

An Phoblacht

Official Organ of
the Republican
Movement

THE REPUBLIC

IML 2 UIMH. 3. SRAITH NUA

MARTA (MARCH), 1971

Sp. (U.S. and Canada 30c.)

MORE DEATHS

Who is to blame ?

Disaster and tragedy again struck the Six Counties during the month of February—

the DEATH of a five year old child;
the DEATH of an IRA officer, Jim Saunders;
the DEATH of five civilians on Brougher Mountain;
the DEATH of a UVF man in Louisa Street;
the DEATH of others in battles and riots brought forth reaction of shock and shame.

But where does the blame lie?

The Irish Independent quoted "Picture of Shame"—the Evening Herald quoted "Nation in dishonour"—Mr. Henry Kelly cried MURDER—the Irish Times quoted the Word of God: "All they that take the sword, shall perish by the sword."

The Bishops were again in their pulpits. Mr. Gerry Fitt called for all machine guns to be handed in to the British authorities; Mr. Lynch blurred the issue—crime must be condemned; Mr. Cosgrave, Mr. Corish—they were all out with their pious words.

But where does the blame lie?

"All they that take the sword, shall perish by the sword."

England took this country by the sword and held it by the sword and in the end will also perish by the sword.

No one has more genuine sorrow and sympathy with the relatives of the five men killed on Brougher Mountain than the Republican Movement. It is only Republicans who know the horrors of sudden death by explosion:

November, 1938

John J. Kelly (Donegal)

J. J. Reynolds (Leitrim)

Charles McCafferty (Tyrone)

November 1957

Paul Smith (Armagh)

Oliver Craven (Newry)

Pádraig Pearle (Wexford)

George Keegan (Wexford)

Michael Watters (Louth), all killed in accidental explosions while serving Ireland's cause: the cause of freedom.

As sure as night follows day there will be more deaths.

But where does the blame lie?

The blame lies with England, and England's Army of occupation in Ireland. The blame lies also with the so-called statesmen, and the Church leaders who support and aid the status quo and the British connection.

The Irish Independent should know a lot about shame—the shame of crying out for the blood of Connolly and the men of Easter Week; the shame of forcing men into the British Army Forces in 1914 to act as cannon fodder in Flanders fields.

Everyone is looking for peace. How can we have peace? Let Pádraig 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 justice and oppression, between freedom and tyranny; between them it is eternal war until the wrong is righted, until the true thing is established, until justice is accomplished, until freedom is won."



I.R.A. OFFICER SHOT DEAD

SEVERAL thousand people marched in the funeral and lined the streets when the coffin bearing the remains of Belfast IRA officer, Jim Saunders was taken to Milltown Cemetery on February 9 last. Jim was shot dead some nights previously during fighting in the city. British casualties in several nights' fighting — two dead and many injured — were the first since 1921.

It was an incident packed funeral. Before it moved off from the dead officer's home in Ardilea Street, a detachment of British military were kicked and pushed back ten yards down Oldpark

Road by several hundred local people, when they dared enter the mouth of Ardilea Street.

A triple volley of revolver shots was fired over the Tricolour-draped coffin in Ardilea Street outside Mr. Saunders' home before the coffin was placed in the hearse. Then eight men, clad in green jackets and wearing black berets formed a guard of honour.

At the top of Oldpark Road, jeering Protestant mobs were kept at bay. A policeman was felled by a hurling stick at the corner of one of the streets during a brush between the advance party and the RUC.

He was struck on the jaw with the stick, fell unconscious, and was taken to the Royal Victoria Hospital.

Before the funeral moved off there were consultations between the officiating clergy and the RUC about the route. The procession went via Ardilea Street, Oldpark Road to Cliftonville Road and from the Antrim Road along New Lodge Road.

A call to the men behind and in front of the hearse to maintain their ranks was heeded and the cortege passed into Antrim Road and from there into New Lodge Road.

A jeering crowd of women had gathered on the opposite side of the Antrim Road and stones were again thrown at the tail end of the funeral procession. Stones were hurled back, and one man, seized by a police constable after the RUC men had dashed down the road, pulled himself clear and returned to the New Lodge Road.

Earlier the funeral of another riot victim, 28-year-old Mr. Bernard Watt, of Hooker Street, Belfast, was attacked at the junction of West Circular Road and Ballygomartin Road. Army personnel and police moved in only after a man—pictured by TV cameras and in full view of the Protestant and Catholic crowds — had dashed forward, snatched the Tricolour from the coffin in the hearse and rejoined his fellow demonstrators. The coffin was later re-draped with another Tricolour for the burial.



Liverpool as a battle ground

WHEN the 1939 Bomb Campaign was decided upon by the I.R.A. Army Council, under the leadership of Sean Russell, those who took part in it did so as volunteers. There was no compulsion whatever and I want to make this perfectly plain.

In my county, Co. Galway, six men volunteered. The other five shall be nameless for, I am sorry to say, that when the time for action came, they did not go. Our O.C., Tony D'Arcy, offered to go with me himself, but Army Headquarters refused to sanction that, as he was badly needed at home. As you know, Tony afterwards gave his life for Ireland on hunger strike in the early months of 1940.

In due course, I came to Dublin. A G.H.Q. man contacted me at the Irish Press Office, on Burgh Quay. I was taken to Wicklow with a number of other men and there, at a training camp, we went through a course of training which lasted for a fortnight. Then we sailed for England, our destination being Liverpool.

Our instructions were to break up into small groups, seek work and lose ourselves in the English population until such time as the order arrived for us to go into action. In all, there were seven of us.

Six men obeyed their instructions and secured employment in England. Three went to Ormskirk and three went to Donholand. The seventh man refused to work. He took a room in Upper Parliament Street and thereby hangs a tale.

In due course my instructions arrived. I was ordered to go to Liverpool where a certain man would meet me and take me to Entry Bridge, beside the Racecourse. I was to blow up the bridge. But my contact man never arrived and I was forced to go back to Upr. Parliament St. and report that he had not done so.

Then I had to walk back 12 miles to Ormskirk to find, to my amazement, that the volunteer I left behind me with orders not to go to bed and to keep the door unlocked, had gone to bed.

The door was locked. It was the middle of the night and the landlady had to come down to admit me.

This was serious because, at the time, the British police were looking for Irishmen who were abroad late at night, and the landlady, who was an Irishman living in England but who had no national leanings, would be very quick to inform the authorities of my late wanderings.

It seemed to me that night that discipline had broken down and, when that happens in an active service unit, the battle is lost before it begins.

The next thing I want to report is that I got instructions to go to Liverpool again to collect explosive material. Immediately, I went to Donholand and informed the three unit members there of this fact. I instructed them to go into Liverpool separately, on three different buses.

They carried out this order but, unfortunately, walked into a Police trap. The man in Parliament St., instead of looking after his duty, was keeping company with a young girl whose father was Irish but whose mother was English.

The mother became suspicious of the girl's Irish boy-friend. She went to the police and told them of her suspicion.

The father, who was in sympathy with us, contacted the man concerned and warned him of his wife's actions, telling him to keep away from his daughter for security reasons.

Our man ignored this warning. He went to the pictures that night again with his girl-friend and, when he returned, walked straight into the arms of Scotland Yard.

The result of that was that the three men from Donholand who arrived the next day also were arrested and the trap was waiting for us, too.

I arrived the next day. When I

PAT SHANNON remembers the 1939 Bomb Campaign in Britain

came into the hall the landlady came out from a room off the left.

"Are you looking for someone?" she said.

"It's all right," I said, "I know who I want" and I went to go upstairs. But she went in front of me saying "I'll show you." It never struck me that anything was wrong.

I followed her upstairs but, immediately I put my foot on the top stair, she coughed, doors opened at all angles and I was surrounded by men with drawn guns.

WEAR AN EASTER LILY

Easter Lilies can be had on application from the Sec., Republican Commemoration Committee, c/o An Phoblacht, 2a Lr. Kevin St., Dublin

LETTERS

A Chára—At the last meeting of the Tomas MacCurran Cumann, Corcaigh, of Sinn Féin, it was proposed, seconded and adopted that I write to you on the following subject:

That future issues of "An Phoblacht" should publish a more Socialist policy, on the lines of James Connolly's teachings. Also we think that, for instance, how Barney Casey, Jackie Griffiths and others met their deaths should be serialised.

Trusting this meets with your kind consideration and approval.—Is mise, le meas,

PADRAIC O MURCHADA
Rural.

(From a letter in "Hibernia")

"... I hope it is now clear that Maynooth will no longer provide the 'moral constabulary' of the Establishment, and even if the 'liberals' still outnumber the 'radicals' here, 'Union Jack Lynch' will not benefit—and his Reverend Mothers won't live forever: once again 'Where there is death there is hope.'"

I regretfully, but protectively, sign my self:

'MOUNTJOY',
St. Patrick's College,
Maynooth.

(Name withheld on request.)

I ndilchuimhne

Cumann Sheosaimh Uí Dhonnchadha, Janesboro, is holding a commemoration on March 7th to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the shooting of Volunteer Seosamh Ó Donnchadh by the Black and Tans.

Parade will assemble outside the Church of Our Lady, Queen of Peace, Janesboro, after 12 o'clock Mass. Address by Ruairí Ó Bradagh, President of Sinn Féin.

I had a return ticket in my pocket. This I quickly put into my mouth. They pushed me into the door and tried to force my mouth open with it. But they got nothing out of it.

I knew we were jammed because my two pals from Ormskirk were on their way in.

What could I do to warn them? A plan entered my mind. I was sitting on an armchair, near a window, and I thought: if I can break this window and let the glass fall into the street, a crowd will collect, the two incoming men will know that something is up and they won't enter the house.

No sooner had the plan formed in my mind, than I made a dive for the window. But the Scotland Yard men caught me before I got there. They, of course, thought I was going to jump through the window, and commit suicide but I was not mad enough for that. So I had to stay put and, in due course, my two pals arrived, half an hour between them, walk into the very same trap. Thus, because of the indi-

Uphold that ban!

Like most other features of our way of life physical culture, games, and pastimes, in this country, have become nationally very confused. Foreign games and pastimes constitute a serious source of national disunion, particularly among young people. If we are sincere about our due national recovery, national pastimes must be effectively utilised as part of our National Plan.

National games and pastimes are those which have been developed in association with national characteristics and traditions. Cricket and rugby football, for example, have pronouncedly British associations, baseball in American, and hurling, handball, and Gaelic football are definitely Irish.

Hurling and Gaelic football have been fostered and developed in Ireland for generations: they are, therefore, truly national, and have not been advanced as national games in any other country.

In their own place, games and pastimes are necessary for national well-being. Nations which are strong and vigorous recognise and utilise national games and pastimes for example, national games are for national advantage. In England, recognised as being of supreme importance, it is, in fact, difficult to visualise a country which maintains a high standard of cultural and economic development where games do not play an important part. A people, on the other hand, who are degenerating or weakening in national fibre tend to discard their own characteristics and to laud and imitate those of the foreigner. To assert, as the promoters of foreign games and pastimes in Ireland often do, that one form of athletics or dancing is as good for a people as another, or that an oval ball is as good as a round one, is tantamount to saying that one flag has the same significance as another because they are made from the same kind of cloth. In either case it is not the things themselves that are of national importance but the traditions and associations for which they ordinarily stand. Where foreign games remain shrouded in foreign associations, as they do substantially here, they will certainly help to bring about national disunion and reverse. The playing of foreign games brings with it the reading of particular foreign papers—corroding sources of national and social weakness.

cipline of one man, the whole unit was captured.

When all had been rounded up, we were taken out the back and we were taken in a police van. Our destination was Dale Street Police Station and the reason we were taken through the back was that Scotland Yard expected more men to turn up. They kept the guard on for a few days.

In Dale Street, we were stripped naked and searched. The seams of our clothes were cut and we were questioned for hours on end. My questioner was Inspector Tilly, a really astute man.

In Dale Street I was offered a bribe of £1,000 to betray my organisation, my comrades and my country.

I am sorry to have to say that the man who offered me that was an Irishman from somewhere in

The Easter Ceremonies

Drogheda Corporation, at its February meeting, accepted an invitation from the Easter Commemoration Committee to take part in the town on Sunday, April 11.

The request for their participation came from Mr. Larry Grogan, chairman, who asked for their attendance at Mass in St. Peter's Church and later at a parade to the memorial at Marsh Road. It was agreed to accept the invitation on the proposal of Mr. Peter Moore.

On Easter Sunday the South O'Hanlon Irish Republican Club, New York, are holding their commemoration in the Shieling, 74-05 37 Avenue, Jackson Heights, New York.

Easter Lilies will be distributed. Full night of Irish songs and ballads is arranged. 1916 Proclamation will be read. Drawing for full dinner set (48-piece) of Irish Royal Tara bone china.

Information: Call Frank Hanratty at 424-8859, or John J. Hoey at NR2-0912.

Committee: Owen Farrell, Mattie Nevins, Pat McKeown, William Boland, Harry Quigley, Owen Hanratty.

The club held their last function on Saturday, November 28, 1970. The total profit of 1,102 dollars was sent direct to Mrs. Coyle, McCoole, Carlin.

Caith An Fainne

The promotion of the Irish language and the wearing of An Fainne Nua in the Mullingar area were discussed at a meeting in the Lake County Hotel, Mullingar, recently.

Seamus O Briain, National Organiser for An Fainne Nua, outlined the progress of the language revival and said that there were more than 12,000 people in Co. Westmeath who were reasonably fluent in Irish. "People are shy of using the Irish language and one way of getting rid of this shyness is for those who have a knowledge of Irish to wear 'An Fainne Nua,'" he said.

the south of Ireland
Said he: "My first offer is £1,000. If that isn't enough, say what you want and, on top of that, I'll guarantee you a job and security."

"You know," he said, "you fellows must be mad. A small bunch of you can't beat the British Empire."

My reply was: "Maybe not but we can shake it." The men of Easter Week shook it pretty badly and it's rocking yet."

That didn't give me a bit in due course we were taken to cells for the night. The cell contained a plank and one blanket.

Next day we were taken out for an identification parade and then removed to Walton Prison, where we were kept for a number of days.

There was an identity parade each day while we were there. The next thing that happened was that the British Home Secretary made an order for our deportation back to Ireland. On the boat, the "Daily Express" representative offered money for statements and pictures. We refused. The English jeered on the pier side as we stood to attention and sang Amhrán na bhFiann.

OUR AWARDS

THE AWARDS for 1970 by "An Phoblacht's" panel were decided upon by Messrs. Cumming Motor, Fay Fured and Cahal Kewhar of RTE, chaired by the new Director-General of Bord Fáilte Éireann, Rev. Ian Faslay, assisted by the editor of the magazine, "Liebernia."

Best cartoonist: Jack Lynch. Most honourable public figure: James Gibbons.

Best leader writer: Denis the Meanie, "Irish Independent."

Most militant journalist: Herr Wilhelm Schein, "Irish Independent."

Most accurate paper: "Irish Independent."

Most nationally-minded paper: "Irish Independent."

Most cultured paper: "Irish Independent."

First with news: "Irish Independent."

Less influenced by advertisers: "Irish Independent."

Most nationally-minded personality: Bishop William Philbin.

Star fiction writer: "Irish Press" special correspondent on Republican affairs.

Best strip-teaser: "Evening Press," followed closely by the three papers of the "Independent" group.

1-man-of-the-year: Ray Smith, "Irish Independent."

Most interesting journalist: Terence de Vere White, "Irish Times."

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 subscribe generously. Please do it today. All subscriptions will be acknowledged.

Send to:

An Balaisteoir,
"An Phoblacht,"
2a, Sráid Chaomhain
loch,
Balle Átha Clath, 8.

Tús maith leath na h-oibre.

Will fight 'Internment Camp' plan

ANY ATTEMPT to turn Rathlin Island, six miles off the north Antrim coast, into an internment camp will be fought "tooth and nail," the vice-chairman of the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association warned today.

The Association, said Mr. Frank Gogarty, had received information that military vehicles and personnel had been landed from helicopters on the island and that the British Army was engaged in a survey to assess the possibility of eventually establishing an internment camp there.

"If this is so," he warned, "we will fight the proposal tooth and nail and the plan will be resisted with all the resources at our command."

Mr. Gogarty said that the Association were awaiting a full report from the north Antrim branch on the extent of military activity on the island and the report will be discussed tonight by the Central executive.

"That the peace and quiet on the island of Rathlin should be broken is a measure of the utter disregard the authorities have for their helpless subjects. We shall offer the strongest opposition possible to the planning and siting of camps for this purpose whether on Rathlin or elsewhere," he said.

NOW TIME TO SOLVE IRISH PROBLEM—MP

When a silent House of Commons was informed by Mr. Ian Gilmour, Under-Secretary of State for Defence, of the death of a young British soldier in the Belfast disturbances, Mr. Edward Short, a former Labour Cabinet Minister, asked: "Has not the time come when the redeployment of our troops in Northern Ireland should be reviewed and a radical new initiative taken to solve the whole Irish problem?"

Mr. Short, a Newcastle-on-Tyne member, said the young man's widow was his constituent. He said there was a growing feeling of unease about the situation in Northern Ireland.

Mr. Gilmour replied that the deployment of the troops was constantly under review but a reappraisal politically was not a matter for him.

When Mr. James Kilfedder, MP for North Down, asked the Prime Minister for an assurance that no tri-partite talks between London, Dublin and Belfast would take place on the constitutional position of Northern Ireland without the approval of the Parliament of Northern Ireland, Mr. Heath replied: "No such talks have taken place or are under consideration."

FERMANAGH

A section of the Royal Scots Greys armoured car regiment rushed to the Fermanagh-Monaghan border following reports of machine gun fire and an explosion in the Roslea area of Co. Fermanagh. British troops kept guard on the Roslea Northern customs post which was partly burned down some weeks ago.

Bishops back saxon shilling

About 1,100 Irish people joined the British forces each year, Maj.-Gen. Sir Charles Jones, G.C.B., C.B.E., M.C., national president of the British Legion, said in Dublin.

He was addressing the annual conference of the British Legion Women's Section (Ireland) (Southern) Area. This figure, he said, helped to illustrate the great need to encourage youth into the legion. Sir Charles, who lives in London, was born in Kenmare, Co. Kerry, and went to school in Enniskillen, Co. Fermanagh.

Mrs. E. M. Croft-Foulds,

M.B.E., national chairman of the British Legion Women's Section, said that during the last year all the women's sections in Britain and Ireland had donated £73,000 to the funds.

Mrs. S. McLean, British Legion area chairman in Northern Ireland, said that, as members of the legion in the North, they did not recognise the Border, and she hoped this attitude would continue.

The area awards were presented by Mrs. Peck, wife of the British Ambassador.

TUAIRISC ADUAIDH

By our Northern Correspondents

BELFAST STREETS RENAMED

A number of street names in the New Lodge Road area of Belfast were blotted out by members of the Fergal Cumann of Sinn Féin, and the streets were renamed after the seven signatories of the 1916 Declaration of Independence.

New Lodge Road became Pearse Road; Queen's Parade became McDermott Parade; Duncrain Parade became McDonagh Parade; Ludlow Street became Clarke Street; Pinkerton Walk became Connolly Walk; Bruslee Way became Plunkett Way and Lepper Street became Ceannt Street.

SOLD OUT!

Twenty-eight thousand sold out on 10th February. February issue. Belfast at War went like hot cakes. We are now increasing the figure to 32 thousand copies — so get out and push the sales and send in the cash promptly. We want to reach 50,000 copies before December 12th.

HERE'S THEIR MEMORY

(A tribute to the fallen of Republican Wexford from 1798 to 1958)

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"By the people the people
must be freed.—Lalor.

Mirror, mirror on the wall—

SECURITY forces in Ulster are alarmed about the increasing number of children appearing in the riot "firing lines."

For it was revealed that of the 149 people arrested during four days of bloodshed, 33 were juveniles.

And one 14-year-old boy is believed to have had his hand blown off attempting to lob a grenade at the troops.

Now Special Branch detectives are investigating the role played by Fianna Éireann—the junior wing of the I.R.A.—in the recent riots.

They think that recruiting campaigns in the Roman Catholic areas of Belfast have swelled the ranks of the junior "Army."

The children regard themselves as the "young soldiers of Ireland"—the literal translation of their title.

And the "terrorists in short trousers," are often used to start assaults of the troops which are designed to lead to full-scale battles.

One soldier said: "The kids look pretty harmless until they start singing things — then they're just as dangerous as adults."

'OMINOUS' POWER OF A GROUP

The Financial Times says the ability of a small group of men to bring out limited numbers of ordinary citizens — men, women and even children — in opposition to the British forces in Belfast is "ominous."

"A danger is that extremist violence will tempt the British authorities into a more indiscriminate use of force themselves."

Join the Professionals

5000
UNEMPLOYED
IS THIS THE
TORIES ANSWER?
IRISHMEN
COERCED
TO JOIN
THE MURDERING
BRITISH ARMY

Extraordinary Statement

"Military reports of incidents in which the British Army has been involved are constantly being called into question by eye-witnesses," says the Central Citizens' Defence Committee in a statement issued recently.

"However, the British Army Press Officer excelled himself. In the words of an RTE spokesman he issued a 'strong statement' denying that there had been any incident involving the Tricolour at the funeral of Bernard Watt. But, as Mr. Harold Wilson once said, 'we now have British television and don't need your reports.' And millions of people saw on BBC tele-

vision the flag being carried off when the funeral was interfered with.

"This incident serves to illustrate how much credence can be given to British Army information releases. Their extraordinary statements about the circumstances in which Watt and Saunders died are now put in their proper perspective. Why did they shoot Watt? Did they shoot Saunders? And was the scout car really doing 5 mph?

"Apparently they feel they can fool all of the people all of the time."

—From Irish News, Belfast.

FIANNA FÁIL



41st ÁRD-FHEIS

February 19th.
to 21st. 1971

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● SEÁN RUSSELL: 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 which we 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, Dublin.

1.—"UNAUTHORISED MURDERS"

(The following list of 113 murders does not include the name of any soldier killed in action, nor that of any prisoner murdered in jail or who died as a result of prison ill-treatment.)

COMDT. H. BOLAND, T.D. — Shot in hotel in Skerries, Co. Dublin, and died of wounds on August 1, 1922.
VOL. JOSEPH HUDSON—Murdered on August 10, 1922 (Glasthule, Co. Dublin).
VOL. H. BRAZIER, Limerick — Murdered on August 25, 1922, after arrest.
VICE-BRIG. ALFRED COLLEY and COMDT. SEAN COLE, Dublin Fianna Éireann — Murdered after arrest on August 26, 1922, in Co. Dublin.
LIEUT. BERNARD DALY, I.R.A. — Murdered after arrest on August 26, 1922, in Co. Dublin.
VOL. MORIARTY—Dragged from bed and murdered at Tralee, August 26, 1922.
CAPT. M. DANEFORD, Limerick — Murdered after arrest on August 29, 1922.
VOL. LEO MURRAY and VOL. RODNEY MURPHY—Murdered in house in Co. Dublin on September 1, 1922.
JEREMIAH CASEY — Found shot dead near village of Beaufort.
THOMAS GOUGH (Beltra).
THOMAS PRENDIVILLE (Castleisland).
VOL. FLYNN (Curraheen, Co. Kerry).
VOL. J. J. STEPHENS — Taken from home and mortally wounded on September 3, 1922 (Co. Dublin).
CAPT. T. KENEFFICK—Murdered after arrest at Macroom on September 8, 1922.
VOL. SEAN MEVOY—Murdered after arrest in streets of Dublin on September 12, 1922.
COMDT. PATRICK MANNION—Murdered after arrests in streets of Dublin on September 16, 1922.
VOL. HANLY—Murdered at Ballinard, Co. Tipperary, on September 18, 1922. He was wounded in action and captured.

BRIG.-GEN. SEAMUS DEVINS, T.D.; COL.-COMDT. BRIAN MacNEILL, CAPT. J. BANKS, CAPT. CARROLL, CAPT. H. BENSON, VOL. THOMAS LANGAN — Murdered in Co. Sligo on September 20, 1922, after surrender.
VOL. JOHN GALVIN — Murdered at Killorglin, September 20, 1922.
VOL. MICHAEL NEVILLE—Taken from work and murdered at Killester, Dublin, on September 23, 1922.
VOL. JOHN LOHAN—Murdered on September 24, 1922, in Co. Galway, during raid on house.
VOL. HERBERT MURPHY — Murdered in Co. Kerry on September 27, 1922.
COMDT. SEAN O'DONOGHUE — Murdered in Cork on September 28, 1922.
EDWIN HUGHES, BRENDAN HOLOHAN, JOSEPH ROGERS (members of Dublin Fianna Éireann) — Murdered after arrest in Dublin on October 7, 1922.
VOL. BERNARD BRANNIGAN—Murdered on October 8, 1922.
VOL. PATRICK PEARSE, VOL. D. O'SULLIVAN, VOL. HAYES — Murdered at Upton, Co. Cork, on October 5, 1922.
VOL. PATRICK MULCHRONE — Murdered at Broaghagh, Co. Mayo, on November 1, 1922.
COMDT. MICHAEL SADLER, Marlhill, Co. Tipperary, November 3, 1922.
LIEUT. JAMES SPAIN—Murdered after arrest in Dublin on November 5. He was wounded in action, pursued and killed.
VICE-COMDT. CHRISTOPHER McKEON — Murdered in Moate, Co. Westmeath, on November 5, 1922.
HUGH GALLAGHER, I.R.A. — Murdered on November 11, 1922.
HUGH O'DONNELL, I.R.A.—Murdered at Kilfinane, in December, 1922.
WILLIAM HARRINGTON, I.R.A.—Murdered in Tralee, Co. Kerry, on December 8, 1922.
VOL. CASEY — Murdered after action at Clondrohid, near Macroom, Co. Cork, on December 4, 1922.
VOL. FRANK LALOR — Taken from home in Dublin and murdered on December 29, 1922.
COMDT. THOMAS FLANNERY — Mortally wounded at Ballaghaderreen, Co. Mayo, on January 2, 1923.
VOL. EUGENE FITZGERALD—Murdered while a prisoner at Ardfert, Co. Kerry, on January 16, 1923.
SEC.-COM. W. GRAHAM—Murdered in Leeson Street, Dublin, November 25, 1922.
VOL. HUGH O'DONNELL, Dundalk, December 28, 1922.
VOL. MURPHY, Knocknagoshel.
VOL. HEALY, Co. Kerry.
COMDT. GEN. RICHARD BIRTLES, Ballymore, Co. Westmeath, January 23, 1923.
VOL. DANIEL DALY, engine driver, Tralee, January 23, 1923.
VOL. THOMAS WALSH and VOL. MICHAEL MALONEY—Shot by "Free State" soldiers at Poleberry on February 9, 1923.
VICE-BRIG. H. BREHENY, Co. Sligo, February 16, 1923.
VOL. MICHAEL SYNOTT, Tralee, February, 1923.
VOL. JAMES O'CONNOR, Tralee, February, 1923.
VOL. JEREMIAH O'DONOHUE, Killarney, March 6-7, 1923.
VOL. DANIEL DONOHUE, Killarney, March 6-7, 1923.
VOL. STEPHEN BUCKLEY, Killarney, March 6-7, 1923.
VOL. TIM MURPHY, Killarney, March 6-7, 1923.
VOL. JOHN DALY, Ballyseedy, March 6-7, 1923.
VOL. PATRICK BUCKLEY, Ballyseedy, March 6-7, 1923.
VOL. PATRICK HARTNET, Ballyseedy, March 6-7, 1923.
VOL. JAMES WALSH, Ballyseedy, March 6-7, 1923.
VOL. GEORGE SHEA, Ballyseedy, March 6-7, 1923.
VOL. T. TWOMEY, Ballyseedy, March 6-7, 1923.
VOL. T. O'CONNOR, Ballyseedy, March 6-7, 1923.
VOL. MICHAEL O'CONNELL, Ballyseedy, March 6-7, 1923.
VOL. JAMES TAYLOR—Murdered at Ballyseedy, March 8, 1923.

Last Letter from Liam Mellows

LIAM MELLOWES was executed in Mountjoy Jail, Dublin, on December 8, 1922. He, and three other Republican leaders, were informed of the Free State cabinet's decision to execute them at 3.30 a.m. on that morning.

During the remaining hours of his life, Liam wrote to his mother. The following are some interesting extracts from his letter:

"The time is short, and much that I would like to say must go unsaid. But you will understand; in such moments heart speaks to heart. At 3.30 this morning, we (Dick Barrett, Rory O'Connor, Joe McKelvey and I) were informed that we were to be executed as a reprisal. Welcome be the Will of God, for Ireland is in His keeping, despite foreign monarchs and treaties. We die for Ireland, for the Republic, for the glorious cause that has been sanctified by the blood of countless martyrs throughout the ages—the cause of human liberty. The Republic stands for truth and honour, for all that is best and noblest in our race. By truth and honour, by principle and sacrifice alone will Ireland be free. That this is so, that this is immutable, I am prepared to stake all my hopes of the hereafter."

"Ireland must tread the path Our Redeemer trod. She may shrink but her faltering feet will find the road again. For that road is plain and broad and straight; its signposts are unmistakable. It is the road on which Tone, Emmet, Mitchel, the Fenians Tom Clarke, Pearse, Connolly, Kevin Barry, MacSwiney, Cathal Brugha and Erskine Childers are the guides. My last thought will be on God and Ireland and you. Let no thought of revenge or reprisals animate Republicans because of our deaths. We die for the Truth. Vindication will come, the mists will be cleared away, and brothers in blood will, before long, be brothers once more in arms against the oppressors of our country. The Republic lives; our death makes that a certainty. Go to Mrs. Pearse, she will comfort you."

McKelvey's

Flag: '22

Watt's

Flag: '71

The following is the Editorial from "Sinn Féin," November 8, 1924:—

The funerals of our martyred Republican soldiers assumed, not only in Dublin but throughout the country, all the dignity, and by reason of the magnitude of the crowds, both watching and marching, all the impressiveness of a great national demonstration.

That the enemies of the nation felt the full force of this expression of public opinion upon their own deeds and upon the greatness of their victims is proved by their conduct. At Glasnevin and at several other graveyards they demonstrated their "frightfulness." One man, a Republican, Mr. Hughes, was shot by them and has since died.

In Belfast the Flag was removed from the coffin of Joe McKelvey. Thus the Orange forces and the Free State forces distinguished themselves from every civilised army in the world. To honour the dead of the opposing forces has always been the characteristic of a civilised army.

Torture, Burning Made Partition Respectable

VOL. EUGENE DWYER, VOL. TOM O'SULLIVAN, VOL. WILLIAM REARDON, VOL. MICHAEL CURNANE, VOL. NAGLE, VOL. DANIEL O'SHEA, VOL. MCCARTHY—Murdered in Co. Kerry, March, 1923; JOHN SUGRUE—Murdered at Killarney, March, 1923.

CAP. FRANK O'GRADY—Murdered after arrest by "Free State" officer at Killarney, March 11, 1923.

VOL. STETSON, Charlestown, Co. Mayo, March 15.

JOHN KEVINS, Brigade Police Officer—Murdered at Beauford by "Free State" officer, March 15, 1923.

JOHN MURPHY, Tullywood, Athlone, March 19. CAPT. THOMAS O'LEARY, Rathmines, March 23, 1923.

CAPT. NICHOLAS CORCORAN, Ballina, March 24, 1923.

COMDT. ROBERT BONFIELD—Murdered after arrest by C.I.D. at Clondalkin, March 29, 1923.

CHRISTOPHER BRESLIN and JOSEPH KIERNAN—Murdered after arrest at Cabra, April 3, 1923.

VOL. CONWAY, Tralee Workhouse.

VOL. SAVAGE, Castleisland.

JEROME LYONS, Clonmel, April 4, 1923.

MISS MARGARET DUGGAN—Shot by "Free State" Officer at Adrigole on April 8, 1923.

VOL. MARTIN MOLONEY, Inagh, Co. Clare, April 9, 1923.

VOL. MACKAY, at Tullow, May 25, 1923.

VOL. JAMES TIERNEY, Dublin—Shot by C.I.D., 1923.

VOL. MAGRATH, Slievenamon, April 27, 1923.

JAMES WALSH, Carrow—An unarmed hostage taken by "Free State" men; murdered in a field at Mountgalney, April 27, 1923.

CAPTAIN MARTIN HOGAN—Murdered after arrest in Drumcondra, April 29, 1923.

VOL. JEREMIAH O'LEARY—Murdered after arrest at Castleisland, May 29, 1923.

VOL. JOHN KINNANE, Trienegrath, Listowel, May, 1923.

JOE GORMAN—Shot by "Free State" Brigadier at Clonaheen while going to Mass on May 8, 1923.

CAPT. MICHAEL RADFORD, in Co. Wexford, June 22.

STAFF CAPT. JOE HEALY—Murdered by "Free State" soldiers at Ballina, June 5, 1923.

JOHN CLOONROWE—Killed by volley fired through window by "Free State" soldiers at Kilkilly.

MISS O'FLAHERTY—Shot by "Free State" soldiers at Spiddal, July 26, 1923.

HENRY McENTEE—Murdered at Finglas, Dublin, August 3, 1923.

CAPT. NOEL LEMASS—Seized in Dublin, tortured, mutilated and murdered, and his dead body hidden in the Dublin Mountains, where it lay for months until it was discovered on 12th October, 1923.

CAPT. DENIS HAYES—Murdered near Nenagh, May 18, 1923.

MICHAEL GREERY, Mullingar, March 13, 1923.

LUKE BURKE, Mullingar, March 13, 1923.

JOHN FLEMING, Tralee, March 23, 1923.

JOHN EDWARDS—Murdered in Kilkenny Jail, June, 1923.

II—"AUTHORISED MURDERS"

1922

JAMES FISHER, Kilmainham, November 17.
PETER CASIDY, Kilmainham, November 17.
RICHARD TWOHIG, Kilmainham, November 17.
JOHN GAFFNEY, Kilmainham, November 17.
ERSKINE CHILDERS, Beggar's Bush, November 24.

JOSEPH SPOONER, Dublin, November 30.
PATRICK FARRELLY, Dublin, November 30.
JOHN MURPHY, Dublin, November 30.
RORY O'CONNOR, Mountjoy, December 8.
LIAM MELLOWS, Mountjoy, December 8.
JOSEPH MCKELVEY, Mountjoy, December 8.

BOBY O'CONNOR.



LIAM MELLOWS.



RICHARD BARRETT.

"Executed at Mountjoy Jail, December 8, 1922."—R.I.P.

JOSEPH M'KELVEY.



RICHARD BARRETT, Mountjoy, December 8.
STEPHEN WHITE, Dublin, December 19.
JOSEPH JOHNSTON, Dublin, December 19.
PATRICK MANGAN, Dublin, December 19.
PATRICK NOLAN, Dublin, December 19.
BRIAN MOORE, Dublin, December 19.
JAMES O'CONNOR, Dublin, December 19.
PATRICK BAGNEL, Dublin, December 19.
JOHN PHELAN, Kilkenny, December 29.
JOHN MURPHY, Kilkenny, December 29.

1923

LEO DOWLING, Portobello, January 8.
SYLVESTER HEANEY, Portobello, January 8.
LAURENCE SHEEHY, Portobello, January 8.
ANTHONY O'REILLY, Portobello, January 8.
TERENCE BRADY, Portobello, January 8.
THOMAS MCKEOWN, Dundalk, January 13.
JOHN McNULTY, Dundalk, January 13.
THOMAS MURRAY, Dundalk, January 13.
FREDERICK BURKE, Roscrea, January 15.
PATRICK RUSSELL, Roscrea, January 15.
MARTIN O'SHEA, Roscrea, January 15.
PATRICK McNAMARA, Roscrea, January 15.
JAMES LILLIS, Carlow, January 15.
JAMES DALY, Tralee, January 20.
JOHN CLIFFORD, Tralee, January 20.
MICHAEL BROSNAN, Tralee, January 20.
JAMES HANLON, Tralee, January 20.
CORNELIUS McMAHON, Limerick, January 20.
THOMAS HUGHES, Athlone, January 20.
MICHAEL WALSH, Athlone, January 20.

HERBERT COLLINS, Athlone, January 20.
STEPHEN JOYCE, Athlone, January 20.
MARTIN BOURKE, Athlone, January 20.
JAMES MELIA, Dundalk, January 22.
THOMAS LENNON, Dundalk, January 22.
JOSEPH FERGUSON, Dundalk, January 22.
MICHAEL FITZGERALD, Waterford, January 25.
PATRICK O'REILLY, Waterford, January 25.
PATRICK CUNNINGHAM, Birr, Offaly, January 26.
WILLIAM CONROY, Birr, Offaly, January 26.
COLUM KELLY, Birr, Offaly, January 26.
PATRICK GERAGHTY, Portlaoighise, January 27.
JOSEPH BYRNE, Portlaoighise, January 27.
THOMAS GIBSON, Portlaoighise, February 26.
JAMES O'ROURKE, Dublin, March 13.
WILLIAM HEALY, Cork, March 13.
JAMES PARLE, Wexford, March 13.
PATRICK HOGAN, Wexford, March 13.
JOHN CREANE, Wexford, March 13.
SEAN LARKIN, Drumboe, Donegal, March 14.
TIMOTHY O'SULLIVAN, Drumboe, March 14.
DANIEL ENRIGHT, Drumboe, March 14.
CHARLES DALY, Drumboe, March 14.
JAMES O'MALLEY, Tuam, April 11.
FRANCIS CUNNANE, Tuam, April 11.
MICHAEL MONAGHAN, Tuam, April 11.
JOHN NEWELL, Tuam, April 11.
JOHN McGuire, Tuam, April 11.
MARTIN MOYLAN, Tuam, April 11.
RICHARD HATHEWAY, Tralee, April 25.
JAMES McENERY, Tralee, April 25.

(Continued on page 10)

The Central Bank report . . .

THE CENTRAL BANK, the employers and their servants, the politicians in power, would like to beat the workers into submission with the C.B. report which emphasised that Irish products are becoming less competitive abroad.

Trade unionists should be on their guard and see that the people are kept informed of the real situation.

Our Economics Correspondent comments: The people running this country, north and south, would like to place the entire blame for all this on the workers in yet another attempt to brain-wash and cow them into accepting anti-worker legislation; but even the Central Bank, with all the facilities at its disposal, cannot conceal the truth.

Ireland's present economic troubles, north and south, are the result of neo-imperialism, of economic poaching by our powerful neighbour, in the main through the so-called "free trade" agreement — so-called because of the unreality of talking about free trade between the exploiter and the exploited.

Ireland is still an undeveloped country, despite all we hear about the "new prosperity" and "affluent society."

There certainly is a "new prosperity" for the entrepreneur

but it has come at the expense of the emigrant, of the small farmer and of the urban worker, skilled and unskilled; and the wages or earnings as well as the savings of all these people are being plundered by inflation.

One of the more obvious reasons for inflation is the refusal of the boss to give the worker a real increase (he "passes" the increase along the line, often increasing his own profit margin in the process).

FAULTY SYSTEM

Another reason is the dumping of foreign consumer goods on the goods are not by any means essential — and the use of high-powered advertising to break down the commonsense of consumers and thus increase sales.

The main reason is the inability of the capitalist system to bring stability.

The industrialisation which began in the 30s in the 26 Counties under Fianna Fáil in far too many cases did not make economic commonsense, except in the short-term: it was designed primarily to make a "fast buck" for Fianna Fáil's friends and supporters.

It did not make economic commonsense because, all to often, it was only part of an industry, the main part of that industry remaining abroad.

Thus those mockeries of industrialisation, the plants, which merely packed foreign products in Ireland, to get behind tariff barriers. Thus those factories which carried out the first process on an Irish raw material — as with seaweed — and then exported it (in latter years exactly the same thing is happening with our minerals). And thus those plants which produce only one product when, by their nature, to make economic commonsense, by-products should be processed by sub-industries at home: the oil refinery is an obvious example; sub-industries were ruled out (manufacture of detergents, for example) because of vested interests, alien vested interests, most of them.

STATE EFFORT

Generally, it was only when the Dublin Government intervened directly, through a semi-state company, that worthwhile industrialisation took place, as in the case of the E.S.B., Bord na Móna, Aer Lingus, Irish Shipping Ltd., and such like.

Vested interests, home and foreign, were too powerful, however, for this realistic policy to be extended to the extent of its logic; and even some of these industries, built with the people's money, afterwards were turned over to the bourgeoisie in the form of stocks and shares, thus substituting the original service to the community with profit for a few.

Another great wave of emigration is ahead of us unless there is a very sudden political and economic turnaround. Ruin is staring the entire Irish community in the face; and the ruin will be all the greater if the mass of the people continues to allow itself to be deluded by the chancers at the top; and their only interest is to keep one hand on our throats and the other in our pockets.

Will the people stand idly by while the hand on our throat tightens, in the form of anti-worker legislation, internment without trial, a steady paring away of the right to protest?

Will the people stand idly by while the final deal in the imperialist process takes place and we are sold to the Continental chancers in the Common Market?

THREE-CARD TRICK

The Irish people are a quiet people, slow to anger. They are a patient, tolerant people, willing to give the benefit of the doubt; but the time has come when they must

Left: Girl refugees (above, 1921, below, 1969). Must this terror continue for another 50 years?



rise up or be wiped out effectively than the Anglo-Irish and Gypsy underclass. Our ancestors during the 20 years for if the Common Market card tricksters who become little more than a phic description; the will be scattered over Europe; and those taken at home by the German, English, Italian, Market and the trade "pac"? By joining the Movement. By forming a bureau. By getting papers, radio, television, and other goods. By demanding. By complaining. By one that we put Irish of jobs every week. foreign article when it is available. If certain Irish are not available. By available down just a foreign article. Refuse the Irish manufacturer.

50 years of Pax



to your shop steward, organiser, cumann secretary, to the local chamber of commerce, to anyone who may be expected to help in some way in the economic resistance movement.

If all other methods fail more violent remedies may be needed: the damaging of stores that refuse to stock Irish goods, even the pulling out into the streets and the burning of dumped, foreign material.

The people must rise up and fight. It may very well be too late to wait for the referendum and vote against Common Market entry. We must fight NOW to keep Irish workers in employment and to increase the sales of Irish goods. Beginning right now. Already it is almost too late. Tomorrow will be far too late.

The Republican fight covers all fronts, cultural, economic, political, military. It will be only by a sustained fight on all fronts that the people will win and save themselves. Nobody but the people can save themselves; the politicians are interested only in feathering their own nests.

RIGHT: Houses burnt out in Belfast in 1921.

BELOW: Houses burnt out in Belfast in 1969.



terror under x Britannica



GOLF GRANTS

Grants totalling more than £320,000 have been given to 22 golf clubs throughout the country, it was disclosed at Question Time in the Dail.

The Minister for Transport and Power, Mr. Lenihan, had been asked by Mr. J. Tully (Lab.), the number of golf clubs which had been given grants or loans by Bord Failte in the past 10 years.

Mr. Lenihan said he had been informed by Bord Failte that the Bord had not given any loans to golf clubs. The following received grants:

Skerries £12,000; Portmarnock £2,726; Royal Dublin £46; Tramore £37,647; Killarney £121,198; Ballyferrier £1,561; Dooks £5,000; Tralee £42; Ballyunioin £3,752; Waterville £50; Kilkee £7,966.

Lahinch £17,130; Galway £14,057; Westport £49,378; Bundoran £3,000; Greencastle £4,236; Donegal £2,700; Narin/Portnoo £6,500; Letterkenny £13,919; Rosses Point £1,000; Athlone £11,535 and Buncrana £9,465.

unit provided at the Central Mental Hospital for the treatment of patients totally inadequate, but it was the wrong place to have such a service sited.

COMPARISON

Pensions guaranteed to ex-Free State Ministers Haughey, Blaney and Boland, £1,575 per annum, the Department of Social Welfare grants the 47,000 old-age pensioners they will not have to pay turnover tax on the first 100 units and fixed charges on their electricity bills.

MINERALS

The minerals of Ireland for the People of Ireland. From our investments for a capital expenditure of £25,000,000 can draw back profits of between £250 and £300 millions then again the minerals of Ireland for the people of Ireland.

CHEAP FUEL

It is only during the cold weather that one hears the numerous complaints and grouses from the old-age pensioners, the invalids, the blind and all those people, many of them over 70 years of age, who are expected by the powers that be to go down to the free fuel yard with their free voucher and load up 10 stone of fuel in a wet sack and carry it back to their destination and then up a possible four or six flights of stairs to their rooms in the tenement houses of Dublin. What good is free fuel without free delivery?

DRUGS IN DUBLIN

It was disclosed at Dublin Council of Trade Unions' meeting that there were 148 drug addicts attending the day clinic at Jervis St. Hospital.

Councillor J. Connolly said he was very disappointed at the lack of interest displayed in the problem by Dublin Health Authority. At present, the Drug Squad was over-worked and the whole trade union movement would have to show that it was behind the drive to help these sick children. Not only was the 12-bed

Aid demand from South

"I wonder if the people of Munster want us to be a part of a free Ireland at all," said Maire Drumm, Belfast, a member of the Sinn Féin Ardchomhairle, speaking at a regional conference in Limerick on February 7 last. "We need a lot more assistance than we are getting from the south if we are to survive, much less obtain our freedom," continued Mrs. Drumm, who called for moral, financial and physical support for the people of Belfast in their struggle against British occupation forces.

The Conference, which was presided over by Padraig O Maolcathaigh, Limerick, was attended by over a hundred delegates from Clare, Cork, Kerry, Tipperary and Limerick.

Ruairi O Bradaiigh, Uachtarán Sinn Féin, who also addressed the delegates, said that from the great re-awakening in British-occupied Ireland, would come the forces which would transform the entire country and bring about the democratic socialist Republic, envisaged by the men of 1916.

"The solution of the problem," he said, "was not in entering into the EEC but lay with the Irish people, north and south taking possession of their own country and its resources and building a state structure and a new economic system, which would be national, Gaelic and Christian."

Dailhi O Conaill, of Donegal, secretary of the North-West Republican executive, referred to the fact that Maj.-Gen. Farnar Hockley had gone on Television in Belfast and named five men as alleged leaders of the IRA in that city. "We view the naming as being for the purpose of setting them up to be murdered by the Unionist Government's murdering squad, the UVF," he said. O Conaill also stated that an attempt had been made on the life of one of the five named already and that it was only by sheer chance that he is alive today.

O Conaill repudiated the claim to the name IRA by those who recognise the Westminster, Stormont and Leinster House Parliaments. "There is only one IRA," stated O Conaill, "and its objective is the provision of defensive measures for the people of the Six Counties and ultimately the establishment of a democratic Socialist Republic based on the Proclamation of 1916."

"There are others," he said, who call themselves Oglagh na hEireann, Irish Republican Army, using that honoured name to win seats for themselves in British and partitioned assemblies, and to get pensions.

Caomhin Campbell, who spoke on "Our Economics," referred to Ireland's ancient prosperity and self-sufficiency in the pre-Danish era. "Prosperity and natural self-sufficiency can be ours once more," said Caomhin. "Our concept of freedom," he continued, is not merely the expulsion of the foreign invader. The nature of the connection with England goes much deeper than simply physical occupation. It is therefore necessary to resist the force of the connection in whatever way it appears, to broaden the scope of the national movement to include a conscious, organised economic resistance to the laws of Imperialist economics which are the root causes of Ireland's depopulation and impoverishment."

"The weapons of the Economic Resistance Movement will be the co-operative and the trade union," he stated.

U. O Loingsigh spoke on organisation and gave details of the future plans of Sinn Féin, stating that the principal task of the movement was to organise itself to rid the country of British occupation, and to put into effect our social and economic programme

for full national prosperity.

Tony Ruane detailed plans for fund raising and appealed to all present to play their part in putting the movement on a sound financial footing. He also appealed for their continued support for Cumann Cabhrach.

Other speakers included M. Ni Bhaoil, who spoke on the importance of "An Phoblacht" and appealed for support for the publicity fund.

Concluding the meeting, Padraig O Maolcathaigh thanked the speakers and assured the people of the north of the support of Munster Republicans in the coming struggle for full independence.

Stat agus coras dachasach uainn

—Ó BRADAIGH

"An rógfa fad-téarmaigh atá ag muintir na hEireann seachas an Cómhargadh ná Poblacht Daonlathach Sóisialach don tír ar fad a chur ag feidhmiú anseo in Éirinn," arsa Uachtarán Sinn Féin, Ruairi Ó Brádaigh agus é ina Cathaoirleach ar dhiospóireacht. "Gur Ráiméis bheith ag trácht ar Phoblacht Sóisialach" ag an gCumann Gaelach i gColáiste na hOllscoile, Baile Átha Cliath.

Mar náisiún táimid ag an gcrobbthar athuair. Tá buailte ar stát na 26 Chontae, ar an 'stepping stone to freedom' a bunaíodh i 1922. Níor éirigh linn éalú ariamh ó ghheimhriúilachas na Breataine.

"Nua-chóilín atá againn le 50 bliain anuas. Agus tá teipithe airgid fú annáin. Admhaíodh an méid sin nuair a síníodh an Conradh Saorthrádála leis an mBreatain i 1965. Le greim Shasana a bhriseadh anois ní mór dul isteach san E.E.C. deirtear linn—an sclábhocht nua in áit na seachlábhachta.

"Ach tá an tarna sú a bhualle againn—Poblacht sóisialach a bheadh bunaithe ar chomhártaíocht nó Comhar na gComharán mar a tugtar air i nGluaiseacht na Poblachta.

"Shábhalfadh sé seo muid ó chaitéilachas na Breataine, Mheiriceá agus an E.E.C. ar taobh amháin—agus ó imphírúilachas na Sóibhéide nó, nór chóras atá gaolmhar leis ar an taobh eile.

"Muintir na hEireann thuaidh agus theas le dul i gciann seilbh a ghlacadh ar a dtír féin agus a mbaineann léi; stát agus córas nua atá dúchasach, Gaelach agus Críostail a thógáil, an réiteach.

"An spiorad náisiúnta agus an coinsias sóisialta a mhúscailt athuair agus na daoine a cagru chuige sin an bealach. Tá fús curtha leis seo cheana féin sa Tuaisceart. Ar na 26 Chontae a thíosas na fórsaí a dhéanfas an tír seo a athrú ó bhun go barr agus a thabharfas an Phoblacht Daonlathach Sóisialach chun bua —aisiúir na Cársa arís bunaithe ar chearta an duine, the rights of man in Ireland."

D. MacGiolla Phdraig

BOOKSELLER AND STATIONER

12 Cathedral Street, Dublin 1

FROM THE "MORNING POST," DECEMBER, 1919

"The Sinn Féin frame of mind is as open as a book to anyone who can read. The leaders are absolutely uncompromising. In a sense this is the most honest movement of the kind the country has experienced. It says what it means, and it sticks to it."

The "Morning Post" of 1919 summed up the situation well. It was then acknowledged that Sinn Féin was the only movement capable of leading the Irish people to victory. What was true in 1919 is equally true today.



DROICHEAD ATHA



Don't forget the Prisoners

WHERE THEY ARE HELD

175277 — Barry Bruton, Bristol Prison, Bristol. J. G. McBrinn, Prison unknown, probably Wandsworth. J. A. Roache, Brixton Prison, London S.W. 2, awaiting trial. Alex McLaverty, Winson Green Prison, Birmingham. Richard McLaverty, Winson Green Prison, Birmingham.

071633 — Patrick O'Sullivan, Wormwood Scrubbs Prison, London, S.W.12.

047995 — Eamonn Smullen, Gartree Prison, Leicestershire.

071632 — Conor Lynch, Wakefield Prison, Yorkshire.

047993 — Gerry Doherty, Wakefield Prison. Alan McLivain, Brixton Prison, Bristol.

085582 — Brendan Magill, Brixton Prison, London S.W.2, awaiting trial.

085584 — James Monaghan, Brixton, awaiting trial.

087583 — Seamus McGarrigle, Brixton, awaiting trial.

087585 — Frank Sheridan, Brixton, awaiting trial. James McFadden, Prison unknown, probably Wandsworth. Also Frank Keane, Brixton Prison. Awaiting deportation.

£21m. SUBSCRIBED IN NEW NATIONAL LOAN

Final figure for the amount subscribed in the recent national loan was put at £21,100,000 by the Minister for Finance, Mr. Colley.

Of the total figure £6.5 million was invested in the 8 per cent Exchequer stock, 1972; £4.5 million in the 8 per cent Conversion Stock, 1976; and £10.1 million in the 9 per cent National Loan.

WEAR
AN
EASTER
LILY

Easter Lilies can be had on application from the Sec., Republican Commemoration Committee, c/o An Phoblacht, 2a Lr. Kevin St., Dublin

SINN FEIN. 2A LR. KEVIN STREET, DUBLIN 8

ARD COMHAIRLE FINANCE COMMITTEE

RE: NATIONAL PLAN GIVING (QUARTERLY)

A Chara—As a result of a resolution passed at the Ard Fheis, the above scheme, which is explained hereunder, is to be put into effect in your area.

The responsibility for the implementation at local level rests with the Officer Board of each Cumann. Every member is expected to play his or her part.

1. Each member to distribute and collect five envelopes.
2. Envelopes and cash to be returned to Cumann Treasurer.
3. Gross collection along with slips from envelopes to be sent direct to the above address.

JOE CLARKE, Treasurer.

Well done, Sinn Fein

HUNGER STRIKES IN PROTEST FROM BELFAST TO
TRALEE

The recently-organised 24-hour token hunger strike was most successfully carried out at various centres throughout the thirty-two counties on January 30/31. This action was taken to protest against the Special Powers Act, the Offences Against the State Act, threatened internment north and south, and to demand the release of all Republican prisoners in British and Irish jails.

This protest was carried out with the utmost dignity and received favourable comment from the public generally. Many inquiries were made by passers-by regarding the reasons for the hunger strike and in some areas new members were recruited for Sinn Féin and other branches of the Republican Movement.

Substantial collections were taken up for An Cumann Cabhrach and on behalf of the hunger strikers. We wish to thank the members of the public who subscribed so generously.

Two incidents occurred. In Enniskillen a group of Paisleyites attacked the hunger strikers and in Roscommon Gardai seized collection boxes.

BELFAST

Despite unsettled conditions in Belfast and continued harassment and intimidation of Republicans, fifty people, including many teenage girls, carried out the protest outside Casement Park. Subscriptions from people going into the park were exceptionally high.

Protests were held in five other centres in Belfast. Due to the pressures that exist in this city reports are not easily available.

ROSCOMMON

Four members of Sinn Féin, including Uachtarán Ruairí O Bradaigh, completed the 24-hour fast in Roscommon and a further twelve members took up a Cumann Cabhrach collection. A public address system relayed rebel songs, etc., from a caravan festooned with slogans. Leaflets were distributed and "An Phoblacht" was sold. Over £100 was collected for the Prisoners' Dependents.

CLONMEL

Six Sinn Féin members carried out the hunger strike in Clonmel. During their 24-hour fast they were approached and complimented by the mayor on their devotion to their cause but he disagreed with their action in taking up a collection without first seeking a permit.

Speaking at noon Mass at the Franciscan Friary, Clonmel, Rev. Fr. Oscar, O.F.M., having alluded to the Epistle of the day, in which St. Paul eulogises charity, spoke of the six men who had spent the last 24 hours on hunger strike on the pavement in O'Connell Street. He said that whether one agreed with them or not, they had shown an example of loyalty to one another and loyalty was akin to love.

TRALEE

Here eight people went on hunger strike and twenty-two others took up a collection amounting to over £60.

ENNISKILLEN

Here the People's Democracy co-operated with the local Sinn Féin members in organising the protest. On Saturday evening a large group of Paisleyites attacked the hunger strikers and seized the Starry Plough flag, the property of the People's Democracy. The flag was offered to the police who declined to accept it, after which its capturers marched with it in procession to the Depot, where they handed it in. Its owners later demanded it back.

DUBLIN

In Dublin city a large tent was placed on the site where the infamous Nelson's Pillar once stood. Here four Republicans fasted while others helped with collections which were very well supported. Leaflets were distributed and "An Phoblacht" was sold. A public address system relayed Irish music, ballads, etc., and during the course of the day the reasons for the hunger strike were given.

The protest attracted much attention from passers-by. There were hundreds of callers including many French visitors who were here for the International Rugby match.

DUN LAOGHAIRE

Three members of the Sean Treacy Sinn Féin cumann, Seosaimh O Nuallain, Sean O Bradaigh and Caoimhín Mac Cionnaith, positioned themselves outside St. Michael's Church and displayed a large number of very effective posters. Booklets were sold and also "An Phoblacht." A collection was taken up for the Prisoners' Dependents.

DROGHEDA

In Drogheda veteran Republican, Larry Grogan, joined by Larry MacDonald and Joe Coombes, carried out the protest. Larry Grogan has been interned on four occasions—the first occasion on an order signed by British Home Secretary, Hamar Greenwood, in 1921. Larry was interned a second time on an order signed by Dick Mulcahy in 1922; a third time on an order signed by Jerry Boland in 1940, and a fourth time on an order signed by Fianna Fáil Minister for Justice, Oscar Traynor, in 1957.

OTHER CENTRES

Other centres which carried out the hunger strike protest include Balhybefey, Sligo, Tullamore, Mullingar, Carrick-on-Shannon, Monaghan, Dungannon, Derry, Newry, Nenagh, Cork, Limerick, Dundalk, and Galway.

The men and women who fasted throughout what turned out to be one of the coldest nights of the Winter, merit our warmest congratulations for a job well done.



ROSCOMMON



IARMHI



BAILE ATHA CLIATH

Visualising Freedom

Rekindle link with past

If we were in earnest and if we were really free, it would be utilised solely for the purpose of awakening a national consciousness in the people and of exciting them to enthusiasm in the big task of restoring and perpetuating the culture that so long has been trampled under foot.

Again, the language of the invader should be used to undo the invader's work of destruction. People specially selected for their zeal and enthusiasm and their strong national convictions, as well as their knowledge of Irish history—young people for preference—should be allowed to speak day after day to the people in a manner that would soon win attention and respect.

They should be allowed to take part in the programmes for schools, telling the boys and girls of today what young people like them did for love of Ireland in days that are gone, drawing for them glowing word-pictures of Ireland's soldiers, saints, teachers, humble defenders in days of stress and danger, and bringing them gradually to a clear realisation of the treasure that has been nearly lost to us through the anglicisation of our people.

At other times the older people could be spoken to on the same subject, and poems and songs and stories introduced to illustrate the talks and fix them in the memory.

For a few minutes of each broadcast our beautiful Irish salutations could be taught, slowly and clearly, and the people asked to memorise them and resume their use where the ill-fated ones of another generation were persuaded to abandon them; and all should be asked and asked and asked to rouse such innuities as "cheerio" and "cheeri-by," and all the degrading songs and dances and books and papers that are the vulgar voice of a pagan materialism foreign to every fibre of the Irish being.

This work should be continued at least once a day throughout the entire year.

THE EXILES

Another appeal could be made and repeated from day to day. Young parents could be asked to pay no heed to uneducated, anglicised Irishmen who periodically protest against what they call "compulsory Irish" in the schools.

The young parents could be urged, too, to learn Irish from their own children. This would benefit themselves and the children.

The latter would be more keenly interested in the language, and the lesson give to daddy or mammy would be a home exercise shorn of all its former toil and tediousness; it would also be the first step towards having Irish spoken in the homes of Ireland again.

If this matter of the proper use of Radio Eireann were taken up with courage, earnestness and enthusiasm it would, we fully believe, lead to a national re-awakening all over the country.

It may be said that this would represent us to the outside world as being insular and narrow-minded. Nothing of the kind. There are Irish people everywhere. If they would be all interested in this great national campaign, if only it were made compelling and attractive.

They, too, would respond, and it would become a strong link between motherland and her children the world over.

We forget sometimes the power of our language, our music, our songs; we forget the influence they once exercised over on those who came here as enemies, changing them by degrees into Irish-speaking, Irish-thinking, Irish-living "rebels" who came to look upon Ireland as their mother and gave her all the love of their hearts.

If only we were in earnest to-day! If only we had again the spirit of freedom!

This is the fourth part on Nationality and Nationhood that we are republishing from the 1944 Wolfe Tone Annual, written by the late Brian O'Uiginn. The 1944 Wolfe Tone Annual was banned by the Fianna Fáil censor for one year and published in 1945.

NEW PLAN

If we were in earnest there is another way in which the great task of Gaelicising Ireland could be carried forward swiftly and surely. Instead of endeavouring to draw people of different views into the Gaelic League classrooms, leaving their politics outside the



door, it would, to our mind, be a much more effective plan to induce each organisation to Irishise itself.

With hard work and quite efficiency and tact it should be possible to get the study of Irish in a live, attractive way going in every athletic and social organisation.

Teachers and advice could be supplied by the Gaelic League which would take an active interest in the work, giving all the help and encouragement possible, and as much supervision as would be wise.

A spirit of friendly rivalry could be created between the branches of an organisation, and as they progressed in their studies, they could discuss them in Irish to their heart's content, without having the fear that the weak breaking any rule by so doing, or pleasure.

Throughout the country would move the Irish missionaries — na Múinteoirí Taistil — preaching, teaching, encouraging, teaching, speaking abroad through the land the spirit of the past, the spirit of the future. If only we were in earnest! If only we could visualise freedom!

NOTE — The same names and meaningless utterances mentioned by Brian O'Uiginn were, of course, still used by Radio and Telefís Éireann broadcasters, the anglicising programmes on RTE, if anything, are worse to-day than in 1943, when the above article was published.

AN COSG

TA A lán cainte ann i láthair mar gheall ar an gCosg, atá ar chluiche Gaillda sa tír seo, a chur a leath thabhairt ar fad.

Rud amaidheach agus rud gan aon ehlail leis, sear "an cosg" céanna, a dearfaldís (na seoinín) linn. Ni thuigean síad sear an scéal, ma tú rud éigin eile. I gceist seachas croc na lathróide. Deilphilt atá sa chosg idir Gaeil agus Gail, agus beith thuighidh é sin agus a thuighfidh mar an gcéanna gur oidhreacht uasal lán ar gculchí náisiunta, gur cúl dár gculchí be dár sibhialtachí lán agus, Éire chun anam gan brí a bhídh againn an lá a thréigfidh lán. Rud nac dtarlóidh go déo le cinamh Dé. Mar sin ba chóir go mbeadh Poblachtóirí go láidir ar thaobh an "cosg" céadna.

Cumann na mBan Notes

Owing to enquiries received from many parts of the country we have decided to publish in this issue, a few points about our organisation.

Cumann na mBan is one of the organisations which make up the Separatist or Republican Movement. As such its aim is to break the connection with England and to establish an Irish Republic, free from foreign domination of any kind, free from foreign influences, whose people are Gaelic in their language, culture and outlook.

All branches of the Republican Movement work in harmony with one another but, as each has a separate and distinct part of play, each is a separate and distinct body.

With regard to the role of Cumann na mBan, we will gladly forward any information requested. Please apply to:

The Director of Organisation,
Cumann na mBan, c/o
An Phoblacht.

i gCUMHNE

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

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

TOMAS O DUBHGHAILL, died March 12, 1962.

"It is not the will of the majority which ultimately prevails; that which ultimately prevails is the ideal of the noblest in each generation."

—Connolly

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JOIN

FEIN

SINN

The violence behind partition

(Ar lean 6 leathanach 5)

JAMES CREANEY, Tralee, April 25.
PATRICK MAHONEY, Ennis, April 26.
CHRISTOPHER QUINN, Ennis, May 2.
WILLIAM SHAUGHNESSY, Ennis, May 2.

III—KILLED IN JAIL OR DIED OF ILL-TREATMENT

JOSEPH MacDONAGH, T.D., DR. FRANK FERRAN, T.D., Curragh Camp, June 10, 1923.

COMDT. PEADAR BRESLIN, Dublin—Shot dead in Mountjoy Jail, October, 1922. A splendid soldier.

LT. MICHAEL MEADE, Dublin, Brigade, died of prison ill-treatment, October 12, 1922.

DENIS BARRY, Cork—Died during hunger-strike, Curragh Camp, November, 1923.

ANDY O'SULLIVAN, Cork—Died during hunger-strike, Curragh Camp, November, 1923.

OWEN O'BOYLE, Donegal—Died as a result of prison ill-treatment, June 28, 1923.

JOE LEACY, Wexford—Died after hunger-strike, Curragh Camp, December, 1923.

DICK HUMES, Wexford—Killed by ill-treatment, Curragh Camp, November, 1923.

IV—KILLED IN ACTION

GENERAL LIAM LYNCH, Chief of Staff, I.R.A., at Knockmucklow, on the night of April 9

COMDT. NEILL BOYLE (known as Plunkett), with 12 men of his column, was surrounded by Crown Forces in a house at Valleymount, Co. Wicklow, in May, 1923. There were women and children in the house and Comdt. Boyle spoke from a window to the enemy officer in charge and asked that the non-combatants be allowed out before the fight commenced, as he had no intention of surrendering. The answer was a fusillade of bullets and he fell dead. A native of Donegal, he had fought with distinction through the earlier war. He had escaped with 170 others from Newbridge Camp.

BRIGADIER DENIS LACEY, killed in action in the Glen of Aherlow, in the Spring of 1923, was one of the finest men and bravest soldiers in Ireland. A close friend of Seán Treacy, who was killed by the British. Educated, refined, well versed in Irish history, he had been from his school days an inspiration to all his young companions.

COMDT. JOSEPH MANGAN, killed at Tullymoylan, Nenagh, in a fierce fight with a big force of "Free State" mercenaries.

COMDT. JERRY KIELY, also of Tipperary, killed in action, April, 1923. Had been through the War of Independence, emigrated to U.S.A.; heard of attack on the Four Courts and returned immediately to take his place in the Army of the Republic. While his body was being waked in his mother's house armed Crown Forces raided the place and insulted all present.

COMDT. SEAN QUINN, a native of Newry, and a splendid soldier. Had a hundred hair-breadth escapes from the British but lived to be shot down by his own renegade countrymen. Died May 21, 1923, of wounds received in action.

COMDT. PEADAR O'LOUGHLIN, of Kilkenny, Clare, one of the truest of all the lovers of Ireland. Added glory to the record of Clare during the Black-and-Tan fight, and took up arms again when the Republic was attacked by the new method in 1922. He fell ill on active service and passed away on August 1 of that memorable year, a true soldier of the Republic to the last.

CAPT. B. RADFORD and VOL. MCCARTHY, killed in action at Sleedagh, Co. Wexford, January 9, 1923. Seven men resting in a farmhouse were surrounded by 86 "Staters" with two machine guns. They fought their way out and five got clear away, but Radford and McCarthy were riddled with bullets. Both were buried in the same grave.

CAPT. JAMES CONNOLLY, of Kinelough, in Donegal, killed in action at Finner Camp, June 30, 1922.

CAPT. MICHAEL NEARY, shot dead while a prisoner, by a "Free State" staff officer at Glenageary, Co. Dublin, March 22, 1923.

VOL. MICHAEL O'SULLIVAN, murdered at Knockanes, Kerry, after being taken prisoner, November 2, 1922.

STAFF-CAPT. W. J. WALSH, died from wounds received in an ambush at Drumcondra, Dublin, March 23, 1923.

CHARLES O'MALLEY was killed defending his post in O'Connell Street, Dublin, June 30, 1922.

Independent Irish Currency

—SINN FEIN PROGRAMME

The purpose of a financial system is to provide, as well as a medium of exchange, a fund of credit whereby the economic surplus may be re-invested, thus enabling the economy to expand. The latter purpose at present is not being fulfilled.

The Irish financial system is integrated with that of England. It consists of a banking sector and an insurance sector; there is also a Central Bank under the 26-County administration whose function is purely nominal.

In order of strength of connection with Britain the leading banks (controlling over 80 per cent of the assets of the business) rate as follows:-

(A) The Northern Bank and the Belfast Banking Company have been merged into one bank called the Northern Bank Limited, which is a wholly-owned subsidiary of the Midland Bank in England. The Ulster Bank is now owned by another English bank, the Westminster Bank.

(B) The Bank of Ireland Group extends throughout the 32 Counties. Its Directors' other interests are mainly in old-established firms dating from Act of Union conditions. The Group includes the National Bank of Ireland, the Hibernian Bank and the Chase and Bank of Ireland (International). This latter bank is owned jointly by the Bank of Ireland and the Chase Manhattan Bank in America.

(C) The Allied Irish Banks consist of the Munster and Leinster Bank, the Provincial Bank and the Royal Bank. They are independently owned by Irish interests but pursue a policy in conformity with that laid down by the others which constitute the dominant force.

Thus, the whole banking system is based on absolute domination and is integrated with the British banking system.

The Insurance business is completely in the hands of the British Companies in the Six Counties and mostly so in the 26. The Irish and New Ireland Assurance Companies constitute a breach in an otherwise all-British structure. The former is state owned. They have consistently pursued a policy of investment in Irish industry. Together they control about 15 per cent of the total insurance market.

Thus, firms controlling 8-10 per cent only of the assets of the financial system as a whole (banking and insurance taken together) have oriented themselves towards investment in Irish industry. The remainder has consistently pursued a policy of investing its assets in British securities (in the case of the banks) and British equities (in the case of the British-owned insurance companies).

This is the major contributory cause of the failure of the 26-County economy to expand up to 1959. The

savings of the Irish people, instead of being put to work in Ireland, are syphoned off into Britain.

The post-1959 "boom" is due (a) to relaxation of control of foreigners investing in Ireland, (b) to the actual subsidisation of such investment at the taxpayers' expense. Not only is the country being sold out, but we, the people, are subsidising the price out of our own pockets!

When the English pound notes were called in (in 1926) and Irish ones were substituted, the English pounds were lodged in London to act as 100 per cent cover for the Irish note issue. The present function of the Central Bank is to administer this fund, and to keep it in step with the Irish note issue. A small fraction of the 100 per cent cover is now held in dollars as an empty gesture of "independence." The existence of this 100 per cent "Note Fund" (as it is called) is an effective guarantee against any genuinely independent measures every being taken by the Dublin Government. Typical of the servility of Merriam Street financial thought is the fact that it is considered necessary to insure 100 per cent against the eventuality that every Irishman might simultaneously wish to convert Irish to English money!

The present Act of Union financial system, as well as syphoning off Irish savings via banking and insurance into British investment, also facilitates private investors who wish to put their money into imperial interests. Much trading on the London Stock Exchange is done from Dublin; the financial pages of the Irish papers are a witness to this.

In fact, between banking, insurance and private investors who wish to put their money into imperial interests. Much trading on the London Stock Exchange is done from Dublin; the financial pages of the Irish papers are a witness to this.

In fact, between banking, insurance and private investors in both parts of the country, well over £1,000,000,000 is held as foreign assets by persons and firms based in Ireland.

This link is strengthening; each takeover of an Irish firm by a British monopoly results in a two-way transaction; British money comes in to buy up Irish firms, after which the Irish ex-owners invest the purchase money outside Ireland.

A Sinn Féin Government having jurisdiction over the whole 32-County area would proceed to the establishment of a genuinely independent Irish currency, based on the productive capacity of the nation. International payments would be made with gold rather than sterling.

A National Development Fund would be set up, to which would be contributed all foreign assets at present idle. This Fund would be administered by a National Financial Authority who would see to it that this foreign exchange "nest-egg" was correctly invested into certain strategically chosen capital goods.

The "idle foreign assets" referred to above are:-

(a) The Note Fund.

(b) A substantial part (possibly 75 per cent) of the individual banks' external assets at present held in Britain for trade purposes. Centralisation of these assets alone would enable them to be reduced substantially, and still give the same degree of buffering against trade fluctuations as at present. Reduction of trade fluctuations, by exercising control over trade would enable the centralised assets to be reduced still further. The surplus sterling bank assets would be transferred to the National Development Fund against an issue of Irish Government Bonds. The total bank assets would remain unchanged, except that a greater fraction would be held in Irish securities.

The National Financial Authority would take over and extend the functions of the present Central Bank. It would have at its disposal a substantial fraction of the investment funds generated internally within the economy, would be responsible for the stability of the independent currency, and would function so as to regulate the amount of credit available in accordance with the needs of the expanding economy. In proportion, as the initial investment of "nest-egg" foreign exchange became exhausted the National Financial Authority would become increasingly dependent on internally generated savings, which would by then, however, have become more substantial, thanks to the initial injection of productive capital.

The National Financial Authority would be directly responsible to An Dáil. It would consist of the nationalised banking and insurance system, reorganised and under

democratic control, in order to serve the national needs instead of the needs of imperial monopolies. No other lending houses except those allowed by the State will be allowed to operate.

The Balance of Payments would be regulated by letting the Irish currency unit find its own level in accordance with the needs of trade. This would probably result in a revalued currency unit.

The regulation of the balance of payments by revaluation would be superior to the present method which operates in both parts of the country: restriction of the Irish market for cheap imports from Britain by a differential unemployment rate, supplemented slightly in the 26 Counties by tariffs and quotas. Cheap imports are of little use to the unemployed. Devaluation would act as an automatic universal tariff. It would only affect the cost of living in so far as this depended on import content. Thus, basic food, clothing and housing would be little changed in price in the home market.

The Stock Exchange would be restricted to the role of raising finance for the private sector of the Irish economy. Trading in foreign shares would be forbidden. Legislation would be introduced curbing speculative unproductive acquisition of wealth by individuals, but favouring raising capital for new productive ventures.

The interest rate on loans would be used as an instrument of economic planning by the National Financial Authority. Strategically important sectors of the economy would receive cheaper credit.

The National Debt would be honoured in full, at its present level. But it would become relatively less important, as future government financing would become independent of loans from private bodies. It would instead depend on direct control of the credit structure via the National Financial Authority, coupled with the direct control of re-investment of the economic surplus by a National Development Authority set up for this purpose. Current government expenditure would be met out of taxation in full.

Import of capital would be controlled and foreign domination of any sector prevented. Foreign land purchase and export of capital by nationals would be forbidden.

Income from existing privately owned external assets would be taxed heavily. Retired foreigners wishing to settle here may have this rule waived.

Credit Unions will be developed and extended on a local basis and will enjoy the right, now denied to them, of financial local community projects. Co-operative banks will also be developed, representative of such interests as the Trade Unions' and Farmers' organisations.

The whole taxation structure will be reformed fundamentally. The basic unit for the payment of tax will be the firm organisation rather than the individual; income tax will be restricted to the professional, managerial and other high income strata, distinction as at present being made between earned and unearned income. The objectives of taxation will be:-

1. To finance the State.
2. To re-distribute wealth.
3. To favour initiative and enterprise.
4. To act as a planning instrument.

The basic tax will be a selective turnover tax, levied on production and services. The tax would fall less heavily on industries producing the basic necessities. (The definition of "necessity" is likely to change as the economy develops). All industries will pay some tax; this will vary both on the above principle and on a regional basis according as it is desired to encourage industrial development in particular industries or regions.

Thus, the basic taxation policy will be to allow the provision of cheap necessities (food, clothing, housing, public transport, books, education, also the means of increasing productivity; tools, machines). Credit funds will be channelled towards underdeveloped areas as a matter of policy.

Co-operative industry and agriculture will be favoured by tax concessions; private industry will be encouraged to reward workers' productive initiative by bonuses linked to productivity, and ultimately to convert to co-operative ownership.

The high tax on unearned incomes would be scaled down in case of retired people who have no earned income. This may also have the effect of encouraging retired foreigners to settle here, which form of permanent tourism would benefit the balance of payments and help the economy generally.

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An Phoblacht

St. Patrick's Island

WITH another St. Patrick's Day many people throughout the world, by no means all of them with Irish links, will be pondering the fate of unhappy Ireland, about the only place in western Europe where there has been no lasting peace for hundreds of years, the reason being, of course, that the Irish refuse to lie down before the British jackboot.

St. Patrick, reputedly buried in Domhnach Phádraig (Downpatrick), an area still held by British bullies, preached to an unpartitioned island and to a people united by a common culture of which Éire to all was an integral part.

The saint made Ard Mhacha (Armagh) his headquarters and to this day this see takes priority in the Roman Catholic Church and the Church of Ireland. But this holy place also is described by the violent occupation of the invader.

Ireland, despite imperialistic machinations, lies, bribery, cajolery, threats, jailings, killings down the bloodsoaked stairway of the years, remains a geographic and economic unity. Only the warped archcapitalist mind of the imperial invader can conceive of it as being British. Only massive bribes and massive intimidation, plus the divide-and-conquer policy of our belligerent neighbour, can give any semblance of economic viability to the six occupied counties of the north-east. Even at that unemployment is increasing and the percentage of workless is among the highest in Europe. It is obvious to economists that the Six need the 26 Counties, and vice versa, for survival; yet British might, in the last and first of her colonies, frustrates the demand of the mass of the Irish people for unity.

It is not so strange, in one sense, that prominent churchmen of all the persuasions, condemn Irish violence but not the British violence which inspires it, for prominent churchmen, and especially Roman Catholic ones, always have sided with the British invader against the native Irish since the Papal bull, Laudabiliter. Irishmen who know their history will not be confused in this day and age by bishops or even the Cardinal himself acting in the role of British sergeant-major. But in another sense the traditional reaction of the churchman in defence of the establishment is quite out of tune: certainly, it lacks the realism demanded by Vatican II and it ignores that assembly's appeal to clergymen to range themselves alongside the common people in the struggle for justice.

Ireland today is crying out to the world for justice, for aid, for support in her life and death struggle against the most evil power, and system the world has ever known. Hers is a just cause: she is defending her own and attempting to recover her own. This is a clear fact which no clerical quibbling or no double talk by treacherous politicians can disguise. The holiness of the cause of the Irish freedom fighter stands in stark contrast to the stinking morass that the professionals have made of politics north and south of the Border: well may the thugs, cowards, sliabhini and traitors of Stormont and Leinster House fear the wrath of the risen people.

BEANNACHT NA FÉILE PADRAIG

WHEN thinking of Ireland on St. Patrick's Day remember—

That the Irish nation has been partitioned by Britain against the will of the overwhelming majority of the people;

That the essence of democratic rule is contained in the right of a people to determine its own affairs without outside interference;

That St. Patrick's See at Armagh, his grave at Downpatrick and the scenes of his boyhood on Slemish are cut off from the body of Ireland and are in the area occupied by British troops in a flagrant denial of all democratic rights.

On this St. Patrick's Day pledge yourself to help to undo the dismemberment of St. Patrick's Island.



NA FIANNA EIREANN



In the midst of recent serious fighting in Belfast, one British newspaper came out on the streets with scare headlines about "The Child recruits in Terror War." The article expressed their alleged shock at the number of juveniles arrested by the army during the street battles, but manages to mislay the blame for this situation neatly, and erroneously, on the shoulders of Na Fianna Eireann. Na Fianna is described as "The junior wing of the IRA" taking no notice of the fact that Na Fianna Eireann was in existence four years before the founding of the IRA. The article condemns "terrorists in short trousers" and remarks that the RUC Special Branch is investigating the activities of Na Fianna. This was all rounded off neatly with shock headings (BATTLES, AMBUSH, etc.) some dubious-sounding "quotes" and a considerable number of rumours about the fighting that have since proved unfounded.

In Belfast the reaction to the article among other pressmen was unanimous — they laughed it off the front page. While the paper is noted for its sensationalism, this article was considered too much even for them. No other papers, Irish or British, would touch the story, and it wouldn't be worth mentioning at all except that only two days later a bit of common sense prevailed in the same paper. Keith Waterhouse, the award-winning columnist, seems to have reached the heart of the matter in five brief paragraphs. For those that feel that shock headlines are an acceptable substitute for journalistic ability, we would like to reprint his article as proof to the contrary.

DEAD END KIDS

"I haven't been in Belfast for five years and I hope to be spared long enough not to have been there for another twenty-five, but when I did pay a brief visit it reminded me of a Northern industrial town in the depressed 1930s.

"The shabby terraces, the drab housing estates, the corner shops selling dusty liquorice bootlaces, and kids with their shirt laps hanging out munching potato

crisps on the steps of public houses, all took me back to a time when childhood was a pointless void between leaving the womb and entering the factory.

"Belfast's bottle-throwing legions may well be manipulated by their elders, as observers suggest, but I think there is better evidence that they are victims of their own environment.

"You wouldn't mind so much if they were throwing stones at greenhouses. An army spokesman is quoted as saying: 'That's what kids are supposed to do.'

"But, of course, it's not. What kids are supposed to do is grow up with a decent chance in life. It's only when they know for a fact that the chances are not coming their way that the stone-throwing starts."

