

Tabhacht na Gaeilge

Ag labhairt dó ag Cuimhneachán na Cásca i dTrá Lí, Co. Chiarraí, dúirt Seán Mac Stiofáin, An Uaimh, nach bhféadfadh duine bheith ina Phoblachtach mura bhfuil meas ceart aige ar an nGaeilge agus rún aige i d'fhoghlaim agus í a labhairt agus í a chur chun cinn i ngach sli gur féidir leis.

Other points from his oration were:

"The immediate and most urgent task for Republicans to-day is to provide all possible assistance to our people in the North so that never again will they be left defenceless against the violence of sectarian bigots.

"The people of Ireland will never have the equal rights and opportunities, the civil and religious liberties guaranteed to them by the men of 1916 until British rule has been completely overthrown and the free Gaelic Republic of all Ireland firmly established.



SEÁN MAC STIOFÁIN.

"The Irish Republic was proclaimed by the only way possible—by force of arms—and only by force of arms can the Republic we seek be established."

KERRY REORGANISES

The Annual Countess Bridge Commemoration was held in Killarney on March 7. The oration was delivered by Ruairí Ó Brádaigh.

Forty members of Sinn Féin in South Kerry attended a meeting in the International Hotel, Killarney, on March 7.

FIANNA EIREANN

Following a meeting of the Executive of Fianna Éireann on March 16 in Dublin the following resolution was passed unanimously:

That we the Executive, Fianna Éireann, Republican Boy Scouts of Ireland, pledge our allegiance to the Provisional Army Council, Oglagh na hÉireann, and the Caretaker Executive, Sinn Féin, believing these two bodies to be the true representatives of the Republican Movement.

We consider any group or persons who advocate entrance into Leinster House and recognition of Westminster and Stormont while Ireland is partitioned to be traitors and not worthy to call themselves Republicans.

Fianna Éireann was founded in 1909 by Countess Markievicz to train our youth to love and serve God and Ireland, so that in manhood they would strive to free her. This is our aim and motto: "Freedom and Unity, on this we stand firm."

Signed,

Antoine Mac Eochagáin,
Chief Scout.

P. O. Deoráin,
Asst. Chief Scout.

FERMANAGH

On Sunday, March 15, 20 dozen copies of "An Phoblacht" were sold in the Kinawley-Derrylin area of Co. Fermanagh. This was the first occasion on which a Republican paper was sold there for many years.

NO OPPORTUNITY WILL BE LOST Army Council's Easter Message

The following statement was read at Republican Easter Commemoration ceremonies throughout Ireland on Easter Sunday:

Is mian le Comhairle Airm Sealadach Oglagh na hÉireann beannachtaí a chur chuig baill Ghluaiseacht na Poblachta agus chuig gach uile Éireannach sa bhaile agus i gcéin ar an lá cuimhneacháin seo. Glacaimid an deis seo le cur in iúl go seasaimid leis na cuspóirí náisiúnta, saoirse iomlán na hÉireann agus athbheochaint na Gaeilge, agus go bhfuil gach dícheall á dhéanamh againn chun iad a bhaint amach.

Tá tabhacht faoi leith ag baint leis an nGaeilge. "Dá gcaillfí an Ghaeilge do chaillfí Éire," a dúirt an Piarasach, agus is mór an baol go gcaillfear an Ghaeilge roimh dheireadh na haoise seo. Is inti atá dlúth agus inneach na náisiúnta agus ba mhaith linn a tabhacht a mheabhrú do Phoblachtaigh agus do mhuintir uilig na hÉireann. Nil son bhealach is fearr chun na Gaeilge a neartú ná í a labhairt ar gach ócad is féidir. Tá dualgas faoi leith ar lucht cinneirí agus sa chás seo an dea-shampla a thabhairt.

On this the 54th anniversary of the Rising of Easter Week 1916, the Provisional Army Council of Oglagh na hÉireann sends greetings to all Irishmen and Irishwomen. The Provisional Army Council gives its allegiance to the Irish Republic which was proclaimed in arms in 1916 and was subsequently established by the majority vote of the Irish people in 1919. The Irish Republican Army has never accepted the Partition system of government imposed on us by England in 1921, but seeks to achieve full and complete Irish freedom, political, economic, social and cultural.

Our aim is to make the Irish people masters of their own destinies, controlling all the wealth of the nation, material and spiritual, in an independent Republic of 32 Counties, in which Protestants, Catholics and Dissenters will all have equal rights. The free Republic we seek will not be won by recognition of and participation in the institutions which were set up by England to overthrow the Republic, but by leading the Irish people in the building of an alternative 32-County Parliament. We say also that Irish freedom will not be won by involvement with an international movement of extreme Socialism.

At the moment the greatest need of all is for assisting our people in the Six Counties in their demand for Civil Rights. Not only that, but we must insure adequate protection and defence for them so that they are not left at the mercy of Crown Forces or sectarian bigots.

In the struggle for Civil Rights the abolition of Stormont would, as an interim measure, be a step forward. It would make much easier the achievement of full rights and would bring us into direct confrontation with Westminster. English imperialism, both in its old and new forms, has been the root cause of Ireland's ills.

The national objective of ending English rule in Ireland has been obscured since 1921. The removal of Stormont would make the issue much clearer, would considerably raise the morale of our people in the North and would make much easier the task of rallying all the Irish people for a final assault on the forces of imperialism and neo-colonialism.

One of the biggest factors in the success to date of the Civil Rights movement has been its broad and democratic base. It is to be hoped that the present unsatisfactory position in the movement will be rectified by the members themselves and the broad base of the movement restored.

The Provisional Army Council confidently calls for the support of the Irish people at home and in exile for its efforts to achieve Irish freedom. At the graves of our martyred dead we call for a dedication to Republican objectives and principles and for a pledge of unstinted support for our efforts. In conclusion, the Provisional Army Council assures the Irish people that no opportunity of furthering the cause of Irish freedom will be lost and that at the opportune time appropriate action will be taken to achieve full national independence.

—Issued by the Provisional Army Council of Oglagh na hÉireann, and distributed by the Irish Republican Publicity Bureau. Easter 1970.

BELFAST N.G.A.

The Belfast Branch of the National Graves Association unanimously decided to recognise the Provisional Army and Executive Councils as the legitimate authority of the Republican Movement and to continue giving their undivided allegiance to the Irish Republic as the sovereign Independent State, proclaimed in 1916 by Pearse, Connolly and their comrades, and later endorsed and ratified by the votes of 80% of the people of all-Ireland in the General Elections of 1918 and 1921.

A statement from the Belfast Branch says:

"We are proud to associate ourselves with those who are prepared to maintain the continuity of the Democratic Republican Ideal as preached by Pearse and Connolly. We call upon all sincere Republicans to unite against the compromising tactics of those who would have us desert and betray the splendid and noble principles which led our patriots to the Martyr's Grave."



The Republican parade marching along the Falls Road to Milltown Cemetery, Belfast, on Easter Sunday.

A Sickening Society

DOES the shooting, for no apparent reason, of innocent men, women and children in Vietnam or the torture of people in Greece or Spain or the imprisonment without trial for long periods of individuals for political reasons in Britain or Czechoslovakia really bother us very much in Ireland?

Does it seem very very remote? Do we say it has nothing very much to do with us and that, anyway, it could never happen here?

If so, our reaction is little different to that of the people in countries where the dignity of man is being openly assaulted.

Such a reaction appears to be normal enough in the consumer or affluent society and it prepares the way for ever-increasing horrors, including the totalitarian society and the struggle to overthrow it.

DENIAL IN GOOD FAITH

But are such things so very remote? About 10 years ago a friend and colleague was beaten up in a Dublin Garda station for criticising the Gardaí. Another colleague remembers the brutal bashing of unemployed workers on the banks of a Dublin canal, apparently as "punishment" for a sitting down protest on O'Connell Bridge earlier that day. Other colleagues of mine reported on the brutal bashing of protesters a few weeks ago outside the British Embassy in Dublin.

Members of minority groups protesting at evictions and such like have been handled by Gardaí with what seemed to them and others as excessive force. Sinn Féin demonstrators outside the Shelbourne Hotel, Dublin, were bruised and bleeding after being bundled into a Garda car. An acquaintance of mine told me how he was thrown off his bicycle by people who, he said, were members of the Special Branch operating from a moving car.

We know from the evidence of what are agreed to be impartial reports that the R.U.C. and the B Specials have acted in similar manner in the Six Counties.

Is it still so very remote? The first reaction to the extra-legal assault by those to whom is entrusted the upkeep of law and order is to deny that such a thing could take place "in our society."

This denial is made in good faith. It is made by the authorities, by respectable administrators, by responsible newspapers.

A judge in court, presented with conflicting evidence—that of the victim of an alleged assault and that of the police—chooses not to believe the victim, not usually because the judge is an evil man, or "bought," but because he has been accustomed to back the police in their fight against crime and to believe the police rather than one accused of crime—one, very probably, with a long list of convictions.

Gardaí have admitted to me, privately, that they have used more force than necessary when dealing with criminals—to "teach them a lesson," or suchlike. Gardaí are not willing to admit to using excessive force against those taking part in protests and they have denied such in court, under oath.

AGGRESSION IS CONTAGIOUS

Usually a massacre or mass torturing are reached by a number of violent incidents by authority, gradually increasing in violence and ignored or disbelieved by those charged with society's protection by their eternal vigilance.

Very, very occasionally it has its roots in sadism, but more usually in exasperation, anger, frustration . . . and fear.

Protestors are getting very much within the law which, apparently, they know better than the police who, cold, miserable, tired, overworked, perhaps, have been put on extra duty to keep an eye on them.

The violence frequently inflicted on minorities to-day in the name of the majority is analysed by DEASUN BREATHNACH in the first of three articles.

Then, at a moment of tension, perhaps when an ambassador, who must be protected, is emerging, there is that surge of fear, panic . . . and in goes the boot.

A scuffle has taken place. The situation has been confused. When it straightens out a civilian lies bleeding on the ground and the guilty one is afraid for his job, his promotion, to admit to the aggression. And loyal comrades clear their ranks.

Aggression is contagious. Soon a squad, later an entire force, becomes corrupted. Violence, once indulged in, tends to increase in gravity. There is really very little between the surreptitious kick and the beating up in the cell and the use of the "bicycle" or other more terrible forms of torture now used fairly widely throughout Europe by police forces and increasingly tolerated by the public.

It is very frustrating for any police force which has had training in violence to have to deal with demonstrators whose policy is non-violence.

It is obvious that if the group which is pledged to non-violent protest can be forced to take refuge in violence, even in self-defence, against the police, the job of ridding organised, self-satisfied society of them will be all the easier.

If they can be made to lose their tempers and their control they haven't a chance against the trained violence of the police and, what is more, their "mob" reaction frightens society and brings society's condemnation of a cause which otherwise might win admiration and support.

MINORITIES HAVE A TOUGH TIME

An example of a non-violent demonstration being goaded into a violent self-defence? The occasion when minority groups and students staged a sit-down protest on O'Connell Bridge, Dublin, and were kicked off the street or pulled from it by the hair of their heads by the Gardaí—a vivid example of the use of excessive force: they should have been carried gently from the street to the footpath if authority were to adhere to the rules. Demonstrators who defended themselves or their friends and who were prosecuted for assault received heavy fines on top of their bruises. The courts would not admit to the Gardaí having provoked the assaults or having used excessive force.

Minorities have a tough time of it. It is only when the larger groups, such as the farmers or the trade unionists, become entangled with the police that the courts and the higher authorities are inclined to pay heed to accusations of "police brutality."

The temptation, therefore, for authority to use violence against minority groups is all the greater, especially against groups for whom there is a general antipathy or fear by society—anarchists, Communists, militant trade unionists, "extremists" of all kinds.

Excessive police violence may not always be obvious to onlookers. Those staging a sitting protest may be dragged very roughly to a footpath or thrown with quite unnecessary violence into a police wagon or "accidentally" receive an elbow in eye, mouth or ribs, or a knee in the groin.

It is, in a way, understandable that photographers for newspapers or cameramen for film or television companies often become the victims in police reactions to a demonstration, and have their cameras—sometimes their heads as well—smashed.

Why is there so little public protest against such unnecessary violence except, of course, from those who have suffered?

Where long established societies are breaking up and where the intimacy and mutual support of the countryside is being replaced by the cold, mind-one's-own-business mentality of the cities, public opinion tends to become callous and selfish, as every collector for charity—and every ambulance driver—comes to know.

Minority groups and minority protestors are suspect. They are not quite respectable. The pressure to conform—in fashion, morality, mass pastimes, establishment politics—in the affluent society is tremendous; and people often act far differently as part of a large group than as members of small groups or as isolated individuals. If, for example, a man falls in a crowded street of a city, he will be ignored by many. If he falls in a virtually deserted street he has much better chance of being tended.

People who make accusations against the police following a demonstration tend to be disbelieved by the many except by those who have actually witnessed the incident.

When the evidence is incontrovertible the tendency often is to say that they probably "deserved" what they got even if, strictly speaking, the authorities broke the law. They "asked" for it. The police have a very difficult job, and, for that matter, the time of the police should not be wasted "on such nonsense" (dealing with protestors). The police should be left to the job for which they have been paid—protecting society against thieves—and not diverted by "long-haired weirdies," or "professional agitators" or those "dedicated to the overthrow of society."

ATTACK ON DIGNITY OF MAN

A society which reacts in this manner is laying itself open to increasing authoritarianism and illegal violence and, later, for a mass attack on the dignity of man by the monopolies, the faceless boards, councils, corporations and the other authorities that are becoming increasingly part of our lives in the affluent or consumer society or its equivalent in other authoritarian societies ruled by state capitalism.

This was the way that society became corrupted in Nazi Germany, in Fascist Italy, in Salazar's Portugal, in Franco's Spain.

One of the judgments that came from Vatican II was that Christians must care, as individuals and as members of groups, that Christian reaction must be positive for all our waking hours; and that we must see in everyone—regardless of religion, colour language, class—Christ, our neighbour. That the only antidote for sick society is active love.

A society becoming more callous and less tolerant and with abuses by authority against minority groups becoming more common, is developing in this Ireland of ours, north and south. Now is the time to examine our consciences and to react positively.

OUR BROTHERS' KEEPERS

That the spirit of Vatican II has made some impact is obvious from the reactions of the social consciences of such as Rev. Fergal O'Connor, O.P.; Very Rev. Austin Flannery, O.P.; Rev. M. Sweetman, S.J., and other priests who have joined the protestors and defended them in the street, on the radio, on TV and in the newspapers and, of course, from the pulpit.

Abroad, too, Vatican II is being hearkened to—in South America, in South Africa, in France, in the U.S.A., and especially in Spain where many priests are in prison for giving public witness to Christ.

But beyond a handful of priests in Ireland what impact has Vatican II made? Is our "establishment" moved from the sacred job of accumulating the profits and increasing the G.N.P.? What is the reaction of our legislators against these "agitators," "dissident priests," "so-called priests," "anarchists," "subversives" and "long-haired weirdies"?

We can wonder, indeed, if Vatican II, apart from the changes in the liturgy, has made any real impact in our lives at all, in emphasising, above all else, that we are our brothers' keepers.

Irish Book Bureau Seosamh O Cleirigh (Joe Clarke)

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TO MARK A FELON'S GRAVE

It is intended to place a headstone at the grave, in Gortnahoe, Thurles, Co. Tipperary, of Jack Duggan, a member of the Irish Republican Army Expeditionary Force to Britain, 1939.

He was sentenced by the British to twenty years penal servitude and it is felt that those who shared with Jack Duggan the years in British convict prisons would wish now to share in this tribute to him.

Subscriptions should be sent to the members of the committee whose addresses are given below, or to any member.

Chairman: Paddy O'Connell, 17 Ard Mhuire, Loughtagalla, Thurles, Co. Tipperary.

Secretary: Marcus Fogarty, Ager's Lane, Cashel, Co. Tipperary.

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Oppose Criminal Justice Bill

Comment by Myles P. Shevlin, Solicitor,
Chapelzod, Co. Dublin

REPUBLICANS, who have been for so long on the "receiving end," do not have to be told that while the Offences Against the State Act remains, the Administration have little need for recourse to new exercises in repressive legislation. In recent times the tentacles of this Act have reached far and brought in a varied prey.

A District Justice was dismissed for refusal to convict under it; newspaper editors have been "reminded of the existence of the Act"; Post Office telephonists have been jailed under it. The Administration itself was "hoist with its own petard" when, because of the existence of the Act, the then Minister for External Affairs was forced to write what for him must have been a humiliating letter intimating that the 26-County Government could no longer subscribe to the Convention of Human Rights.

With such a pervasive Act on its Statute Book, then what need, one may ask, has Fianna Fáil to steamroll new repressive legislation through Leinster House?

Concept of Double Jeopardy

But first, what is the Criminal Justice Bill and why should we be concerned about it?

It contains much that is good, desirable and necessary. There are some aspects upon which people of goodwill can argue and disagree. Those provisions with which we are mainly concerned are bad and evil.

Every country needs to review, codify and update its legislation. In so far as the Bill seeks to do this it is good.

Lawyers are concerned, however, that new concepts introduced in the Bill will weight the balance of the Scales of Justice in favour of the prosecutor rather than the accused. It is of interest to note that one such concept, that of **Double Jeopardy**, is by no means new to Irish Criminal Law, as anyone familiar with the trial of George Plant will know. Some may feel that the acceptance or rejection of these concepts is an academic matter that has little relevance to the lives of the vast majority of our people.

Right of Public Assembly

But the Bill also restricts the right of public assembly, of public expression of opinion and of the dissemination of political views. In so far as it seeks to do this, it is unarguably bad and demonstrably evil.

It provides that before a public meeting, parade or assembly can take place, 24 hours' notice must be furnished to the local Garda superintendent; that the superintendent can in effect veto the expression of a public view in his area if that view is unacceptable to the Administration which employs him. It seeks to placate the legalistic with a provision that a refusal by the superintendent can be appealed to the Court.

Limitations on Liberty

Relate this to life and to the experience of Republicans. Leaving aside for the moment the question of whether Republicans would apply for such permission in the first place, such a provision would mean the end of the spontaneous factory gate or prison gate protest, the end of the often necessarily hurried after Mass meeting at time of national crisis, the sealing off, in short, of the main channels through which Republicans traditionally communicate with the people.

This would be a serious limitation of liberty in any civilised community. In this state where all media of communication are in the hands of or subject to the pressures of the Administration, the implications are terrifying. And there is another aspect.

In an increasingly complex society, peace officers and policemen have a difficult and complex task to perform. It is a prostitution of their calling to require them to use the force with which society has vested them to suppress political opinion or intimidate opposition to the Administration. And that, in effect, is what this Bill seeks to do.

Transfer to Military Custody

Again the Bill contains provisions for the transfer in certain circumstances of civilians to military custody. It should not be necessary to argue that this is bad and dangerous. A soldier is a man who is given a job to do and a weapon is placed in his hands to enable him to do it. If that job is to control civilian prisoners (all the more likely to be "prisoners of conscience") he has no moral sanction he can exert to enforce his discipline, nothing but his weapon. Are Fianna Fáil not yet sated of political "executions" and killings in the name of justice?

This short article does not purport to be a critical analysis of the Criminal Justice Bill, but rather a comment on some of its more obnoxious aspects. Each will have

ANOTHER FOREIGN INDUSTRY TO CLOSE

£144,000 Grants in Roscommon Factory

"It is the policy of our movement to ensure that Irish people can work in their native land and what we have seen here in Roscommon is a grim reminder of what can happen when foreign investment is relied upon," Mr. Ruairi O Brádaigh, former Longford Sinn Féin T.D. and member of the Caretaker Executive of Sinn Féin, told a meeting of workers in Roscommon recently.

Over 200 people and 150 cars took part in a cavalcade and march in protest over the closure of the Vidor (Eire) Factory in Roscommon where 133 people will become redundant.

Mr. O Brádaigh said the closure of the factory was a disaster to the people in the area.

"It is said that no man is his brother's keeper now, but Sinn Féin hold that he is. No man is an island apart and what these people have done to you, the workers of Vidor, they have also done to me and to the whole Irish people. The Irish people are proud

of their labour and remember this factory was built with your money and the machinery and the building belong to you," he said.

Mr. O Brádaigh said nearly everyone in the town had been asked to give money to purchase the site of the factory and most of them had done so.

"There can be no doubt but you are entitled to your work. This is the policy of the Republican Movement. A worker is more than a cog in the wheels of an industry; he should also have shares in it. You should be part of the complex, and when the factory

is going well the worker and his wife and family will be content to work and know there is stability," he said.

Mr. O Brádaigh praised the workers for their offer to go back and work in the factory for nothing to prove to any investor or financier that the factory was a viable unit. He pledged the support of the Movement to any such action and said he knew there was a future for them and their factory if they did so.

It is understood there will be a link-up between the Roscommon workers and the Athlone workers in an attempt to organise a monster march on Athlone in the near future.

The Vidor factory has received a total of £144,000 in Government grants. It is owned by an English company, Crompton Parkinson.



A section of the protest march against the closure of the Vidor factory in Roscommon.

his own opinion of why Fianna Fáil is forcing the Bill at this time.

This writer will hazard the guess that at this time of increasing world scrutiny, the Administration is becoming increasingly embarrassed by the existence of the Offences Against the State Act which denies the citizens practically every basic human right. They propose limiting the use of the Offences Against the State Act to the minimum, but at the same time seek to preserve some of the punitive aspects on which their retention of power depends. Hence the Criminal Justice Bill.

Ensure that in any demand you make that the Bill be scrapped, you include a demand for the repeal of the Offences Act.

Co. Clare Cumann Re-organised

Milltown Malbay, Co. Clare, Cumann of Sinn Féin has been re-organised, and the members decided to give their allegiance to the Caretaker Executive. The officers are as follows: Cathaoir-leach, Dónall de Faoite; Rúnaí, Pádraig Mac Mathúna; Cisteoir, Seosamh Mac Mathúna.

Letter to the Editor

Dear Sir,

I was so glad to see the first issue of your great paper "An Phoblacht" and to note its dedication to the old cause in every way. I would like to make a few helpful suggestions regarding the readership of this paper outside of Ireland.

One of the great sources of distress we must endure here in the regular press is the reference all the time to the "religious" conflict in "Northern" Ireland. So my advice is to endeavour in every issue of the paper to clarify the struggle in occupied Ireland and to show that "Protestant" is simply synonymous with British Settler stock, a people who wish to remain anti-Irish to such an extent that it has never been known that they allowed their children to be called Patrick, Michael or Brigid—and there is nothing anti-Protestant in these names but they are very Irish.

Also it would be good to try at last to confer new and more appropriate titles on the two seg-

ments in the Six Counties, e.g., the pro-Irish against the pro-British in their struggle to make all of Ireland free of foreign troops. It so happens that these two titles I just gave are too cumbersome, but I wish to give an idea of bringing the conflict into its proper focus.

The pro-British, settler-stock Orangeman has a contempt for the religion of the native Irish stock around him, but the real casus belli on his horizon is the wish in our hearts for a free Ireland because such a resolve on our part is a permanent threat to his ascendancy power and influence.

So the issue in Occupied Ireland is not the rich against the poor nor the Protestant against Catholic, but the pro-British against pro-Irish and there must be a definite propaganda campaign to make this clear as far and as wide as possible and continuously.

Thomas Duffly.

Bronx,
New York.

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WORKER OWNERSHIP OF INDUSTRY

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

—Statement from Caretaker Executive of Sinn Féin, issued on January 17, 1970.

In this article FEAR DOMHNAINN explains how an economic and social system based on this philosophy would function in a free Ireland.

COMHAR na gComharsan is as closely as possible to the ideal philosophy and social and political system which will give the maximum liberty and well-being to every individual through the co-operative organisation of economic life. It is based on the old Gaelic and European system of the distribution of property. It embodies a theory of state, of property and the rights of man much in advance of those currently popular, yet older than them.

Comhar na gComharsan recognises the right of man to control his own economic destiny, to have the dignity of ownership, scope to exercise his talents and the right to achievement. It also recognises that the limits on the rights of the individual lie where exercise of these rights violates the rights of others; hence one of the necessities for co-operation.

ECONOMIC UNIT

Its philosophy is primarily based on the principle that each person born into the world is entitled to a living and therefore it logically follows that the means are available for him to earn that living. Man had this right before the state existed, and the right of the individual to that amount of productive property which will enable him to live in moderate comfort by his own labour, exertion or talent, is anterior and superior to the rights of state. The function of the state is, in fact, to serve this end; to ensure that conditions exist under which it is possible for each individual to have at least an economic unit of the means of production and to protect individual rights in that respect.

In drawing a blueprint for a Gaelic co-operative state, it must not be forgotten that governments were at first brought into existence for the benefit of the people, to help them to lead safer, fuller and more rewarding lives. Governments using economics and politics are universally supposed to be still fulfilling that function in spite of varying methods of doing it. In reality they have become masters of the people.

The object of the co-operative state should be to approximate as

which preserves the maximum amount of individual freedom consonant with the rights of others, the maximum amount of participation by all in the affairs of the state, brought about by the closer social integration that is possible in a co-operative economy, where workers, as owners, are vitally interested in their own industry and in the economy as a whole.

In the co-operative state every person of 30 years of age and every head of a family or supporter of dependants will be entitled to the absolute ownership, above all rights of state, of an economic unit of the means of production. An economic unit may be defined as that amount of the means of production which will enable a person by his own labour or exertion to live in moderate comfort, marry, rear and educate a family and provide for them, and have leisure for development as an intelligent and social person. Such an economic unit is understood to comprise the land and capital (tools, machinery, buildings, stock-in-trade and facilities) necessary for a person to pursue his vocation in a fitting manner; and also the land and buildings of his dwelling.

An economic unit could be a farm, a workshop or share in a producer co-operative. A unit of this kind could not be distrained for debt nor appropriated by the state, except for grave reasons of the common good and only in return for another suitable unit, together with adequate compensation for disturbance.

STEWARD OWNERSHIP

In the co-operative state any productive property in excess of the economic unit would be held by right of steward ownership, entailing on its possession the duty of working it for the common good. Such excess property could be expropriated by the state when the common good required it, if necessary without compensation. But there are several methods whereby compensation might be paid without disadvantage to the national economy.

For example: (a) Payment by the new worker-owners over an



Girls at work in a vegetable processing co-operative in Gleann Cholmille, Co. Donegal.

economic unit; (b) payment in the form of Government bonds. In appropriate period of compensation equal to the fair price of their method (a) this would constitute a payment on an instalment system out of the profit of the industry over a period and would be independent of the Government, except that the Government would organise it and protect the rights of both sides. Under (b) payment in the form of Government bonds has the additional advantage of placing extra funds at the disposal of the Government for the purpose of national development, while at the same time ensuring the acquiescence (or loyalty) of the dispossessed.

RALAHINE

After the initial distribution the acquisition and distribution of economic units would be rendered almost automatic, either by the rota or revolving fund system or by the restoration of a family system of inheritance developed to suit the new conditions and based on a modified version of the Gaelic Fine system or some such suitable scheme.

The rota or revolving fund system was initiated by Godin, a private manufacturer of Guise in France, who in the middle of the 19th century began the conversion of his stove foundry into a co-partnership modelled on Fourier's "Phalanstère," as was also the Ralahine (Co. Clare) Agricultural and Manufacturing Co-operative in 1831.

PROFITS DIVIDED

When Godin died in 1888 the workers, who had been allowed to buy out their shares gradually out of their remuneration, were left as joint owners of the business which included the familistere or flats of the workers, equipped with co-operative stores, schools, a creche and a public park. The members were divided into three groups: The senior workers, who were members of the general assembly, entitled to elect the council of management and to take part in the running of the familistere; the junior members who were workers of some years' standing, buying their share in the firm out of their pay packets, and the newcomers who for a specified time worked as ordinary employees before being accepted as members. Profits were divided between bonus on wages and interest on capital with a bias in favour of labour. Continuity of worker-ownership

was ensured by deductions from the workers' pay packets which they paid for their share in the co-operative and provided an annuity at the other end of the scale for retiring members.

The revolving fund system as used in Danish and American co-operatives has been described by Dr. Knapp and Louis P. F. Smith and recommended to Irish co-operatives as a method of combining the payment of dividends with the accumulation of capital.

A modification and extension of this system could be generalised and applied to the needs of an expanding economy in a Gaelic distributist state. An alternative method of ensuring automatic continuity of worker-ownership would be through a modification of the old Gaelic Fine system of inheritance, but although such a system has been worked out which might be suitable in the countryside, the rota or revolving fund system would seem more suitable to urban life.

CO-OWNERS

As no human system is perfect, it is inevitable that some people would not be able to acquire an economic unit automatically. In this case it would be the Government's primary duty to provide such unit. Indeed it would be guaranteed by an article in the Constitution of the Republic that any government allowing above a certain number of qualified citizens to be without their economic units would be automatically dissolved and a new general election called.

As a man's wife and children are co-owners with him in his economic unit, no man's unit

could be disposed of while his wife was alive and until his children were in possession of economic units of their own. Similarly, it could be arranged, subject to certain adjustments, for a person's economic unit to be transmitted to a son or daughter or other relative.

LARGE COMPANIES

It is well to state clearly here that the enterprise to be taken over and re-distributed in economic units among the workers are the large joint stock companies and huge estates. New industries would also be established as worker-owner co-operatives. Family businesses and farms, even fairly large ones, managed by the family group would be encouraged and aided financially and in every other way, and would be much more secure than at present. In fact in a Gaelic Distributist Republic there is no reason why some people should not be wealthier than others, provided every qualified person had ownership of that amount of the means of production which would enable him to live in the moderate comfort already defined, and provided also that the rich man could not use his wealth to the detriment of his humbler fellow citizens.

MERE EXISTENCE

Whatever method of re-distribution was finally decided upon, there would have to be alterations made in the legal structure. Present "Irish" Law grew out of British Common Law (retained with the colonial administration) which was designed for the protection of a system in which the few own and control the means of production and the propertyless, many sell their labour for mere existence, a system where the land and the wealth of Ireland are in great measure denied to the people of Ireland.

The financial basis of production would be an expansion and utilisation of credit backed by the Government for the common good. In the present monetary and financial system, credit is obtained from the banks on security put up by the borrower. This security must take the form of realisable assets of a certain monetary value, credit being given to the amount of a fraction of that value. No

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SEAN RUSSELL

A Life and Death for Ireland



SEAN RUSSELL

FIVE years ago the statue of Seán Russell, the I.R.A. leader, which stands in Fairview Park, Dublin, was unveiled for a second time. It had been broken by vandals, and a national committee was set up to have it renovated.

Many people are to-day asking the question, "Who was Seán Russell?" The younger generation in particular are asking this question and with reason, for the part Russell played in the struggle for Irish freedom has been somewhat obscured by the circumstances in which he disappeared from the Irish political scene during the 1939-45 war.

Many people know that Seán Russell was the leader of the I.R.A. when the 1939-45 war broke out, but few know how he came to attain that position, what his national policy was, or why he was in Berlin negotiating with the Hitler regime and the German High Command for military aid.

Many people are under the impression that Seán Russell was a wild extremist who had sympathies with Nazi Germany and who was prepared to lend himself to a campaign to bring Ireland within the ambit of Nazi influence.

Many people believe that he was a foreign agent who was prepared to barter the neutrality of his own country for personal gain. Few know that in reality he was a patriot who had served his country faithfully, without reward or pension from the day he took up a gun in the Easter Rising up to the very end.

FOUGHT IN RISING

He was born in the Fairview area about 78 years ago and while in his teens joined the Irish Volunteers, becoming a member of the Second Battalion of the Dublin Brigade. During the Easter Rising he was a Section Commander and fought under Oscar Traynor (later a Fianna Fáil Cabinet Minister) at Fairview Bridge, later retreating to the O'Connell Street area. He was interned in Frongoch after the Rising.

During the subsequent War of Independence he had risen to the rank of Staff Captain and was a member of the General Headquarters staff, holding the position of Director of Munitions.

When the I.R.A. Council, on the instructions of the Dáil, decided to burn down the Custom House, so as to destroy the nerve centre of British administration in Ireland, Seán Russell was one of the officers present at the meeting between the I.R.A. General Headquarters Staff and the Dáil Cabinet, which included at the time President de Valera who had just returned from his tour of America.

The officer commanding the Dublin Brigade, Oscar Traynor, has written of this meeting as follows: "Those present, as far as my memory goes, were: Cathal Brugha, Austin Stack, Richard Mulcahy, Diarmuid O'Hegarty, Michael Collins, Seán McMahon, Piaras Beaslai and, I think, Eoin O'Duffy."

Mr. Traynor also mentions in the same article that President de Valera presided at the meeting. Seán Russell, in an article in the "Wolfe Tone Weekly" on May 24, 1939, stated that it was

President de Valera who proposed the destruction of the Custom House, and of the Four Courts as well.

Seán Russell also had a big part in the events of Bloody Sunday. It was he who called at Croke Park to inform G.A.A. officials that the I.R.A. had reason to believe the British forces would attack the huge crowd as a reprisal for the shooting of the British Intelligence Officers in Dublin that morning.

Harry Colley was there with Seán Russell when he arrived. Russell told the G.A.A. officials that he had got word from a police sergeant, but the officials were unwilling or unable to cancel the match.

FOUR COURTS

The stewards on that day were drawn from the Second Battalion, Dublin Brigade, and Russell ordered Andy Doyle, who was now in charge of them, to dismiss them before the British arrived. Half-an-hour later Croke Park was attacked by the British military and Black and Tans and Bloody Sunday took its place in Irish history.

Right through the War of Independence, Seán Russell served on the General Headquarters Staff and in co-operation with Liam Mellows was responsible for supplying the Army of the Republic with the sinews of war.

As Director of Munitions, he had contacts in Britain and America. Seamen brought in the arms and Russell arranged for their safe delivery, dumping and distribution.

When the Treaty came in 1921, Russell stood for the Republic. He was one of the men who with Rory O'Connor occupied the Four Courts in March, 1922. When the Civil War broke out in June he resumed his old position as Director of Munitions for the I.R.A. and in due course was appointed Quarter-Master General.

1939 PROCLAMATION

In this capacity he served until he was arrested and interned. After the general release of 1924 Russell refused to emigrate. His slogan was up to the end of his life: "There will be another day." As far as he was concerned that day came on January 15, 1939, when a Proclamation was posted on the walls of Dublin declaring that the I.R.A. would resume war against British Government territory if the British Government did not agree to evacuate its troops from the six north-eastern counties within four days.

That proclamation was signed by six men. Their names were: Seán Russell, George Plunkett, Patrick Fleming, Larry Grogan, Peadar O'Flaherty and Stephen Hayes.

In order to show you how that situation came about it will be necessary to refer to my own personal relations and associations with Seán Russell. On January 12 a letter had been sent to the British Home Office demanding withdrawal of British forces within four days. This letter was signed by Patrick Fleming as Secretary to the Army Council of the I.R.A.

The night after the War proclamation was posted up there was a knock at my door and when I opened it Brendan Behan was standing outside. He had a grin on his face. I had never seen him

By
Seamus G. O'Kelly

so happy, and he said: "I have a message for you."

"Come in, Brendan," I said. "Who is the message from?"

"It's from Seán Russell," he said. "He didn't write it down. He said I was to tell it to you myself. He wants to see you to-morrow night; he wants you to come back to the I.R.A."

I was stunned for I had no connection with the I.R.A. since the spring of 1934. "What does he want me for?" I asked.

Brendan grinned again. "Wait until you read to-morrow's papers," he said. It was January 15, 1939.

"What'll be in the papers?" I asked. But Brendan would say no more. He just laughed and said "Remember Asquith; wait and see."

EXPLOSIONS

There was news in the morning—big news; the biggest since 1922. Bombs had burst all over England. Three violent explosions occurred in Manchester and two in London. Another occurred at a power plant on the Northumberland moors six miles from Newcastle.

One civilian was killed in Manchester and two injured. The point of the explosion was the base of a huge water tower. The I.R.A. was at war; there was no doubt whatever about that.

I went to see Russell that night. He was then Chief of Staff and, as

a result of what he told me, I rejoined the Irish Republican Army and I served as an intelligence officer and a publicity agent right through the campaign of 1939/40. I continued to serve until 1947.

I had better explain what the 1939 campaign was all about. Since the Civil War of 1922-23, the I.R.A. had been beating its head against a stone wall, in conflict with the police of the 26 Counties and its energy was flittered away on petty squabbles.

WENT TO AMERICA

Every four or five years splinter groups broke away and formed new splinter groups. Russell was convinced that this atmosphere would continue unless there was a frontal attack by the I.R.A. on Britain, so he decided that military installations in England itself, munition factories, telephone communications, railway yards, etc., would be bombed.

The famous S-Plan was drawn up and that was what was intended, but through circumstances beyond the control of Russell or his staff, the campaign did not develop along the lines planned.

Russell had believed that the Dublin Government would not interfere so long as there was no attack on 26 County forces. In this he was wrong, for the Government rushed through the Dáil the Offences Against the State Act, and rounded up every I.R.A. man they could lay hands on.

Through this action communication lines with the I.R.A. members in England were cut. It was impossible to get munitions

across the Irish Sea, and the campaign continued only in spasmodic form throughout the year.

Russell himself went to America to seek financial aid. Whilst he was there, war with Germany broke out and he proceeded to Germany to seek military aid. He never returned to Ireland.

While he was in America, Seán Russell was a guest of the Clan na Gael organisation which was then led by Joe McGarrity, a Tynemanager who had been a close associate of John Devoy, and who was one of those who supported de Valera when he was touring the United States in 1920 as President of the Irish Republic. McGarrity now supported Seán Russell and the campaign in England.

ENGLAND'S DIFFICULTY

As soon as war broke out the Dublin Government declared the neutrality of the 26 Counties and it was quite obvious that Russell could not get back to Ireland by the direct route. In June, 1940, many more hundreds of I.R.A. men were arrested and interned at the Curragh under the Offences Against the State Act on the plea that this was necessary to defend Irish neutrality because the I.R.A. would involve the country in the war on the side of Germany.

This was said because it was part of Russell's policy to attack the British Army in the Six Counties if Britain was involved in the war.

Like Casement before him, he believed that "England's difficulty is Ireland's opportunity," and he also believed that if there was a rising against Britain's occupying forces in the Six Counties the whole of Ireland would be involved and the Free State Army would eventually come in on the side of the I.R.A. I am making these statements on Russell's policy, because I know them to be true.

GERMAN AID

The reason he went to Germany from America was to seek German military aid. America was not then involved in the war, so he was able to proceed to Germany direct.

I have no way of knowing what final arrangements Seán Russell made with the German Government, but it seems that German military support was promised to him on the understanding that he would start a rising in the North, and then when Ireland was involved up to the hilt against the British Army, then the Germans would come in on the Irish side.

Under these circumstances it was necessary for Seán Russell to return to Ireland.

There are several stories told as to the manner of his death. One



The memorial in Fairview Park, Dublin.

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An Bóthar a Ghabhann Sinn Féin

Foilsíodh an t-alt seo le Seán O Bradaigh in eagrán Feabhra de COMHAR, Iris an Chomhairleirímh

Ag Ardheis na bliana anuraidh de Sinn Féin, moladh rún a d'iarr go nglacadh iarrthóirí Poblachtacha le suchoáin i dTeach Laighean, Stormont agus Westminster. Nuair ba shléitir nach nglacfaí leis an rún moladh leas-rún, go gcuirfí coimisiún ar bun a scrúdoídh polasáí na Gluaiseachta agus a chuirfeadh moltaí os comhair na céad Ardheise eile. Glacadh leis an leasrún agus ag moltaí an choimisiúin tháinig dhá rún conspéiceach os comhair na hArdheise i mí Eanáir:

Ceann ag moladh National Liberation Front a bhunú i gcomhar le heagraíochtaí eile, thuaidh agus theas. Dúradh i rith na díospóireachta agus moladh i dtuascáil an choimisiúin go raibh Páirtí Cumannach an Tuaiscirt, an Connolly Youth Movement, an Irish Workers' Party, baill áirithe de Pháirtí an Lucht Oibre agus a lán dreamanna eile i gceist. I dtús báire bhí comhshnadh iomlán i gceist, ach de réir mar cuireadh ina choinne éiríodh as sin agus dúradh gur cónasachd scaoilte a bhí i gceist;

Rún eile a mhol go gcuirfí feachtais mór agóide ar bun agus go dtroifí d'ghocháin ar an mbonn go nglacfaí le suchoáin sin trí parlaimint. Sin cúlra an scéil. Iarradh ormsa na hargóintí i gcoinne freastal ar na parlaimintí a léiríu do léitheoirí COMHAR. "Teach Laighean" a dúirt an t-eagarthóir ach chun bheith loighicíúil caitheadh duine glacadh leis na trí cinn mhá glachann sé le ceann amháin. D'admhaigh ailtirí an choimisiúin é sin fiú.

AN MHEAR FHADA

Tá polasáí an neamhláithreachais bunaithe ar an seasamh Poblachtach. Dúlaíonn Poblachtach glacadh le rialú Shasana sa trí seo. Fógraíodh Poblacht i 1916 agus bunaíodh i i 1919. Ní fheadhaidh duine bheith ina Poblachtach Eireannach agus Westminster a aithní. (Má glachann tú páirt sa rud, tugann tú aithneantas dó.) An dá institiúid eile, Teach Laighean agus Stormont, bhunaigh Rialtas Westminster iad chun an Phoblacht a scrios. Na páirtithe go léir a ghéill don chóras seo d'fhonn deireadh a chur leis ón taobh istigh, ghlac siad leis de réir chéile agus theip glan orthu an Phoblacht a chur i réim arís.

Daoine a theann isteach sna hinstiúidí seo agus déa-rún arís, is amhlaidh a bhunaíonn siad iad agus ní bhíonn siad i bhfad istigh go gcuirtear na bun-aidhmeanna ar an mbealach fada.

Níor iarr Gluaiseacht na Poblachta ar mhuintir na Sé Chontae riamh teacht isteach sna 26 Chontae. Dúradh i gceist go raibh sé i gceist Poblacht Daonlathach

don 32 Chontae a bhunú agus ó Ardheis Sinn Féin i 1967 Poblacht Daonlathach Sóisialach a bhí i gceist. Dúradh i gceist go raibh saoirse eacnamaíochta, sóisialta agus cultúrtha a bhí i gceist agus ní amháin saoirse pholaitiúil.

Maidir leis an modh oibre chun é seo uilig a bhaint amach, silim go bhfuil sé cruthaithe arís agus



SEÁN O BRADAIGH

arís eile nach ndéanfar é trí ghlacadh leis an gceist Sasanaigh atá ann anois. Teastaíonn uainne réabhlóid 1916 agus 1919 a chríochnú trí thacaíocht a tharraingt ó na hinstiúidí atá ann anois agus struchtúr stáit don 32 Chontae a chur ina n-áit. Tá sé i gceist againn an struchtúr seo a thógáil neamhspleách ar an gceist atá ann faoi láthair. Aithnítear go coitianta gur muidé an t-aon dream amháin nach den eisteachment é agus go bhfuil tradisiún d'ionraiceas agus macántacht ag baint linn (fiú má deirim féin é!).

Ins an "domhan iarthair" le tamall anuas tá muintir an phobail as daonlathas parlaiminteach ar an stíl Sasanaigh ag trá. In ár dtír féin tá a lán déanta chun bonn a bhaint ón status quo. Gluaiseacht na Poblachta ar an gcuid is mó de a thaispeáin don phobal an gá a bhí le gníomhaíocht díreach agus cé chomh huireasach agus a bhí an córas a bhunaigh Sasana anseo. (Agus is é sin an córas atá ann go fóill, ainneoin na n-athraithe beaga i 1932, 1937 agus 1948). An méid a baineadh amach sa Tuaisceart le 18 mí anuas rinneadh é ar na sráideanna in ainneoin na bParlaimintí.

M.P.s AN TUAISCIRT

Rud eile, dá ndéanfaí páirtí polaitiúchá de Sinn Féin gheobhfaí tacaíocht ó dhream nach bhfuil raidiceach ach chaillfí na fíor-Poblachtach. Dhéanfaí comhréiteach de réir a chéile chun tacaíocht leathan a choinneáil agus diaidh ar ndiaidh do choillfí an Gluaiseacht. Thosaigh Sasana Fáil i 1926 agus polasáí raidiceach go maith acu, fuair siad cumhacht i 1932, ach faoi 1938 bhí siad ag géilleadh do Shasana agus do lucht an rachmais. O shin i leith sheallmhaigh siad níos faide agus níos faide ó na bun-aidhmeanna.

Is minic a deirtear gur cóir iarracht a dhéanamh ar shuíocháin a thabhairt do M.P.s an Tuaiscirt i dTeach Laighean. Thriail Clann na Poblachta é sin agus ní thabharfaí fiú "right of audience" dóibh. Mhínigh Seán O Cois-tealbh, Tuaisceach, an fhadhb i mDheireadh Fómhair 1954 nuair a dúirt sé go raibh "legal and constitutional difficulties" ann. Séard a bhí i gceist nach bhféadfadh Teach Laighean feidhmiú mar

pharlaimint náisiúnta de bharr na n-achtanna a bhunaigh é. Acht an Rialú na hEireann 1920; Acht an tSaorstáit (An tConnradh) 1922; agus Socru na Teorann 1925. Is iad muintir Sinn Féin an t-aon dream atá saor ó na laicneis seo chun Parlaimint don 32 Chontae a bhunú.

Déanfar pobal na hEireann a eagrú chun saoirse iomlán a bhaint amach trí iad a eagrú chun a gcearta a éileamh, cearta iscair-eachta, titheochta, fostaíochta, cearta sibhialta thuaidh agus theas, agus an fuinneamh go léir a neartú le chéile i dtógail struchtúir stáit don tír uilig. Parlaimint don 32 Chontae, in ainneoin chórais Shasana. Is féidir leis a bhaint as toghcháin áitúla agus an troid a bhrú sna comhairlí baile agus contae i dtosach. Maidir leis na toghcháin eile, is fearr iad a thoir ar an mbonn go bhfuil an struchtúr nua á thógáil againn. Beidh gá mar sin leis an rudai eile a bheith go mór chun cinn sua droifí toghcháin parlaiminteacha. (Le 20 bliain dúirt Sinn Féin go rachadh siad isteach i dTeach Laighean le móramh. Séard a dhéanfaí ná Parlaimint uile-Eireann a dhéanamh de an chéad lá.)

Ní cóir dearmad a dhéanamh ar na poití eile ba chúis le scoilt Sinn Féin, mar tá baint acu le ceist an neamhláithreachais:

1. An saghas áirithe Soisialachais a bhí bhrú ag daoine áirithe i gceannasaloicht na Gluaiseachta. Glacaimidne leis an gGonghaleach ach daonlathas atá uainn, ní deachtóireacht ollsmachtach. Nuair a tháingamar amach as an Ardheis bhí lucht na nuachtán agus R.T.E. agus rinne cúpla ball den "eite chlé" iarracht na cearmarai a bhriseadh le linn do Sheosamh O Cléirigh (fear 1916) a bheith ag caint-saoirse? N'headar.

2. An chaoi ar ligeadh síos ár muintir i mBeal Feirste agus i nDoire i mí Lúnasa.

3. Le é polasáí Coughlan/Johnston/Goulding gur cóir troid chun Stormont a choinneáil. B'fhearr linne rialú

EASTER DAWN

By SEAMUS G. O'KELLY

The dawn came up red over Dublin Bay,
An Easter dawn,
Pregnant with hope, and courage, and sacrifice,
Made so, by poets who had thrown away their pens,
To grasp a sword,
And lead their people out of Bondage.
Pearse, MacDonagh, Plunkett, and gentle Eamonn Ceannt,
the Musician, so gay, so joyous, and lovable.
With Sean MacDermott, so beloved of women,
He who walked with a stick, and was lame,
And Connolly, the Leader of the Rabble,
Who sought bread and justice for his People,
With Tom Clarke, man of Steel,
Who came out from the Hell of British Dungeons,
To make this Deed possible.

Milk carts clattered through suburbia,
Housewives stirred uneasily in their sleep,
Their husbands yawned, and thought of Fairyhouse,
It was Easter Bank Holiday.
Cyclists hurried through the empty city,
Knapsacks strapped to backs,
Rifles in hand,
Liberty Hall pulsed with life, and the comings and goings,
of messengers,
Speeding on their way to bring the Word,
The Angelus rang out by Anna Liffey, a strange new flag
fluttered in the breeze,
Orange, and White, and Green,
Rifles spat lead, as British soldiers died,
And an old Nation was re-born to a new life.

They dared all, this small but gallant few,
Dared everything for me and you,
They signed our Charter, with their own red Blood,
Defiant against the foe they stood, and then went down to
quick-lime graves,
That we should not live as slaves,
As Man's Saviour rose on Easter morn, so was Irish Freedom
born,
In war's Red Rage, in Fire, and Blood,
Before the world, our Nation stood, Great, in her Beauty.

díreach ó Westminster mar bheart sealadach. Bheadh níos mó seans ag muintir na Tuaiscirt a gcearta sibhialta d'fháil agus bheadh muid ag plé go díreach leis na maistri i Londain. O 1922 bhí rialtas agus constablaicht Stormont ins an mbealach agus cuireadh i leith Seán Sabhat agus a leithéidí go raibh Eireannaigh á n-ionasí acu. Dob'fhearr bheith aghaidh ar aghaidh leis an fíor-chiontaigh i Westminster.

4. Le cúpla bliain bhí daoine

á ndíbrt as Sinn Féin agus daoine de chineál áirithe eile á dtógáil isteach. Cuireadh amach 250 ball i gCiarraí thuaidh. (13 Chumann), cumann i Sligeach, Seán O Cionáin i nDoire, 7rl. Dá bhfanfaí bliain eile ní 36% a bheadh ag tarraingt amach as an Ardheis ach 16% nó mar sin. In áit na macántachta agus an ionraicis bhí an bhréag, an leathbhréag agus an chaimléaracht i réim. Chuir sin samhnas agus déistean ar a lán. Rud eile, ní bhainfeadh saoirse na hEireann amach ar an dóigh sin.

Focal scoir: ní cuspóir ann féin é saoirse na hEireann ach deis chun saol iomlán ina dtír féin a sholáthar do phobal na hEireann. Ní dhéanfar é sin gan smacht iomlán a bheith againn ar áir gúrsaí féin, gan bheith faoi smacht Shasana nó lucht rachmais idirnáisiúnta.

I gCUIMHNE

TONY DARCY, Galway, died on hunger strike, April 16, 1940.

SEAN MAC NEELA, Mayo, died on hunger strike, April 19, 1940.

SEAN MARTIN, Belfast, died in accidental explosion, April 25, 1940.

LIAM MELLOWS CUMANN

At a meeting of the Liam Mellows Cumann, Sinn Féin (Dublin Central and Dublin North Central) the following resolution was passed unanimously:

"That the Liam Mellows Cumann, Sinn Féin, give their allegiance to the Caretaker Ard-Chomhairle, Sinn Féin, pledging their support and allegiance to the Provisional Army Council of the Irish Republican Army."

SEAN RUSSELL

(From Page 5)

story says that he was assassinated by British agents in Genoa, another is that he died in Germany, but the story which is accepted by most people is that he travelled on a German submarine to within 100 miles of the west coast of Ireland in August, 1940; that he was accompanied by Frank Ryan who had been a prisoner of war in Spain, and who had been released to Germany on the application of the Hitler Government. Ryan was not pro-Nazi, but he was anti-British.

Ryan was not then a member of the I.R.A., but he was a close friend of Russell's and there may have been an agreement between the two that Ryan would help in the rising.

This story goes on, that Russell became ill at sea, that he developed peritonitis and died during the voyage, and that he was buried at sea wrapped in the German flag.

Ryan is supposed to have returned to Dresden on board the submarine, where he later died of T.B. contracted during his imprisonment in Spain. This story is told by Irish friends of Ryan's who lived in Germany.

That seems to be the most likely version of Sean Russell's death—if he is dead, for there are people who still believe Sean Russell is alive, and who have assured me that one day they may be able to prove it. One thing is certain there is no proof of his death. He can only be presumed dead.

And that as far as I am concerned is the story of the Sean Russell I knew. He never was a politician nor had he any Fascist, Socialist or Communist tendencies. As I knew him, he was a soldier, a patriot, and a devout Catholic. He gave his whole life to the service of his country, and even those who disagreed with him have never dared to cast a doubt on the integrity of his motives.

He gave his whole life to the cause of his country's independence and he said to us who were associated with him in the later period of his life: "This fight will have now started will never end until the Irish Republic of the 32 Counties stands straight and erect as one of the free nations of the world."

The date of his death is given as August 14, 1940, on the memorial in Fairview Park.

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Prop. MICHAEL BOYLE

WORKER OWNERSHIP OF INDUSTRY

(From Page 4)

account it taken of the value of labour and very little of the future potential of the enterprise. New credit means money in circulation without the backing of wealth, i.e., goods and services.

In such a situation there is grave danger of inflation, which could be prevented if the amount of credit was absorbed within a reasonable period by the production of these new goods or services. The present credit structure, geared as it is towards profit for the banks, benefits mainly industries which process semi-finished materials, products of the natural resources of another country. There is a lack of confidence in the potential of our own natural resources. The restrictions imposed for the protection of the bank's assets penalise native development. The partially developed imported resources are a safer investment.

GUARANTEED CAPITAL

In the co-operative state credit would be guaranteed by the Government for development of natural resources and integrated industries and the amount of credit would be based on the expected return and potential of the particular industry within a specified period. Credit and loans given for new industry would be given in the form of share capital to the workers, who would repay it over a specified period. This would be similar to a taxation with the main difference that it would end when the amount of the loan would be paid back, thus providing a constant flow of funds for further development. It would be deducted at source as part of the overheads.

The monetary and credit expansions outlined above would, of course, be backed by the workers' owners payment on their economic units. This also reduces the danger of inflation. In all cases the new owners would pay a certain purchase price for their economic unit in instalments over a period whether it was through the Fine, a Government loan, rota or whatever system was finally decided upon.

PEOPLE'S INITIATIVE

Much development of the natural resources of the country and expansion of industry would be necessary to enable everyone to own an economic unit of the means of production. It is the duty of the Government to bring about a situation and an atmosphere in which the initiative of the people is given full rein. In the meantime there is a lack of initiative and an apathy due to the long and continued hopelessness of the situa-

tion. Until such a time as natural initiative (such as that demonstrated in many Irishmen who are forced to emigrate) again asserts itself, it would be the duty of the Government to stimulate development and industry, not as semi-state bodies but as worker-owner concerns.

NO RESOURCES IDLE

In the capitalist system, expansion is necessary for survival, and where expansion does not take place the plight of the worker is worst. (Where it does take place the worker survives at the historic subsistence level.) In a co-operative economy, where each individual got the full return of his labour, expansion would not be necessary for survival, it would only be necessary for improvement of general conditions. Normal expansion would take place with increase of population, but as each additional individual was adding his goods and services—the products of his labour—to the general supply of goods and services, he was entitled to draw an equal amount in value of goods and services. This presupposes that in the co-operative economy there is equal opportunity for all and, while there are individuals seeking employment, no resources will be allowed (for any reason) to lie idle. The right of expropriating a person's excess property is one which belongs to the state, and then only when the common good requires it.

The state, therefore, is the only body which could establish in full a Gaelic Co-operative Republic in this country, with industry and agriculture properly organised on a co-operative basis.

ORGANIC GROWTH

On the other hand, organic growth could be accomplished with schemes to reclaim land, which could be made into moderate sized farms for landless men who would be encouraged to work them co-operatively by organising co-operative effort both in town and country; by various farmers' organisations encouraging co-operative effort and by trade unions incorporating in their negotiations with the employers a demand to allow the workers a share in the ownership and management of the industry.

If this idea was spread sufficiently widely through such organisations it would eventually lead to a flourishing co-operative economy.

A further source of immediate action is agitation for the restoration of fishing rights to the people, the division or handing over as all-in co-operatives of large estates to small farmers and landless men, the building of harbours, and setting up of co-operatively owned industries in depressed areas, and the preservation and extension of the Gaeltacht.

Donegal is True

The Ardara, Co. Donegal, Cumann of Sinn Féin has passed this resolution:

"We, the members of the Ardara Cumann of Sinn Féin, do hereby pledge our allegiance and support to the Caretaker Executive of Sinn Féin, as elected at the adjourned Ard-Fheis held in Dublin on January 11, 1970.

"We reaffirm our allegiance to the sovereign 32-County Republic as proclaimed in arms on Easter Monday, 1916, and ratified by Dáil Éireann on January 21, 1919.

"We call upon all true Republicans in Tir Chonaill to follow our example, and stand firm by those members of the Republican Movement who alone have the right to don the proud mantle of Sinn Féin, since they do not wish to place their trust in puppet parliaments.

"We further call upon the public to come now under the unsullied banner of Sinn Féin, that we may, in our purified and new-found strength, get on with the job that has been entrusted to our charge, namely, in the words of Tone, 'to break the connection with England, the never failing source of all our political ills.' No one need qualify those words of Tone, or try to rearrange his priorities, for 'Tone has spoken for all generations.' Only those who remain faithful to him and to his teaching to-day, only they can look back across the years and honestly say 'Brother, we have kept the faith.'

"In this instance, we feel called upon to remark that the Irish Nation has, in the very recent past, neglected a solemn duty and dishonoured her patriot dead. We recall how Robert Emmet came forth, in 1803, to wash away the stains of acquiescence incurred by a slavish and silent acceptance of the Act of Union. We look forward now to the day when Young Ireland in arms will wash away the stains of complacency and indifference incurred in 1969. Therefore, we bend ourselves to the task of building up a strong and ready Republican Movement, so that Irishmen shall never again stand idly by while puppet parliaments bargain with the enemies of our land, but that rather we shall say with Mac Swiney 'We accept no compromise and ask no mercy.'

LONGFORD SINN FEIN

The annual general meeting of the Thomas Kelleher Cumann of Sinn Féin took place in the Court-house, Longford, on Wednesday, March 11.

Officers elected were: Chairman: Mathew Casey, * Ohill, Drumlish; Vice-Chairman: Patrick Prunty, Ballagh, Newtownforbes; Secretary: Seán Lynch, Cleenrath, Aughnacuffe; Treasurers: Thomas Hayden, Glack, Longford, and Peter Quinn, Soran, Ballinaloe.

The attendance included Ruairí O Brádaigh and Peter Rogers, Ballinaloe and Multyfarnham.

The Cumann heard reports from delegates who were present at the recent Ard-Fheis and after some discussion on the legality of certain steps taken with regard to the Sinn Féin Constitution and Rules it was decided to recognise the Caretaker Executive as the lawful governing body of the organisation.

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TUS MAITH LEATH NA HOIBRE

THE REAL UNITY

Frank Ryan's 1932 Speech

At the Co. Kerry Easter Commemoration in 1932, Frank Ryan said:

"It is our right and duty to be free and let us seek our freedom openly, honestly, and fearlessly—Ireland free from shore to shore, Ireland separated from the British Empire, Ireland a Republic and before God nothing less than a Republic.

"It is not a question of the I.R.A. against the Free State Army, nor of the Republic versus the Free State. It is a question of Ireland against England. We must work hard for Republican unity on the basis of the Republican programme of 1916."

Frank Ryan, Reachtaire of the Cumann Gaelach in U.C.D., one time editor of *An Phoblacht*, went to Spain to fight for Republican Spain against Franco in 1936, was captured and spent four years in a Spanish prison, was released as a result of the efforts of Seán Russell in 1940 and was on his way over to Ireland with Russell in a German submarine when Russell took ill and died. The submarine turned back to Germany and after an illness Frank Ryan died in Germany.

This extract quoted from a speech of Frank Ryan's should give us food for thought—especially his reference to Republican unity because

"Unity is a word," Connolly tells us, "used by many with ulterior motives to achieve political ambition or ultimately to seize power and control in a united movement."

We have known the truth of that statement of Connolly's and have, since 1922, seen the trend of that unity march and how it eventually led to compromise, betrayal and the execution yards for those who stood for unity on the basis of the

Proclamation and Republican Programme of 1916.

Many people still clamour for unity but it is easy to denote the false ring in their voices. It is a unity to be built on false and inferior foundations, a unity devoid of principle, truth and honour, a unity that would once again lead us down the road of compromise and betrayal, that would stumble and stagger at the first hurdle of sacrifice.

A unity that would relegate the national claim to freedom and

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sovereignty to the background, whilst giving priority to Internationalism and the other different brands of isms that would hold sway in the new United Front, is unacceptable.

The essential basis for unity is, of course, founded on the ideals and principles of our martyred dead. What better guides therefore could be have to show us that unity road that those seven men, Clarke, Connolly, Pearse, Mac Donagh, Mac Diarmada, Ceannt and Plunkett, who made the Republican Programme of 1916 possible.

These seven men appended their names to the Proclamation of 1916 and by service, sacrifice and the splendour of their ideals showed us the real road to unity of aim and purpose and method — the only road to unity and victory.

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GALWAY H.Q. FOR N.W.R.L. PROPOSAL AT MEETING

REPRESENTATIVES of many local organisations were among the large attendance at a public lecture given by Mr. Caoimhín Campbell, solicitor, Swinford, Co. Mayo, under the auspices of the Galway branch of the National Waters Restoration League at the Atlanta Hotel, Galway.

Mr. Campbell, who is a founder member of the League, traced its development from 1965 to the present fishing season. Meeting at the house of Miss Eithne McManus, now Mrs. Eithne Viney, at Carrabane, Westport, on St. Stephen's Day, 1965, the movement was named. There were about 10 to 14 people present, among them the late Paddy O'Riordan of Co. Cork who did so much to get the movement off the ground and actually met his death when returning from an organising meeting in Co. Clare.

The first manifesto of the League was short and to the point and was drawn up in Galway. The aims are: To restore to the right-ful owners, the people of Ireland, the rivers, lakes and estuaries of Ireland to be worked, stocked and managed under co-operatives for the benefit of the people and no longer left in the hands of private individuals or concerns, native or foreign.

Tracing the abortive efforts of successive governments as far back as 1936, Mr. Campbell stated that after 34 years the rivers, lakes and estuaries were still in the hands of private individuals and foreign concerns.

Mr. Frank Glynn, Co. C., Branch Chairman, opened up a lively discussion on the lecture.

Eamon O Conghaile, Carna, Manager of the South Connemara

Fishermen's Co-op., spoke of the immense task facing the League. He said that the acquisition of the Galway salmon and eel fisheries and their running on a co-operative basis would be a great encouragement to the whole movement for the public ownership of Ireland's rivers and lakes. He suggested that the salmon and eel fisheries could be operated with the Connemara Co-op. and together would make a very viable enterprise. This arrangement could possibly include the Clarendon Oyster Co. now in the process of formation.

Mr. Dan Hoban, Mayo Branch of N.W.R.L., reported on the fish-ings in his native Newport and called for greater co-operation between branches in activities of this kind.

Seamus Mac Riocaird, Howth Fishermen's Co-op., criticised the administration of rivers and lakes by the E.S.B. which is engaged in the commercial sale of fish and eels to the detriment of thousands of small farmers and labourers in many parts of Ireland, such as along the banks of the Shannon and along the Blessington lakes. He mentioned that the lords, majors and colonels in control of salmon fisheries in Scotland and England had launched a vigorous campaign against drift net fishing on the open sea around the coast-line and warned that this campaign would soon be intensified in Ireland where it has been aired more than once.

Many tributes were paid to the memory of the late Paddy O'Riordan of Kanturk who did so much work for the establishment of the League and its spread in the counties of Galway, Clare and Mayo.

A steering committee was elected to organise and co-ordinate activities throughout the country. It was suggested that Galway



Eamonn Mac Thomáis speaking at a Sinn Féin symposium in Liberty Hall, Dublin, on March 15. Also in the picture are Seán Thornton, Cathaoirleach Chomhairle Ceantair Atha Cliath; Ruairí O Bricáigh and Caoimhín Mac Cathmhaoil.

should be the national headquarters of all League activities since it is the focal point of resistance to private and foreign ownership of Irish rivers, lakes and estuaries. Furthermore, it has efficiently established fishing co-operatives now functioning in its hinterland.

The committee are as follows: Chairman: Frank Glynn, Co.C., Milltown; Vice-Chairman: Eamonn O Conghaile, Carna (Comhar-Chumann Iascairí Chonamara); Secretary: Anthony Wallace, 29 Fursey Rd., Galway; Treasurers: Liam Walsh (Galway Housing Action Committee) and John Nestor, Galway.

Committee members: Tom Joyce (Uachtair Ard Land League); Pilib O hEidhin (U.C.G. Republican Club); Pádraig O Coincheannain, An Spidéal (Coiste Cearta Sibhialta na Gaeltachta); Patrick Feeney (East Galway Land League); Máirtín Standún, An Spidéal; Frank Henehgan, Claregalway; T. Savage, Galway; Tim Lawless, Corofin; John J. Ruane, Athenry.

North West Executive Reports Progress

MEMBERS of the Republican Movement from North Leitrim, Donegal, Tyrone, Derry and Fermanagh attended a meeting of the North-West Executive held recently.

Mr. Seán Keenan, addressing the meeting, called on the members and on all Irishmen to demand the release of Irish political prisoners held by the British Government. He condemned the savage prison sentences passed on the following: (1) Eamon Smullen (8 years) and Gerry Doherty (4 years)

accused of conspiring to buy arms. A Dublin Castle police file referring to a sentence given to Smullen by a Free State military court in 1943 was specially sent over and used by the prosecution.

(2) Conor Lynch and Pat O'Sullivan (7 years each) for allegedly taking part in an arms raid in Dagenham. The evidence in this case was purely circumstantial. These men were framed and their prison sentences are grossly unjust. Nevertheless they are in prison. The injustice of it all is made clearer still when we consider what members of the U.V.F. are getting away with.

"Under the same British laws, in Belfast these men can get away with crimes such as 'endangering Irish lives.' Is it because they are 'British' and the crimes are against Irish people?"

Mr. Joe O'Neill, Bundoran, addressing the meeting, asked that they support a resolution passed by the Co. Councils of Cavan and Monaghan condemning the British Government for naming their new force the "Ulster Defence Regiment." He said: "We live in Ulster and we do not want any British Force to defend us." He asked Irishmen not to join this so-called U.D.R. because "you would be doing the work of the English — helping them to keep Ireland divided."

"People in Donegal," he said, "were disappointed that the 26-County Government did not voice some form of protest, but then, maybe it would be too much to expect a Parliament to protest when that same Parliament was set up by the British Government in 1922."

Mr. D. O'Donnail, addressing the meeting, said: "A lot of progress had been made since the last meeting. Clubs had been formed in Strabane, Derry, Bundoran and Ballyshannon. The paper "An Phoblacht" has been selling well in all areas and orders for the March issue have increased."

Michael Foot, M.P., and a Mr. Laurence Daly. The magic of the Devlin name drew a lot of people and the hall was full before the meeting started. Cruise O'Brien did not attend in person, but was represented by Justin Keating. Apart from Bernadette, the speakers were so obviously concerned with patching over the British Labour Party's credibility gap that before long people began to walk out. (This is election year in England.)

Outside, three sellers between them sold 13 dozen copies of *An Phoblacht*. They reported that other papers were making a bad showing.

TUESDAY, MARCH 17

The British Minister of Defence, Mr. Denis Healey, was guest of honour at the St. Patrick's Day dinner at the Irish Club. These dinners are normally prime gomben men's functions, but this year things went a bit off the rails. Healey said in his speech that Mr. Lynch fully accepts the continued control of the Six Counties by England. This is, of course, perfectly true, but the whole Fianna Fáil myth rests on the contrary assertion. So the speech was greeted by jeers and shouts of "Rubbish, rubbish, rubbish."

At a similar function in Liverpool, Mr. Harold Wilson, a much cuter politician than his colleague, confined himself to attacks on the opinions of Mr. Enoch Powell.

LONDON DIARY

By our own Correspondent

FRIDAY, MARCH 13

It became known that the Stormont Premier, Chichester-Clark, would be addressing a meeting of the "Ulster Union" in a hotel in South Kensington. A picket was hurriedly conjured up from NICRA, London Republican Club and Clann na hÉireann. About 30 or 40 people took part. A number of demonstrators actually got into the building but were immediately arrested. The picket was continued until Chichester-Clark left.

SATURDAY, MARCH 14

Seven people appeared at Marlborough Street Courthouse to answer charges of "threatening behaviour" and "obstructing the pavement" arising out of the picket the night before. Among them were Brendan McGill, Seán Carson (Senior), Seán Carson (Junior) and a sister of Mr. Bowes Egan.

All the defendants pleaded not guilty. Their solicitor, Mr. Bowes Egan, sub-poenaed the local police

chief, the hotel manager and Mr. Chichester-Clark as witnesses for the defence.

Defendants were remanded on bail for a week. During the hearing the courthouse was picketed.

SUNDAY, MARCH 15

Annual St. Patrick's Day parade through London. The weather, unfortunately, turned very wet in the late afternoon. Sellers reported heavy demand for *An Phoblacht*. One seller got through two dozen copies in 14 minutes at Horse Guards Parade.

The Republican collection went very well. Some collectors had to empty boxes three times. At the end of the day the organiser had a duffle-bag nearly full of coins, and the silver content this year is reported to be exceptionally high.

MONDAY, MARCH 16

A much-publicised St. Patrick's Eve public meeting held in the Caxton Hall in Victoria. Speakers were to be Bernadette Devlin, M.P.; Conor Cruise O'Brien, T.D.;