLLY, JOSEPH PLUNKETT.

would never have been there had Sinn Féin not won the election of 1918 and Sinn Féin never would have won that election had not a small minority of about a thousand men defied the Might of an Empire on Easter Monday 1916 and proclaimed the Irish Republic in blood.

Now, fifty-four years later we are being told by people who call themselves "progressives" that we are to retrace our steps and go back to Westminster and become part of Westminster's Puppet Assemblies of Stormont and Leinster House. Will these people never get sense? Easter Monday still stands. The Proclamation of the Republic was a reality. The setting up of Dáil Eireann was a reality. And for fifty-four years men have died on the battle field, on the scaffold and in the prison cells to uphold and proclaim that reality.

DAIL EIREANN

The first issue of An Phoblacht quoted Cathal Brugha on the Treaty. I should like now to quote him at the opening of Dáil Eireann on January 21, 1919. When he took the chair at that first historic meeting in the Mansion House of the Parliament and Government of the Irish Republic, he stated in Irish "We are now done with England." In other words, an Irish Parliament and Government was set up and the Irish people were masters in their own house. No set of Irishmen have been given

a Mandate since to change that. Since the 26-County State was established, there has been no all-Ireland general election and Brugha's repudiation of English Institutions in Ireland still stands.

SOUL OF IRELAND

There is only one road to freedom and that is the road taken by the men of Easter Week. Austin Stack who was Secretary of Sinn Féin when he died in 1929 and who had refused to follow Fianna Fáil into Leinster House, put the position very clearly when he said at the Easter Commemoration of that very year, "We Republicans can never be defeated because the cause we serve enshrines the soul of Ireland."

The soul of Ireland is very important. It cannot be sullied for temporary advantage or for material gain. Republicans who take the by-roads into Imperial Institutions must end up as part of the system and must one day oppress their fellow Republicans and former comrades. This happened in the case of Fianna Fáil, and of Fine Gael, and it will happen again to all those who accept British Institutions.

The great patriot the late Rev. Fr. Michael O'Flanagan who was President of Sinn Féin in the late thirties when describing how former Republicans had become Imperialists after they entered the 26-County Assembly said to the writer of this article: "If you put meat into a sausage machine you

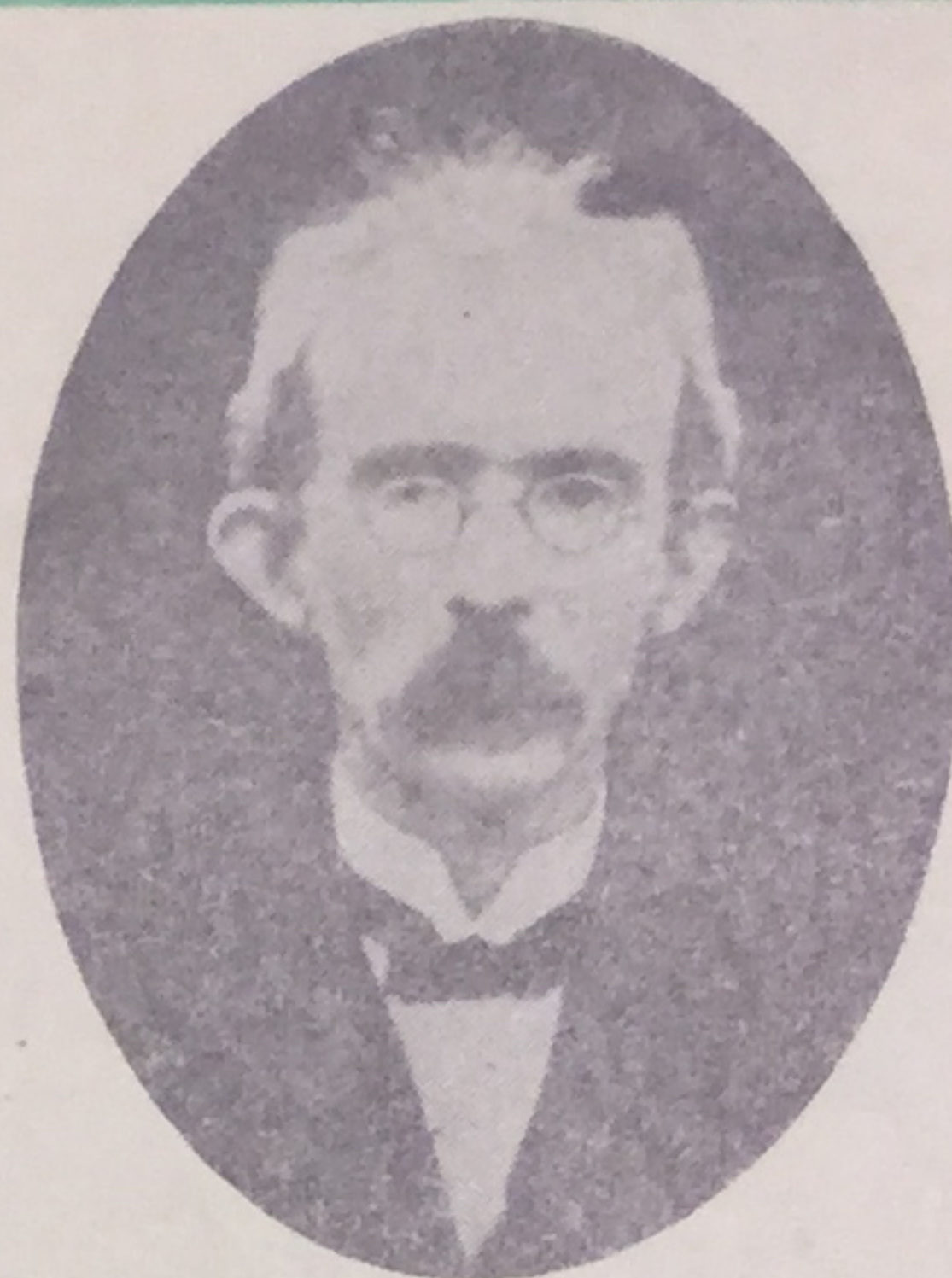
must inevitably get a sausage and if you put a Republican into the Free State machine, then one day you will get a Free-Stater."

But to return to Easter week. The whole message of the Rising is that the Leaders who were imbued with the spirit of Fenianism handed on to succeeding generations the defence of the Republic which they proclaimed in arms. It is the job of our generation to make that Republic a living reality by whatever means are most likely to succeed, always of course, provided that those means are consistent with national honour.

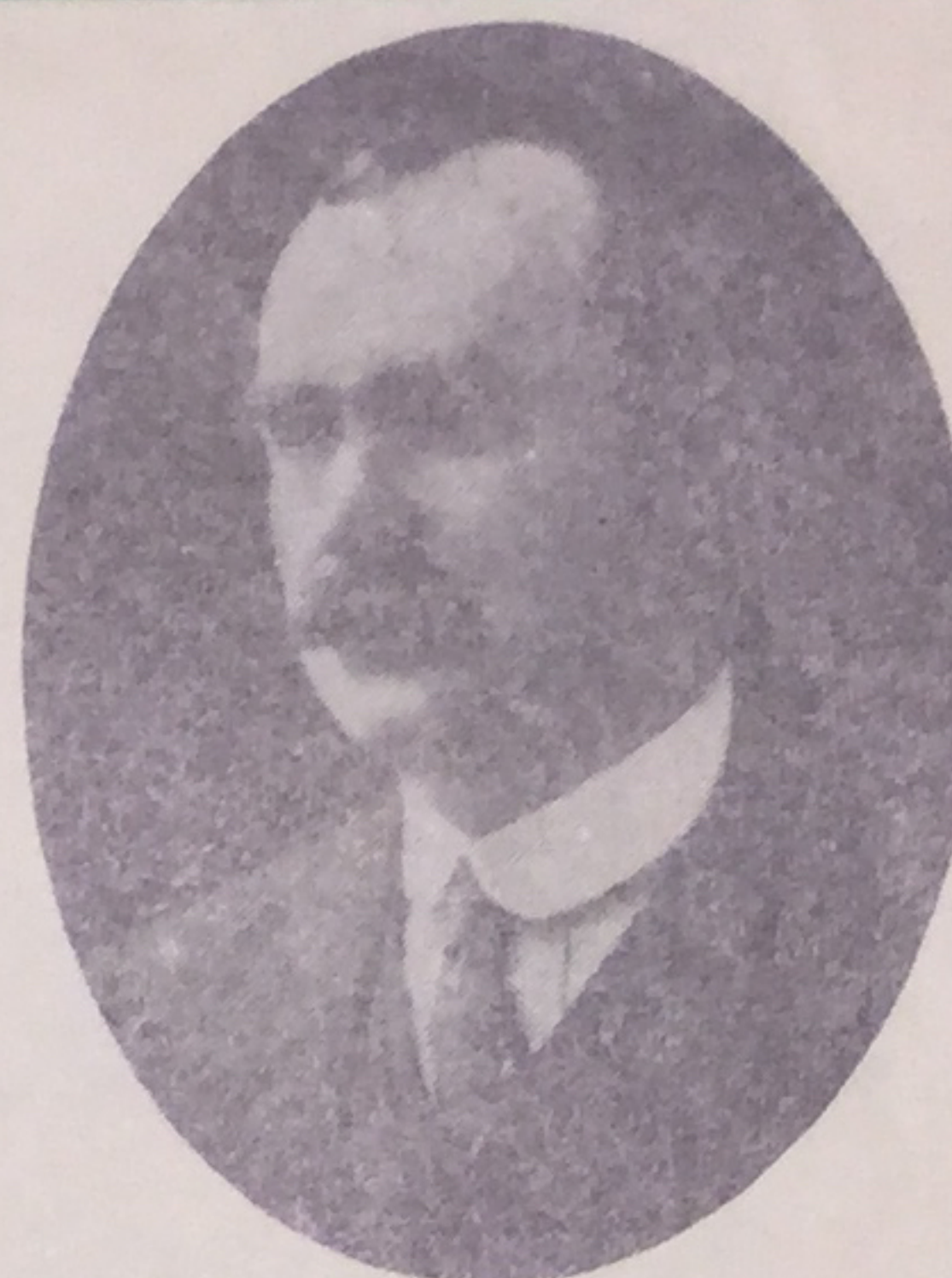
ARMED MEN

History has proved that the stepping stone policy of the Treaty has been a complete failure. Those who would advocate that policy to-day must be utter fools. So on this Easter Sunday, as we gather around the graves of our martyred dead we should again repudiate all institutions which would limit the complete Sovereignty of Ireland and with Pearse proclaim: "I know of no way by which freedom can be obtained, and when obtained maintained except by armed men." "An Irishman without arms is like a priest without religion, or a woman without chastity."

That was the message of Easter Week and it is the same message preached by the Republican Movement of to-day.



THOMAS J. CLARKE



JAMES CONNOLLY

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S. O'Shea, Kerry	1	0	0
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THE ideas of Comhar na gComharsan were developed in 1939 over the I.R.A. Radio and the "War News" by the I.R.A. Publicity Department, under Seán McNeela by Séamas and Gearóid O Mongáin, and afterwards carried into the jails where they were earnestly discussed and debated.

In 1946/7 when the whole Republican Movement seemed to be irreparably broken, a manifesto entitled COMHAR NA gCOMHARSAN was issued by Paddy McNeela, Dom Adams, Michael Traynor, and Seamus O Mongáin containing a plan for the economic reconquest of the country on

COMHAR NA gCOMHARSAN

traditional Republican lines. This plan was more the expression of a philosophy than a political manifesto. It contained the most advanced Republican thinking up to date.

On the foundation of the **United Irishman** in May, 1948, twenty-two years ago, the philosophy of Comhar na gComharsan, or in English "Neighbours' Co-operation" was the basis on which the paper's economic and social policy was based: The chief writers and editorial committee of the **United Irishman** were in the main, drawn from the staff of the "War News" and the I.R.A. Radio, which had first promulgated the doctrine of the worker-owner, and the restoration of the wealth of Ireland to the dispossessed Irish Nation in such a manner that each individual would become the possessor of an economic unit of the means of production in the form of a farm, workshop, business, or share in a factory or other co-operative.

Men of No Property

In the first issue the leading article was headed "MEN OF NO PROPERTY" and it read as follows:

"Every man since Adam has been entitled by right to his share of the earth and the fruits of his labour.

"Force or trickery has deprived the great majority of every generation of that right. The records of history show notable exceptions.

"In Ireland and throughout the world to-day the majority of men have no absolute right to a share of the earth's fruits. Industrial workers are dependent on wages; farmers are dependent on the juggling of financial barons on the stock exchanges of the world. In Russia the mass of the people are dependent on the political stratagems of the ruling party; Germans are dependent on the doles of their conquerors. To understand this is a vital necessity to the Irish people.

"We are a nation. We are not free. To become free we must become masters, and owners of our own soil and its produce. We must own and control the finance that oils the distribution machinery, the transport that distributes, the fuel that drives.

"We do not advocate state ownership; there lies dictatorship. Every man must be an owner, to be free.

"National strength needs Central Government. Personal freedom needs decentralised control. A healthy nation needs both. Ownership by the people of all industries and a Central Government to co-ordinate their activities is the solution.

"To accomplish this the Irish people must have in their hearts the enthusiasm of Pearse, the devotion of Connolly, the anger of Mitchel, the heroism of Emmet and the faith of Tone.

"To inspire them so is the task we have before us in the columns of this paper. With God's help and our readers' co-operation we shall succeed."

Semblance of Freedom

The second issue of the **United Irishman** bore on its front page a full exposition of what we of the Republican Movement meant by a Republic. The headline read "RES PUBLICA Economic Democracy in the Gaelic State." I give the article in its entirety:

"The words 'republic' and 'freedom' admit of several interpretations. There are many different kinds of republic, as instance the Patrician republics of Venice and Ancient Rome, the republic of the United States and the republics of Soviet Russia. All these are republics only in so far as they are not monarchies; in them the basic meaning of the words res publica—the welfare of the people—or by the people for the people is not embodied. They are in every case the government of the people by a class, in the interests of that

SEAMAS O MONGAIN concludes his articles on the philosophy of COMHAR NA gCOMHARSAN. He traces the continuity of this tradition in the social thinking of the Republican Movement. This month he deals with the period from the 1940s to the 1960s.

class, chief of which interests is, the concentration of all political power into its own hands.

"They are far removed from the traditional Irish idea of a republic in which the historic Gaelic nation should be free politically, economically and culturally to rule itself for its own good. Politically free inasmuch as it should owe no allegiance, expressed or implied, to any foreign power or native sectional interest. Economically free insofar as all the land, resources and means of production should rest in the hands of the people, on the basis of distributive ownership. Culturally free to develop its own way of life; untrammelled by the foisting on it of foreign fads, fashions and fancies, which is the inevitable result of political and economic subjection.

"There are many calling themselves Republicans who would be perfectly satisfied with the name of a Republic and a semblance of political freedom, while leaving the present economic and legal system unchanged. They are

deluding themselves and deluding others. Even the most rabid Orangeman would accept a republic in which he would be allowed to retain control of the country's economic resources. Political power is at once the symbol and instrument of economic power.

"Similarly, 'freedom' has many meanings; but only one true one. The man who imagines he is free, because the letter boxes are painted green, while his country remains in economic subjection to the foreigner; or who thinks that freedom consists of occasional permission to mark a ballot paper, while he himself trades daily in fear of poverty; that man is a fool. And he who thinks that freedom is the right to exploit others is a rogue.

"To get at the real meaning of freedom, we must ask ourselves to what purpose man was put upon this earth. The answer is supplied in the Penny Catechism—'To know love and serve God in this life, and to be happy with Him forever in the next.'

"In general, a man fulfils these duties by working for a living, practising his religion and rearing a family. In order that he may do so he is entitled to certain rights, of which one of the most important is, the right to absolute ownership of a certain amount of private property.

"This absolute right may not be confined to the possession of non-productive property—it is essentially the right to ownership of an economic unit of production—an economic unit being defined as that amount of property necessary to enable a man to maintain and educate a family in moderate comfort.

"Ownership of this amount of property is true freedom, whether the economic unit be a farm, a workshop, a share in a co-operative, a factory or other industrial enterprise.

"It is the duty of a Christian state to see that every citizen possesses this freedom which comes of ownership, and to guarantee him in its possession, by protecting him from the encroachments of those who would divest him of it.

"The right to take advantage of a neighbour's misfortune is no part of true freedom.

Distributive Ownership

"Although the State has no right to deprive an individual of this economic unit of the means of production, it may if the common good requires it, deprive him of any property in excess, for his possession of the latter is merely a stewardship which he holds on behalf of the public. Such confiscation is already carried out by the State in the form of income tax, death duties, etc. Under the moral law the State need not compensate the owner for confiscation of his excess property, though it might consider it wiser to do so.

"In Ireland there are many land owners holding property under the robber right of conquest, whose right to any share therein may be questioned, as that conquest was disputed by every generation of Irishmen.

"The path of a Republican government in a free Ireland is clear—to divide the estates and ranches of the country into economic farms among the agricultural population; and to establish the wage-earners of the towns and cities, as owner-workers of the shops, factories and industries in which they toil.

"Efficiency in agriculture demands that the farmers be encouraged and financed to form co-operatives for the purchase of modern farm machinery, the building of silos and creameries and the marketing of produce.

"The function of the State is to ensure that this economy of distributive and co-operative ownership works; to this end it must organise markets, control prices and take over such enterprises as public welfare demands. It would be necessary therefore to nationalise social services, banks, insurance, water, gas, electricity, mines and transport.

"Equality of economic and social opportunity, and equal educational facilities for all, are the natural corollaries of an owner-workers' state. Education, secondary, vocational and university education is the greatest bulwark such a state

could have, when directed toward the fostering of National and individual pride, imbued with Christian charity.

"Such a system is the lineal descendant of the ancient Gaelic State, being founded on the principles of freedom propounded by Irish patriots in every generation. In it the Irish language could flourish because the conquest would have been undone, and we would have once more a free government of free men leading a Gaelic way of life."

About this time the leaders of the Republican Movement, which had been shattered by the shootings, hangings, jailings

"Our freedom must be had at all hazards; if the men of property will not help us they must fall; we will free ourselves by the aid of that large and respectable class of the community—the men of no property."

—Theobald Wolfe Tone.

and internments over the previous decade, decided to rebuild the Movement on the cultural and economic basis of the Comhar na gComharsan philosophy.

Prominent among these were Larry Grogan and Tomás O Dúill. The ideas of workers' democracy and distributive ownership of the means of production naturally encountered some opposition from some quarters in Sinn Féin. But the plan for the restoration of the productive wealth of Ireland to the dispossessed Irish people was ably championed by Caoimhín Mac Cathmhaoil and others, both in the councils of Sinn Féin and at public meetings from the Sinn Féin platform in Dublin and elsewhere.

I have before me a copy of the Sinn Féin Draft Social and Economic Programme drawn up in the early fifties. Under the heading EDUCATION it states:

"Education from primary school to University shall be free and available to all Also: ' . . . The State shall promote scholarship and research in the arts and sciences and shall make available ample funds for the support of same."

Role of the State

Under the heading GOVERNMENT, it states, *inter alia* "A Central Marketing and Distributing Board shall be established and shall consist of one-third government nominees, one third industrial delegates (including the agricultural industry) and one-third member delegates from local Tuath Councils, and such Board shall control transport, markets and prices in accordance with government regulations and shall act in an advisory capacity to An Dáil in such matters."

With regard to the relationship between the State and the Citizen, as expressed in this document, I would like to quote a number of relevant phrases, as follows:

"The State shall guarantee to everyone the right to, and the means for, an adequate standard of living in Ireland. Accordingly, the Republic shall guarantee absolute ownership of an economic unit of the means of production to every worker of 30 years and upwards. The qualifying age for such ownership shall be twenty-one years in the case of the following, that is to say: (1) A married man or a person being the sole support of a dependent. (2) A person obtaining an economic unit of the means of production by inheritance or assignment. A worker who qualifies as aforesaid shall therefore become the owner of his own unit, that is to say—farm, shop, workshop or as the case may be. A worker who qualifies as aforesaid and who is redundant in a particular industry, shall where possible, be offered an economic unit in a similar industry in his own Tuath or failing this in another Tuath. Where the nature of the enterprise precludes division into one-man units, each worker who qualifies as aforesaid shall become a part owner of the factory or industry in which he works.

Adequate Wages

"An economic unit is that amount of the means of production which will enable a person by his own efforts to live in moderate comfort and security, marry, rear and educate a family and have adequate time for self-development as a spiritual and social person in accordance with the Divine Plan. Such unit shall comprise the land and capital (tools, machinery, building and equipment) necessary for the right exercise of his calling and the ground and buildings of his dwelling. An economic unit may be a farm, workshop or share in a producer co-operative. Every person who qualifies as aforesaid shall be entitled to absolute ownership of one such unit. Such unit shall not be distrainted on for debt nor acquired by the State except for grave reason of the Common Good and in exchange for a satisfactory alternative economic unit together with adequate compensation for disturbance. Property in excess of the economic unit shall be held by right of Steward Ownership and may be acquired by the State for reasons of the Common Good. The State shall have the right to fix and enforce the payment of an adequate wage for workers employed in each industry and occupation."

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NORTH GALWAY SINN FEIN PLEDGE SUPPORT

THERE was a large and enthusiastic attendance at the annual general meeting of the North Galway Comhairle Ceantair of Sinn Féin held in Lydon's Hotel, Tuam.

Areas represented included: Galway City, Tuam, Dunmore, Milltown, Ballygar, Carnmore, Cahirlistrane, Clonberne, Belclare, Cummer, Kilbannon and Togher. A message of full support was read from Mr. Pat Gibbons on behalf of Oughterard Republicans.

Officers elected were: Chairman: Frank Glynn, Co.C., Milltown; Vice-Chairman, Robert Delaney, Clonberne; Secretary: Seán O Gormáile, Tuam; Treasurers: Ger. Hoade, Cahirlistrane, and Liam Walsh, Galway City.

The Comhairle Ceantair was unanimous in its support of the Caretaker Executive of Sinn Féin and it was reported that all Cumainn in the area were affiliated to that body as the lawful leadership of Sinn Féin.

Mr. Frank Glynn, Co.C., denied that the division in the Movement was between right and left wings and asserted that left and extreme left was a more correct statement of this position.

Mr. Glynn then quoted from the recent press release from the Caretaker Executive:

"Our Socialism envisages the nationalisation of the monetary system, commercial banks and insurance companies, key in-

dustries, mines, building land and fishing rights; the division of large ranches; an upper limit on the amount of land to be owned by any one individual; the setting up of worker-owner co-operatives on a wide scale in industry, agriculture, fishing and distribution, but still leaving ample room for private initiative under state supervision. The extension and development of Credit Unions is also included.

"What the junta which remained in control in the Intercontinental Hotel seek would lead to dictatorship and in this they travel the same road as the Communist Party of Northern Ireland, the Irish Workers' Party and the Connolly Youth Movement in their new National Liberation Front.

"Ours is a Socialism based on the native Irish tradition of Comhar na gComharsan which is founded on the right of worker-ownership and on our Irish and Christian values. It is hoped to expand and explain this in the near future."

He added that apart from sections in Dublin and Wicklow and a number of individuals in scattered areas, the organisation was standing firmly behind the Caretaker Executive.

The meeting decided to cancel sales of the "United Irishman" and orders were placed for "An Phoblacht."

Arrangements for the annual Easter Commemoration ceremonies were announced — Donaghpatrick Cemetery, Headford; Parade will leave Queally's Cross at 3.30 p.m. Oughterard Parade will form up after 11.30 a.m. Mass and march to the grave of Seámas O Máille in Kilcummen Cemetery. Orders were placed for Easter Lilies.

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Uachtar Ard Land League Demand Division of Estate

THE Uachtar Ard Land League placed a picket on the Land Commission offices in Galway on February 4. Between 15 and 20 members took part in the protest. The purpose of the picket was to highlight the attempt to use the Willis Estate in Uachtar Ard as a golf course.

The estate contains some of the finest land in Conamara. The Land League points out that they are not against a golf course in the area but there is land more suitable for it than the 160 acres it is proposed to use.

A Galway hotel belonging to one of the four businessmen who are planning the golf-course was also picketed by 12 farmers during February. The farmers have an average holding of 12 acres each and are demanding that the 160 acres be divided among them.

Mr. Tom Joyce, Secretary of the Uachtar Ard Branch of the National Land League pointed out: "We will continue our protest if this plan to use one of the

few good farms in Conamara as a golf course goes on. There is plenty of bad land available.

"Bord Fáilte have promised

financial assistance to this project and we certainly intend that they should be included in our future protests".

The Uachtar Ard Land League have been helped by Galway City Sinn Féin and the Caretaker Executive at its meeting on February 14 decided that it should be given every assistance.

Squatters Threatened with Eviction

The case of the Morgan family of Andersonstown, Co. Antrim, is typical of what many have been going through in the North since last summer.

Early in August last Mr. D. Morgan was threatened by a man who worked with him that his crowd "would get him," that his name was "on top of the list," etc. On August 16 he moved his wife and children from their home to what he considered a less dangerous area in Andersonstown.

First they squatted in an unfinished house, but because of the health of the youngest child they moved to an unfinished two-bedroom flat in the same area. Eventually they moved into a house in Culmore Gardens and when they informed the Northern Ireland Housing Trust that they were squatting the NIHT began proceedings to evict them.

The NIHT offered them houses

in what Mr. Morgan considered unsafe areas, including one in Carrickfergus, with a bribe of lower rent per week for two years, but he refused them because of fear for what would be done to them. He also refused a Medway hut for health reasons.

At Dunmurray Petty Sessions on November 5 he was fined £5 and ordered to pay £6 costs by R.M. Phelan—a Roman Catholic incidentally. This decision was upheld at an appeal hearing in Crumlin Road Courthouse on January 20. One month was given before the eviction would be carried out. Since then the NIHT has been picketed by local Republicans assisted by People's Democracy. Mr. Morgan's first duty is to his family and he is determined to look after their safety, irrespective of court decisions and NIHT attempts to send them to unsafe areas.



The Morgan family, Andersonstown, Co. Antrim.

Comhar na gComharsan

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The nationalisation of fisheries, and their handing over to responsible regional bodies to be used for the benefit of the community on a co-operative basis, the provision of deep-sea fishing boats to be owned co-operatively by the captain and crew, the putting of Banking under strict social control so that it might be used for the benefit of the national industry, fisheries and agriculture, a free medical scheme for all citizens, the abolition of ground rents, and the shifting of the burden of taxation from the individual wage earner to overall industrial production were also dealt with in detail, according to the philosophy of Comhar na gComharsan.

In the Sixties, the worker-owner idea and the economic plan of industrial democracy with emphasis on co-operative functioning was finally adopted by the Republican Movement as its official policy.

There was a tremendous upsurge in co-operative effort in agriculture, fishing and industry in the Sixties and it was spearheaded by the soldiers of the Irish Republic of the Forties generation, some of whom had inspired successful co-operatives in Mayo. Caoimhín Mac Cathmhaoil lent his knowledge of Irish and legal skill to the successful eventuality of a campaign for basic human rights in the Mayo Gaeltacht, Séumas Mac Riocaird spared neither time nor energy, nor his own money in the effort to organise the fishermen of Ireland on a national basis. The McLoughlins of Howth, Seán O Brosnacháin of Kerry, and many others throughout

the country played a leading part in the organisation of fishing co-operatives and credit unions.

The Republican Movement has adopted as the keystone of its political and economic edifice the conception of the worker-owner. We are aware that similar ideas have developed in countries like Yugoslavia and Algeria. In their embryo they are also part of the human inheritance of knowledge and justice from time immemorial. From the fact that they are based on the moral law, they are an integral part of Catholicism, Protestantism, Judaism, Mohammedanism, Ghandiism and even an extension of Marxism, insofar as they are opposed to the money dictatorship of the Capitalist system and the political dictatorship of Communism in upholding the right and dignity of every human person.

These ideas in the inexorable march of human progress have a habit of springing up in many places simultaneously. Here in Ireland, the idea of the worker-owner and industrial democracy has been pioneered by the Republican Movement and Sinn Féin. Republican writers and speakers have written in many journals, both in Irish and English, have spoken at many meetings, from the humble gatherings of fishermen and farmers to the political salons and sacred portals of University Halls in Galway, Dublin and Trinity, and even Liberty Hall itself. Let us hope that the Seventies will see the philosophy of Comhar na gComharsan spread even further.

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**REPUBLICAN COMMEMORATION
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c/o AN PHOBLACHT

An Phoblacht

OUR AIMS AND METHODS

OUR aims are those of the Republican Movement. Briefly, these are to end foreign rule in Ireland, to establish a 32-County Democratic Socialist Republic based on the Proclamation of 1916, to restore the Irish language and culture to a position of strength, and to promote a social order based on justice and Christian principles which will give everyone a just share of the nation's wealth. These are objectives which have always had the support of the majority of our people, though at times they may not have been expressed in precisely the same terms. Though there is general acceptance of these ultimate aims there is a wide distance between their acceptance and their actual achievement.

For centuries Ireland has been an exploited dependency of England, remaining underdeveloped and a source of cheap food and cheap labour for her growing industry. The results were depopulation and poverty for us. The arrangement forced on us in 1922 changed that to a very small extent only. We have to-day some industries which were built in the '20s and '30s as a gesture of independence and are symbols of what could be done if we had real and effective control of our own affairs. Basically however, we are still a dependency of England, and the partition arrangement devised by Lloyd George and his government has kept us divided and weak. Republicans always maintained that the "Treaty" arrangement would not work and would only frustrate our national aspirations.

With the Trade Agreement of 1938 all attempts to build upon the "stepping stone" of the Irish Free State were abandoned. Such attempts could only lead to an inevitable confrontation with Westminster. In fact, the options open to the Free State politicians were: complete acceptance of a subordinate role under the Government of Ireland Act and the "Treaty"; a vigorous attempt to use the "stepping stone," leading to a return to the Republican position of July 1921; or an attempt to steer a middle course, which was, of course, an untenable position. The last course was the one followed. The untenable position was held for a surprisingly long time. This was made possible by tinkering with constitutions and the symbols and trappings of freedom. Even the Irish language itself was used in an attempt to sell what was in fact a spurious English-made product as a genuine Irish one. A Dáil, a Seanad, Uachtarán, etc., were in themselves just so many meaningless words, when emigration took our youth to the sweat shops and armies of other countries, when Irish capitalists were free to export capital to London to get a higher personal reward.

All the time, of course, 30% of our people in the Six Counties were being similarly exploited, but here sectarian bigotry was an additional factor. Bigotry and hatred were deliberately encouraged by the masters in Westminster. This divided the Protestant and Catholic workers. It ensured that Protestant workers voted for the Conservative Unionist party and left the way clear for the forces of rampant capitalism which exploited Catholic and Protestant alike.

Since October, 1968, however, the counter-offensive is on in the North. Under the universally accepted banner of Civil Rights the common people are demanding their place in the sun once more. As was pointed out in the first issue of this paper, one of the factors contributing to the success of the Civil Rights movement has been the broadly-based platform on which it was established. Any attempt, such as we saw at the recent annual conference of NICRA, to take it over by extreme socialist elements, must be seen as undesirable, since it would narrow its base and considerably lessen its chances of success. The same holds true for any group which might attempt to get control of the Civil Rights movement.

The untenable "Treaty" position has in fact been abandoned in the 26 Counties for the past few years, but of course this is not admitted in so many words. The return to the Union position is in full swing. The takeover of our resources, land, industry and trade by foreign speculators, the Free Trade Area Agreement, the abandonment of any semblance of an independent foreign policy and the willy-nilly following of England into the E.E.C. are all evidence of the return to the Union position. The latest of all is the canvassing of a "federal solution" to the "Irish problem" by Mr. Jack Lynch and his cohorts. The "stepping stone" to the Republic has become a stepping stone back into the United Kingdom. Thus we stand at the beginning of the '70s.

If the Republican Movement is to achieve its objectives it must be clear not only about them but also about its methods. One of the more obvious lessons of the efforts of the past few decades is that our movement must be based on the common working people of Ireland, North and South, Protestant, Catholic and Dissenter as Wolfe Tone put it. Any attempt to end British occupation and exploitation, no matter how heroic, stands little chance of success to-day unless it is firmly based on the common people. An immense task of education lies ahead for the leadership and rank-and-file of the movement. The essential relationship between our domination by England, our failure to build an independent economy and unemployment, emigration and poor living standards must be explained. The importance of the spiritual motivation which an expansion of the Gaeltacht and the restoration of Irish would give must also be explained. The struggle is to make the Irish people masters of their own country, ruling and developing their country, exploiting its resources in their own interests and not in the interests of any capitalist class, native or foreign.

To achieve a broadly based movement it will be necessary to wage a struggle not just at the national level but at the local level also. This involves organising the people in their own interests and in defence of their rights. Demands for Civil Rights, better housing, division of large estates, restoration of fishing rights, setting up of credit unions and worker-owner co-operatives, these are all elements in the building of a movement of the people. What can be achieved within the present structures will, of course, be limited, and only the achievement of national independence will really make us masters of our own destinies. It is unlikely that this ultimate objective will be achieved without a final confrontation with the forces of English imperialism and neo-colonialism.



Sligo Patriot Honoured

On Sunday, February 15, a memorial headstone was unveiled in Sligo at the grave of Séamas Dolan, who died over a year ago. He had been an active Republican all his life.

The unveiling was preceded by a parade from the Town Hall headed by the Connolly Pipe Band. The memorial was blessed by Rev. Fr. Byrne and unveiled by J. J. McGirl, Ballinamore, Co. Leitrim. A decade of the Rosary was recited in Irish by Martin McGoldrick.

In his oration **Seán Keenan** of Derry, laid stress on the reasons for the failure of the Republican Movement to protect the minority from intimidation and assault during the riots in Derry and Belfast, last August.

He said the Movement up to that time had been pursuing a policy which could only end in complete frustration for Republicans. Great care must be taken, he said, that the mistake would not be allowed to happen again.

The ceremony ended with the playing of the lament by M. Wheeler of the Connolly Pipe Band.

Great thanks are due to two friends of Séamas Dolan, Bertie Henderson and Hughie Hamill who were to the forefront in organising the work of having the memorial erected.

Seán Keenan, Derry, speaking at the unveiling of the memorial to Séamas Dolan. Also in the picture are, left to right, J. J. McGirl, M. McGoldrick, E. Healy and M. Mooney.

NORTH WEST EXECUTIVE

(From Front Page)

taken its heaviest toll in the North-West. The development of Derry City as a major growth centre for the entire region and a rational allocation of resources within the area is something which Republicans must actively pursue irrespective of the policies of partition institutions of government. The Civil Rights Movement clearly demonstrated that united action on the part of the people can be far more effective in shaping society than even so-called respectable parliaments.

"We are living in a rapidly changing Ireland and if the irresistible power of change is to be harnessed for the common good then the basic principles of the Republican philosophy must be uppermost in the minds of the Irish people.

"Those who propagate an alien social philosophy are doing a disservice to the Irish nation. They forget that within Ireland, North and South, are the brains and talent to fashion a society suitable for our people.

"Let us never forget that James Connolly admired Tone

Heavy sales in Armagh

SALES of the first issue of "An Phoblacht" were heaviest of all in Co. Armagh. First copies were completely sold out in Armagh City on Saturday, February 7, despite bitterly cold weather.

People in many other areas of Co. Armagh had their first read of the new paper on Sunday, February 8. At Blackwatertown, sellers disposed of 12 dozen copies and closed shop as not a single copy was left.

Sellers were members of Tomás Mac Curtáin Republican Club who upheld the Republican position at the recent Ard-Fheis. They plan to double their sales in March, and Charles Mc Gleenan, former Abstentionist T.D. for South Armagh, veteran of the Tan War and Adjutant of the Fourth Northern Division in 1922-23, will be there to lend a hand.

In the Tullysallen area, copies were completely sold out within an hour. Sellers reported a tremendous demand and have ordered treble supplies for March. Members of the Aughatarra Republican Club have declared their allegiance to the Caretaker Executive of Sinn Féin, and wish to disclaim several spurious statements said to have been issued by the Club. Several dozen copies were also sold in Lurgan, Collegeland and Clonmore.

Arrangements were made for sales in the Ballymacnab area and also in neighbouring areas of Co. Tyrone, Dungannon, Moy, Kingsisland, Clonmore and Derry-laghan.

because he imitated nobody; let us be true disciples of Connolly by striving for the originality of thought which he himself attained in his day. Connolly found his inspiration in the Republican philosophy; we shall do the same."

Further expansion of the Movement was discussed and each representative undertook to extend the organisation in his own area, promote the sale of AN PHOBLACHT and to ensure widespread support for the Easter Commemorations and distribution of Easter Lilies.

The meeting concluded by electing the following Executive —

Chairman: **Seán Keenan**, Derry.
Vice-Chairman: **Frank Morris**, Conboy.

Secretary: **Daithí O Conaill**, Gleann Cholmille.

Treasurers: **Liam O Skéibhin**, Fermanagh, and **Séamas Mac Cana**, Leitirceanainn.

Publicity Officer: **Joe O'Neill**, Bundoran.

Committee: **E. Devlin**, Dungannon; **S. Mac Giolla Cheara**, Gleann Cholmille; **N. Gillespie**, Derry; **J. Mc Elduff**, Tyrone; **S. Mac Gabhann**, Kinlough; **E. Healy**, Sligo.

Among those who attended the meeting was Mr. J. J. McGirl, Leitrim, former Sinn Féin T.D.

WHERE TO JOIN

Those interested in joining the Republican Movement in Cork City should contact Gearóid Mac Cárthaigh, 1 Killeen's Place, Faranree, Cork.

All interested in joining Sinn Féin in the Balla area of Co. Mayo should contact Mr. Charles Hennelly, Publican, Manulla, Castlebar or sellers of An Phoblacht.