

An Phoblacht

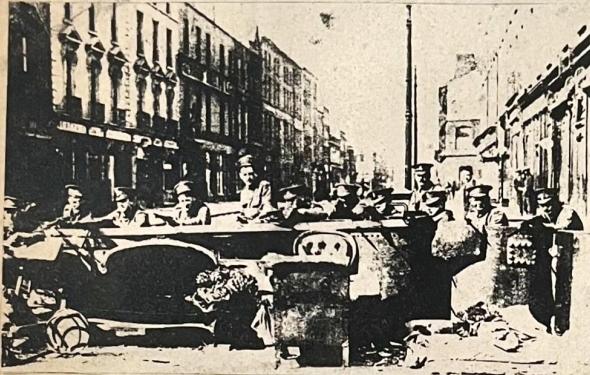
THE REPUBLIC
Official Organ of the
Republican Movement

IML. 2 UIMH. 5 SRAITH NUA.

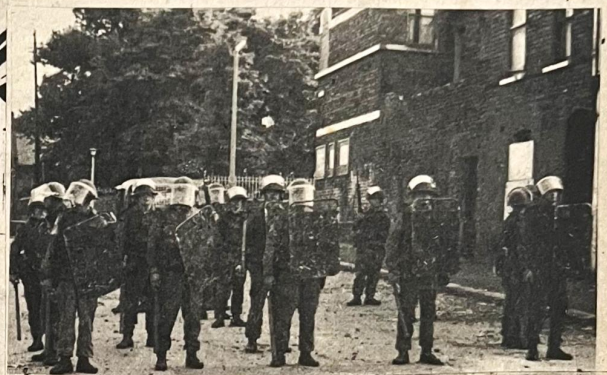
BEALTAINE (May) 1971

5p. (U.S. and Canada 30c.)

THE SAME ENEMY



British troops: Dublin 1916



British troops: Belfast 1971

The Same Declaration

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.



P. H. PEARSE
Executed May 3rd, 1916.



THOMAS J. CLARKE
Executed May 3rd, 1916.



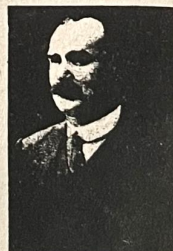
THOMAS MACDONAGH
Executed May 3rd, 1916.



JOSEPH PLUNKETT
(son of Captain Plunkett)
Executed May 4th, 1916.



RAMON CEANNT
Executed May 6th, 1916.



JAMES CONNOLLY
Executed May 6th, 1916.



SEAN MAC DIARMADA
Executed May 6th, 1916.

The Same Vows

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.

AMERICAN SUPPORT FOR IRISH FREEDOM

From the earliest days of the Fenians, the Irish cause has always found friends and allies in the western world. This is as true today, when another stage in the struggle for complete national freedom is in progress.

At a time, when so many quittings at home in Ireland are falling over each other in their efforts to assist the enemy and misrepresent the cause, the members of the Irish Northern Aid Committee labour zealously and unceasingly to present the true facts of the war to the people of the United States.

One of the Committee's major successes was in having a resolution, demanding that a plebiscite of the people of the 32-Counties be held on the question of national unity, placed before the United States House of Representatives.

The resolution was introduced by Rep. Mario Biaggi, Washington and was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

The text of the resolution is as follows:-

"Recognizing the many contributions of men and women of Irish blood to the building of our great Nation and to the cause of freedom everywhere since the earliest times, and

"Recognizing the fact that Ireland is artificially partitioned against the wishes of the overwhelming majority of the Irish people, and

"Recognizing that Irish People in the six-county area known as Northern Ireland are denied basic civil and human rights, and are unable to obtain adequate protection from attack or equal justice under law, and

"Whereas the explosive situation in Northern Ireland is an unreasonable threat to the peace and is, therefore, the legitimate concern of all men, and

"Whereas, it is in the best interests of the United States that there be a just and equitable solution to this problem, and

"Whereas, for humanitarian reasons, as well as out of respect for the principles of freedom, liberty, justice, natural law, and history, we hereby take notice of the deplorable state of affairs in Ireland, be it

"Resolved, That it is the sense of the House of Representatives of the United States of America that: The Irish people ought to be permitted to exercise the right of national self-determination thus returning the disputed six counties to the Irish Republic, unless a majority of all the people of Ireland, in a free and open plebiscite, determine to the contrary"

The I.N.A.C. sends out a continuous stream of press releases and statements on the Irish struggle, which seek to correct the malicious lying propaganda put out by the British governments - and aided by her Free State and Stormont collaborators.

Here is an extract from one of the Committee's statements:-

"In recent weeks some confusion has arisen in the minds of many people who follow the disturbances in Northern Ireland.

"In the first instance, the news media has injected its own brand of confusion, acquired no doubt, from the British propaganda machine which pours out the

"illusion of religious differences only, in that distressed part of the Emerald Isle. It is important that we all realise that the differences are not religious, but are political.

"The conflict is between the Irish people and the British Government aided by the pro-British Unionists whom the media refer to as "Protestants". The Unionists are descendants of the "Planters", a group of people to whom the British Government gave the lands it confiscated from their Irish owners some centuries ago.

"It is the descendants of these Irish owners who strive today for their Civil Rights and their right to be free. It does happen that the majority of the Nationalists are Catholics - this being the main reason why they were deprived of their lands, etc., in the first place.

"Therefore, it must be remembered that the British Government is responsible for the chaos existing in Northern Ireland and this situation must now be resolved by the government which occupies North East Ulster - against the will of approximately 85% of the Irish people.

"Unfortunately a few leaders of the Civil Rights Movement have deviated from the straight path leading to freedom by involvement in some of the 'isms' subscribed to by many leftists now prancing around the free world."

LETTER OF THANKS

The following letter of thanks was sent by Mr. Timothy B. Brennan, Chairman, Irish Northern Aid Committee, Queens Branch, to Rep. Mario Biaggi:-

Dear Congressman Biaggi,

On behalf of the above Committee, Thomas Enright and myself, please allow me to thank you very much indeed for your Resolution in the House of Representatives calling for unification of Ireland if such is indicated in a national plebiscite. This is something all interested Irish people and otherwise, have been asking for over the years - to no avail. Our gratitude to you knows no bounds and we cannot thank you enough.

We have been trying desperately for a long time to call attention to the plight of the Minority in the Six Counties of Ireland, but apparently our efforts go unheeded. Our people there are still being hounded, persecuted and suppressed. Promised reforms have not been effected and from what we can gather, the British Government has no plans along these lines. What they are doing however, is to send more and more troops over to Northern Ireland for further repression and terror tactics against the Catholics there. At this time there are thousands of British troops in the six counties - to intimidate the Minority, who have suffered so much already. As you say, the Irish people should now be permitted to exercise the right of self-determination thus returning the six counties to the Irish Republic.

May we impose on you a bit further and ask that you please forward us some copies of the Congressional Record when your Resolution is entered therein. These would be of untold value to us in our work for a United Ireland?

Once again, Congressman Biaggi, our most profound and deepest gratitude, and with every good wish for the future.

Committee Expands

THE Irish Northern Aid Committee has now expanded into several other American States thus consolidating the well established and hard working New York Committee which now rightfully acts as Head Office for the entire Northern Aid Network in the United States. The leadership of the Republican Movement recently sent the following message of thanks to the members of the Central Committee in New York. "More words cannot adequately express the deep appreciation of the leadership of the Republican Movement for the invaluable help received from Irish Northern Aid. The people of occupied Ireland are indebted to you more than most of them will ever know. You people in Irish Northern Aid are the only people in the U.S.A. helping the Republican Movement and we appeal to all Irish people in America to support you. Go raibh maith agabh." NOTE Irish exiles in the U.S. who wish to help the Republican Movement should contact I.N.A.C., 273 East 194 Street, Bronx, N.Y. 10458.

Lynch shocks I.R.A. veterans in the U.S.A.

Many of the utterances of Union-Jack Lynch, the leader of his recent U.S. visit outraged loyal Irish people, as well as doing irreparable harm to the cause of Irish freedom.

Among the many organisations to protest was Sean Oglaigh na hEireann (I.R.A. Veterans), who issued this statement over the names of John McGowan (President) and Daniel Gleeson (Secretary):-

"On St. Patrick's Day, 1971, Mr. John Lynch, the Prime Minister of the Dublin Government, spoke as the guest of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick in Philadelphia.

"For the most part, it was not an audience which was well informed on the situation in Ireland but it was a friendly audience and one that would listen carefully to what he might say.

"The Evening Bulletin of Philadelphia in its March 18th issue reported routine remarks but, in quotation marks as if it were making a direct quotation, it quoted Mr. Lynch as saying "as long as there is danger of unrest and violence (in Northern Ireland), the British troops seem to be the answer."

"We do not know how his audience reacted to that statement but it should send a shock of dismay to all Irish men and women and to all others who have regard for the freedom and unity of Ireland. Mr. Lynch must know that, as long as the British army is in effective control of the six north eastern counties of Ireland, the freedom of the people of that area will be denied.

"He must also be uniquely aware of the fact that, if the British army consolidates its position in the north, it will be a simple matter to add additional units and turn their attention to the south. Would he then consider that "the British troops seem to be the answer"?

"This is not the first time that Mr. Lynch has failed to rise to the occasion when the interests of Ireland called for boldness and initiative. How much longer must Ireland suffer such short-sighted leadership?"

Felons with 'offensive' weapons



"Would not stand idly by"

It is a great source of pride to the Irish Northern Aid Committee that during his recent visit to the United States "Taoiseach" Lynch was not invited to New York for the St. Patrick Day parade.

The following comment on this was made by the I.N.A.C. in a recent bulletin:-

"We would like you to note that during Mr. Lynch's stay in this country, he was not invited by any group to come to New York. It must be a great shock to Mr. Lynch to find that no organisation in this City invited him to the Grandstand to view the St. Patrick's Day Parade, March 17th. This was largely due to a campaign directed against his appearance in New York by the Irish Northern Aid Committee.

"If "Union Jack" had taken a seat on the reviewing stand on St. Patrick's Day, the Irish Northern Aid would not "stand idly by".

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WRITE FOR BOOK LIST

D. Mac GIOLLA
PHADRAIG
BOOKSELLER AND
STATIONER
12 Cathedral Street,
Dublin 1.

AS WE all know, the trouble with Republicans today is that they all cling to old shibboleths. For instance, they still believe in that old-fashioned notion of independent and sovereign government governing all Ireland in the interests of all her citizens.

What a ridiculous, silly, old cut-out-of-idea to cherish - when every gommeen man and every seoinn will tell you far better ways to make a fast buck and how to sell your granny for a profitable share in a new Hilton hotel.

What is a "shibboleth" anyway? Says the Oxford English Dictionary: "Old-fashioned and generally abandoned doctrine once held essential".

But there are old shibboleths and there are new ones. The new ones (as we all know) are really the truly old ones. We have heard them down the centuries. "Thou shalt do nothing to upset things; thou shalt make no serious effort to right wrongs, for if thou do, thou wilt only be creating trouble for those who are quite nicely settled, as things are."

Modern Jargon

Yes. We have heard it all, down the generations. Today we hear it from Fianna Fáil speakers, from Fine Gael speakers, from brilliant Labour Party intellectuals (those real wise men).

We hear it from Stormont extremists and from Stormont "liberals" - as well as from the so-called "progressive democratic forces".

Give up your wild dreams of having a normal, national state in Ireland, granting equality to all citizens. That's just an old shibboleth.

Accept, instead, that we must endure - permanent perversion in politics and in cultural, social and religious life - and let's live with it for the sake of those who are quite comfortable as it is, thank you.

That is the really sad shibboleth that today still bemuses Irish politics - the complacent old notion, translated into modern jargon that if we just let things ride and "trust to Britain" we might be granted peace and harmony by grace of the Stormont Minister of Community Relations.

Today's Fools

The centuries-old fight for Irish freedom is nothing, in all their blinded eyes. The centuries old fight just to let us have, like all the other nations of Europe, our normal, national framework in which we can run our own affairs - badly or well as we think fit, must now (as we all know) be thrown overboard in the interests of the old shibboleth that it doesn't really matter.

Q. let us do as the poet Yeats suggested scornfully: -
"Fail, and that history turns into rubbish.
All that great past to a trouble of fools."

Who are the fools of today? The "keep quiet and lie low" boys are the greatest fools of all - the gable of fools uniting everyone from Fianna Fáil to extreme Unionist.

The fools who don't even read the lessons of history. The fools who cannot even remember which party lost out the last time when the issue was joined - and which cause came nearest to achieving the moderate and legitimate aim of Irish independence.

No Solution

The shibboleths of today are in the mouths of those fools who cannot see that there can be no solution to the "Irish question" except some quick move soon in the direction of total sovereignty for the Irish nation.

The dangerous, "moderate peace-loving" fools of today are those who cannot see that

as we all know

Dearcadh an Tuaiscirt

Le Fear Measarthra

If there is no solution soon, there will be nothing but bloody destruction for their guilty selves as well as for many innocent people.

Is that view just a sentimental old shibboleth? Or is it a realistic assessment of the situation? We all know.

A paragon of impartiality

ridiculous as that for which the 'civil rights' leader, Mr. Frank Gogarty, now lies in jail, sentenced by an Orange, Unionist judge to serve six months.

What Law?

Not for any "political" offence, of course. Oh, no. No British judge - or even a Unionist one - would think of jailing a man for anything "political". He just broke the law.

What law? Why - the law against riots. And was Mr. Gogarty indulging in rioting?

Well, no. Not quite. So what did he do?

A British Army soldier explained it impartially to the judge. While Mr. Gogarty, who had the best of references and passes from British officers themselves, was being subjected to a particularly rough search in Belfast one night, he was noticed to spit on the pavement and whisper under his breath "in a sly sort of way" the riotous words, "British bastards".

Now, that might not have been the most diplomatic language for a Civil Rights leader to use, for it did betray a certain political attitude which (as we all know) civil rights leaders must never show.

But was it criminal? Was it riotous? The answer is that, in the light of British justice, it was both criminal and riotous and deserving of six months in jail. For that was the only evidence given against Mr. Gogarty. Upon those words and that "sly look" he was convicted.

According to the R.U.C., the recent nine-day arms amnesty brought in over 1,600 weapons and 100,000 rounds of ammunition.

About 270 of the guns handed in were licensed, and these along with 3,413 rounds of ammunition will be returned to their owners later.

And we can presume that the balance will somehow or other join the 73,000 other guns in certain hands

A new law and a new precedent has now been set by British justice. It is definitely criminal (and not political) to mutter "British bastards" under your breath, especially if you do so with a "sly sort of look".

In times to come - who knows? - learned British judges may refer back to wise judgements handed down in other places and conclude that it is definitely criminal to have a "sly look" on your face at all, and that, therefore, you must serve a term in prison to pay for it.

Please remind me. What were those ridiculous laws passed in the middle ages that we read about in history books?

But don't blame the judge. Mr. Topping, the judge in question in Mr. Gogarty's case, was only handing down the law. The fact that he was once a leading Orangeman and a Unionist Minister of Home Affairs is quite irrelevant.

He is impartial, now. When top Orangemen and Unionist politicians become judges, they quickly cast aside all bias (as we all know) and become paragons of impartiality.

JOIN SINN FEIN
2a Lower Kevin St.,
Dublin.

Beatings, Kicks, Thumps, Bruises

Life in Belfast 1971

The case of a 73-year-old blind man who has received substantial sum of damages from the Stormont authorities, as a result of being assaulted by English occupation soldiers, was well publicised.

There have been hundreds of cases of brutality by these "preservers of the peace", but even though many of them have received publicity, the horrific situation in which Irish people live in occupied Ireland still has not impressed itself on the minds of the people in the south.

One of the reasons for this is the repeated efforts by Union-Jack Lynch and his imperialist-supporting cohorts, to obscure the issues of the northern struggle. However, the truth shows through. Below we publish a doctor's report on injuries received by a 19-year-old student, Gearoid Wilson, of St Anne's Drive, Belfast 11.

Gearoid received his injuries last August, and has since been sentenced to six months in Belfast Jail. He is only one of hundreds of young Irishmen incarcerated in Belfast Jail, because they will not submit to the Queen's writ in Ireland.

His glasses were smashed by the foreign troops who arrested him and Gearoid's father had to pay £6.75p to have them replaced.

The prison censors told the boy that he would not be allowed to receive further letters from his father unless they were short.

The following report was made out by Dr. J. A. McHugh M.B., B.Ch., Springfield Rd., Belfast 12, on August 24, last year:-

"I examined the above on 7th August, 1970. He had a scar 1" long on the centre of his scalp. It was covered with extensive healing blood clot. He had yellowing bruise on

FOUR MEN ARE HELD

Four Belfastmen who were arrested during April have been charged with being members of the Irish Republican Army.

Leo Martin was arrested as he left Milltown Cemetery after the funeral of Vol. Tony Henderson.

Proinsias MacAirt, Billy Burns, and William McKee were arrested in the Ardoyne area on April 15, when the car in which they were travelling was stopped by English soldiers.

upper arm-shoulder area - about 5" x 4 1/2".

He had multiple small bruises on left forearm and several small abrasions and some larger ones on front surface of right and left legs.

"Apart from minor discomfort from these injuries, he was complaining of headaches and insomnia."

"I examined him a week later on 24/8/70. His injuries had healed well but he was still nervous and was not able to sleep at night."

"I consider his injuries were consistent with his story of being beaten up by a blunt instrument and possibly being kicked."

DEFENCE OF JUSTICE

THE PROGRESSIVE working-class forces in Belfast (as we all know) were always passionately cast to rise in defence of justice and fair play (like the trade union leaders tell us).

Just the way they rose out of the Belfast shipyard recently to march - 6,000 of them - on Unionist Party headquarters in Glengall Street to demand extreme Tory measures to suppress anti-Unionist elements who were beginning to wield too much influence in the city.

Of course, it was a completely non-sectarian demonstration (as we all know). It included a Catholic or two out of the 300 or so who have found a sub-contracting foothold in the shipyard of 10,000 Orangemen.

Well, if it really did include a Catholic, or a Nationalist, or a Protestant Republican or two - what would you do, chum? Maybe you would prefer getting thrown into the Channel?

It all goes to show that there is absolutely no discrimination against anybody in the North, so long as everyone stays the party line. As we all know.

73,000 guns to fight Vermin

There are now 73,000 licensed guns in the Six Counties - enough for four infantry divisions in an army. Ten thousand of these were licensed in the past two years alone.

This means that with the blessing of the "reformist" Stormont authorities, and their Westminster overlords, there is now one gun for every seven male adults. Of all this firepower, five-sixths is represented by shotguns, excellent weapons for street fighting.

A spokesman for the gun clubs in the Occupied Ireland, said all these guns were held for the extermination of vermin. Tuigeanr Tadhg Tadhgín. We know who the vermin are.

Westminster ready for direct rule

In a major speech in Westminster recently British Premier Heath said they would support any Stormont government provided it co-operated in implementing the policies approved by the United Kingdom and it is our firm purpose to work for these same standards there as elsewhere in the United Kingdom. The U.K. government which has the ultimate authority and responsibility for Northern Ireland, will give its full support to any government there which co-operates in implementing the policies which we judge right for this purpose," he said.

interviews, and in inspired "leaks". Westminster has made it clear that as soon as the Faulkner government falls, direct rule will be imposed on the north.

Recently, Home Secretary Maulling said there were enough British soldiers in the north to impose direct rule.

THEY GIVE ALLEGIANCE

The County Donegal Branch of the National Commemoration Committee pledged its allegiance to the Republican Movement. The decision was made at the recent annual general meeting.

A Belfast woman who wore a military-style uniform outside a magistrate's court last February was given a six-months prison sentence after she refused to recognise the same court recently.

Mrs. Rose Ann Smith (32) of Etna Drive, was charged

TUAIRISC ADUAIHDH

By our Northern Correspondents

with conduct likely to lead to a breach of the peace and possessing an offensive weapon - a hurling stick.

The resident magistrate, Mr. Wishart Mills, said it was regrettable she had not taken any steps to defend herself. He sentenced her to six

months on each of the charges, the sentences to run concurrently.

R.U.C. Constable P. Ross, gave evidence that when Mrs. Smith and others arrived wearing combat jackets and carrying hurling sticks, "a Union Jack crowd became very agitated". He then arrested Mrs. Smith.

the story of THE MAN from ARDOYNE

Sean McCaughey chief of staff I.R.A.
told by Eamonn Mac Thomais

Sean McCaughey, the man from Ardoyne, was born in the small townland of Aghnacloy, Co. Tyrone in February 1916. His father was a prominent member of the Sinn Féin organisation having joined the first club in the year 1905. When Sean was five years of age the family moved to Belfast. Sean's early education was at the national schools which was then under the control of the Passionist Fathers.

It was while attending this school that Sean developed his great love for Ireland and for the heroes and heroines who worked and fought in the Antrim glens in '98.

By his 17th birthday Sean was a volunteer of the Ardoyne Company of the Irish Republican Army. He was so dedicated and efficient that he soon became the Commanding Officer of the Ardoyne area. In this capacity he was known among his friends and foes as McCaughey, the Man from Ardoyne, the O.C. of the Unit. His talent and methods of organisation were quickly noted by G.H.Q. in Dublin, and he was ordered to attend at a special training camp in the Dublin mountains.

Unfortunately, the security arrangements of the camp fell down and McCaughey and several others were arrested and sentenced to 6 months imprisonment.

This was Sean McCaughey's first contact with G.H.Q. and as you can expect he was not very impressed. On his release he returned to Belfast, his friend and comrade Charlie McGlade, who was O.C. of the Northern Commons immediately handed over complete control to McCaughey and McGlade acted as his loyal and dedicated adjutant. The two leaders were now on the run North and South, and the R.U.C. and Special Branch wanted notices appeared all over the country.

The R.U.C. named McCaughey as the most wanted man in their files. The following notice appeared outside all police barracks in Post Offices and other public places but McCaughey continued on his keeping and avoided arrest.

Due to the large number of arrests and raids carried out by the Free State police, McCaughey and McGlade were convinced that there was a leakage of information at G.H.Q. level. Both men came to Dublin to investigate and their findings soon led to the arrest of Stephen Hayes, Chief of Staff, Irish Republican Army. During the

Hayes' affair McCaughey was arrested in Dublin and was later charged with kidnapping Hayes. He was sentenced to death.

The late Cardinal McRory intervened and the sentence was commuted to life imprisonment. In Portlaoise Jail, McCaughey was treated like a common criminal. He refused to wear the prison garb and lay naked in his cell with only a blanket to cover his body.

For three and a half years he was kept in solitary confinement. He was not allowed to go to Mass because the prison governor said he was not properly dressed.

Sean McCaughey was determined that the Irish people should know of the brutalities being carried on against Republican prisoners in Portlaoise Jail.

On the 19th of April 1946, he went on Hunger and Thirst strike in demand of immediate and unconditional release. Twenty two days later on the 11th May 1946, Sean McCaughey went to meet the God he loved and had served so well.

At last like Terence McSweeney, like Thomas Ashe, like McNeela and

Darcy, McCaughey was free.

At the inquest held in the prison, the Deputy Coroner, Mr McLoughlin, refused to allow Counsel for the next-of-kin to cross-examine the Governor. Restricted as the evidence was, the following passages from the evidence of Dr. Duane, Prison Doctor, gives some idea of the conditions endured by Sean McCaughey and the other Republican prisoners in Portlaoise.

Mr. MacBride: Are you aware that during the four and a half years he was here he was never out in the fresh air or sunlight?

Mr. Duane: As far as I am aware he was not.

Mr. MacBride: Would I be right in saying that up to twelve or eighteen months ago he was kept in solitary confinement and not allowed to speak or associate with any other person?

Mr. Duane: That is right.

Mr. MacBride: Would you treat a dog in that fashion?

Mr. McLoughlin: That is not a proper question.

Mr. MacBride: If you had a dog would you treat it in that fashion?

Mr. Duane (after a pause): No.

JOHN McCaughey ©
Sean McCaughey.

LAST KNOWN ADDRESS:-
18 HEATHFIELD ROAD,
BELFAST.

If located, this man should be detained under Civil Authorities (Special Powers) Act.



DESCRIPTION.

BORN - 1914, AUGHNACLOY, Co. Tyrone.

OCCUPATION - Moulder.

HEIGHT - 5ft. 8 1/2 ins.

COMP. - Fresh.

HAIR - Br. Brown.

EYES - Blue.

BUILD - Medium.

PECULIARITIES - Military gait. Usually bare-headed.



Charles McGlade (left), Adjutant General and Sean McCaughey, Chief of Staff, I.R.A. photographed walking past the Gresham Hotel, DUBLIN.

MULLINGAR RESOLUTION

"We, the members of the Barnes and McCormack Sinn Féin Cumann, Mullingar, request the Westmeath Co. Council to expedite the provision of a house for Thomas Murphy, wife and family, who are under notice of eviction from their present Bord na Mona residence at Rochfortbridge, and that the County Council make representations to Bord na Mona not to proceed with the eviction pending provision of suitable accommodation by the Council."

The Cumann is investigating the circumstances surrounding the proposed eviction of Mr. Murphy from the Bord na Mona house in which he and his family are living at present. This eviction is due to take place in a few weeks time.



A LIVING DEATH

The man was young
a lover of life,
warm laugh, bright eyes
dedicated to his land
and all God's beauty.
He was not condemned
to die
a red robed cardinal
had pleaded
not in vain
the hangmans' rope
was set aside
for other days.
The young man
was only sent
to a living death
life imprisonment.

Twelve hundred days
without sunshine, letters
or an outside friend,
naked and unashamed
locked away
in solitary confinement
to rot
like an animal
without Mass bell
or Sacrament
this they did
in the name
of justice.

In Fenian times
men went insane

others survived
McCaughey died
on thirst and
hunger strike
to reveal to the world
the plight of
the I.R.A.
in Portlaoise Dungeons.

Never again
must this happen
that men
be treated like dogs
because they loved
their native land
and stood by
its traditions
its ideals
its principles,
while faceless men
drank wine
with the enemy
planning together
to crush and destroy
the spirit of freedom
and yet
they failed,
failed miserably.

Sean McCaughey
lives on
in the minds
and hearts
of his Ardoyne,
and Ireland.

Eamonn Mac Thomais

A LOT OF BULL



Adrian's Bull

Bull of Pope Adrian IV., granting and advising the conquest of Ireland, by the English Catholic King Henry II.:

"Bull Laudibilliter et Fructose." Adrian, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his dearest son in Christ, the illustrious King of England, greeting and apostolic benediction:

"Laudably and profitably hath your magnificence conceived the design of propagating your glorious renown on earth and completing the reward of your eternal happiness in heaven: while as a (R.) Catholic prince, you are intent on enlarging the borders of the Church, teaching the truth of the Christian faith to the ignorant and the rude, extirpating the roots of vice from the field of the Lord, and for the more convenient execution of this purpose, requiring the counsel and favor of the Apostolic See, in which the maturer your deliberation and the greater the discretion of your procedure, by so much the happier we trust will be your progress, with the assistance of the Lord, as all things are used to come to a prosperous end and issue, which take their beginning from the ardor of faith and the love of religion. There is, indeed, no doubt that Ireland, and all the islands on which Christ, the sun of righteousness, hath shone, and which have received the doctrine of the Christian faith, do belong to the jurisdiction of St. Peter and the Holy Roman Church, as your excellency do acknowledge; and, therefore, we are the more solicitous to propagate the righteous plantation of faith in this land, and the branch acceptable to God, as we have the secret conviction of a conscience that this is more especially our bounden duty. You then, my dear son in Christ, have signified to us your desire

to enter into the island of Ireland, in order to reduce the people to obedience under the laws, and to extirpate the plants of vice; and that you are willing to pay from each house a yearly pension of one penny to St. Peter, and that you will preserve the rights of the churches of the land whole and inviolable. We, therefore, with the grace and acceptance suited to your pious and laudable design, and favorably assenting to your petition, do hold it good and acceptable, that, for extending the borders of the church, restraining the progress of vice, for the correction of manners, the planting of virtue, and the increase of religion, you enter this island, and execute therein whatever shall pertain to the honor of God and the welfare of the land, and that the people of this land receive you honorably and reverence you as their lord: the rights of their churches still remaining sacred and inviolate and saving to St. Peter the annual pension of one penny from each house."

"If, then you be resolved to carry the design you have conceived into effectual execution, study to form this nation to virtue and manners, and labor by yourselves and others, you shall judge meet for this work, in faith, word and life, that the church may be there adorned, and the religion of the Christian faith may be planted and grown up, and that all things pertaining to the honor of God and the salvation of souls, be so ordered that you may be entitled to the fullness of heavenly reward from God and obtain a renown on earth for all ages."

"Given at Rome, in the year of salvation, 1156. Bullarium Magnum Rom num, Tomus II." p. 627.

Alexander's Bull

"Alexander, servant of the servants of God, to his dear son in Christ, the illustrious King of England, health and apostolic benediction."

"For as much as these things, which have been on good reasons granted by our predecessors, deserve to be confirmed in the fullest manner, and considering the grant of the dominion of the realm of Ireland by the venerable Pope Adrian, we, pursuing his footsteps, do ratify and confirm the same (reserving to St. Peter and the Holy Roman Church,

as well in England as in Ireland, the yearly pension of one penny from each house), provided that the abominations of the land being removed, that barbarous people, Christians only in name, may, by your means, be reformed, and their lives and conversation mended, so that their disordered church being thus reduced to regular discipline, that nation may, with the name of Christian, be so in act and deed." Given at Rome, in the year of salvation, 1172." O'Halloran's History of Ireland. Vol. 2, P. 362.

Henry's Bull



AN CUMA LINN?

WHO CARES?

AN CUMA LINN?

The

sack

of

Oh well do I remember that bleak December day,
The Landlord and the sheriff came to drive us all away,
They set my roof on fire with their demon yellow spleen;
And that's another reason why I left old Skibereen.

The Blakes who have lived on this estate for 112 years, number five: Thomas Blake, 88 years old with 75 years service to the estate to his credit — at the time he lay in Tullamore Hospital; Tom Blake, 55, Robert 30, June 18, and Peggy 55.

March in the year of Our Lord 1971.

In Tullamore — a thriving town — a family of five people, (staunch Protestants), thrown out of their home, their possessions alongside them.

The location: The Gate Lodge, in the grounds of Durrow Abbey near Tullamore. The present owner of Durrow Abbey: Mr Michael Williams.

Michael Williams, a local business man and staunch Catholic owner of 5 Star Supermarkets, owns Durrow Abbey which includes a famous holy shrine and well. In the past there has always been free access to the shrine but since the change of ownership the gate to the shrine has been kept locked. Thus at all hours the Blakes have had to open the gate to visitors, over and above their normal estate duties.

Michael Williams took the Blakes to Court last September and obtained possession. He then offered the Blakes £100 to obtain other accommodation — that is the "substantial sum" mentioned in some Press reports. How far would that go towards accommodation?

After 112 years
five members
out on the
landlord's

At 11.30 a.m. March 4. Feast of St. Casimir, (son of Casimir III of Poland) who excelled in love of the poor, the bailiff arrived with some young men. The family waited inside, for three hours the local Rector, the Rev. Waterstone, pleaded with the Bailiff and Solicitor to give the family time to obtain alternative accommodation. A firm offer had been made to the family of another house to be ready in 3 to 4 months.

LEGITIMATE

EXPRESSION

CURTAILED

GLUAISEACHT na POBLACHTA

An unacceptable law which further protected the strong against the weak, was how a theologian recently described the Prohibition of Forcible Entry and Occupation Bill, one of the nastiest pieces of so-called legislation ever introduced in Leinster House.

This bill introduced by the neo-fascist Free State Minister for Justice, Desmond O'Malley is just one more example of the ever-increasing power and influence of capitalism in Ireland. According to O'Malley the bill is intended to give him powers to help him deal with squatting and fish-ins.

It is nothing of the sort. It is the very negation of the principles of the 1916 Proclamation and the Democratic Programme of the First Dail, which declared the right of the people of Ireland to the ownership of Ireland, and to the unfettered control of Irish destinies; guaranteed equal rights and equal opportunities to all citizens; promised to cherish all the children of the nation equally.

WHO RULES?

Let there be no mistake about it. This is jackboot legislation prompted by and introduced on behalf of the robber barons, and of course the revitalised remnants of the old breed of robber barons, still unhappily with us. The introduction of this repressive measure indicates clearly, not that proof is necessary, just who rules this island: the landlords, speculators, big business, property developers and other assorted tacateers.

These people are wealthy and influential. The men of no property are not. The financiers are small in number, but big in their ability to control the politicians. The men of no property however have only one source of protection: the belief that people are more important than privately-owned property.

O'Malley's abhorrent legislation has already been condemned by citizens from every sector of society, including churchmen and lawyers. If passed in Leinster House — and not surprisingly it already has the support of Fianna Fail, and Fine Gael with one exception — it will create new criminal offences previously dealt with in civil law.

BASIC RIGHTS

The new criminal offences it creates are: (1) forcible entry of land or a vehicle and (2) remaining in forcible occupation of land or a vehicle. In civil law at present the prosecution must prove the ownership of the land or vehicle, but in the new law about to be introduced, the civil law is being by-passed and the defence must show that the accused has a bona fide claim to ownership of the land or

vehicle. The accused is guilty.

Under the capital social evil, the man to provide relief for provided by the state indictment (the "squ" imprisonment (the "squ"

He can be forced property for damage of the Garda (the "squ"

Members of the powers of arrest without a warrant reasonable cause for an offence (the "squ" land or vehicle, serious of the owner or servant or will be used.

NEW OFFENCES

If that proposal about the leaving where they have the damage, (the "squ"

The bill gives offences are called person to "obtain" forcible entry re gives no definition "advocating" nor



THE REPUBLIC

After 112 years service to estate,
ve members of family thrown
ut on the roadside by new
ndlord.

arch 4. Feast of St. Casimir III of Poland (love of the poor), with some young men inside, for local Rector, the Rev. with the Bailiff give the family time for private accommodation. been made to the house to be ready

No one would listen and the battering down began.

It was left to Peggy to go to Tullamore Hospital to tell a sick man of 88 that he had been thrown out of his home.

A great St Casimir's Day.



The door of the gate lodge on Durrow Abbey Estate being broken down during the eviction of the Blake family.

vehicle. The accused will no longer be innocent until proved guilty.

Under this capitalist outrage in the name of alleviating social evil, the man who exercises his basic right and duty to provide a roof for his wife and family - when this is not provided by the state - could be fined up to £500 on indictment for "squatting", or suffer up to three years imprisonment.

He can be forced to compensate the "owner" of property for damage caused by the "owner" or a member of the Garda Síochána, while attempting to eject him.

Members of the police force are also to be given Hitlerite powers of arrest without a warrant. A Garda may arrest without a warrant not only where he knows or has reasonable cause for suspecting that a person is committing an offence of forcible entry or occupation, but also where the police "reasonably" believe that serious damage to the land or vehicle, serious interference with the lawful rights of the owner, or serious interference to the public is being, or will be caused.

NEW OFFENCES!

If that proposal is not repressive enough, then how about the following: the police may arrest without warrant where they believe that the arrest is necessary to prevent the damage, interference, or inconvenience.

The bill goes even further. In section 4, two more new offences are created. In the first it will be an offence for a person to "encourage" or "advocate" the commission of forcible entry or remaining in forcible occupation. The bill gives no definition of what constitutes "encouraging" or "advocating", nor is it necessary for a conviction to be



secured that the other offences should have taken place.

This section also creates a new category of "guilt by association". If a group has aided, encouraged or advocated forcible entry or occupation, each and every member of that group shall be guilty of an offence, unless a member takes active steps to dissociate himself from, or pleads ignorance of statements made by or on behalf of such a group. Passive conduct or loyalty to friends or to the leaders of the group would be enough to find yourself in jail!

Again, as in other parts of the bill, there is no precise definition of a "group". It could be a newspaper, or a political party, public or private meeting or an ad hoc group.

AFFECTS YOU!

This section is surely designed to curtail legitimate expression of comment and opinion on these matters which are usually widely publicised on radio, television and in newspapers.

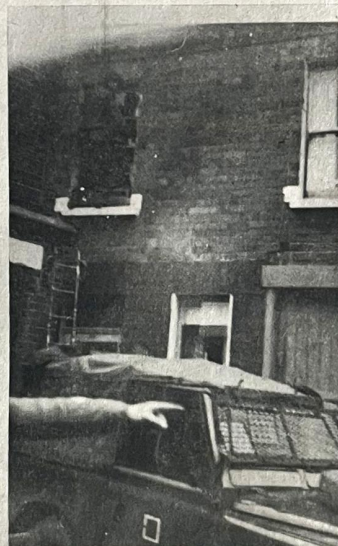
The foregoing are some of the more obnoxious clauses in this piece of legislative horror. If this bill becomes law, (and the Republican Movement must provide the leadership to ensure it does not) it would affect the following:

- the homeless who are often forced to find shelter in unoccupied houses for themselves and their families;
- itinerants who are forced to camp in vacant land belonging to others;
- people who fish in Ireland's lakes and rivers;
- trade unionists who refuse to leave their factory premises;
- preservationists who attempt to save parts of our cultural heritage from the ravages of speculators;
- anyone, - YOU perhaps - who practises what the Proclamation of 1916 sets out.

Before this bill becomes law, it must be met by such massive opposition that its fascist-minded mentors may have second thoughts and withdraw it. If however they persist in this evil, the power of the people must make itself felt. A civil disobedience campaign must be mounted to make it unworkable by deliberately flaunting it.

Violence in legislation, as in the unjust administration of law, is a worse form of violence than the violence of those who revolt against such injustice. "Law", such as proposed in this bill – built-in violence which is not even sophisticated but merely a crude vulgar attempt to subdue a rising people who are belatedly learning their rights – will wreak forth such a torrent of opposition from the oppressed that the capitalist system will be wrecked in Ireland forever.

**No Bill required
for this entry!
British raid.**



The ownership of agricultural land is unevenly distributed among the population of both parts of the country. About 60% of the agricultural holdings are of 30 acres or less, while less than a tenth of the holdings are of 100 acres or more. The latter group in the Six Counties occupies 20% of the land; in the 26 Counties it accounts for 36% of the land.

In both parts of the country most holdings are small and there is still a lot of land in large holdings; despite the activities of the Land Commission. The trend is for the small holdings to be amalgamated and their owners to emigrate, so that the middle group is increasing at the expense of the small group. The large group is stable.

Not only is the land inadequately distributed, but also the type of farming practised helps the robbery of the small producer in order to line the pockets of the large. The staple product of Irish agriculture, store cattle, is the instrument of this process. The production of this commodity is so ordered that the costly and risky operation of rearing calves is carried out largely by the small farmers in the North-West, West and South, while the large farmers finish the process with maximum gain and minimum risk and labour.

Thus, there is an inter-regional pattern of exploitation, which functions within the overall British-imposed pattern of national exploitation, whereby Ireland as a whole is kept economically dependent on Britain. This structure also encourages the growth of a merchant element which preys on agriculture as a whole, thriving on seasonal and regional price differences. Thus, the social structure for the whole country has wide regional variations; by and large the ranches, which are the main beneficiaries of the present system, are situated in the East and the small holdings in the West.

Impoverishment

Agricultural Trade Unionism is strong in the East, among the workers on the large estates. This accounts for the idea, prevalent in Labour circles, that the farmer is basically an employer and, therefore, has nothing in common with the urban workers. In fact, however, two thirds of the agricultural population enjoy a standard of living ranging from modest to absolute impoverishment.

Agriculture in the Six Counties enjoys a higher level of income than does that of the 26 Counties. This may be attributed to the greater emphasis placed on dairying, as well as to the high level of subsidy enjoyed.

The main feature of Irish agriculture, in farms of all sizes, is its variability of productive level. By and large, the more land a man has, the less per acre he gets from it. The pure grass-land large farm (ranch) is the least productive of all. Yet the pattern of production imposed by the live cattle trade perpetuates this wasteful type of land usage.

It is quite possible to obtain a family income of over £1,500 per year on a 30 to 40 acre farm of moderate land. Large farmers having 1,000 acres or so who farm at this level of intensity employ perhaps 100 men and are equivalent to an industrial firm with perhaps a quarter of a million to a million pounds capital.

The basic problems which prevent all farming being at this level of intensity, with corresponding increase in the national income, are (a) the uncertainties and fluctuations associated with the marketing structure, (b) the technical problems presented by farm management, (c) lack of capital to invest in elementary amenities such as piped water, as well as basic requirements such as fertilisers. The relatively few farmers who have been able to scrape together capital sufficient to make use of available state grants have prospered. The rest continue to exist in poverty on emigrants' remittances or have emigrated themselves, letting their land on consacre. "The absentee landlord" has assumed a new meaning.

The relatively few successful farmers who have managed despite everything to prosper on small or medium farms have done so by the following means:-

1. Investment of all available personal and government grants capital.
2. Establishment of a farm plan diversified enough for the various activities to complement one another, but not so diversified that the various activities interfere with each other and dissipate the effort.
3. Taking advantage of all available government services (scientific advice, artificial insemination etc.)
4. Establishment of some control over market conditions by entering into regular contracts (milk, beet, vegetables, wheat, barley etc).
5. The cultivation of a methodical attitude to the use of their own time. (In industry this is known as "work study" and is imposed from above). A good farmer working for himself does this as second nature considerably increasing his own productivity.

Despite this, the profit to be obtained from investment of capital and effort into a farm is substantially less than that to be obtained by investing a corresponding amount of capital in industry. The reason for this is that agricultural production is basically seasonal and supports a stratum of merchants who live by exploiting the seasonal variations in price. The farmer, therefore, on the average sells at a depressed price. A further reason is that industrial capital tends to be grouped in larger productive units and can take advantage of economies of scale.

Subsidy

It is possible to overcome this chronic agricultural depression within the existing framework to some extent. Two methods exist - the first, State subsidy, is widely practised in Western Europe. This, by relatively favouring the large producers, has had the effect of developing an industrial-type agriculture, with considerable mechanisation, low wages high profits, high dependence on the chemical industry and declining quality of produce.

The Irish agricultural price-structure is dominated by the existence of subsidised industrial-type agriculture in Britain, so that its effective independent development is prevented. The key factor in this dependence is the store cattle trade. A subsidiary factor in the case of the Six Counties is the fact that the farmers themselves benefit from the relatively high subsidy. This subsidy is, of course, outside their control; it depends on the whim of a foreign Government.

A further factor operating mainly in the 26-County area is the Dole, on which large areas depend. This Dole is so regulated that it constitutes a rural survival subsidy rather than an agricultural subsidy; increased production, if achieved, is penalised by loss of Dole. A system better adapted to perpetuating poverty would be hard to devise. Various other rural services exist in the 26 Counties which are effectively subsidised, such as rural electrification. The total rural subsidy in the 26 Counties, including also the butter export subsidy, is not so far off the rate paid in the Six Counties as to be unworthy of comparison. Thus, the argument that the Six-County farmers would lose their subsidies if they came in with the 26 Counties is not so potent as it appears at first sight.

It is, however, necessary to stress that Six/26-County comparisons are irrelevant; both parts are stunted by Partition. The correct basis for comparison is Six/26 versus 32 Counties. The point here is that the united Republic would have a sufficiently well developed industrial sector to be able to support agricultural subsidies on the European scale, should that method of raising agricultural production prove to be sound.

The second method of overcoming chronic agricultural depression is for the farmers to organise co-operatively in such a way as to control their own marketing channels, and to establish direct and close links with urban and export markets. Gains in farm income comparable with the average Six-County subsidy have been obtained without difficulty in the few areas where co-operative marketing of this type has been established. Further gains are possible by co-operating in the use of machinery and in production generally.

It is, therefore, possible in the short run for considerable gains to be made, even within the existing framework, along co-operative lines. This is a national objective, worthy of the full attention of the Republican Movement; failure to proceed along these lines, as noted in the Introduction, will allow rural and national decline to continue to the point of national extinction. Development of this co-operative movement on a 32-County basis is likely to run into political obstacles, the overcoming of which will raise the level of political consciousness of the people, and render the unification of the Nation more readily possible.

A 32-County Sinn Fein Government, would be in a position to allocate funds for agricultural investment into projects which would strengthen the farmers' own organisations and encourage the growth of production and marketing co-operatives. Guaranteed prices and market stability would enable investment to be properly planned. Subsidies would be tailored in such a way as to reward small-farm enterprise and to develop a broad, well-balanced and diversified agriculture. The existing 'Dole' would be consolidated into a 'depressed area' subsidy which would remain irrespective of increases or production, becoming relatively less important as the areas became economically awakened. (This latter point is also a short-term objective, realisable by agitation within the present framework, and with positive consequences for strengthening the national co-operative movement if successful).

The 32-County Government would be concerned with the re-distribution of land to those who needed it and were capable of working it. Large farms at present at a low productive level would be taken over. There would be established a maximum amount of land to be owned by any citizen. In all cases, where the State takes over land which is naturally a productive unit, these would be leased to families who would work them as co-operative units. These would act as pilot schemes to help the spread of the co-operative idea.

The land of absentee landlords would be subject to compulsory purchase by the state; where the absentee is an migrant small farmer he would be encouraged to return and participate in co-operative development; if he did not wish to do so, he would be given the option of taking the purchase price in the form of a pension fund for retirement to Ireland when he wished.

'the land of Ireland for the people of Ireland'

SINN FEIN POLICY

it should be the aim
to increase rather than
decrease the rural population.

Production

The State would assume immediate control over marketing arrangements and would establish a guaranteed price system for all agricultural produce. At the same time, the formation of marketing co-operatives would be encouraged so that the profits at present enjoyed by merchants, (these often accumulate into personal fortunes which are invested abroad against the national interest) would be ploughed back into farm enterprises under co-operative control.

Existing scientific services (soil-testing etc) available to farmers would be extended and popularised. Credit facilities at monial interest rates would be provided for farmers. The maximum support would be given to the development of regional markets under co-operative control. Likewise, the supply of local industry with suitable crops for processing would be organised on a co-operative basis.

The pattern of production would be mainly oriented towards intensive livestock production and fodder-crops, as well as horticultural-type developments. This is quite consistent with growing enough wheat for the home market while a situation of underdevelopment exists in the country. Cheap imports of such commodities would be in the national interest only in a state of full development when they could be bought with Irish exports without an adverse balance of trade. Meanwhile the trend would be to supply most needs of an expanding industrial home market and to export only certain specialist products commanding high prices, such as processed food of all kinds and dead meat.

It should be the aim of the 32-County Republican Government to increase rather than decrease the rural population, which stands at the moment as the lowest in Europe. It would be socially desirable to encourage village settlements rather than isolated individual farms.

Progress of the Movement

Sinn Fein protest in Ballymurphy draws over 1,000

HUNDREDS of troops were concentrated at Ballymurphy and Upper Falls, Belfast, in advance of a recent Sinn Fein-organised torchlight protest meeting against "the latest phase of the war of provocation" against people in the area.

More than 1,000 people gathered at Glenalina Green, Ballymurphy, to listen to speeches by prominent members of the Republican movement.

Throughout the day of the meeting, Ballymurphy, said one resident, was "crawling" with heavily-armed soldiers and the area was being criss-crossed by Saracen armoured personnel cars, Land-Rovers, and other military vehicles. Road blocks were set up in the immediate area and members of the Liam McParland Sinn Fein Cumman, which organised the meeting, said soldiers had seized and destroyed copies of "Tattler" the Sinn Fein bulletin as Fianna boys distributed it.

There had been complaints earlier in the day from members of the congregation of St. John's Church, Falls Road, at the presence of two armed soldiers directly across the street, keeping watch on persons attending the morning Masses.

A Ballymurphy housewife commented: "The district is more like a military camp than a housing estate. There are troops everywhere."

The Liam McParland Sinn Fein Cumman, in a statement after the torchlight protest, said that despite the tearing down of posters throughout the estate advertising it and despite the massive show of force and the military presence in the area there had been an excellent turn-out of more than 1,000.

Mr. Barney McGivern, the

chairman, said: "This was a peaceful meeting to protest at the latest phase in the war of provocation against the Nationally-minded people. Despite Brian Faulkner's assurance that he wasn't going to 'clobber' Catholics the military presence here can only serve to intimidate residents and to further polarise the Orange and Green position."

ARMAGH COMHAIRLE

The following officers of Armagh Comhairle Ceantair were elected at a recent meeting in McGroten's Hotel, Armagh: Cathaoirleach

— J. B. O'Hagan (Lurgan); Leas-Cathaoirleach — Eamonn Lewis (Camlough); Runai — Miss R. McKenna (Newry); Cisteoir — J. McElmurray (Lurgan); Organiser — S. McKenna (Newry); Publicity Officers — Hugh Mallon (Newry) and Killian McNicholl (Dungannon).

The meeting which was attended by delegates from Sinn Fein Cumann in Armagh, South Down and East Tyrone was presided over by U. O. Loinsigh (Ard-Runai), who stated that the setting up of this Comhairle Ceantair added much to the strength of the organisation in these counties.

Other speakers included Ardchomhairle member Sean McKenna of Newry.



Sinn Fein adopted a revolutionary placard tactic at their Downing Street, London, picket recently. Many of the slogans on the placards were written in foreign languages, including German, Polish and French.

"A lot of tourists and foreign visitors walk up and down Whitehall at weekends," said John McGovern, publicity officer for the movement in London. "We hope that having the slogans written in their own

language will get our message across to more people."

The picket was held in support of Frank Sheridan, James Monaghan, Seamus McGarrigle and Brandon Magill.

There must be no fear or cowardice

An anti-internment rally in Davitt Park, Lurgan organised by the Thomas Harte Sinn Fein Cumann, attracted an attendance of over a thousand people. Earlier the demonstrators marched from the Diamond with four bands. They were watched by five hundred police who had been drafted in for the afternoon and British troops in riot gear who were on stand-by.

As the parade turned into Davitt Park, British Army helicopters hovered overhead and circled the park in an intimidatory manner throughout the public meeting which followed. They continuously swooped low over the platform in what appeared to be an attempt to drown the voices of the speakers.

"The time has come for you to prepare yourselves for the confrontation with the

British tyrant. Soon you will be called upon to defend yourselves and to bring the ancient struggle to a successful completion. I believe that the privilege of finally driving out the invader will be granted to this generation," was the message of Tony Ruane (Ardchomhairle), who had travelled from Dublin to address the meeting.

"The only organisation that will prepare you for this vital work is the Republican Movement, and there is room for everyone in its ranks," added Ruane.

Maire Ni Dhroma, Belfast (Ardchomhairle), who also

spoke, called upon all present to do their duty by playing a part in the fight which lies ahead.

She added: "You will be opposed by Britain's big guns, tanks and helicopters, but there must be neither fear nor cowardice. British armies have been defeated around the world. They have been beaten in Kenya, Cyprus and elsewhere and they will be beaten here."

"Do not wait for firearms. Men, women and children must arm themselves with every means at their disposal, and when the struggle recommences, they must come out on the streets and fight. Forks, spades, bottles and stones make good weapons."

At the end of the meeting many young men and women came to the platform to join the movement.

The Easter parade in Lurgan attracted about 4,000 people. At one stage the marchers stretched along the half-mile length of Edward Street. By some strange means the B.B.C. correspondent could only find 100 marchers

SINN FEIN HOUSING POLICY

The only acceptable adjustment in the housing interest rate would be a reduction in it, said Sinn Fein in a statement condemning the recent increase to 10 per cent in the interest rate on local authority house purchase loans.

"Ten per cent on a loan of £3,300 is an intolerable burden on any family. The proportion of income spent on housing is increasing all the time and houses are in fact paid for twice and three times", it said.

The statement added: "There are many factors in the high cost of housing. One is the speculation in building land by which some private individuals are amassing small fortunes."

Sinn Fein's published policy on housing includes the following points:

1. Building land should be compulsorily acquired by the State or Municipality at a price related to its agricultural value.
2. The land can be transferred to the individual or body developing it.
3. Ground rent should be abolished.
4. A National Housing Fund should be established to finance housing projects, thus taking the provision of finance for housing out of the hands of commercial interests.
5. In accordance with the Sinn Fein policy of using the interest rate on capital as a social planning device the rate for capital invested in housing developments should be set at a maximum of 5%.

"Sinn Fein will be putting this policy to the electorate in the next Local Elections in the 26 Counties."

MONAGHAN CONFERENCE

The Belfast Truth

Eight members of the Sinn Fein Ard Comhairle travelled to Belfast recently to address an educational/organisational meeting. The party included the two Vice-Presidents 1916 veteran Joe Clarke, and Larry Grogan of Drogheda.

Joe Clarke who gave a brief address was greeted by long applause.

Congratulating the people of Belfast on the stand they had taken and the part they had played in recent times U. O. Loinsigh (Ard Runai) said: "For 40 years the politicians could not change the Premier, but in two years of effort on the streets, you have got rid of two Premiers and you will eventually drive out the British occupation forces, as well as Unionism and all it stands for."

Speaking on the background to the present struggle, Tony Ruane said that the Truce of 1921 was the greatest disaster that had ever overtaken the Irish Nation because when the I.R.A. ceased active service, they allowed

the compromisers and the opportunists that had taken no part in the fight a chance to exploit a golden opportunity and to betray the Nation and Republicanism.

"Now we are fighting on two fronts. We are fighting the British Army and Britain's dupes in Ireland and we hope on this occasion that the people who are waiting in the wings, will not get an opportunity to do what was done in 1921. It is in this context we can fully realise the importance of Sinn Fein, the political wing of the movement" said Mr. Ruane.

An tAthair Padraig Mac Cathmhaoil who also spoke, said that he would go back to the South and tell the people the truth about Belfast, that the reality of the situation had not yet come home to the bulk of the people outside of the North. "It must be made clear to people all over the country that the men, women and children of Belfast are fighting for the re-conquest of Ireland," continued an tAthair Padraig.

The fifth in a series of regional conferences was held in St. Macartan's Hall, Monaghan on April 4. The conference, which was presided over by Patrick Daly was attended by representatives from Monaghan Town, Knockatallon, Castleblaney, Inniskeen, Carrickroe and Tyndavnet.

The chief speaker was Caoimhghin Mac Cathmhaoil, of the Irish Antagonist Movement who described Sinn Fein's Social and Economic Programme as the only logical way out of the impasse in which Ireland finds herself at the moment. Other speakers included Ruairi O Bradaigh (Uachtarán), U. O. Loinsigh and M. N. Bhaill (Ard-Runaithe), and Tony Ruane (Cisteoir Naisiunta).

Co-operative ownership would lead to flourishing economy

The following statement was issued by the Tony D'Arcy Cumann, Sinn Fein, Galilimh, following the closure of the Weir Textile Mills in Tuam.

"The recent closure of the £100,000 Weir Textile Mills in Tuam highlights once again the 'glughar' nature of Irish industry. As the 'glughar' egg will satisfy the hatching hen for a while, so too does Irish industry. Its opening in an area, please the labour, win an election, and give employment. This in turn brings people to the area, with a resulting boom in housing and business."

"But then what invariably happens is a reduction of the labour force, a threat of closure, uncertainty of the future, and uprooting of families. Sooner or later, as in the case of Tuam, the closedown occurs."

"The major cause of such closedowns, take overs etc., which have occurred in the last few years, has been the Anglo-Irish Free Trade Agreement. With such results, as forecast by Sinn Fein in 1964, we can expect almost outright destruction of industry in this country, if we are taken

over by the Common Market "Free Trade" grouping. The E.E.C. wants markets for its products, not extra internal competition, or new bases for industries."

"At the moment the fallacy of relying on foreign investment and foreign control of our industries is becoming plain to see. Such industries will only be allowed to continue so long as a high profit rate is maintained. At the slightest hint of a reduction in profits, even temporary, foreign investors pull out and seek greener pastures."

"In their period of operation here, they have been subsidised by the taxpayer, granted tax free profits in most cases, and allowed to invest such profits in their home countries or elsewhere in their financial empire."

"What has Ireland gained? A few years of pay-packets, another 'White Elephant', a concentration of Redundant workers, who must in many cases emigrate. This can mean the whole family, or worse still it means separation of the father from the family for most of the year."

"What is the answer to all this? Replacement Industries, if not obtained immediately will not be much use to the workers, and even then these industries are just as prone to closures etc. as the former ones. The workers, the only important factor in the whole affair have no guarantee."

"We in Sinn Fein advocate worker-ownership of industry. We hereby call on trade unions to incorporate in their negotiations with the employers a demand to allow the workers a share in the ownership and management of industry. In any case every threat of a closure should be met by a thorough examination of the possibility of taking over the threatened industry and putting it under cooperative control. If this idea was spread sufficiently widely through farmers and workers organisations; it would eventually lead to a flourishing cooperative economy."

"Worker-owners involved in decision making will be concerned with maintaining their means of a livelihood. The need to amass a large profit for outsiders, the source of closures, would not exist."

Baile Atha Cliath - Phil Ryan: "If Ireland joins the market the country will be ruled not by the people of Ireland but by the nine faceless men of the Brussels Commission. Industry will go to the wall, and farmers will be driven off the land in greater numbers than in Cromwell's time."

"We are being told that we have no choice but to follow our imperial masters into Europe. But the Republican Movement serves notice that we will resist entry into the EEC to the very last. Let it be realised that, in matters of principle, there can be no compromise."

"Let it go forth from this commemoration that the renewal which began in October, 1969, on the streets of Droichead Chaitim will go on. We are no longer a small isolated group, but are a popular movement with popular support, and we have the scent of victory in our nostrils."

"We are seeking not just political freedom, but in the spirit of Connolly, social and economic freedom as well. We are striving for a state in which the people of Ireland will control the resources of the nation."

An Clár - Seamus McEnery:

"Every day we are getting closer to the final onslaught against the British invader."

"It is said by the politicians that those who took the sword would perish by the sword but it was England who took this country by the sword and it was England who would perish by it. Everyone is looking for peace but how can we have it? Let Padraig Mac Piarais answer in our name and in the name of all Irishmen. There can be no peace between right and wrong, between truth and falsehood, between freedom and tyranny. Between these elements there is eternal war and until the wrong is righted, until truth is established, until justice is accomplished and until freedom is won there will be no peace."

"Let up pay tribute to the men, women and children in Occupied Ireland who are standing shoulder to shoulder in the streets against the British troops. The I.R.A. is standing with them in their fight and will continue to do so until the 800 years fight against British occupation is brought to a successful conclusion."

Muineachain - Sean MacStiofáin: "The Republican Movement salutes the heroic people of Belfast for their courage, endurance and determination. But saluting them is not enough. Republicans must convince the people of Ireland, the 26 counties that the war in Belfast is a national struggle and deserves the all out support of all the Irish people."

"Freedom would have no meaning unless the scourges of unemployment, emigration, bad housing, poverty and cultural snobbery were abolished in a 32-County Republic. The Republican Movement stands for a full free happy life for all our people, or for none."

"The Movement seeks not just political freedom, but also social, economic and cultural freedom. We will continue to struggle for a 32-County Democratic Republic in which the people of Ireland will control their destinies, and the resources of the nation. To this end the Republican Movement will uncompromisingly oppose any effort to have Ireland engulfed in the 'capitalist rag-bag called the E.E.C.'"

The Monaghan Commemoration was attended by members of the O'Hanlon family - Mr. Eugene O'Hanlon (father of Pádraig), sons Máeliosa and Eighneachán, daughter Pádraigín. The I.R.A. Easter Statement was read by Mr. John McElwaine, M.C.C. and a wreath laid by Mr. Frank Lally.

Manchester - Tom Concannon: "I'm afraid that we come to this and other commemorations every year and go away feeling that we have done all that is required of us. The only way we can honour the men who gave their lives for Ireland is to do our utmost to carry to a successful conclusion the work they were prevented by death from accomplishing - that of breaking the connection with England, the never failing source of all our political evils."

"This was what Wolfe Tone set out to do in his day; this is what the Manchester Martyrs set out to do. In 1867 when Allen, Larkin and Obrien were unjustly charged, condemned and put to death, the ravening monster that is British Imperialism wanted victims, and the question of guilt or innocence was immaterial so long as English 'justice' had sufficient 'evidence' to save its face and give it a pretext for judicial murder."

"Today, 104 years later, the world knows that English hatred of Irish Republicans is as deep and venomous and as vindictive as it was when they murdered Allen Larkin and O'Brien, on a discredited verdict. One has only to take notice of the one-sided arms searches in Belfast and other parts of our six counties, the terrible treatment of prisoners in British jails, the savage sentences passed by British courts on Republicans. The latest victims here in England being Magill, Monaghan and McGarrigle."

"Wolfe Tone placed all his trust and all his hopes for Ireland in the 'men of no property' the poor and lowly who have never yet failed their country in her hour of need; who have ever been ready to make sacrifices for her sake and have kept pure love of her burning bright beside the love of God in their hearts."

Tra Li - Joe Cahill.

"Alas, we cannot say either south or north of that accursed Border that we are free. While we in the Six Counties are fighting for our freedom there are people in the south who are not giving support or encouragement."

"My mind goes back a few short weeks to when the Irish exiles gathered in the U.S.A. to honour our St. Patrick and Jack Lynch was asked there what was the solution, and his reply was that as long as there was a danger of unrest and violence the British troops seemed to him to be the only answer."

"We, the people of the North, demand that the British get out and if this is Jack Lynch's attitude we tell him to get out with them. Is this the type of thing for which men sacrificed their lives?"

"When we gather around the Republican Plots we do so to honour the patriot dead and to draw inspiration from that which led them to an untimely end. Always and ever, and it is a strange thing that when someone makes the supreme sacrifice they seem to have the gift of seeing into the future and forewarning them. I had the honour and the privilege of having been sentenced to death with Tommy Williams and, he (Williams) like others who had sacrificed their lives saw into the future in 1942 and seemed to be able to forecast that men of evil minds would come along and try and break up and betray the Republican Movement."

"Tommy Williams said then, let no one who adopted a political party ever get control of the glorious Irish Republican Army. Thank God, despite attempts that have been made in that direction, there are many people throughout the country who remain true to the traditions and ideals and the ways of those who sacrificed their lives. And, thank God, not for fifty years was the Republican movement so strong as it is today."

"Tommy Williams was executed in Belfast and a British hangman was brought over to do the deed. A few years later the same hangman was brought to this part of the country to execute Kerry's Charlie Kerins. Could the same thing happen again? Would an English hangman or firing party be brought to this part of the country again to execute Republicans? This will never happen again if we remain true to the ideals of Tone, Pearse, Connolly, Lalor, Tommy Williams and Charlie Kerins."

"For the past eighteen months, we have been fighting a strong battle and what tomorrow held no one could tell. Only too well are we aware of what happened in August 1969 when our people were left undefended. This was a result of what happened in 1963 when the people then in charge proceeded to go along the political road."

"We all knew the result of the betrayal of the Northern people to the Unionist hordes. So much was that betrayal that many of the people there welcomed the coming of the British army. Foolishly they looked on them as their saviours from the Unionist hordes but staunch Republicans knowing the history of our country and that the enemy never changes, stood out against them. It was not long before the people of the North realised that the British Army was not there for their protection but for their persecution. They soon found out that they had to oppose British Army as well as the Unionist hordes. Now there are about 15,000 troops in the North but that would not deter the people."

"The name of Ballymurphy has become famous. It is a small district in Belfast where people have put up tremendous resistance against the forces of occupation. Recently when they were preparing to commemorate the patriot dead one of the houses flew the Tricolour and it was removed by the British Army. Within three hours every house in that estate unfurled the Tricolour and defied the British. Throughout the night the street was painted in the national colours and whenever a British vehicle came in it too was painted. That was defiance by the people of Ballymurphy."

"Never before has there been such a spirit of resistance among the people; never before has there been such determination to get freedom, but we cannot do it ourselves so I appeal for full support for the struggle in the six-occupied counties. We are locked in the final struggle for complete freedom and we want your support. Don't fail us."

Maigh Eo - Sean O Bradaigh: "Fuair an bheirt laoch ata ina lui anseo bas toisc go raibh Eire faoi smacht Shasana agus go raibh farsai Shasana i Maigh Eo. Ta farsai Shasana i gcuird d'Eirinn go foill agus ta leitheidi na bhfeair calma seo ag troid na troda ceanna i dtuaisceart Eireann. Ní lucht polaitiocht nach coir cabhrú leo. Ach iarrann siad cabhair agus ce dhúilíocht cabhair da bhráthair in am na prainne."

"Thomas O'Malley and Thomas Lally died bravely for Ireland on May 6, 1921. They died while fighting British forces which at that time occupied all of Ireland. They and their generation wrote a glorious chapter in Ireland's history. That generation, however, did not complete the struggle. The Treaty settlement of 1921 merely gave nominal freedom to 26 Counties and handed on the task of completing the job to another generation."

"Civil Rights is but a limited objective; the ultimate objective is a free Ireland. The Republican Movement is working among the people to ensure that the fruit of the struggle will be a Democratic Socialist Republic of all Ireland. Sinn Féin has published a comprehensive Social and Economic Programme which sets out clearly the kind of free Ireland we envisage."

"All the Leinster House politicians have to offer is: messages of sympathy to British troops and their relatives; insults to the gallant people of the Nationalist areas of the North; jail for Northern Republicans who seek refuge south of the Border; and the resources of Ireland (land, mines and fisheries) for sale to foreign speculators."

Sligeach

A parade, led by the Connolly Pipe Band, Sligo, marched from the Town Hall to the Republican Plot in Sligo Cemetery where a decade of the Rosary was recited, in Irish, by Mr. Martin McGoldrick, Sooley, Co. Sligo. The Easter Statement from the Irish Republican Army was read by Mr. Eamon Healy, Sligo, and an oration was delivered by Mr. Charlie McGlade, Belfast.

Iarmhí

Ceremonies held in Tyrellspass at the grave of James Daly, executed Connought Rangers mutiny leader, and in Ballyglass, at graves of Peter Barnes and James McCormack. Orations by Liam O'Mahoney (B.A.C.), in Tyrellspass and Colman O'Muimhneachain (Muileann Cearr) in Ballyglass.

Ceremonies were held in many other areas, including the following:

Caiséal:-

The ceremony was held at the Rock of Cashel and was organised by National Graves Association. Caoimhin MacCathmhaoil gave the oration, and Paddy Hayes, Brosna, read the Army statement.

Liatroma: The Co. Leitrim Easter Commemoration was held at Seltón Hill over the grave of Adj. Joe Beirne, I.R.A., killed in action in 1921. Mr. John Reynolds presided and Mr. John Joe McGril delivered the oration.

Mrs. K. B. Kearney, niece of executed 1916 leader Sean MacDiarmada was among the large attendance.

Wreaths were laid by Barney Sweeney, who was injured in the 1921 engagement with Joe Beirne; Johnny Redican and Mrs. Moffat.

The 1916 Proclamation was read by John Joe Martin, and the I.R.A. Easter statement by Mr. Leo McGril. Music for the ceremony was supplied by the Kiltunnet Pipe Band. A decade of the Rosary was recited in Irish by M. Dunlany, a relative of Adj. Beirne.

Beal Feirste - Kevin Barry:-

"The people of the Six Counties have had more than their fill of speeches from Free State politicians - men who betrayed them in their hour of need."

"Whatever their label, they are at one in exhorting you to good behaviour and acceptance of your lot. Such glib talk comes easily from these gentlemen, whose first consideration is their own self-interest, and who fear most of all a risen people. As did Redmond and his kind after 1916, they speak only for themselves and have lost touch with the feelings of very many in the 26-Counties who are daily growing more aware of the mess that the partitioned statelets have made of Ireland."

"As assuredly as the resurgence which followed Easter Week, 1916, hurled into oblivion the politicians of that day, the flame of freedom which you have lit here in Belfast will sweep this land of ours, ousting the puppet politicians, and bringing to reality the dream of all who have fought and died that Ireland might be free."

"I must add a few personal comments. Since I arrived in Belfast, I have been amazed at what I have seen. The sight of tanks and armoured cars, and of British troops, armed to the teeth; the presence of helicopters overhead, ever on the watch; all these prove that it is not protection they are giving, but that they are maintaining British occupation of part of Ireland."

"As a result of all this, I am going to make a statement which may sound surprising. After witnessing and feeling the spirit and determination of the Republicans of Belfast, this spirit that fires all, the youngest to the oldest, be they male or female. I am sure you will understand my statement."

"It is this - I wish that the whole of Ireland was occupied by the English, because then the spirit that is evident here would spread throughout the country, and it would give all our people the determination to rid this land of British Tyranny once and for all."

"As it is, you are unfortunately much on your own, but your example in your hours of trial will awaken the people of the twenty-six counties and move them to action. My experience here this week-end will spur me on to do all in my power to ensure that the ready support of the Republicans of Kerry will always be forthcoming."



COMORADH

na

CASCA

1971

London - Eamonn MacThomais: "The Republican Movement is more determined than the British Army, the British Empire and Mr Maudling. Ireland is standing on the brink of war - or on the brink of freedom."

"Peace can come if the British Government faces up to its responsibilities and takes its troops back lock stock and barrel. When England came to Ireland, she came to rob, murder and plunder."

"We are not out to attack the Governments. We are out to abolish them and put in their place a democratic Government."

"We are not looking for a confrontation with British imperialism and the bloodbath that will follow. We want freedom."

PRÁCÁIS

Seo tus le sraith altanna faoi seo siud agus ar aile, dírthe ar mhuintir na hÉireann go hiomlán. Níl chun an t-ideal a mhíniú, ach feach leat Dinín.

"Be all things to all men" - Sílim gurb e seo an abairt is mó sa mBíobla a chuireann oile agus fíor-fhearg ar Éireannaigh trína chéile. Ní le h-oidh do Naomh Pól e fein ach le h-oidh doibh fein. Maidir liom fein, da mbéadh cead agam chuirfinn deireadh le focal beag amháin eile i mBearla agus i nGaeilge, se sin "ach" agus "but".

Is cuma ce'n gne de na tri mor-thadhbanna in Éirinn a luafaidh tu (i. Gaeilge, geilleagar agus Gaill sa tír) gheobhaidh tu freagra go bhfuil siad sasta rud éicint a d'fheall futha agus ansin tar eis an adhmáil sin tíoifaidh an focal ACH.

Comhraiti mar seo a chloisfidh tu:

A - le fear as Arm na Poblachta.

Ceist - "Bhfuil tu i bhfabhar athchur na Gaeilge san áit is

dual dí?"
Freagra - "Cinnta ta ACH an gaird don scoimeach se is cora a leigheas i dtosach. Nach bhfuil fhios agat gurb e mo dhíuite an oiread traenala 'is feidir liom a d'fheall a chogaoicht, agus a bheith i gconai reidh chun dul sa nBearna Baol. Ní bhaighe me an traenail sin i measc 'greasy Gaelic Leaguers'. Deantar job amháin i dtosach - caith amach na Sasanaigh, bris an ceangail go hiomlán agus ansin Gaeilimis an tír."

Ceist - "Ach nach shin an argoint a bhíodh acu siud a ghlac leis an gConradh (sic) i 1921. Duradar faoi "stepping stones" srl, agus feach ceard a tharla?"

Freagra - "Eist liom a mhainic, caithfidh mise dul amach ar pharaid traenala - chuide fear agus a cheird fein ag - teirigh tusa agus bí ag obair ar son na teanga."

B: Ceist ar dhúine ata baite i nGluaiseacht na Gaeilge.

Ceist - "Bhfuil tu sasta gur

Eire SAOR chomh maith le Gaeilge ata mar aidhm agat?"

Freagra - Ta.

Ceist - "Tuige nach bhfuil tu sasta dul isteach i nGluaiseacht na Poblachta - Sinn Fein agus/no an tAirm?"

Freagra - "Bheinn, sasta, ACH feach leat an crot ata ar chursai na teanga. Cuimhnigh go dtig le tír ar bith a shaoirse a chailliunt ar feadh tamaill agus go dtig le i 'fhail ar ais, ach ma chailltear an Ghaeilge ní feidir i a thabhairt ar ais."

"Breathnagh timpeall ort fein agus feach chomh deacair is ata se na daoine o dheas den teorann a Ghaelu - no a d-Ghalldu, mas maith leat. Da mbéadh milliún eile caite inar mullach amaireach, comhacht acu sa Dail srl, nach mbéadh an seal i bhfad níos deacra?"

Ceist - "Ach, ma eirionn leat an taobh seo a Ghaelu agus ma dheineann tu dearmad ar an milliún sin thús, nach bhfuil tu ag chur teorinn nua ar bun? Ma imionn Sasana maidin amaireach, nach mbeidh 'Indian reservation' agat o thuaidh?" Freagra - "Chuide fhear agus ceird fein aige. Ta mise ag deifriú chun chruinnithe, ailt a bhfuil trí ruin tabhachtacha le moladh agam. Beir tusa ar dhúna agus away leat suas o thuaidh agus go n-eirí go geal leat."

C: Ceist ar fhear gur mor leis ceist na heisimíre.

Ceist - "Tuigin go bhfuil droch staid eacnamaí na tíre ag deanamh moran scime duit. Cloisim gur ball gníomhach thu de roinnt mhaith eagrais ar nos Ceardchumannn, G.A.A., Muintir na Tíre, Macra fuaite, Scím na Ceardchumannn, Comhar na Gcomharsan, Cearta Sibhialta na Gaeltachta srl. Bhfuil speis ar bith agat i nGaeilge agus athaontu na tír?" Freagra - "Cinnta ta, ACH, mar a duirt

Seamus O Conghaile 'Ní chiallaíonn Éire tada dhomsa gan a dhaoine'. Ceard is fiú duitse brat na dTíri nDath bheith ar fhoillint o ceann na tíre agus gan faghda den daonra ach corrdhúine anseo is ansinid?"

Ceist - "Ach nach bhfuil fhios agat gur cas le lucht na Poblachta agus le lucht athbheochant na Gaeilge na ceisteanna eacnamaíochta seo? Feach leat a gcuid raitis faoi n.E.E.C. agus di-fhostu agus mar sin de."

Freagra - "Raitis, raitise, raitis - ceard is fiú raitis? Níl ann ach bladar. An dtéann a ngrupaí smach ag plandaí cainte, ag dreineal talúna, ag bunú monarcan, ag cur seimeanna ar bun in ailt an 'chóde' mallaithe sin, ag ardu caighdeán mairiachtála an deisirt le go meallfar lucht an tuisicir chugainn?"

"Breathnagh ar lucht na Gaeilge, a mhac ban. Da gcuirfí le chéile a bhfuilceard de dheontaí o bunaíodh stata na 26-Co, agus da gcuirfí leis an gcarann aird sin ar feadh na gcogadhblian an meid a chruinnigh na Poblachtanaigh i Meiricea o aimsear na bhFiníní leith, bheadh an tír seo ceannaithe acra le hacra faoi dhó o Shasana."

"Feach an chaol ar cheannagh na Giudaigh talainn na hIosraile (no Pailistin, mas fearr leat). Ar thriall ceachtar den da ghluaiseacht Kibutzin ar chur ar bun?"

"D'fheadfa a n nar thriall agus ta's agamsa ce'n fath - ní fheadfaidís Gaeilgeoirí no Poblachtóirí maireachtail le chéile. Is gearr go mbeidís ag ithe a chéile faoi chursai "prionsabail" mar a thugann siad orthu. Ar aon nos, ní i gceachtar den da ghluaiseacht sin ach lucht an mhean aicme. Chonaic tu an rud a duirt Deasun Bretnach i bPOBAL Mi na Marta . . . 'dream iad an mhean aicme ata i gconai sasta imeacht le sruth.'"

Ceist - "Níl ann chail duit a bheith ag eirí coilgneach faoi'n sceal. Ar aon nos, ní fíor an rud sin a duirt faoi lucht an mhean aicme. Níl sa gcaint sin ach maosis, ag

roinnt na ndaoine in aicme Agus, mar eolas duit, is dúine de'n mhean aicme Deasun Bretnach e fein - fear breá, ata aithne maith agam air." Freagra - "Bhuel ma ta mise ag roinnt na ndaoine in aicme, ta tusa ag dul a roinnt i "bpearsanachtaí". Ta sibhsé Gaeilgeoirí agus Poblachtóirí fre chéile lofa leis an ngradú sin fíor-Ghael, sar-Ghael, Gaill-Ghael, Gaeil, Gaeilch, srl. Ta fairsis orm anois go gcaithfidh me imeacht. Ta Conhar Chumann bunaithe agam, rud a thabharfas fostaíocht do roinnt mhaith de'n chosmhuintir."

"Teirigh tusa ina dhiaidh sin agus Gaeilagh iad, agus ma's breá leat cuir gunna ina lámh agus croch leat o thuaidh iad."

Bhuel, ceard ata le ra agamsa faoi sin thuas uilig? "Ta fúrmhor de mhuintir na hÉireann ag caitheamh puicíní."

Cuireann an focailín sin "puicíní" seal beag greannmar a chuala me thiar i gConamara. Thart ar 1920, mas cuimhin linn ar stair, d'eirigh an R.I.C. as obair "law and order" agus bhí puicíní ann o Arm na Poblachta chun gnathsmacht a choinneal.

Se an tainm a tugtar ar an treimhsé sin i gConamara fos na "Aimsear" na mBainíní "Barr" arae be bainín a bhíodh ar na "puicíní" nua seo, mar a bhí ar chuide dhúine eile. Pe sceal e ní raibh, mar is eol dúinn, aon phríosún acu chun a gcuid cimi a choinneal ionntu ach seard deintí na puicíní a chur ar an bpríosún agus e a chrochad anonn in anall soir agus siar, suas agus síos go dtí sa deireadh nach mbíodh fhios aige ca raibh se.

Bhí go maith agus ní raibh go hoid. An bhean a s'nis in sceal dhom duirt sí hur thainig an príosúnach seo isteach ina teach síse oíche amháin agus e scannraithe agus e ag caoineadh. Níor baineadh an puicín de ar ndó ach d'fan se ina shuí cois tine ag bolaireacht is ag snuagail gur bhain trua do i agus shin sí mug tae chuige agus duirt sí: "Ce'n áit anoir ar b'as thu, a mhaicín?"

Ní bhfuair sí de fheargra ach scread caoineachan níos airde on bpríosúnach agus e ag rá: "Caithfidh se gur thiar ata me mar sin."

Republican is arrested

When asked if he wished to cross-examine Sgt. Moriarty, Donnelly said: "I wish to state that the gun was to be used for the defence of our people in Northern Ireland. As a member of the I.R.A. I have no further interest in the proceedings of this Court."

Justice That is your democratic right.

Granting the application for a remand Justice Shaw fixed bail at £100 with one surety of £100 or less of £50.

Defendant refused bail. Stated to be a native of Blackwater, Co. Armagh, Mr. Donnelly has been prominently identified with Sinn Féin since coming to Monaghan. He bought the farm at Mullinabattog, 4 miles from the town six months ago.



Peter Donnelly, a farmer, of Mullinabattog, Co. Mhuineachan, was arrested by Free State police on April 6, and charged with the alleged possession of a 1921 model .45 Thompson machine-gun, at his home.

Det. Sgt. J. Moriarty said that when charged Donnelly said "No reply". He applied for a remand.

Supt. R. Cottrell said he was not opposed to bail but had spoken to defendant three times about it and he said he was not interested in bail.

Christy Bird (Dublin), accidentally shot while training May 13, 1939.

Sean McCaughey (Tyrone), died on hunger strike, Portlaoise Prison, May 11, 1946.

John Duffy (Derry), accidentally shot May 7, 1960.

(Omitted from last publication Mi na Marta.) John Leacy (Wexford); Denis Leacy (Blackwater); Martin Nolan (Ballywilliam); John O'Connor (Ennisecorhy). All members of Kyle Flying Column murdered by Free Staters March 23, 1923.

Publicity Fund

This paper is now a 12-pager. Costs of production are very heavy, including not only printing, but carriage, postage, blocks, wrapping and other essential office equipment.

We have set a target of £2,000 to enable us to increase the number of pages and to get organised to produce "An Phoblacht" fortnightly.

Please do it today. All subscriptions will be acknowledged.

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Tus maith leath na h-oibre

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Women prisoners:	Mrs. Mary McGuigan, Ard-Chomhairle Sinn Fein, Mrs. Rose Smith and others.

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gach eolas ó:

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An Phoblacht

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HYPOCRISY

The Free State Government never fails to please its master, England. Compare the statement released when Tony Henderson was accidentally shot dead on a training camp, with the statement released when members of the crowned forces were killed. The people of Ireland gave the Bureau and its masters their answer when they lined the streets in their 1,000's to pay a last respect to a young boy from Belfast who died while learning the trade of arms, to defend his home and his people. If the Free State Government were doing this job, there would no need for volunteers to train at secret camps.

Mr. Blaney's speech was too late and a bit out of place. What is he trying to do? Who is he trying to fool? He stood with the Fianna Fail Government when they imprisoned the Republicans. It brings to mind Mr. De Valera's speech after the last war, in reply to the then British Prime Minister. Mr. De Valera backed out as Minister, and at the same time he had the jails full of Republicans; and just allowed Sean McCaughey of Tyrone to die on hunger and thirst strike in Portlaoise Jail, for Republican principals and ideals. Fianna Fail was founded on five points. 1. Abolish the Special Branch. 2. Open jail gates. 3. Abolish pensions. 4. Restore the Irish Language. 5. On to the Republic.

They did open jail gates, but if the ex-prisoners did not join Fianna Fail they soon found themselves back in Mountjoy Prison. We all know that they restored the Irish Language and the Gaeltacht is thriving, and that Dunchaoín has a new University. On to the Republic - What Republic? Sure we have the Republic. Read the Free State Constitution. They don't recognise Stormont. What about the Border? Oh - Oh - that will go soon - don't worry about that. If anything happened to the people of Belfast, or to the people of the Bogside, Fianna Fail won't stand idly by. This is one thing England is sure of. Fianna Fail will not stand idly by. They will be very busy hounding and arresting Republicans.

Fianna Fail did not abolish the Special Branch; instead they set up their own and we have had rival Special Branches for thirty years. They did not abolish pensions; in fact they gave new pensions to their own supporters. We have a situation today of a demand for pensions for fighting for the Treaty, and a demand for pensions for fighting against the Treaty.

Athair na Poblachta



WREATHS

Floral wreaths from units of the Army, Republican organisations and from his colleagues and friends bedecked Lieut. Henderson's grave. The wreaths were carried in the funeral procession by members of Na Fianna Éireann.

At the graveside there was an impressive ceremony. A bugler sounded the Last Post after the coffin was lowered into the grave.

The Rosary was recited in Irish, and in the course of an oration, the speaker said that the next-of-kin of the dead soldier had unreservedly accepted that he had been shot accidentally during training.

The cortege was over 90 minutes late arriving in Belfast, due to the provocative delaying tactics used by British Occupation

Let me Carry Your Cross for Ireland, Lord!
The hour of her trial draws near,
And the pangs and the pain of sacrifice
May be borne by comrades dear,
But, Lord, take me from the offering here,
There are many far less prepared
Though anxious and all as they are
That Ireland may be spared.



Thousands pay tribute to shot I.R.A. man

The funeral of 1st Lieut. Anthony Henderson, Slua A, Ceard Cathlann, Briogaid Bheal Feirste, Oglagh na h-Eireann, took place on April 6, from St. Agnes Church to the Republican plot in Milltown Cemetery, Belfast.

A native of Andersonstown, 20-year old Henderson was accidentally killed during training some days previously.

Several thousand people, including many of his comrades in the Irish Republican Army, took part both in the funeral and at the removal of his remains from the previous day from Dublin.

As well as those marching in the funeral procession, thousands lined the route on the 90-minute journey, as the tri-colour draped coffin bore the remains of the latest victim of English-occupation, to his final place of rest among the other heroes. Many other men, volunteers of other days, saluted as the coffin passed them, flanked by men in black berets.

Forces when it crossed the border.

Mourners following in cars were stopped at gunpoint and searched and questioned. Cars were also searched, and among those delayed was Ruairi O Bradaigh, President of Sinn Féin.

VOLLEY

Arriving in Belfast, the hearse went first to Lieut. Henderson's home where a guard of honour awaited.

Here a volley of shots was fired over the hearse.

At the funeral British Army photographers, some using cine-cameras, and with tele-photo lenses took films of the mourners. Helicopters were also used by the enemy forces.

- Before the funeral, Reunion

Mass was celebrated in St Agnes Church for the repose of the soul of the latest martyr for the Irish cause. Heading the mourners at the funeral was Mr. John Henderson, brother of the dead man, and his two sisters.

The previous day, several hundred people marched in the funeral procession through Dublin, as it left for the journey to Belfast. Thousands lined the route from Amiens Street, round by the Custom House, through O'Connell Street and past the General Post Office. Traffic was brought to a standstill in the city centre.

Through towns and villages along the route to Belfast, hundreds gathered to pay their respects, and units of the Republican Movement, provided guards of honour.

people of occupied Ireland against the age-old enemy, England. Mr. Tom Concannon (Ardchoimhaire) enumerated the many ways the people of the south could help, at a C.C. meeting, recently.

"Thanks to a great personal sacrifice, the men of 1916 were being fully vindicated. The Irish people would always rise up and re-assert their right to an independent united Ireland", he added.

Other speakers included Tomas Uas. O'Neill (Ardchoimhaire) and Eamonn Sammon.

The following Comhairle Ceannairtear officer-board was elected: Cathaoirleach - Mr. Harry Goff; Leas-Cathaoirleach - Mr. Michael Treacy, U.C.; Cisteoir - Mr. Jack Dunne; Ruairi: Diarmuid Uas. O'Suilleabhain.

Oglagh na h-Eireann Briogaid Bhealfeirste
Mac ANDREIS - Is mian le h-oifigh agus ball an briogaid cuis mor bhron a dheanamh le teaghlach Mac Andreis ar bas a dheathair Anton, 1st Lieut. Sluagh 'A' an ceard cathlann. Ar dheis laimh De go rabh a anam.

Oglagh na h-Eireann Briogaid Bhealfeirste
An Ceard Cathlann
Mac ANDREIS - Is mian le h-oifigh agus ball an briogaid cuis mor bhron a dheanamh le teaghlach Mac Andreis ar bas Anton, 1st Lieut. Sluagh 'A'. Naomh Joseph guithe air.

Oglagh na h-Eireann Briogaid Bhealfeirste
An Ceard Cathlann
Mac ANDREIS - Is mian le h-oifigh agus ball an cathlann cuis mor bhron a dheanamh le teaghlach Mac Andreis ar bas a dheathair Anton, 1st Lieut. Sluagh 'A'. A Mhuire na nGaeil guithe air.

Oglagh na h-Eireann Briogaid Bhealfeirste
An Dara Cathlann
Mac ANDREIS - Is mian le oifigh agus ball an cathlann cuis mor bhron a dheanamh le teaghlach Mac Andreis ar bas a dheathair Anton, 1st Lieut. Sluagh 'A'. Naomh Brigid guithe air.

Oglagh na h-Eireann Briogaid Bhealfeirste
An Triomhadh Cathlann
Mac ANDREIS - Is mian le h-oifigh agus ball an cathlann cuis mor bhron a dheanamh le teaghlach Mac Andreis ar bas a dheathair Anton, 1st Lieut. Sluagh 'A'. A Mhuire na nGaeil guithe air. Naomh Padraig guithe air.

HENDERSON - The officers and Volunteers of 'A' Coy. Auxiliary Unit, Andersonstown, regret the death of their esteemed comrade, Tony (R.I.P.) and tender to his relatives their sincere sympathy. Go ndeanadh Dia trocaire ar a anam.

HENDERSON - April 4, 1971, suddenly, in Dublin, Tony, beloved son of the late John and Mary Henderson. - R.I.P. Deeply regretted by his Friends Karl and Paddy, 73b Glen Road.

Tabharfaidh Poblachtaigh na hEireann onoir do

THEOBALD WOLFE TONE

ag Baile Bhuadain, Co. Chill Dara
De Domhnaigh, Meitheamh 13, 1971
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